

Université de Montréal

Word Formation in Bengali: A Whole Word Morphological
Description and its Theoretical Implications

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Université de Montréal
Faculté des études supérieures

Cette thèse intitulée

**Word Formation in Bengali: A Whole Word Morphological
Description and its Theoretical Implications**

présenté par

Shishir Bhattacharja

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Résumé

Cette thèse est destinée à la fois à décrire la morphologie du Bengali, une langue Indo-européenne parlée en Asie du sud et à tester un modèle particulier de morphologie connu sous le nom de *W(hole) W(ord) M(orphology)*⁽¹⁾ développé par Alan Ford & Rajendra Singh de l'Université de Montréal (cf. Ford, Singh & Martohardjono 1997).

WWM réclame que les mots n'ont aucune structure hiérarchique interne et qu'il n'existe pas d'unité plus petite que le mot en tant que catégorie (e.g., *affixe, thème* ou *radical*). Selon cette théorie, le module morphologique d'une langue serait constitué des *stratégies* de formation de mot, chacune licenciée par au moins deux paires de mot ayant la même différence formelle, affiliation catégorique et relation sémantique (cf. Singh 1992).

En se basant sur une liste d'environ 1200 stratégies, cette thèse présente un profil morphologique de la dialecte standard du Bengali constitué des différents aspects de la formation de mots et montre en conséquence que WWM est un modèle adéquat pour la description morphologique en général.

Mots-clés: *stratégie, variable, constant, opération morphologique, mécanisme morphologique, modification segmentale.*

1. Littéralement 'Morphologie du mot entier'. 'Morphologie non-atomistique' (MNA) et 'Morphologie non-segmentaire' (MNS) seraient les deux autres termes à utiliser en français.

Abstract

The present thesis has two agendas: i) it presents a morphological description of Bengali, an Indo-European language spoken in South Asia and eventually ii) examines whether the W(hole) W(ord) M(orphological) theory developed by Alan Ford & Rajendra Singh of the University of Montreal (cf. Ford, Singh & Martohardjono 1997) is an adequate model for such descriptions.

WWM claims that words do not have any internal hierarchical structure. Implicitly, units smaller than word (such as *stem* or *affix*) cannot exist and there is no need for multiple morphology like compounding, derivation, inflection or reduplication. A typical WWM view would be that a good number of words of some lexicon are formally and/or categorically different and semantically related to each other. Whenever there exist at least two pairs of words based on the same formal difference, categorical affiliation and semantic relatedness (cf. Singh 1992) a particular strategy becomes part of the morphological module of the speaker-hearer.

This thesis presents a morphological profile of Bengali constituted of the different aspects of its word-formation on the basis of a list of around 1200 strategies and in consequence shows that WWM is an adequate model for morphological description in general.

Key words: *strategy, variable, constant, morphological operation, morphological mechanism, segmental modification.*

*To those stars who looked after me
between my two 'examen de synthèse's*

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Abbreviations

1 st : First person	indef: Indefinite
2 nd : Second person	inform: Informal
3 rd : Third person	Instr: Instrumental
acc: Accusative	Interg: Interrogative
A/adj: Adjective	Interj: Interjection
Adv/adv: Adverb	intim: Intimate
affirm: Affirmative	loc: Locative
arg verbal: Argument Verbal	masc: masculin
asp: Aspirated	MW: Measure Word
caus: Causative	N/n: Noun
comm: Common Gender	neg: Negative
comp verbal: Complement Verbal	nom: Nominative
cond verb: Conditional Verbal	non-incl: Non-inclusive
conj: Conjunction	non-emph: Non-emphatic
contd: Continued	Num: Numeral
Def: Definite	occl: Occlusive
Dem/dem: Demonstrative	ord: Ordinal
dent: Dental	P/p: Postposition
derog: Derogative	palat: Palatal
dat: Dative	perf verbal: Perfective Verbal
distr: Distributive	pers: Personal
DW: Date Word	plu: Plural
emph: Emphatic	Poss: Possessive
ESB: Eastern Standard Bengali	pres: Present
fem: Feminin	Pro/pron: Pronoun
form: formal	prog: Progressive
fut: Future	Q: Quantifier
gen: Genitive	SCB: Standard Colloquial Bengali
GP: Generative Phonotactic	simp pres: Simple Present
habit past: Habitual Past	S/sing: Singular
imp: Imperative	strid: strident
incl: Inclusive	syllab: Syllabic
ind: Indicative	subj: Subjunctive

Tr. Translation

uncount: Uncountable

V/v: Verb

WFC: Well-formedness Condition

WFS: Word Formation Strategy

WSB: Western Standard Bengali

WWM: Whole Word Morphology

List of abbreviations of morphological operations and mechanisms used in the tagging of the strategies			
Abbreviation	Morphological operation	Abbreviation	Morphological Mechanism
NN	Noun-Noun	AD	Adjunction-Deletion
AN	Adjective-Noun	SB	Substitution
NA	Noun-Adjective	SF	Suffixation
AAdv	Adjective-Adverb	SJ	Subjunction
VV	Verb-Verb	PF	Prefixation
PronAdv	Pronoun-Adverb	PJ	Prejunction
AdvP	Adverb-Postposition	CF	Circumfixation
IntN	Interjection-Noun	CJ	Circumjunction
MF	Masculine-Feminine	SM	Segmental Modification
SP	Singular-Plural	SV	Specified Variable
CC	Case-Case	RD	Reduplication
DI	Definite- Indefinite	ID	Identity
NumDW	Numeral-Date Word		
EmphNonEmph	Emphatic-NonEmphatic		
InclNonincl	Inclusive-NonInclusive		

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Preface

This thesis provides an almost exhaustive description of the morphology of Bengali, an eastern Indo-Aryan language of South Asia, from the point of view of a particular theory: the W(hole) W(ord) M(orphological) theory formulated by Alan Ford and Rajendra Singh of the University of Montreal.

The thesis is divided into four parts: part I, which contains 4 chapters, deals with my aims and objectives as well as theoretical and methodological preliminaries, part II which contains 2 chapters provides the morphological description, part III which contains 4 chapters, deals with the reduplicative morphology of Bengali, draws some general conclusions from the description presented, provides a succinct morphological profile of Bengali, and presents some cases that appear to be problematic for the theory that guides the description presented in this thesis, and part IV, which contains 3 appendices.

It is my sincere hope that the nearly exhaustive description of Bengali morphology presented here will help us better understand the morphology of Bengali and allow others to test their favourite theory of morphology.

Acknowledgements

তিন তি বিনা নাহি গতি: সরস্বতী, প্রস্তুতি, গুরুভক্তি...

[tin ti bina nahi goti: ʃoroʃʃoti prostuti gurub^hokti]⁽¹⁾

(three) (ti) (without) (is not) (success) (muse) (preparation) (reverence for Guru)

1. I received my M. Phil. in Linguistics from the University of Sorbonne in the year 1995. I remained without a Ph.D. until a senior colleague of the Indian Statistical Institute (ISI) in Calcutta convinced me to do one by saying: *A Ph.D. is like trousers, everybody will notice if you don't have them, but when you are wearing them, hardly anybody will pay attention to it.* Although I badly needed this degree for professional reasons, I kept patiently waiting for the goddess *Sarasvati* to get me involved in research that would give me the pleasure of objective learning. I also had the desire in mind that my dissertation not become a mere requirement for the degree but a contribution to the languages I speak as well as to the science of language in general.

Today I feel content that all my desires have been fulfilled; I had a great time learning in and about different areas of the science of language at the University of Montreal at the feet of competent professors for about four years; I was happy discovering the various aspects of phonology and morphology of Bengali and writing my thesis which, I hope, will offer a better understanding of the grammar of Bengali in general. My respectable readers will decide whether the present work is blessed with the footprint of *Sarasvati*

1. Translation: Unless a person has the three *ti*: blessing of *Sarasvati* (muse or the goddess of knowledge and art), *prastuti* (preparation) and *gurubhakti* (respect for the Guru), nothing substantial will come out of him.

or not, but I sincerely believe that personally I am blessed with the two other *ti: prastuti* and *gurubhakti*. This can be seen as a mere coincidence but I feel happy to be part of it.

2. During my early childhood I had memorized some *mantras* (Sanskrit verses attributed to gods or godly persons) by listening to my grandfather reciting them during his priestly performances. One of those *mantras* was attributed to Guru and it reads as follows: *my reverence for you o Guru, you who with the sticks of eye-salve of knowledge have cured my blindness*. Apart from its metaphorical and metrical beauty, this verse represented nothing but a hollow expression to me until I found a Guru who cured much of my conceptual blindness regarding various aspects of linguistics.

I have always believed that any education system should try to transform good into excellent, mediocre into good and to make learning interesting for the dull. Unfortunately, just the opposite is usually in practice. As a result, a *student is not a vessel to be filled but rather a lamp to be lit* - is a rarely practiced maxim in the educational sector. To some extent, even universities are still haunted by their ecclesiastic past and have a tendency to oblige their students to follow without much question rather than to deviate or to innovate.

Monsieur Grimal, my professor of Sanskrit at the Sorbonne, once stated humorously: "pandas and *pundits* ('truly learned man') are two rare species of our time." "So are true Gurus", I used to think till I met Rajendra Singh who did not pour into my quasi empty vessel lumps of knowledge but showed me different ways of doing linguistics, including his. He kept mentioning that one is always free to choose his own way although all the ways cannot be, in principle, equally right. Professor Singh made me curious about various aspects of human language and convinced me that all of them are equally

important. Through his teaching, the difference between being a partisan and a professional became clear to me and although I do not consider myself a professional yet, I know exactly what a professional linguist should sound like.

3. Last autumn, one afternoon, I was with Professor Singh in our Arts and Science faculty café *la Brunante* sipping coffee and discussing about various aspects of linguistics during the class break. Quite unexpectedly, a student sitting nearby gently interrupted us with the following question: "Would you please explain to me what linguistics is all about? I asked the same question to my friends in the linguistics department and their reply was that linguistics is what linguists usually do. As a student of philosophy, I cannot accept such a definition."

Professor Singh signaled to me to answer following the classical Indian *parampara* or tradition (which demands that a disciple should face a problem first; until and unless he fails, the Guru would not bother to lose his valuable time!). Be that as it may, my answer was the following: 'Linguistics' is the science of language and like your Philosophy, Science, in a sense, is nothing but generalization. As any other scientist would do, a linguist collects data on human languages, classifies them and then tries to find out some general rule underlying the classified data. The generalization may take the form of either modification or falsification of an existing theory or proposition of a new one. This is what a linguist should normally do and from that point of view, what is done by a linguist may be called 'linguistics'.

Personally, I visualize each human language as boundless oceans of facts and linguistic theories as fishing nets (probably because I was born and brought up in *Kumira*, a village situated in the coastal area of the Bay of Bengal in Chittagong!). Fishing nets can be of different sizes, contain big or

small holes for catching different types of fish, be *à la mode* or unpopular for some unknown reason, but, presumably no net can cover the whole ocean or catch all the types of fish it contains. Nevertheless, any reasonable fisherman would choose the most efficient of the available nets in order to catch a maximum variety of fish.

I am well aware of the following facts that i) there is no actual crisis of morphological theories; ii) morphological descriptions of human languages have been done more or less successfully for at least two thousand five hundred years (since Panini) and, also iii) all existing theories are more or less capable of reflecting the morphological realities of any human language. But I have chosen WWM because I am convinced that this approach is comparatively more suitable than others for my specific purpose of describing how words are formed, understood and remembered in Bengali.

Sapir (1921 (2004:29)) argues that “All grammars leak” and obviously, there are a few cases of word-formation in Bengali that WWM cannot explain. But I have not found too many of them on the one hand and on the other, such exceptions are necessary to justify WWM as a scientific theory rather than a model *ex cathedra*. Moreover, no such exception has yet been found which would demand a serious modification of the theory itself. Therefore, mine is a practical fisherman's thoughtful choice rather than a blind gathering around some fashionable net that requires mending every time it fails to catch some strange fish.

4. I express my gratitude to Probal Dasgupta, the co-director of my research for his help and suggestions. I would like to thank the honorable members of the dissertation committee for their attention to my work. I am grateful to the authorities of the University of Dhaka for having granted me full-paid leave and *Bangabandhu* scholarship during my study and also to the authorities of

the University of Montreal for the differential fee waiver and the scholarship they granted me. I am grateful to my family members, friends, colleagues and well wishers who have given me moral and financial support at moments of despair and distress. I do not mention any name because in case of perpetual debt, what's the use of a written acknowledgement! To you I better repeat what I once heard Alan Ford, one of the two architects of the theoretical framework used in the present work, saying humorously to Rajendra Singh, the other architect: "What could have I done without you?"

Part-I
Introductory matters

Chapter-1

Aims, objectives and organization of the thesis

"The correct method in philosophy would really be the following: to say nothing except what can be said."

(Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus logico-philosophicus* 1921 (1961:73))

"It is common knowledge that the grammars of no two speakers are alike. In particular, no two speakers have the same lexicon. Therefore, every grammatical description produced by a linguist purporting to describe 'the language' must be a fiction."

(Theo Vennemann, *Words and Syllables in Natural Generative Grammar*, 1974:370)

The objective of my dissertation is to present a detailed description of word formation in Bengali. The theoretical framework I have chosen for my purpose of research is called W(hole) W(ord) M(orphy) outlined in Ford, Singh and Martohardjono (1997). My goal here is to construct a morphological profile of Bengali based on a morphological description of this language in the light of the pioneering work on Hindi by Singh & Agnihotri (1997). Preliminary considerations lead me believe that i) WWM can explain most of the facts of word formation in Bengali and that ii) I can provide a better morphological description of Bengali in the light of WWM compared to other existing theories.

Grammar is generally thought to be modular and Morphology is the module considered to be responsible for word formation. As a discipline, Morphology⁽¹⁾ represents that part of Linguistics, which, according to the atomistic or Paninian tradition, studies the *internal structure* of words. For Bloomfield (1933 (1984:207)) "morphology includes the construction of words and parts of words". Therefore, atomistic morphological descriptions (e.g. Chatterji 1945 (1988) for Bengali, Shukla 2001 or Montaut 2004 for Hindi) generally give i) a list of syntactic (Noun, Verb, etc.) and morphological

(Gender, Number, Case, Tense, etc.) categories, ii) a list of morphemes (root/stem, suffix, prefix, etc.) and then iii) formulate different types of concatenation rules in order to form words belonging to different syntactic and/or morphological categories. In Atomistic descriptions, clear distinctions are made between different types of concatenation: Inflexion, Derivation, Compounding or Reduplication.

A WWM description (e.g. Singh and Agnihotri) contains the same syntactic and/or morphological categories and describes how words belonging to these different categories are lexically related to each other. WWM claims that words do not have any internal hierarchical structure and, therefore, there is neither any list of word-parts nor directions on how they have to be concatenated. A WWM description of morphology is basically an exhaustive list of morphological rules called W(ord) F(ormation) S(trategies) like the following.⁽²⁾

1. /CX/_{n, positive} ↔ /ɔpoX/_{n, negative} 'bad /CX/'⁽³⁾

কর্ম /kɔrmo/ 'work, activity' ↔ অপকর্ম /ɔpokɔrmo/ 'mischief, a harmful act, crime'⁽⁴⁾

প্রয়োগ /proʝog/ 'application' ↔ অপপ্রয়োগ /ɔpoproʝog/ 'misapplication' ⁽⁵⁾

2. /XC/_n ↔ /XCakto/_{adj} 'full of /XC/'

বিষ /biʃ/ 'poison' ↔ বিষাক্ত /biʃakto/ 'poisonous'

কর্দম /kɔrdom/ 'mud' ↔ কর্দমাক্ত /kɔrdomakto/ 'muddy'

(1) and (2) should read as follows: if in a lexicon there are at least two 'negative' nouns starting with the sequence [ɔpo] and if in the same lexicon there are two 'positive' nouns that lack this sequence, the [ɔpo]-nouns will be complex words which can be analyzed back to the simple nouns provided that

there is an interpretable semantic relatedness between the two. Equally, if in a lexicon there are at least two adjectives ending in the sequence [akto] and if in the same lexicon there are two nouns that lack this sequence, the adjectives can be analyzed back to nouns that lack that sequence, provided that there is an interpretable semantic relatedness between those nouns and adjectives.

Each strategy must be licensed by at least two pairs of words based on the same formal difference and semantic relatedness. The semantic relatedness as well as the formal difference between কর্ম /kɔrmo/ 'work, activity' and অপকর্ম /ɔpokɔrmo/ 'mischief, a harmful act, crime' is the same as between প্রয়োগ /proʝog/ 'application' and অপপ্রয়োগ /ɔpoproʝog/ 'misapplication'. The two other pairs i) বিষ /biʃ/ 'poison' and বিষাক্ত /biʃakto/ 'poisonous' and ii) কর্দম /kɔrdom/ 'mud' and কর্দমাক্ত /kɔrdomakto/ 'muddy' are equally based on the same formal difference and semantic relatedness.

3. /Xo/_n ↔ /Xakto/_{adj} 'full of /Xo/'

রক্ত /rɔkto/ 'blood' ↔ রক্তাক্ত /rɔktakto/ 'smeared with blood/blood-stained'

স্বর্ম /g^hɔrmo/ 'sweat' ↔ স্বর্মাক্ত /g^hɔrmakto/ 'drenched or wet with sweat'

We can map a noun like তৈল /tɔ^jl/ 'oil' onto (2) but not a noun like রক্ত /rɔkto/ 'blood'. The reason behind this is that the formal difference between তৈল /tɔ^jl/ 'oil' and তৈলাক্ত /tɔ^jlakto/ 'oily' is the same as the one in (2) whereas the pair রক্ত /rɔkto/ 'blood' and রক্তাক্ত /rɔktakto/ 'smeared with blood/blood-stained' is based on a different formal difference and therefore license a different strategy (3).

The pair-mates of (2) and (3) manifest the same semantic relatedness. However, one can object that কর্দমাক্ত /kɔrdomakto/ 'muddy' and বিষাক্ত /biʃakto/ 'poisonous' do not have the same semantic relatedness with their pair-mates because in the former, /XC/ remains on the surface of something and in the latter, /XC/ is omnipresent. Some speakers may overlook this semantic difference but if this is not the case, their morphological module will include a different strategy for words like বিষাক্ত /biʃakto/ 'poisonous' provided there is at least one more eligible pair to license the strategy.

For the purpose of my research, I have compiled a list of about 1200 strategies. Dictionaries, journals, literature, atomistic traditional grammars and above all, my personal competence in Bengali have been used as principal sources of words. This list is quite rich in the sense that it covers almost all morphologically complex words listed in *Samsad Bengali-English dictionary* currently in use in Standard) Colloquial Bengali (SCB). These strategies will be classified into different groups according to the intended morphological operation ('Noun-Adjective', 'Verb-Noun', etc.) on the one hand and the mechanism they use on the other, in order to glean generalization and sketch out a morphological profile of Bengali.

The present work is organized in 4 parts: Part-1 includes four chapters. Chapter-1 presents the aims and objective of my thesis. Chapter-2 gives an outline of the word-based morphological theories. Chapter-3 is constituted of two sections: in the 1st section, I describe my theoretical framework WWM and its consequences and in the second one, I provide some more explications and illustrations in order to give a fuller description of the theory. Chapter-4 has four sections: in section-1, I explain what I mean by 'Bengali'; a brief account of the previous works on word formation in Bengali is given in section-2 and in section-3, I describe the problems as well as the

inadequacies of these works *vis à vis* morphology of Bengali⁽⁶⁾; finally, in section-4, I justify the selection of WWM as my theoretical framework.

Part -2 which represents the core of the present work is distributed in two chapters. Chapter-5 describes how I come up with morphological strategies and how I classify them. In this I also give a brief outline of the phonology of Bengali⁽⁷⁾. In chapter-6, I present my list of about 1200 strategies distributed in two sections, one for inter-categorical strategies and the other for intra-categorical one.

Part-3 contains four chapters: chapter-7 gives a detailed account of reduplication in Bengali and how the so-called reduplicated words can be formed and analyzed with WWM⁽⁸⁾; in chapter-8, I highlight some of the aspects of Bengali morphology on the basis of the morphological description I have already provided; in chapter-9, I sketch out a morphological profile of Bengali based on a statistical description of the strategies in different operation and mechanism types; chapter-10 illustrates some problematic cases of Bengali word-formation which, apparently, call into question some of the axioms of WWM and then, draws a general conclusion.

The three parts constituting of 10 chapters are followed by Part-4 which contains three appendices: 1. A detailed description of Phonology of Bengali, 2. A list of patterns which can be considered either as potential strategies or as relics of dead strategies and 3. What is a *word*?

Following the general tradition established so far I have claimed above that the present thesis offers an exhaustive description of word formation in Bengali. Although this claim is not entirely devoid of truth, I believe, following Vennemann (1974:370), that it is not really possible to describe *Bengali* because as Vennemann points out, one can "describe a 'norm'; but for such

a grammar the question of a psychological interpretation would be immaterial. Or he could try to describe the linguistic competence of some real or possible (perhaps 'average') language user. In the latter case, a distinction must be made between forms the language user knows because he has had such experience with them that they remained in his memory, and forms which he 'knows' because they are compatible with the rules of his grammar." Therefore, when one pretends to describe *the language*, he in fact describes a norm or an idiolect of its standard dialect .

According to WWM morphology of a language depends exclusively on its lexicon. Singh (2001c:476) reminds us that one should "never ask: 'Is it in the lexicon?', only: 'Whose lexicon might it be in?'" . Therefore, *the lexicon* is essentially a fiction and in reality, there are millions of *lexicons*, each belonging to a individual Bengali speaker-hearer. Again, any lexicon is subject to incessant change and it is conceivable that change in lexicon may bring change in the morphological module.

The present morphological description is extractable from my lexicon of E(astern) S(tandard) B(engali) in this year 2006 to the extent that it is accessible to me. With the assumption that my idiolect represents more or less the ESB, my aim here is to show how the morphological module of an average ESB speaker-hearer operates in order to form, understand and remember words when the need arises, Although I am mainly concerned with the morphology of ESB spoken in Bangladesh and not the W(estern) S(tandard) of B(engali) spoken in the province of (West) Bengal in India, the conclusions drawn in this study are, I believe, more or less valid for both the standards i.e. for SCB in general.

1. According to Wurzel (1989) it was Schleicher (1821-1868) who introduced into linguistics the term *morphology*, coined by Goethe (1749-1832) in 1817 in his essay on biology: *Zur Naturwissenschaft überhaupt, besonders zur Morphologic*. We can also read in the *Wikipedia* entry on morphology that "The term was coined by August Schleicher in 1859: *Für die Lehre von der Wortform wähle ich das Wort "Morphologie"* (for the science of word formation, I choose the term 'morphology', *Mémoires Acad. Impériale 7/1/7, 35*)".

2. The way of interpretation as well as of formulation of the strategies will be discussed in detail in chapter-3 and 5 but in order to give a clearer idea of the aims and objectives of my work, I feel obliged to provide here a brief description of the morphological strategies in Bengali.

3. From here on, I follow the practice of giving the WFS in the first line followed by two pairs of words licensing the strategy in the second and third line.

4. Following the tradition of linguistic description introduced by S.K. Chatterji (1926 (1986)) in his pioneering work *The origin and development of Bengali language*, examples are given all over the present work in Bengali script followed by an IPA transcription and the gloss.

5. Given that strategy (1) exists, it is not impossible that some speaker-hearer maps the word অপরাধ /ɔporadh/ 'crime' onto (1) and interpret the sequence /radh/ as 'activity' although the latter is not a word in Bengali.

6. In this section and also in section-8 of chapter-6, I have given special attention to verbal morphology for two reasons: i) most of the previous works on Bengali morphology is concerned with verbs and ii) WWM can give a better description of verbal morphology and can offer a solution to most of the problems left unresolved in the previous works.

7. I have included a brief phonological description in the body of the thesis and a detailed description in appendix-1 because according to WWM, a phonological description must be undertaken in order to determine the involvement of phonology in word-formation.

8. Although no (morphological) mechanism (adjunction-deletion, identity, etc.) or operation-type (verbalization, nominalization, etc.) gets any special attention in WWM, I have included

a chapter on the phenomena sometimes grouped under 'reduplication' in Bengali because i) it has not been studied before and ii) many theories which pay special attention to this grammatical phenomenon and even justify a good number of their axioms with examples of reduplication are not capable of explaining the 'reduplicational' facts of Bengali whereas they can be easily handled by WWM.

Chapter-2

Outline of some word-based approaches to morphology

"The word has no division... But the ignorant person sees division through artificial splitting."

(Bhartrihari, *Vakyapadiyam*, 2:13, Tr. by Iyer K.A.S. (1997:6))

"Si la quatrième proportionnelle est une explication suffisante, à quoi bon l'hypothèse d'une analyse des éléments?"⁽¹⁾

(Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale* (1915 (1988:228)))

Despite the fact that words are more idiosyncratic in their structure and meaning as compared to phrases and clauses, morphological theories try to ascertain the constraints that govern the word-formation behavior of a particular language. Morphological theories can be either i) atomistic or ii) holistic depending on how they view construction of words and organization of lexicon.

The atomistic view of morphology goes back to Panini who lived in the north-west region of Indian subcontinent (now in Pakistan) around 6th century B.C. (cf. Katre 1989). As Kiparsky (1982a:3) points out "The idea that morphology is organized in a hierarchy of levels is implicit in Panini and was adopted from him by Whitney (1889) and Bloomfield (1933, 1939) in terms of the distinction between 'primary' and 'secondary' suffixation". A good number of the existing models of morphology are largely influenced by or are in the line of the Paninian school as all of them espouse the same atomistic and concatenative ontology and encourage morphology to be a matter of *divide rule* (cf. Ford et al. 1997).

1. "If the proportion is a sufficient explanation, what purpose is served by the hypothesis which appeals to analysis of the elements?" (Tr. Roy Harris)

In the Structuralist and Transformational approaches to grammar, the most common assumption about the lexicon is, as Vennemann (1974:367) points out "the lexicon contains stems (with affixes perhaps stored in a separate portion of the lexicon), and that words are 'generated' by means of derivational and flexional rules." These theories are 'atomistic' because quintessentially all of them view morphology as a combinatorics of units smaller than the word. Some of them involve word-internal syntax and allow morphological operations on those units (cf. Singh 2001b). Therefore, by 'atomistic' or 'Paninian' I point to a particular type of morphological theories which have a common belief that i) words have internal hierarchical structure and/or that ii) they result from the combination of different types of 'parts of words' (cf. Saussure 1915 (1988), Bloomfield 1933 (1984)) labelled as *stem*, *radical*, *root*, *affix*, etc.

The holistic view of word goes back to Bhartrihari, an eminent critic of Paninian morphology, who lived in India around 8th century AD. In my view, a true holistic theory would reject the idea that words can be divided into smaller sub-parts. Holistic models of morphology are intrinsically word-based but the contrary is not true which means that not all word-based models of morphology are necessarily holistic. The inputs and the outputs of the word-formation rules proposed by a word-based model are words but the model of morphology remains atomistic if it does not categorically reject units smaller than the word. In some word-based approaches, such units are considered as part of their word-formation rules and in some others they are listed in the lexicon.

In this chapter, I will outline some of the modern word-based approaches to morphology regardless of their holistic or atomistic inclinations. I would like to remind the reader that the exhaustibility of my description is constrained by the availability of relevant documents. I have included whatever I could find

and I am well aware of the fact that there are many other word-based approaches that I have not been able to consult.

Following the path of the neo-grammarians (cf. Saussure), Saussure proposed a word-based model of morphology according to which words are formed following a pre-established 'proportion' or 'equation' based on the formal difference between the words.

"pardonner : impardonnable, etc. = décorer: X; X = indécorable" (229))

For Saussure, such an analogical process constitutes a 'drama involving three characters' and the fourth one is automatically calculated from the equation: "*Pour former indécorable, nul besoin d'en extraire les éléments (in-décor-able), il suffit de prendre l'ensemble et de le placer dans l'équation*" (229) ("to form *indécorable*, there is no need to extract its elements (in-décor-able), it suffices to take the *whole* and place it in the equation." (Tr. Roy Harris). Saussure's equation is based exclusively on the formal difference: "*une manifestation de l'activité générale qui distingue les unités pour les utiliser ensuite*" (227) ("a manifestation of the general activity that distinguishes the units in order to make subsequent use of them") (Tr. is mine).

According to Saussure, word formation can be seen either i) from the 'Hindu' (Indian or more appropriately 'Paninian') point of view that involves alternation in *roots* and *affixes* or ii) from a European point of view which involves a particular analogical process presented in the form of an equation i.e. "*calcul de la quatrième proportionnelle*" or computation of the missing fourth term (222). Saussure reminds the reader that "*Selon la tendance dominante de chaque groupe linguistique, les théoriciens de la grammaire inclineront vers l'une ou l'autre de ces méthodes*" (229) ("Depending on the

predominant tendency in each linguistic group, the grammatical theorists will incline to the one or the other of these methods") (Tr. Roy Harris).

Saussure believes that "*le Latin ancien avait donc à un haut degré le sentiment des pièces de mot (radicaux, suffix, etc.) et de leur agencement. Il est probable que nos langues modernes ne l'ont pas de façon aussi aigüe, mais que l'allemand l'a plus que le français*" (230) ("Early Latin thus possessed a high degree of awareness of the constituent parts of a word (stems, suffixes, etc.) and of their fitting together. It is probable that in our modern languages it is not felt so acutely. But German probably has it more than French") (Tr. Roy Harris). Therefore, in some sense, Saussure, the founder of the Structuralist school, is also one of the precursors of modern holistic word-based approach to morphology. Although Saussure has clearly stated his preference for the holistic approach, for some unknown reason, the chapter IV of *Cours de linguistique générale* has been seldom referred to in the literature of our time and has thus become a forgotten chapter of Saussurian linguistics (for a notable exception see Singh, 2001b).

Although Saussure prefers holistic morphology, he does not reject the atomistic one and states that the latter may be suitable for a certain type of languages. Vennemann (1974:353), on the other hand, clearly gives up "the view that the lexicon contains roots or stems (and perhaps affixes) rather than words" and adopts "the hypothesis that the lexicon contains words (and of course, items larger than words, such as idiomatic phrases and sentences), but no items below the complexity of words, in particular, no roots, stems, or affixes". Vennemann (371) suggests that the language user stores all the words in his lexicon "with the aid of powerful organizational principles (the rules)."

According to Jackendoff's (1975) 'full entry' or 'lexicalist' theory words like *attract* and *attraction* should be listed as 'items' with all their semantic and phonological information and the relationship between the two would be captured with a bi-directional 'morphological redundancy rule'. However, neither Jackendoff's nor Vennemann's lexicon is truly word-based because it contains lexical entries that are formally larger than words. According to Vennemann (370) "The lexicon contains words (and phrases, sentences, paragraphs, fairy tails, poems, etc." and Jackendoff's lexicon includes idioms (such as *kick the bucket* 'die') which according to him must be evaluated with "phrase structure rules" (370). Although I consider Vennemann and Jackendoff as precursors of word-based morphology of our time, I am well aware of the fact that i) their principal concern was lexical entry in general and that ii) neither Vennemann (1974) nor Jackendoff (1975) develop a full fledged theory of morphology.

According to Aronoff (1976:21) "All regular word-formation processes are word-based. A new word is formed by applying a regular rule to a single already existing word. Both the new word and the existing one are members of major lexical categories." The typical operation of the W(ord) F(ormation) R(ules) of Aronoff is to take only a single word as a base, no more (e.g. a phrase) and no less (e.g. affixes or any other bound form) and add an affix to it. Both the input and the output of a WFR must belong to one of the four syntactic categories: N, V, A and P.

However, as Aronoff (88) puts it, "we often find cases of regularly derived words, semantically transparent, formed with affixes which we know to be alive and regular in their operation, which on the surface do not appear to have been derived from words" In *nominee* for example, the suffix +*ee* is attached to *nomi*n which is not a word although we know that +*ee* is a legitimate affix and should be attached to a word by a WFR. Aronoff

therefore argues that apart from WFRs, there are also 'adjustment rules' which bring change either in the stem or in the affix. There are two different types of adjustment rules i) truncation rules and ii) allomorphy rules. For example, the suffix +ee is attached to the word *nominate* giving *nominate+ee* and subsequently *ate* will be removed from between *nomi*n and +ee by a truncation rule giving us the form *nominee*. Words like *formation* and *repetition* are formed when two different allomorphs *ation* and *ition* of the same morpheme *ion* are attached to the word: *form* and *repeat*.

Anderson (1992:293) states that a holistic approach is an ideal one but ends up pleading for an atomistic analysis when he says, "the elements combined in a compound happen to enjoy independent status, while at most one of the elements combined in derivation is autonomous." For Anderson (ibid.) "compounding consists in the combination of (two or more) existing words into a new word, while derivation (as well as inflection) consists in the application of a Word Formation Rule to a single existing word." Anderson (218) also reminds the reader that "A few types of word formation in some languages may exceptionally yield internally structured forms" and "one notion for which an appeal to word-internal structure seems necessary, that of the head of the word" (319). As a whole, Anderson's (1992) *A-morphous Morphology* reflects a mixture of holistic and atomistic points of view and, therefore, one may ask whether its title is at all justified.

It is often claimed (cf. Carstairs-McCarthy 1992) that Matthews (1972), Jackendoff (1975) and Aronoff (1976) have proposed a word-based morphology but a careful study of these works reveals that their works do not often fit the criteria of an authentic word-based model. Aronoff clearly claims his model to be 'word-based' rather than 'morpheme-based'. But not being 'morpheme-based' does not necessarily mean that his model is 'word-based' and Singh (personal communication) thinks that Aronoff's model may in fact

be stem-based. In a language like English, words may be taken for the base but this is less true in a language like Bengali and probably not at all true in a language like Arabic. In my view, Aronoff's model is exactly in keeping with the Generative view of word formation during its Government and Binding era. Aronoff, like Chomsky (1965, 1970) believes that only derivational morphology is properly lexical and therefore morphology should deal only with it whereas inflectional morphology would be a part of syntax and therefore, is to be excluded.

Although Saussure (1915 (1988)), Jackendoff (1975), Aronoff (1976) and Anderson (1992) have all pleaded for word-based morphology, none of them completely rejects the idea that words can be formed with units 'smaller than the word'. It is true that the lexicon à la Vennemann or Jackendoff does not contain such units but it includes units 'bigger than the word'. Jackendoff (ibid.:654) has clearly stated that prefixes and stems are "counted as part of the redundancy rules" and adjustment rules in Aronoff (ibid.) also allow affixes to be inserted between word-parts. Anderson, on the other hand, does not believe that all words lack internal structure.

WWM, the theoretical framework of the present work, is a holistic approach in the line of Bhartrihari, and, more recently Saussure (1915 (1988))⁽¹⁾. WWM is exceptional among the word-based approaches in the sense that none except WWM categorically rejects units smaller than the word and clearly states like Singh & Starosta (2003:12) that words are "in essence seamless whole" and/or "have no (non-phonological) internal hierarchical structure". A full, detailed description of WWM is provided in chapter-3 but in a nutshell WWM morphology represents a kind of lexical relatedness based on the formal difference, semantic relations and categorical affiliation between the words of a lexicon. Word-formation strategies of WWM involve only words, nothing more (phrases or idioms) and nothing less (stems, roots, affixes). A

WWM view would be that the former fall beyond the domain of morphology and the latter do not exist.

Dressler (1988:145) argues that "in terms of semiotic primacy" words should be better bases of morphological rules than secondary signs like "morphemes, stems, roots." This makes me believe that a word-based model of morphology would be better than a morpheme-based one and consequently, a holistic word-based model would be the best model to follow. In my view, WWM is the only 'holistic word-based' theory of our time and I have rightly chosen it as the framework of my thesis.

1. Although Saussure's basic ideas are close to WWM, his equations need to be formulated with the appropriate constraints so that words such as Fr. *insoutenable* [ɛ̃sut(ə)nabl] 'unbearable' or Fr. *infaisable* [ɛ̃fəzabl] 'undoable' are not mapped onto the same equation as *pardonnable* : *pardonner*. Otherwise, it will generate unacceptable sequences such as **insoutener* [ɛ̃sutən] or **infaiser* [ɛ̃fəz]. As Saussure involves neither the meaning nor the category of the words, his morphology cannot prevent formally similar words such as Fr. *arrangement* [arɑ̃ʒmɑ̃]_n 'arrangement' and Fr. *gentiment* [ʒɑ̃timɑ̃]_{adv} 'kindly' from mapping onto the same equation. I agree with Saussure that analogy is not a mere creation of the speaker because the necessary elements are already given in the language but one can always ask: why in that case, *room* and *mushroom* or *nap* and *napkin* have not yet played any role in the 'three character drama' in English despite their formal difference and/or similarity?

Chapter-3

The chosen theoretical framework: Whole Word Morphological model

- " - Je ne puis pas jouer avec toi, dit le renard. Je ne suis pas apprivoisé.
 - Ah! Pardon, fit le petit prince. Mais après réflexion, il ajouta:
 - Qu'est-ce que signifie 'apprivoiser'? ...
 - C'est une chose trop oubliée, dit le renard. Ca signifie 'créer des liens... "
 (Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, *Le Petit Prince*, 1946 (1994:67-68)⁽¹⁾)

3.1. The theory and its consequences

According to Singh (2006) "WWM was first outlined in Ford and Singh (1991). A fuller, monographic sketch of it appeared in Ford, Singh & Martohardjono (1997)". Various aspects of the model have been elaborated in Singh & Ford 2000, Singh & Neuvel 2003 and Singh & Starosta 2003 among others. The model as such has been tested in the light of external evidence in Martohardjono (1986) and Ford et al. and against the empirical facts of several languages in Singh and Agnihotri 1997 (Hindi), Singh & Dasgupta 1999 (Bengali), Singh & Ford (various South Asian languages including Khasi, Kashmiri and Sanskrit), Becker 2000 (German), Baronian 2002 (Armenian), Bender 2003 (Latin) and Neuvel 2003 (West Greenlandic).

According to Ford and Singh (2003a:18) morphology is "the study of formal relationship between words". The apparently ambiguous term 'word' has a clear-cut definition in this morphological theory: an expression can be considered a *word* if and only if it possesses at least the following three properties among others which remain to be defined:

-
1. "- I cannot play with you", said the fox. "I am not domesticated"
 - Oh! Excuse me!" said the small prince. After thinking for a while, he again asked:
 - What does 'domesticate' mean?...
 - It means 'creating relations', something quite forgotten nowadays... replied the fox."
 (Tr. is mine)

- i) a phonological structure,
- ii) a (syntactic and/or morphological) category, and
- iii) a semantic use (i.e. a meaning).

Ford et al. (1997:5) remind us that "Whether these properties are sufficient or not to identify the word in any context is a question that we shall leave open. They are necessary, but insofar as we wish to draw a distinction between syntax (formal relationships between linguistic units other than the word) and morphology, they are probably not sufficient."

According to Ford and Singh (2003a:19) WWM is "based on the following hypothesis: any morphological relationship between a non-unique pair of words of a language can be described by a rule, to be called a Morphological Strategy (MS) or a Word Formation Strategy (WFS)". A morphological strategy has the following form reproduced verbatim below from Singh (2006:1413-1417):

$/X/_{\alpha} \leftrightarrow /X'/_{\beta}$ where

- a. $/X/_{\alpha}$ and $/X'/_{\beta}$ are words and X and X' are abbreviations of the forms of classes of words belonging to categories a and b (with which specific words belonging to the right category can be unified or on to which they can be mapped).
- b. ' represents (all the) form-related differences between $/X/$ and $/X'/$ that fall outside of automatic phonology
- c. α and β are categories that may be represented as feature-bundles
- d. the \leftrightarrow represents a bidirectional implication (if X, then X' and if X', then X)
- e. the interpretation of $/X/_{\alpha}$ is a semantic function of $/X'/_{\beta}$, and vice versa
- f. ' can be null iff $\alpha \neq \beta$ "

In WWM literature, the following conventions are generally used in the description of each strategy:

realization of the prime), ii) semantic relatedness: '/X/-ness' and ii) categorial affiliation: adjective/noun.

1. /X/_{adj} ↔ /X_{otto}/_n '/X/-ness'

বিশাল /biʃal/ 'huge' ↔ বিশালত্ব /biʃalotto/ 'hugeness'

ক্ষুদ্র /k^hudro/ 'small' ↔ ক্ষুদ্রত্ব /k^hudrotto/ 'smallness'

Singh & Neuvel (2001b:344) argue that "all that needs to be said about word-structure in any language (of any type whatsoever) can and must be said" by instantiation of the schema /X/_α ↔ /X'/_β. For Singh (2006) "Morphological complexity is a matter of the analyzability (≠ segmentability) of a word into a variable (/biʃal/) and a constant ([_{otto}]) component with respect to a WFS" (examples are mine). According to Singh and Ford (2000:308) these components "have been non-hierarchically put together, provided, of course, there are strategies that license such analysis."

Morphological strategies capture, as Singh and Ford (2003a:19) points out, "the morphological relatedness amongst the words that happen to be in a lexicon". Exploitations of these strategies help the speaker-hearer, as Singh and Ford (2000: 305) claim, "to bridge the gap between actual words she happens to know and the possible words she can be said to know - actually their existence makes the known merely a subset of the knowable." A WFS is called a *strategy* rather than a *rule*⁽¹⁾ because, as Singh and Agnihotri (43-44) claim, "as a generalization drawn from a particular fact, it can be activated in the production or understanding of new words".

According to Ford et al. (2) morphological strategies are activated in at least three different situations (cf. Ford et al.) allowing the speaker-hearer :

- i) "to create a new word that she may not have yet encountered" or
- ii) "to morphologically analyze a word she may not have analyzed before", or
- iii) to retrieve a word that she "may have forgotten temporarily".

Singh and Agnihotri (44) remind us that "Morphological strategies alone do not account for all formal relationship. They sometimes get a hand from phonology". Formal relationship attributable to phonology covers, as Ford et al.:2) points out, "all and only global, automatic alternations governed by phonotactics." Therefore, no phonological alternation is taken into account in a morphological strategy. For example, the relationship between the Bengali word জন্ম [ʝɔnmɔ] 'birth' and প্রাগজন্ম [prakʝɔnmɔ] 'prenatal' can be expressed by the following strategy:

2. /X/_n ↔ /prakX/_{adj} 'pre-/X/'

যৌবন [ʝɔ^ubɔn] 'youth' ↔ প্রাগযৌবন [prakʝɔ^ubɔn] 'early-youth', 'adolescence'

বিবাহ [bibaho] 'marriage' ↔ প্রাগবিবাহ [prakbibaho] 'premarital'

জন্ম [ʝɔnmɔ] 'birth' ↔ প্রাগজন্ম [prakʝɔnmɔ] 'prenatal'

The constant in the above strategy [prak] ends in an unvoiced obstruent which is replaced by a voiced one in the output [prag]. But the /k/~/g/ alternation is not reflected in (2) because the following word-level Well-formedness condition (cf. Singh, 1984) of Bengali does not allow an unvoiced obstruent to precede a voiced one and ill-formed sequence /kʝ/ must be repaired to /gʝ/.

*[+consonant, -continuant, -voiced] [+consonant, -continuant, +voiced]

The architects of WWM (Ford et al.:3) claim that the following "constraints on the nature of morphology are implicit" in their theory:

1. "*No multiple morphologies*: 'derivational/inflectional, clitic/non-clitic, productive/non-productive, concatenative/non-concatenative, affixation/compounding, template/non-template', etc."
2. "*No morphological operations on units other than the word*. Hence, no category 'smaller' than the word" (e.g. root, stem, affix, semi-affixes, interfixes, lexeme, basic abstract form, affixoids, quasi-morphs, morphological helpers, shapers, Firthian phonesthemes, etc.) According to Singh and Agnihotri (44) none of these categories "can be regarded as an object of a morphological enquiry." Singh and Starosta (2003:12) claim that words have no syntactic structure "in which one subcomponent of the word is the 'head' and the remaining part or parts are subordinate to it".
3. (Ford et al.: ibid.) claim "*The unity of the morphological operation*, in particular no segmentation of the operation to create an intermediate level of representation between morphology and phonology; hence, no 'morphophonology' that implies a division within morphology and no affixation-truncation (cf. Aronoff, 1976), nor copying/spelling (cf. Carrier 1984) type of separation."
4. Singh and Agnihotri (45) point out that "*The operation has no privileged direction*: No special status is given to 'back-formation' as in, for example, Marchand (1969), and Kiparsky (1982)."

5. According to Ford et al. (ibid.) "*No sub-category of strategies is exclusively determined morphologically. Hence, no 'conjugation/declension', or 'intra-extra paradigmatic' kind of typology (cf. De Chêne 1975 or Bybee 1980).*"

6. Singh and Agnihotri (45) claim "*Morphological Integrity of the word*" which means that "No conditions e.g. the adjacency condition are to be entertained (cf. Siegel, 1979)"

7. According to Singh and Ford (2000:305) "Morphology has little or no architecture and, to change the metaphor, no traffic rules (such as *krt* before *taddhita* or derivation before inflection)"

According to the architects of the WWM (Ford et al. :3) "the abovementioned constraints may seem to be negative" but they (Ford and Singh, 2003a:21) remind us that "it is in the nature of any constraint to impose restrictions and in this way strengthen the hypothesis." They hold the view that that none of the abovementioned excluded notions is indispensable for a morphological analysis and claim (Ford et al.:3-4) that WWM does not need them and therefore "the burden of proof is, clearly, on those who want to dispense with these constraints and introduce additional devices to account for the facts."

1. In my view, strategy is a better term to designate such lexical relatedness because i) WFSs are activated, as Singh and Ford (2000:305) points out "only in moments of crisis i.e. when the speaker needs to analyze or fashion a word she needs for the purpose at hand, often to meet a syntactically enforced requirement" and ii) they are not as automatic as linguistic rules are generally claimed to be, for example, if the speaker-hearer already knows a certain word, (s)he does not need to activate any WFS to retrieve it.

3.2 Some explications and illustrations

3.2.1. Morphological operations and Formal mechanisms

In this chapter I will discuss various aspects of WWM in detail and in the way I understand it in order to prepare the ground for its application to word formation in Bengali. As it has been mentioned in the previous chapter, each strategy involves some 'change in the category of the word' which we may label as *morphological operations* (such as nominalization, adjectivization, gender change, etc.). For example, the morphological operation aimed at in (1) is Noun-Verb (or Verb-Noun) which means that i) either a noun or a verb can be mapped onto it and ii) the function of this strategy is to transform particular nouns into particular verbs and vice-versa.

a. Identity

$$1. /X/_{n, \text{sing}} \leftrightarrow /X/_{v}$$

rhyme \leftrightarrow rhyme

fight \leftrightarrow fight

b. Adjunction-Deletion

$$2. /X/_{n, \text{sing}} \leftrightarrow /Xz/_{n, \text{plu}}$$

dog \leftrightarrow dogs

rose \leftrightarrow roses

These operations are realized through some formal means which we will call 'morphological mechanism' or simply 'mechanism'. Despite the occasional difficulty of classifying a particular strategy in terms of these mechanisms (cf. Singh, 1999), the schema $/X/_{\alpha} \leftrightarrow /X'/_{\beta}$ exhaustively covers all the possible mechanisms. We note below that three morphological operations: nominalization, adjectivization and verbalization are realized with five different mechanisms. There are presumably a limited number of mechanisms as compared to the possible number of morphological operations.

In case of identity (1), no formal change between the input and the output is visible. But identity is still considered to be a mechanism, because it changes the morphological category of the output. The mechanism of identity is in fact

based on condition f (the prime ['] can be null iff $\alpha \neq \beta$). The morphological relationship between two English words *dog* and *dogs* can be achieved through (2) which involves the mechanism of deletion or adjunction of [z] to the variable *dog*. The word *absent* can be formed from the word *absence* or vice-versa by activating (3) which involves the mechanism of substitution. Such a strategy can be described as follows: $/X\alpha/ \leftrightarrow /X\beta/$ (if α is attached to the variable X then β can also be attached to it).

c. Substitution

3. $/X\text{ənt}/_{\text{adj}} \leftrightarrow /X\text{əns}/_n$

absent \leftrightarrow absence

important \leftrightarrow importance

4. $/X\text{ʊmɛɪbl}/_{\text{adj}} \leftrightarrow /X\text{ʌmpjən}/_n$

consumable \leftrightarrow consumption

assumable \leftrightarrow assumption

Strategies that involve substitution are of two different types: i. Primary and ii. Secondary. (3) is a primary strategy because both of its poles represent a simple word. On the other hand, (4) is a 'secondary strategy' because the words mapped onto it are morphologically complex and derivable through some other primary strategies: e.g. $/x/ \leftrightarrow /x\text{eɪbl}/$ (*assume/assumable*; *consume/consumable*). Secondary strategies involve the mechanism of substitution although this does not mean that all the strategies that involve substitution or have complex poles must be treated as secondary strategies. If the outputs of a strategy can be derived through no other primary strategy as is the case with *conceive/conception*, then and only then we will call it a primary strategy.

This should be kept in mind that WWM grants no theoretical status to the difference between primary and secondary strategies. As long as there is a lexicon, the morphological module automatically makes various obvious links among them and therefore, all strategies are part of the morphological

module. As I do not have sufficient time and space, I have only listed the primary strategies and have left aside the secondary ones. Therefore, this morphological profile of Bengali is based on an exhaustive list of only its primary strategies.

Several mechanisms may be involved in the same strategy. Among the following examples from Bengali, (5) involves i) a partially specified variable ($/C_1V_{+low}C_2VC_3/$), ii) segmental modification in the specified part (V_{+low} becomes V_{-low}), iii) deletion of the segment $/o/$ and iv. adjunction-deletion of the segment $/a/$. Segmental modification in the specified part can take the form of i) deletion of a segment and ii) change in feature. Apparently segmental change presupposes partial specification of the variable (e.g. (5)) whereas partial specification does not necessarily imply segmental change (e.g. (6)).

5. $/C_1V_{+low}C_2VC_3/n \leftrightarrow /C_1V_{-low}C_2C_3\theta/_{\text{perfective verbal}}$ 'having done $/C_1V_{high}C_2VC_3/$ '

ধমক $/d^h\text{omok}/$ 'rebuff' \leftrightarrow ধমকে $/d^h\text{omke}/$ 'having rebuffed'

বদল $/b\text{odol}/$ 'change' \leftrightarrow বদলে $/b\text{odle}/$ 'having changed'

6. $/XC/n, \text{sing} \leftrightarrow /XCera/n, \text{plu}$ 'plural of $/XC/$ '

ডাকাত $/d\text{akat}/$ 'robber' \leftrightarrow ডাকাতেরা $/d\text{akatera}/$ 'robbers'

শিক্ষক $/\text{ʃikk}^h\text{ok}/$ 'teacher' \leftrightarrow শিক্ষকেরা $/\text{ʃikk}^h\text{okera}/$ 'teachers'

Some of the segmental modifications or changes are phonologically conditioned whereas others are not. A phonologically conditioned alteration is motivated by some W(ell) F(ormedness) C(ondition) of a particular language (cf. Singh, 1984) and it applies systematically to all the words in a language. The voicing of $[s]$ in *dog/dogs* or the epenthesis of $[ɪ]$ in

rose/roses [rəʊzɪz] are examples of phonologically conditioned alterations (cf. Singh 1984, 1990). According to WWM, these automatic alterations are not the concern of morphology and they need not be mentioned in the formulation of a morphological strategy.

f. Segmental Modification + adjunction

7. /Xk/_{adj} ↔ /Xsɪti/_n

electric ↔ electricity

opak ↔ opasiti

g. Suprasegmental modification

8. /σσ/_{n, sing} ↔ /σ'σ/_v

import ↔ im'port

protest ↔ pro'test

The alterations that take place only in specific morphological contexts are not phonologically conditioned. No WFC of English motivates according to Chomsky & Halle (1968: 219-223) "the velar softening rule" i.e. [k] ~ [s] in *electric* /ɪlektɹɪk/ ↔ *electricity* /ɪlektɹɪsɪtɪ/ because this alteration does not take place in other similar contexts like *antique* /ænti:k/ ↔ *antiquity* /æntɪkwɪtɪ/. Therefore, the peculiarity of the alteration [k]~[s] can only be explained in terms of morphological idiosyncrasy of the related words. This said, in WWM, no special status is attributed to such idiosyncratic and non-automatic alterations which use changes in sound and rhythm to signal lexical relatedness (cf. Dasgupta, Ford and Singh 2000). They are integrated directly into the morphology in the same way as other mechanisms.

3.2.2. The Word and its sub-components

Some words can be analyzed into two sub-components: (i) **Constant** and (ii) **Variable** (cf. Singh 2001b). *Red-army*, *walker* and *reads* are three different examples of complex words in which *army*, *walk* and *read* are analyzable as variables, whereas *red*, *er* and *s* exemplify constants. The constant is the

footprint of the morphological mechanism and it must be specified. As far as the variable part is concerned, there are three possibilities: it can be i) totally unspecified: /X/ ↔ /Xz/ (dog ↔ dogs) ii) partly specified /Xk/ ↔ /Xsiti/ (electric/electricity) or iii) maximally specified: /C₁-i-C₂-a-C₃/ ↔ /C₁-u-C₂-u-C₃/ (e.g. Arabic word-pair: /k-i-t-a-b/ ↔ /k-u-t-u-b/ 'book/learned man') or /C₁V_{+low} C₂VC_{3/n}/ ↔ /C₁V_{-low}C₂C_{3a}/ (e.g. Bengali word-pair /d^homok/ ↔ /d^homka/ in (5)).

We can classify words into two different types: i) simple and ii) complex. According to Singh (2001b:350) complex words are "made up of variable and constants that have been non-hierarchically put together, provided, of course, there are strategies that license such analyses". A morphologically complex word (*dogs*) can be analyzed back to another word (*dog*) through an already existing strategy. A simple word such as *conception* can also be analyzed into 'variable' and 'constant', but none of its sub-components :[kəns] and [epʃən] represents a word. Some words are morphologically more complex than others, e.g. *hospitalization* is more complex than *hospitalize*, and the latter is more complex than *hospital*. Therefore, morphological complexity is a question of degree.

Word sub-components do not need to be continuous entities. In the Bengali word /d^h-o-m-o-k/ for example, the variable is represented by a discontinuous sequence of consonants: /d^h/-/m/-/k/. Subcomponents can be represented by any phonic element: stress, phonemic change, single phoneme, meaningless sound cluster, simple or complex word, discontinuous and inseparable segmental as well as supra-segmental means. For WWM, subcomponents are simply phonic elements and unlike

atomistic categories like 'affix' or 'inflection', they have no fixed status. This said, quite coincidentally, when a sub-component is represented by a continuous sequence of phonemes, it can have phonic resemblance with *pièces de mot* (cf. Saussure 1915 (1988) or 'parts of word' which some grammatical traditions would label as *morpheme*, *root*, *stem* or *affix*. As Singh (2004:191) states: "The point is NOT that our variables don't ever correspond to what neo-Paninians call roots and stems - they do in a very large number of case - but that we see that as synchronically irrelevant."

Atomistic categories are not easy to define. Bloomfield (1933 (1984:413)) while trying to trace the same 'old suffix' *-ster* denoting 'agent' or 'a person engaged in or associated with a particular activity or thing' (according to Concise Oxford dictionary, 1982) in *tapster*, *huckster*, *teamster*, *maltster*, *webster*, *songster*, *rimester*, *trickster*, *gamester*, *punster*, *lobster*, *roadster* and *youngster* states that perhaps this suffix "could never have been described as 'regular' or 'living'". The longer we make this list by adding words like *semester*, *barrister*, *minister*, *mister*, *master*, etc. the more one would become suspicious about the morpheme-hood or the suffix-hood of the sequence *-ster*. Finally, we realize that there are in fact two theoretical options: i) either there are many *-sters* or ii) there is not any. WWM has chosen the second option for the sake of economy. Therefore it unconditionally rejects all atomistic categories such as root, stem or affix and considers them unnecessary for a morphological description.

A number of the abovementioned *-ster*-words can be mapped onto different strategies whereas many of them such as *minister* or *lobster* do not have access to any strategy. Despite their common ending, *gangster* and *roadster* cannot be mapped onto the same strategy because they are not semantically related. Although it has been claimed in the Concise Oxford English Dictionary (1982) that the word *barrister* was formed in the 16th century

following the French loan word *minister*, I do not see how the suffix *-(i)ster* could be cut out from *minister* which is not even a derived word. For WWM, the formal resemblance between *minister* and *barrister* is accidental and is of no morphological interest.

9. $/X/_{n} \leftrightarrow /Xstə^{r}/_{n}$ 'expert in doing $/X/$ '

pun $[pʌn]$ \leftrightarrow punster $[pʌnstə^{r}]$

song $[sɒŋ]$ \leftrightarrow songster $[sɒŋstə^{r}]$

Some other words such as *duet*, *quartet*, *quintet*, *sextet*, *septet*, *octet* and *nonet* may give the false impression that they end in a suffix. If a speaker of English knows the words *duet* and *quartet*, will he be able to form the words *sextet* or *septet* from *six* or *seven*? Apparently he has no other choice than to memorize the whole list of *-et*-words. If it is not possible to cut the suffix off from the word, it will be of no use for morphology and if some element cannot be exploited in word-formation, whether it is labeled as 'suffix' or not, it is of no real interest for morphology. On the other hand, the entire series of these Italian loan words could probably be mapped onto the following strategy in Italian: $/X/_{number} \leftrightarrow /Xet/_{n}$ when they were borrowed in English. The whole misunderstanding arises from the fact that words can be borrowed but not their morphology (cf. Singh 2001a) although borrowed words may license a new strategy in the host language. Apparently, this was not the case in English as far as the above mentioned *et*-words are concerned.

3.2.3. Requirement of two pairs of words

As long as a speaker has at least two appropriate pairs in his individual lexicon, the relevant strategy becomes a part of his morphological competence. Two pairs constitute a bare minimum because with only one pair the formal difference cannot be generalized. One must find at least two

pairs of semantically related but formally and/or categorically different words to justify the existence of a certain strategy. For example, *do* and *did* differ formally from each other and they are also semantically related but as there is no other pair with the same formal difference and semantic relation, these two words can license no strategy in English.

The following strategy (10) which relates the English words *focus* and *locus* to *foci* and *loci* is totally irrelevant for a speaker who does not know any of these words (cf. Singh and Agnihotri 1997). But once these words become part of his lexicon, (10) will emerge automatically and *loci* can be formed from *locus* or vice-versa by mapping any of these words onto (10).

10. /Xɒkəs/_{n, sing} ↔ /XəUSAɪ/_{n, plu} 'plural of /Xɒkəs/'

locus ↔ loci

focus ↔ foci

A simple loan word in French such as *bikini* (attested in 1947 for the first time according to French dictionary Petit Robert) could have been mapped onto (11) in the sixties in order to form *monokini* (attested in 1964 for the first time according to the same dictionary) in French.

11. /biX/_n ↔ /monoX/_n

bigamie ↔ monogamie

bikini ↔ monokini

The Bengali word সধবা /ʃɔd^hoba/ 'a woman whose husband is alive' could have been formed by mapping the simple word বিধবা /bid^hoba/ 'widow' onto (12). A good number of such cases of word-formation known as 'popular etymology' (cf. Saussure 1915 (1988)), 'folk-etymology' or 'popular derivation' (formed *for fun* by giving the value of two to *bi-* of *bikini*, according

to *Petit Robert*) are in fact formed with morphological strategies and thereby justify the very existence of the latter.

12. /ʃɔX/n ↔ /biX/n 'contrary of /ʃɔX/ 'opposite of /ʃɔX/

স্বদেশ /ʃɔdeʃ/ 'native country' ↔ বিদেশ /bideʃ/ 'foreign country'

সধর্মী /ʃɔd^hormi/ 'follower of the same religion' ↔ বিধর্মী /bid^hormi/ 'follower of a different religion'

However, WWM does not claim that strategies are the only way to form new words although according to Singh and Agnihotri (1997:79) "the central empirical fact this sort of grammar accounts for is that speakers do not coin words which their lexica do not license." There are always genuine cases of popular etymology or neologisms of some creative mind (e.g. *manifestivity* < *manifestation*+*festivity*) that may not be mapped onto any strategy. As Bloomfield (1933 (1984:420) mentions: "For many new-formations we are not able to give a proportional model." This being said, Saussure (1915 (1988:238) makes a clear distinction between the two processes of word-formation i) analogy and ii) popular etymology: "*les constructions de l'analogie sont rationnelles, tandis que l'étymologie populaire procède un peu au hasard et n'aboutit qu'à des coq-à-l'âne*" ("analogical constructions are rational, whereas popular etymology proceeds randomly and merely produces howlers") (Tr. Roy Harris).

In fact, many neologisms are fashioned (either consciously or unconsciously) on an already established strategy and it would be rare for an individual speaker to set forth a strategy, as Sapir (1921 (2004:28) states "new words may be consciously created on the analogy of old ones, but hardly new types of words." The neologisms or words formed à la popular etymology which are not mappable onto a strategy presumably disappear in the long run from the lexicon as Saussure (231) points out: "*A tout instant on rencontre des*

combinaisons sans lendemain que la langue n'adoptera probablement pas" ("one constantly comes across combinations with no future which will never probably gain acceptance in the language") (Tr. Roy Harris).

3.2.4. On so-called compounds

According to WWM, words do not have any syntactic (=non-phonological) structure (cf. Singh & Dasgupta 1999). Unlike some linguists (among others Anderson 1992) WWM does not recognize complex words such as *red-army*, *watermelon* or *hotdog* as belonging to the special category of 'compounds'. 'Red' in *red-army* and 'water' in *watermelon* are used as subcomponents (in this particular case, a *prefix* in atomistic terminology) and there is no difference between these prefixes on the one hand and the prefix involved in the word *imprison* or *impossible* on the other. The similarity between the prefix *red* and the word *red* is only a phonetic one because the meaning of these two 'red's is not the same. *Red-army* has nothing to do with the colour red, unlike *watermelon*, *water lily* does not grow on water and a *hotdog* may or may not be hot but cannot be a dog.

Nothing can be inserted in a so-called derived word such as *banality* between the *banal* and *ity* or between *love* and *letter* in a so-called compound word such as *loveletter*. *Letter* or *love* are not permutable with each other (**letter-love*) and neither of them have a variety of uses (**hate-letter*, **love-script*). Therefore, neither *ity* nor *letter* has any autonomy within the boundary of the respective words and both represent sound sequences involved as constant in a particular word-formation strategy. Like *banality* *love-letter* constitutes one single word, not three (*love*, *letter* and *love-letter*) and if *banality* is not called a 'compound', *love-letter* should not be called so either.

The difference between a so-called affixal word and a so-called 'compound' is that in a compound the constant is, as Singh (2001b:354) puts it, "merely isophonetic with a word" or resembles a word whereas in a affixal word it does not. How does the constant resemble a regular word? There are in fact two different *letters* in English, *letter-1* which is an autonomous word and *letter-2* which can only be used as a subcomponent (in this case, a 'suffix' in atomistic terminology and according to us a 'subjunct'). *Letter-2* is etymologically related to *letter-1* (*letter-1* > *letter-2*) as the suffix *-ly* is etymologically related to the word *like*. This etymological information is not at all relevant for a synchronic morphological description of English because etymology should not be confused with morphology (cf. Ford and Singh 2001)

13. /X/_n ↔ /bɔnoX/_n 'X/ of forest'

ফুল /ful/ 'flower' ↔ বনফুল /bɔnoful/ 'a flower that blooms in the forest'

দেবী /debi/ 'goddess' ↔ বনদেবী /bɔnodebi/ 'goddess of the forest'

14. /X/_n ↔ /g^haʃX/_n 'X/ of grass'

ফুল /ful/ 'flower' ↔ ঘাসফুল /g^haʃful/ 'a flower that blooms on grass'

পোকা /poka/ 'insect' ↔ ঘাসপোকা /g^haʃpoka/ 'an insect that lives in grass'

Words known as 'compounds' seem to fall into two different types: i) those which can be mapped onto some strategy and ii) those which cannot. For example, the following Bengali words: বনফুল /bɔnoful/ 'a flower that blooms in the forest' and ঘাসফুল /g^haʃful/ 'a flower that blooms on the grass' are complex words mappable onto the following strategies (13 and 14). On the other hand, ফুলবাবু /fulbabu/ 'an idle man whose only preoccupation is to be well-dressed' or চাঁদমুখ /cādmuk^h/ 'moon-like face' are not complex words

though they can be shown to result from the concatenation of two different words: ফুল/ful/ 'flower' and বাবু /babu/ 'Hindu gentleman' or চাঁদ /cād/ 'moon' and মুখ /muk^h/ 'face'.

15. /X/_n ↔ /fulX/_n 'X/ who wants to remain as beautiful as a flower'⁽¹⁾

বাবু /babu/ 'Hindu gentleman' ↔ ফুলবাবু /fulbabu/ 'an idle man whose only preoccupation is to be well-dressed'

16. /X/_n ↔ /cādX/_n 'moon-like X/

মুখ /muk^h/ 'face' ↔ চাঁদমুখ /cādmuk^h/ 'a face as pretty as the moon'

No morphological strategy can help the speaker-hearer to retrieve the word /fulbabu/ or /cādmuk^h/ but if one has the strategy /X/_n ↔ /bɔnoX/_n he can understand or retrieve a word like বনফুল /bɔnoful/ 'flower that bloom in the forest'. The difference between these two types of so-called compounds is that there is no strategy for the retrieval of the words like /fulbabu/ or /cādmuk^h/, whereas for words like ঘাসফুল /g^haʃful/ 'flower that bloom on grass' or বনফুল /bɔnoful/ 'flower that bloom in the forest', a particular strategy will be automatically activated in order to aid the speaker-hearer if the need arises.

17. /X/_n ↔ /bɔnX/_n 'X/ of forest'

বিড়াল /biral/ 'cat' ↔ বনবিড়াল /bɔnbiral/ 'wild cat/bush cat'

মোরগ /morog/ 'cock' ↔ বনমোরগ /bɔnmorog/ 'wild cock'

Since the very moment words start to exist, a good number of them are formally and/or categorically different and semantically related. Strategies emerge on the basis of the generalization of some complex combination of such differences as well as semantic relatedness (cf. Singh 1992) and this is what morphology is all about. Although all /bɔn/-words would be treated as compound in an atomistic description, we note that not all /bɔn/-compounds can be mapped onto the same strategy. বনবিড়াল /bɔnbiral/ 'wild cat/bush cat' has no access to (13) and বনদেবী /bɔnodebi/ 'goddess of the forest' cannot be mapped onto (17). We can also note that the constant of (17) resembles the word বন /bɔn/ 'forest' whereas the constant of (13) does not. Historically, the subcomponent /bɔnɔ/ derives from the word বন /bɔn/ 'forest' but the former cannot be called a word any more in a synchronic description. In an atomistic description, বনদেবী /bɔnodebi/ 'goddess of the forest' would be better described as an affixal word rather than a 'compound' or perhaps as neither because both are spurious categories.

Compounds are often classified into different types such as endocentric/exocentric or *karmadharaya/bahuvrihi*, etc. Such classification is based rather on the semantics of the compounds, not on their morphology. For example, the meaning of an endocentric or *karmadharaya* compound (e.g. ঘাসফুল /g^haʃful/ 'flower that blooms on grass') depends on the meaning of its subparts whereas the meaning of an exocentric or *bahuvrihi* compound (e.g. নীলকণ্ঠ /nilkɔnt^ho/ literally 'blue-throat' but means 'a particular flower' or 'the god Shiva') has nothing to do with the meaning of its ingredients.

Classifications of words based on their 'type' of meaning cannot help a speaker-hearer to form those words. Moreover, a speaker-hearer never feels

the need to form a *bahuvrihi* or a *karmadharaya* compound although he has the capacity to form, with or without strategies, words that are described as endo or exocentric compounds in some linguistic traditions. A WWM view would be that classifications like compounding or derivation and sub-classifications like *bahuvrihi/karmadharay* or *suffixal/prefixal* are not necessary for morphology.

3.2.5. On so-called Reduplication

Some morphological strategies like (18) require their variable to be repeated and the outputs of such strategies are called 'fully reduplicated words' in traditional grammar. If the variable is partially specified, as is the case in (19), the output is known as partially reduplicated word. Unlike some theories of morphology, so-called reduplicated words do not get any special status in WWM because, according to WWM, there is nothing special about strategies like (18) and (19) and words mapped onto them. So-called reduplicated words like বড়বড় /bɔrobɔro/ 'big_{plu}' or বইটই /bɔʃtɔʃ/ 'books and similar thing' are like any ordinary complex word and once they are mapped onto relevant strategies, they can be analyzed back to simple words like বড় /bɔro/ 'big' and বই /bɔʃ/ 'book'.

18. /X/_{adj, sing} ↔ /XX/_{adj, plu} 'plural of /X/'

বড় /bɔro/ 'big' ↔ বড়বড় /bɔrobɔro/ 'big_{plu}'

মোটা /moʃa/ 'fat' ↔ মোটা মোটা /moʃamoʃa/ 'fat_{plu}'

19. /CX/_n ↔ /CXʃX/_n '/X/ and similar things'

বই /bɔʃ/ 'book' ↔ বইটই /bɔʃtɔʃ/ 'books and similar things'

পাতা /pata/ 'leaf' ↔ পাতাটাতা /pataʃata/ 'leaves and similar things'

There are sequences like কনকনে /konkone/ 'very painful' or খুঁটিনাটি /k^hũtinaɽi/ 'details' which cannot be mapped onto any strategy and therefore, are not complex words. Although some linguists (e.g. Abbi, 1992) consider them as reduplicated words, nothing is reduplicated in them. These words can be compared with words like লالا /lala/ 'saliva' or চমচা /camca/ 'yes-man' which resemble some 'pattern of reduplication' but have undergone no 'process of reduplication' (cf. Singh 2003).

3.2.6. Recalculation of formal difference and semantic relatedness

The formal restrictions must be maximized at all times in Morphological strategies. However, as the speaker learns new words, s/he may discover that some strategies are too restrictive and recalculate the restrictions based on a larger set of words (cf. Neuvel & Singh 2002). As long as a speaker-hearer does not know the Bengali word করবে /korbe/ 'you will do', he will form the word শুনবেন /ʃunben/ 'you_{formal} will listen' with (20). But as soon as s/he hears /ʃunbe/, he will recalculate (20) to (21) and as a consequence, (20) will presumably disappear from his morphology.

20. /XV_{-highC/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /XV_{+highCben/v, fut, 2nd informal}

লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখবেন /lik^hben/ 'you will write'

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনবেন /ʃunben/ 'you will listen'

21. /X/_{v, fut, 2nd informal} ↔ /Xn/_{v, fut, 2nd/3rd formal}

লিখবে /lik^hbe/ 'you will write' ↔ লিখবেন /lik^hben/ 'you will write'

শনবে /ʃunbe/ 'you will listen' ↔ শুনবে /ʃunben/ 'you will listen'

WWM insists on a semantic relation between $/X/$ and $/X'/$ but does not necessarily specify the type of this relation. Although *tombstone* and *sandstone* are both nouns, they do not necessarily belong to the same class of noun. Each X' of the same pair has to be a semantic function of X but exactly the same 'type' of relation may not prevail between the input and the output of two different pairs mapped onto the same strategy. All the pairs must share some of the features of the same semantic field (F-1, F-2, F-3, etc) but each pair need not necessarily have all the features. The Bengali pair রিকশা/রিকশাওয়ালা [rikʃa/rikʃa^wala] ('non-mechanical tricycle'/ 'its puller') shares almost the same semantic features with the pair [bɛbitɛksi/bɛbitɛksi^wala] বেবিট্যাক্সি/বেবিট্যাক্সিওয়ালা 'mechanical tricycle'/ 'its driver' which is not the case with [badam/badam^wala] বাদাম/বাদামওয়ালা 'nut'/ 'ambulant nut-seller'.

22: $/X/_{n} \leftrightarrow /X^{w}ala/_{n}$ 'driver of $/X/$ '

রিকশা /rikʃa/ 'Rikshaw', 'a kind of three wheeler' \leftrightarrow রিকশাওয়ালা /rikʃa^wala/ 'Rikshaw-puller'

বেবিট্যাক্সি /bɛbitɛksi/ 'a kind of mechanical three wheeler' \leftrightarrow বেবিট্যাক্সিওয়ালা /bɛbitɛksi^wala/ 'Baby-taxi-driver'

It is always possible for a speaker to recalculate the restrictions based on semantic relatedness and in some rare cases, with restrictions related with the categorical difference in order to map semantically as well as categorically deviant words onto the same strategy. As Neuvel (2000:298) mentions "most of the tasks we perform in our everyday life involve multiple degrees of abstraction. Second degree generalizations are not only possible, they are an integral part of our mental capacity to generalize."

When the semantic difference becomes too strong or salient between the pairs, WWM proposes a different strategy based on the same formal difference. For example, the pair [bari/bari^wala] বাড়ী/বাড়ীওয়াল 'house/landlord' should not be mapped onto (22) but to a different strategy /X/↔/X^wala/ 'owner of X' provided that there is another pair based on the same formal difference as well as semantic relatedness.

1. Throughout the present work, the symbol ↔ will be restricted to morphological strategies and the symbol ⇔ to patterns that one may deduce on the basis of two semantically related words contrasting formally and categorically. A pattern can become a strategy if one can find a second pair based on the same formal difference, semantic relatedness and categorical affiliation. A strategy can also become a pattern if the penultimate pair is lost due to diachronic change or for some other reasons.

Chapter-4

WWM and Bengali

"This is the language of Lower Bengal, or the region of Gangetic Delta, and of the districts immediately above it and to its east."

(G.A.Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, 1903, vol-5:11)

"Bengali is a member of the Indic group of the Indo-Iranian or Aryan branch of the Indo-European family of languages. With its sister-speech Assamese, Bengali forms the easternmost language in the IE linguistic area, just as the Celtic Irish and the Germanic Icelandic are the westernmost. It has been in existence as an independent and characterized language, or rather, as a distinct dialect group, for nearly ten centuries."

(S. K. Chatterji, *Origin & Development of Bengali language*, 1926 (1988:1))

4.1. What does 'Bengali' mean?

Language⁽¹⁾ can be seen as an abstract entity recoverable from its geographical and social variations which we may call *dialects*⁽²⁾. From this point of view, *Bengali* is the East-Indic *language* spoken in Bangladesh as well as in four Indian provinces: West Bengal, Tripura, Assam and Bihar, and also in Arakan, a province of Myanmar.

Apart from the regional variants or dialects heard in every area, there is a common standard dialect which is understood by almost everybody. Hence, at the regional level, we have standards like Chittagonian or Sylheti, and at the national level, in Bangladesh as well as in West Bengal in India, we have the S(tandard) C(olloquial) B(engali). For understandable reasons, it is the standard dialect at the national level which is said to represent the language as well as the state language, and apparently, almost all of the academic and exclusively all of the non-academic folk-lore (cf. Singh and Agnihotri 1997) consider SCB as 'Bengali'.

Today's SCB had been once a dialect spoken around Calcutta⁽³⁾. After that, during the first two decades of the 20th century, it became a literary language, chosen by a group of writers including Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) and Pramatha Chowdhury (1868-1946). SCB is now the state language of Bangladesh and one of the state languages of India. It is used as the medium of education, cultural activities, politics and media in most of the Bengali speaking areas of the Indian sub-continent. SCB is also the *lingua franca* of the whole Bengali speaking area, and in our days, a good number of the second and third generation urbanites claim this standard dialect as their mother language.

Standard language always develops around a pivot or a geographical center. Before the separation of the Indian subcontinent in 1947, Calcutta, the present capital of the state of Bengal in India, had been the only centre of Bengali language and culture. But since at least the sixties, and certainly after the independence of Bangladesh in 1971, its capital Dhaka became a legitimate rival of Calcutta. As a result, two different standards of SCB, one Eastern (ESB)⁽⁴⁾ and the other Western (WSB)⁽⁵⁾ have been established.

The main difference between the two standards is mainly phonological and lexical, although some morphological differences (cf. Dasgupta 2003) are also noticed. Despite these differences, about two hundred million speakers of all the Bengali dialects understand perfectly both ESB and WSB. Due to the existence of electronic media and to the massive immigration of east Bengalis to West Bengal (cf. Dan 1992, Dasgupta 2003) since 1947, these two standards continue to influence each other and it would not be surprising if, in the near future, they merge into one common norm for the whole Bengali speaking area, one SCB.

As Chatterji (1926 (1988)) puts it clearly, and as is the case with similar terms like *English*, *French* or *German* (cf. Singh and Agnihotri), *Bengali* denotes either i) the SCB or ii) a particular collection of Indo-Aryan dialects sharing some basic grammatical features⁽⁶⁾ as well as a lexicon. As far as the present work is concerned, *Bengali* mainly denotes ESB or as I have stated earlier, my idiolect of ESB.

4.2. Previous works on Bengali Morphology: An overview

In this and in the remaining sections, I will describe some of the previous works on Bengali word-formation. As I mentioned in chapter-2, the exhaustibility of my description is constrained by the availability of relevant documents. I have included whatever I could find and I am well aware of the fact that there are many other important works that I have not been able to consult. As most of the previous works on Bengali morphology belong to the atomistic tradition, I have to use their metalanguage which includes terms like *suffix*, *prefix*, *stem* or *root*. This should be put in mind that I do not believe in the existence of such categories and that I am reluctant to use them in my description proper.

4.2.1. General observations

Since Panini, the Indian grammatical tradition has been concerned largely with matters of phonetics, phonology and morphology rather than with other areas of grammar. As most grammars of Bengali to date have been composed in the light of the Paninian model, morphology obviously occupies an important part in them. For example, Sunitikumar Chatterji (1945 (1988)) reserved more than half of his Bengali grammar (460 pages) to Morphology (242 pages), one third to Phonetic-Phonology (119 pages) and only 13 pages to Syntax.

Although most of the works on word formation in Bengali including Chatterji (1926 (1988) & 1945 (1988)), Fergusson (1945 & 1964), Chatterjee (1962), Shahidullah (1965), Sen (1975) Sarkar (1976b), Dasgupta (1977, 1987, 1979, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985 and 1992), Wen (1979), Begum (1981), Paul (1986), Klaiman (1987), Dan (1992, 1998) and Bhattacharja (1998) belong almost exclusively to the atomistic tradition, there are some exceptions to this general trend among which three holistic analyses: i) Singh & Dasgupta (1999), ii) Dasgupta (2001) and iii) Ravanam (2002) are worth citing. Nevertheless, to conclude, to the best of my knowledge, no exhaustive description of the morphology of Bengali has yet been done, be it along the atomistic line or along the holistic ones.

According to Chatterji (1945 (1988)), Shahidullah and Sen there are two types of words in Bengali: (i) Simple or Root words and (ii) Derived or composed words. The words which cannot be analyzed any more, for example, মা [ma] 'mother', হাত [hat] 'hand', চাঁদ [cād] 'moon', etc. are simple words. Bengali grammarians classify derived words into two different types: (i) Affixal words and (ii) Compounded words. Affixal words, such as রাখাল [rak^hal] 'cowboy' can be analyzed as a base endowed with a certain meaning [rak^h] 'to keep' and an affix [al] which is, according to Chatterji (1945 (1988)), capable of changing this meaning. Compound words such as চাঁদমুখ [cādmuk^h] 'moon-face' are constituted of more than one derived or simple word: চাঁদ [cād] 'moon' and মুখ [muk^h] 'face'.

Following Panini, Chatterji distinguishes two types of roots: verb root (*dhatu*) and noun root (*nam prakriti*). He also distinguishes two kinds of affixes: primary affixes (*krit*) which are added to verb roots and secondary affixes (*taddhit*) which are added to simple or derived words. However, affixes are

also concatenated to base or word base (*pratipadik*). According to their source of origin, affixes can be of three kinds: (i) Sanskrit affixes, (ii) Bengali affixes which includes middle Indian (*Prakrit*) and indigenous (*deshi*) affixes and (iii) Foreign (Persian, Arabic, Hindi, etc.).

4.2.2. Verbal morphology

All previous descriptions of the verbal morphology of Bengali represent exclusively an atomistic approach because they describe verbal forms as resulting from the concatenation of roots and/or stems on the one hand and verbal suffixes on the other. However, they fall under three different types belonging to one of the three different schools of thought: i. Traditional, ii. Structuralist and iii. Generativist. Chatterji, Shahidullah, and Sen represent the traditional school; Ferguson (1945) and Chatterjee represent the structuralist school whereas Sarkar, Dasgupta (1982), Paul and Dan represent the generativist one. The difference between the traditional and the structuralist description is that in the latter, unlike in the former, verb-parts have alternants or allomorphs which appear in particular contexts. In a generative description on the other hand, a verb is formed in two successive steps: an underlying structure is formed through the concatenation of the root/stem and the suffix (step-1) and then this structure undergoes several (morpho)phonological changes in order to transform itself into the pronounceable surface structure (step-2).

4.2.2.1. Traditional and Structuralist Descriptions

According to Chatterji (1926 (1988)) there are slightly fewer than two hundred roots in Bengali. Different classifications of these roots are available in Chatterji (*ibid.*), Ferguson (1945), Sarkar, Chatterjee, Paul and Dan. Root classification is based either on the skeletal form of the roots (whether they are mono-, bi- or tri-syllabic) (cf. Sarkar) or on the different alterations they

usually undergo during verbal derivation (cf. Chatterjee). Suffixes are mainly classified according to the meaning they bring to the verb form.

Chatterji (1945 (1988)) divides the tenses into two groups: i. Simple and ii. Compound. In simple tenses (Simple Present, Simple Past, Habitual Past and Simple Future) the inflectional affix is concatenated directly to the root whereas in compound ones (Progressive and Perfect), a secondary root [ac^h] 'to remain' is inserted between the perfective or complement verbal and the inflectional affix. According to Chatterji, the simple present করে [kore] 'he does' would be formed by adding the inflectional affix [i] to the root: [kor] + [i]. The progressive present করছে [korc^he] 'he is doing' would be formed in the following manner: [kor] + [c^h] + [e]. Chatterji describes [c^he] as an inflectional affix but at the same time considers [korc^he] a compound tense because [c^h] derives from the verb root [ac^h].

For Ferguson (1945:37), "A verb form consists of a stem alone or a stem plus one to six suffixes". For example, the Past Perfect form contains the stem {kor} and five suffixes: করেছিলাম {kor}+{e}+{c^h}+{i}+{l}+{am}⁽⁷⁾ 'I had done' (example is mine). Ferguson (43) describes verb formation with specific 'elsewhere'-type rules like the following: "in a consonantal verb of class 1, the stem vowel is e when the stem is immediately before E or O, i.e. in the participle and the forms based on it, and in the future imperative. Elsewhere the stem vowel is a."

Example: থেমে [t^heme] 'on stopping'; থেমেছি [t^hemechi] 'I have stopped';

থামি [t^hami] 'I stop'; (examples are mine)

According to Ferguson, there are four types of suffixes: i) Derivational, ii) Tense, iii) Personal and iv) Participial. As Ferguson calls {c^h} a tense morpheme, it seems that he does not make any distinction between tense and aspect. Ferguson states that some of these suffixes have alternants which appear in specific contexts. For example, the verbal noun suffix {a} (e.g. করা [kɔr+a] 'to do') has the alternant {no} after the derivational suffix in দৌড়ানো [dɔ^ura+no] 'to run'; 1st person ending {um} has the alternant {i} after the stem or after the aspect morpheme {c}, {o} after the tense suffix {b} and {um} after {l} and {t}.

- a. Derivational : করাই [kɔr-a- j] 'I make (somebody) do';
- b. Tense: করছি [kɔr-c^h-i] 'I am doing', করলাম [kɔr-l-am] 'I did', করবো [kɔr-b-o] 'I will do';
- c. Personal: করি [kɔr-i] 'I do', করো [kɔr-o] 'you 'do'';
- d. Participial: করে [kɔr-e] 'having done', করতে [kɔr-te] 'to do'.
(The examples are mine)

Ferguson classifies the stems into two categories: i. Primary and ii. Derivative. Primary stems are subdivided into Consonant verb and Vowel verb depending on the ending of their stems. Using the vowel alternation as a criterion, primary stems can also be subdivided into five different classes: (a/e, e/ɛ, i/e, o/ɔ, u/o). Some verbs may have two alternant stems differing only in the stem vowel as in থামছি [{t^ham}+{c^h}+{i}] 'I am stopping' and থেমেছি [{t^hem}+{e}+{c^h}+{i}] 'I have stopped'. Some others like দেওয়া [de^wa] 'to give'

can have up to four stems দিচ্ছি $[[di]+{cc^h}\{i}]$, 'I am giving', দেবো $[[de]+{b}+{o}]$, 'I will give', দেয় $[[dε]+{y}]$ 'he gives' and দাও $[[da]+{w}]$ 'give_{2nd}, imperative'.

According to Chatterjee there are two types of verb base: i. primary (e.g. করি $[kor-i]$ 'I do') and ii. derivative. Derivative verbs can be divided into two types: i. primary derivative and ii. secondary derivative. When the derivative morpheme $[a]$ is concatenated to a primary verb base, e.g. $\{kor\}$, we get a 'primary derivative stem' $[kora]$. Chatterjee (172) argues that "All the primary derivative verbs are semantically causative. It is pertinent to mention that all the primary derivative verbs are transitive irrespective of whether they are derived from transitive or intransitive verbs." When the same derivative morpheme is added to nouns ($[bet]$ বেত 'cane' + $[a]$ = $[bet a]$ বেতা 'to beat with a cane') or to alternants of nouns and primary derivative stems, we get a secondary stem. Secondary stems are again classified into two sub-classes: Group-1 comprises CVC (খুঁড়ি $[k^hūr]$ + suffix $[i]$) 'I dig' and CVCV (ঘুমাই $[g^huma]+{j}$) 'I sleep') bases. Group-2 comprises CVCC (সাঁতরাই $[s̄ātar]$ > $[s̄ātr]+[a]+[j]$ 'I swim') and CVVC (পৌছাই $[pouc^h]+[a]+[i]$ 'I reach') bases.

Chatterjee considers personal endings like $[i]$ and $[o]$ in করি $[kor-i]$ 'I do', করো $[kor-o]$ 'you do', etc. as suffixes whereas $[c^hi]$ or $[c^ho]$ in করছি $[kor-c^h-i]$ 'I am doing', করেছে $[kore-c^h-o]$ 'you have done' are for him 'sequence of suffix' which he labels as 'desinence'. Apparently, for Chatterjee, only suffixes have allomorphs, not the stems. The derivative morpheme for example, has the allomorphs $/a\sim o\sim u\sim i\sim \emptyset/$: পেছাই $[pec^hai]$, পেছোই $[pec^hoi]$, পেছুই $[pec^hui]$ 'I

fall back', etc. However, Chatterjee mentions elsewhere (152) that "the vowel undergoes changes under a set of formal circumstances. The formal circumstances, or in other words the structural environments, are provided by the morphemes that are suffixed to the stems." Chatterjee (ibid.) is convinced that "the verb-stem vowel alternations are neatly patterned" and "can always be predicted in terms of the following morphemes" although "no precise general rule can cover the pattern of stem change".

4.2.2.2. Generative descriptions

According to Sarkar there are six different types of suffixes in Bengali. We can note that unlike Ferguson, Sarkar shows tense and aspect separately. Although Sarkar does not mention the derivational suffix in his surface data, he recognizes elsewhere (278) that "{a} is a derivational suffix, that turns a 'primary' root into a 'secondary' (= Causative, Denominative) root." Sarkar argues that there are two types of roots: i. monosyllabic (CV,VC,CVC) and ii. polysyllabic (CVC+a, CVCC+a, VCC+a) and "It naturally follows that all polysyllabic roots are either [+ Causative] or [+ Denominative]." (ibid.)

- a. Personal: করি [kor-i] 'I do'; করে [kor-e] 'he_{informal} does';
- b. Imperative: করুন [kor-un] 'do!_{formal}', করো [kor-o] 'do_{2nd informal}';
- c. Aspect: করছি [kor-(c)c^h-i] 'I am doing', করেছি [kor-ec^h-i] 'I have done';
- d. Tense: করলাম [kor-l-am] 'I did', করবো /kor-b-o/ 'I will do';
- e. Non-finite or Participial: করে [kor-e] 'having done', করতে [kor-te] 'to do' etc.
- f. Derivational: করা [kor-a-^j] 'to make somebody do'.

Sarkar mentions that the vowel that belongs to all these roots undergoes the type of mutation which has been traditionally called 'vowel harmony' or 'vowel sandhi'. For Sarkar (ibid.) "Most of the vowels of the Bengali verb root are non-high, i.e., are from the set [e, æ (ɛ in the present work), a, ɔ, o].

Any of these can form a low stem, in which case the corresponding high stem will be formed by the vowel right above it." According to Sarkar (ibid.) "The main point about the Bengali verbal inflection which hits the eye is that the root-vowel of the verb stem commutes between two (or more in rarer and irregular cases, more) vocalic configurations."

Sarkar (279) does not agree with the polymorphemic solution of low and high stem proposed by Ferguson (1945), Dimock (1957), Dimock et al. (1964), Ray et al. (1966) because "Some of the alternations are amenable to a phonological explanation (= presence of a high vowel in their immediate surface vicinity), but others are not so". Sarkar supports rather a monomorphemic solution and argues that the root-vowel is pulled 'one notch up' by its phonological environment. Therefore the infinite forms like দেখে [dek^he] 'having seen' and দেখিয়ে [dek^hie] 'having shown' would derive in the following way:

Table-I: Derived forms of so-called monosyllabic and polysyllabic roots				
	Root	Suffix	Derived forms	
monosyllabic	dek ^h	ie	dek ^h ie	dek ^h e (after i-dropping rule has applied)
polysyllabic	dek ^h a	ie	dek ^h ie	dek ^h ie (i-dropping rule is blocked)

The high vowel in the suffix raises the low vowel /ɛ/ of the root to /e/ and hence we get the form দেখিয়ে [dek^hie] 'having shown' which undergoes i-deletion rule and then surfaces as দেখে [dek^he] 'having seen'. But we can note that the i-deletion rule does not apply to the bisyllabic causative form

[dek^hie]. Sarkar's (280) explanation in this respect is the following: "i-dropping rule is blocked to avoid homonymy with noncausative *dekhe*."

In Dasgupta (1982)⁽⁸⁾ we find the following list of underlying verbal suffixes classified in 5 groups according to person and 11 sub-groups according to tense, aspect and mode. Dasgupta's list has been used in Paul and Dan with minor modifications.

Table-II: List of so-called underlying verbal suffixes

A	B	C	D	E
e	en	o	iʃ	i
ycch-e	ycch-en	ycch-o	ycch-iʃ	ycch-i
yε-ch-e	yε-ch-en	ye-ch-o	ye-ch-iʃ	yε-ch-i
uk	un	o	(zero)	(no form)
yl-o	yl-en	yl-e	yl-i	yl-am
yt-o	yt-en	yt-e	yt-i(ʃ)	yt-am
ycch-il-o	ycch-il-en	ycch-il-e	ycch-il-i	ycch-il-am
ye-ch-il-o	ye-ch-il-en	yε-ch-il-e	ye-ch-il-i	ye-ch-il-am
yb-e	yb-en	yb-e	yb-i	yb-bo
yb-ε	yb-en	yo	iʃ	(no form)
yte	ye	yle	(y)b-a	wa/no

(cf. Dasgupta, 1982:18)

Generative descriptions generally differ regarding the underlying forms they propose. Following Dasgupta, Dan argues that the progressive suffixes must contain the geminated segment [cc^h]: খাচ্ছে [k^hacc^he] 'he eats'. As the geminating lacks in derivations of CVC roots (e.g. করছে [korc^he] 'he does'), Dan must propose a degemination rule. For Paul (74) there is only [ch] in the

underlying form and “the geminate [cc^h] that we find in the surface is accounted for by an assimilation rule according to which the suffix-initial [i] is assimilated to the following palatal segment in certain contexts.” She assumes that the high vowel first loses its syllabicity i.e. becomes a glide and then assimilates to the following palatal segment.

We note that some forms such as [ʃo^jc^ho] সেইছো ‘you tolerate’ must avoid assimilation because otherwise they will surface as an unacceptable sequence like *[ʃocc^ho]. Paul handles this problem following Sarkar and Dasgupta by positing another abstract underlying segment, a final /h/ in CV roots: [gah], [ʃoh], [boh], etc. She justifies her proposal with words such as দোহন [dohon] ‘milking’ or বহন [bohon] ‘carrying’ and eventually proposes an h-deletion rule. With this change in the underlying form, the initial /i/ occur after a consonant (and not after a vowel) and therefore, no assimilation to the following palatal consonant takes place.

Generative descriptions generally differ regarding the number of rules they propose. Dasgupta proposes 17 rules with ordering restrictions whereas Paul tries to capture all the alternations with only 4 rules. Dan thinks that the derivation becomes unnecessarily lengthy with 17 rules but only 4 rules do not suffice either. She eventually proposes 8 rules accompanied by minor ordering restrictions in order to describe most of the verbal derivations in Bengali.

4.3. Problems with the previous descriptions

4.3.1. Traditional and Structuralist approaches

a. For many Bengali words it is difficult to show that they are formed with categories 'smaller than word' (e.g. *root*, *affix* or *morpheme*). For example, Chatterji (1945 (1988)) describes [ito] and [an] as derivational suffixes. In the word চিহ্নিত [cinnito] 'marked', [ito] is apparently a suffix and [cinno] চিহ্ন 'mark' or 'sign' is a word or a stem. But [bin] in বিনীত [binito] 'polite' is neither a root nor a stem although the suffix -[ito] is concatenated to it. If we compare the following words: দান [dan] 'donation' and নির্মাণ [nirman] 'construction', we will see that the former can be said to be formed with the root [da] and the suffix [an]. In the latter, we can identify the same suffix attached to [nirm] which, like [bin], does not have any status in atomistic morphology of Bengali. But there has to be a root or a stem in the words বিনীত [binito] 'polite' or নির্মাণ [nirman] 'construction', because a suffix like [ito] or [an] can only be concatenated to such elements.

b. Sequences like [bin], [nirm] or [an] are not *morphemes* from the traditional point of view because they do not have any meaning. They cannot be seen as a morpheme from an Aronovian (1976) point of view either because no regularity can be observed in their use. The status of so-called 'grammatical morphemes' is another problem for atomistic approach. If morphemes are 'minimum meaningful units' (in their traditional sense), then what is the minimum meaning of [ito] or [an]? Apparently, they have different meanings and different functions in different words: [ito] is used as an inflectional suffix in the verb দিত [dito] 3rd informal, Habitual Past 'used to give'

and as a derivational suffix in the adjective চিহ্নিত [cinnito] 'marked'; [an] is used as inflectional suffix in the verb খান [k^han]_{simp Pres, 2nd/3rd formal} 'you eat/he eats' and as derivational suffixes in the noun দান [dan] 'donation'. If the meaning and function of the suffixes change in every word they are used with, it is wiser to say that grammatical morphemes or suffixes do not have any meaning or function at all in Bengali, or that there is no such thing as 'grammatical morpheme', 'inflection' or 'suffix', at least in Bengali.

c. Chatterji and other traditional Bengali grammarians consistently consider Sanskrit roots as if they were equally roots of Bengali. In so doing, I think that they mix up synchronic and diachronic analysis for no good reason. In some cases, 'roots and affixes are even imagined for the sake of an eventual morphological analysis. For example, the word গায়ক [ga^yok] 'singer' is described as having been derived from the root গে [gɔ^j]. Another word মানব [manob] 'human' is analyzed into মনু [monu] 'name of a Hindu saint' and an imaginary suffix ঞ [ɲɔ].

d. According to Chatterji the suffix /era/ is concatenated to words ending in consonant and /ra/ to those ending in a vowel. This cannot explain how plural nouns like ছাত্রেরা /c^hatrera/ 'students' or সৈন্যেরা /ɲoinnera/ can be formed with their singular counterparts ending in an open syllable: ছাত্র /c^hatro/ 'student' and সৈন্য /ɲonno/. Chatterji argues that masculine words like শিক্ষক [ɲikk^hok] 'teacher' or বালক [balok] 'boy' are transformed into feminine word শিক্ষিকা [ɲikk^hika] 'woman teacher' or [balika] বালিকা 'girl' by adding the suffix [ika] to these word. For Chatterji, the suffix [i] transforms

masculine words like মামা [mama] 'maternal uncle' or কাকা [kaka] 'paternal uncle' into the feminine words মামী [mami] 'maternal aunt' or, কাকী [kaki] 'paternal aunt'.

In words like শিক্ষক [ʃikkʰok] 'teacher' the so-called feminine suffix [ika] is not added to the word but substitutes the masculine suffix [ok]. In case of মোরগ [morog] 'cock' the 'suffixal substitution' does not suffice. It has to be accompanied by a segmental modification: /o/→/u/. Be that as it may. As [ʃikkʰ], [mam] or [mor/mur] are meaningless sequences, how can a naive speaker of Bengali recognize sequences like [ok], [og], [a] or [i] as suffixes? Again, how is it possible for a Bengali speaker-hearer to recognize [ika] as a feminine suffix when there are words like নাটিকা [natika] 'small piece of theatre' and পুস্তিকা [pustika] 'small book' or 'booklet' which are not feminine in Bengali (because Bengali does not extend its masculine/feminine gender division to non-animate nouns)?

e. Chatterji describes করেছে [kor-ecʰ-e] 'he has done' as a 'compound tense' formed with two different verbs: 1) করে [kor-e] 'having done' and 2) আছে [acʰe] 'he is' followed by a [a] deletion rule in the second verb. Diachronically, করেছে [koreche] 'he has done' can result from the concatenation of the perfective verbal করে [kore] 'having done' and the auxiliary আছে [acʰe] 'is'. But this is an etymological analysis and not a morphological one because how can a speaker-hearer be aware of the fact that there are two verbs in করেছে [kor-e-cʰ-e] 'he has done' and not just one?

However, one can try to explain away the derivation of [c^hi] from [ac^hi] by postulating a loss of the initial [a] affected by the non-initial stress but, as Sarkar (285) points out, "it is not clear why the initial a-loss rule should govern only this verb while letting other verbs with initial a, for example, an-'bring', aɟ- 'come', etc. go scot free." (glosses are mine).

f. Sen analyzes the same verb as: [kɔɾ] (root) [e] + [c^h] (progressive or aspectual morpheme or infix). If one describes [c^h] as the progressive aspectual suffix and claims that it has the meaning of 'continuousness', it will be difficult to explain the presence of the same suffix in the perfective tense form: [kor-ech-e] করেছে 'he has done'. According to Ferguson (1945) personal endings can have different meanings in different contexts. For example, {e} can mean

- i) 2nd person in past and future tense or after {t/l/b}: করতে [korte] 'you used to do', করলে [korle] 'you did', করবে [korbe] 'you will do';
- ii) 3rd person in simple present: করে [kore] 'he does' and simple future করবে [korbe] 'you will do' and
- iii) completiveness in করে [kore] 'having done' and করেছে [korec^he] 'he has done' (examples are mine)

Therefore, the infix [c^h] can have different meanings in different words, and the morpheme [e] has different meanings in the same word (করেছে [korec^he] 'he has done'). If the meaning of the suffixes depends on the word in which they appear, one should suspect that they do not have any meaning at all.

This said, there may be two [c^h]s, but in that case, one has to answer what does the other [c^h] mean in করেছে [kor-e-c^h-e] 'he has done'? One can also consider [ec^h] as 'completive aspectual infix' in করেছে [kor-e-c^h-e] 'he has done' but such an analysis does not suit verbs like পালটেছে [pal̥t̥ec^he] 'he has changed' because [pal̥t̥] is not recognized as a 'root'.

In my view, some of the so-called suffixes seem to have some meaning because words in which they appear are endowed with meaning. As different words have different meanings, the 'same' suffix appearing in those different words seems to be polysemous. For example, [c^h] appears in two different verb words: করেছি [kor-ech-i] 'I have done' and করছি [kor-ch-i] 'I am doing'; the former denotes completeness of the action and the latter its continuation, but [c^h] itself does not have any meaning at all. If one tries to enumerate the different meaning of the segment [e] in Bengali, he will soon realize that there are too many of them. Synonymy as well as polysemy must have some limit and therefore, the endless semantic diversity (cf. section-3.2.2.) of affixes shows that such categories are spurious.

g. Ferguson (1945:47) argues that derivational verb suffixes alternate according to the context: "after a stem ending in VVC or VCC, before E or O, the a morpheme has the alternant zero." Therefore, according to Ferguson we should have পৌছে [{pɔũc^h]+{e}] and not [{pɔũc^h]+{a}+{ʸ}] 'he (informal) reaches'. But both of these forms are acceptable in ESB. The morpheme is also maintained in verbs ending in VCC, e.g. সাঁতরায় [{ãtr̥]+{a}+{ʸ}] 'he swims', কামড়ায় [{kamr̥]+{a}+{ʸ}] 'he bites'.

h. It is curious to note that there is neither [e] nor [c^h] in the negative completive (present or past) perfect করিনি [korini] 'I have/had not done', খাওনি [k^ha^wni] 'you have/had not eaten' or নই [no^j] 'I am not'. No previous analysis has reasonably explained the formation of such negative verbs. Sarkar (1976b) is surprised to notice that verbs like করিনি [korini] 'I have not done' is neither formed from the present perfect [korec^hi+ni] or habitual past [kortam+ni] nor from a root or a base, but from the simple present form: করি [kori] 'I do'.

Although one can describe [ni] as a *portmanteau* suffix, [ni] is not concatenated to an entity that atomistic approaches would describe as 'root'. However, it can be argued that [ni] is concatenated to a different atomistic entity called 'stem' but in that case one has to explain why the stem must change in different verb forms: করিনি {kor}+{i}+{ni} 'I have/had not done', খাইনি {k^ha}+{j}+{ni} 'I have/had not eaten', খাওনি {k^ha}+{^w}+{ni} 'you have/had not eaten'.

i. Often the word-internal elements have neither a clear-cut status nor a clear-cut form. It is not easy to decide whether [ec^h] should be the infix between the root [kor] and the inflectional suffix [e] or whether it is preferable to add [e] or [c^h] to the root [kor] in order to form a stem or a radical ([korc^h] or [kore]). In many words, it is not easy to single out the categories like root or stem. If [da] is considered as root in দান [dan]

[dito] 'he used to give'? This and similar other examples clearly show how troublesome the atomistic categories like 'root' or 'affix' can be.

j. Another problem that has remained unresolved in atomistic approaches is the insertion of the emphatic/inclusive suffixes [o], [i], and [to] between the stem and the suffix in perfective verb forms. For example, করেছি [korec^hi] 'I have done' becomes করেওছি [kore-o-c^hi] 'I have done too' or করেইছি [kore^jc^hi] 'of course I have done' or করেইতোছিলাম [kore^jto-c^hilam] 'of course I had done' when the emphatic or inclusive affix is inserted between the stem [kore] and the personal suffix [c^hi]. For Chatterji (1926(1986:1028)), such words show that the auxiliary [ac^h] has "coalesced but loosely in Bengali". In my view, these 'loosely coalesced' words puts the whole concatenative approach much in trouble.

k. The CVCC base [ʃātr] cannot be derived from the noun সাঁতার [ʃātar] 'swimming' as Chatterjee (1962) has claimed. Elsewhere he mentions that the former is an alternant of the latter but does not explain how (i.e. following which phonological or morphological rule) such alternants derive.

l. Chatterjee does not propose any precise rule for the high-low vowel alteration as well as for the allomorphic variation of the derivative morpheme. He (124) argues that in standard Bengali "the high-low vowel alteration is regular, though not in all cases automatic." Chatterjee (125) later clarifies his position by mentioning that "the high-low vowel alteration in the standard Bengali is phonologically conditioned, whereas in colloquial Bengali and written Bengali there are some cases of phonologic conditioning and in others morphologic conditioning operates." But as vowel raising does not

take place in many derivations I can hardly accept it as a phonological reality of Bengali (cf. chapter-5 & appendix-1).

m. It is stated in the atomistic approaches that some affixes (e.g. the Bengali suffix [ik]) involve phonemic change in the constituent (root or stem) they are concatenated to. Once [ik] is adjoined, the rhyme of the first syllable of the host constituent undergoes mutation: either it is replaced by a more open vowel as in অর্থ [ɔrt^ho] 'money'+[ik]→ আর্থিক [art^hik] 'monetary' or 'financial' or by a diphthong: ইতিহাস [itihəʃ] 'history'+[ik]→ ঐতিহাসিক [o^jtihəʃik] 'historical or historian'. Such 'euphonic permutations' (cf. Monier Williams 1878) described in Sanskrit grammars as *guna* and *vridhhi* are treated in atomistic approaches on equal terms with phonological alternations.

- a. নীতি [niti] 'morality' +[ik]→ নৈতিক [no^jtik] 'moral'
- b. রীতি [riti] 'rule' +[ik]→ *রৈতিক [ro^jtik] 'according to the rule'
- c. রেখা [rek^ha] 'line' +[ik]→ রৈখিক [roik^hik] 'related to line'
- d. পেট [pet] 'belly, stomach' +[ik]→ *পেটিক [po^jtik] 'related to belly or stomach'
- e. শর্ত [ʃɔrto] 'condition' +[ik]→ *শর্তিক [ʃartik] 'conditional'

No Well-formedness Condition (WFC) (Singh 1984) (cf. chapter-5 & appendix-1) of Bengali phonology predicts that the phonemic sequence [nitik] is unacceptable and it should be replaced by [no^jtik]. In Bengali there are words such as রাজনীতিক [rajnitik] 'politician' or গাণিতিক [ganitik] 'mathematical' in which we can find this sequence. On the other hand, *guna/vridhhi* type vowel mutation cannot be phonological because as the abovementioned examples (a-e) show, it does not affect all the words. In some cases, such vowel mutation is voluntarily used to create humorous

connotations (e.g. পৈটিক *[pɔʃt̪ik] has been used by Bengali punster Sibram Chakraborty) (cf. Chakraborty 2001) which again shows that this type of vowel mutation cannot be WFC governed.

4.3.2. Problems with generative approaches

a. In Generative descriptions, it is generally assumed that vowel harmony is absolute and dominant in the conjugation. Dan is convinced that monosyllabic verb roots show systematic alternations of vowel heights. It is true that the nucleus of some of the CVC verbs such as শেখ [ʃek^hi] 'learn_{pr, imp, 2nd formal/derog}' come out raised in শিখি [ʃik^hi] 'I learn' but there are many other CVC verbs such as বাছ [bac^hi] 'chose/sort out_{pr, imp, 2nd formal/derog}' or ডাক [ɖak] 'call_{pres, imp, 2nd intim/derog}' that do not raise their vowel: not *[bɛc^hi] but বাছি [bac^hi] 'I chose' and not *[ɖɛki] but ডাকি [ɖaki] 'I call'. If vowel harmony was an absolute phonological constraint or principle, verb forms such as পালটিও [palt̪^ɔo] 'change_{imp, 2nd informal, fut}' and সাঁতরিও [ʃãtr̪^ɔo] 'swim_{imp, 2nd informal, fut}' should surface as *[pɛlt̪^ɔo] and *[ʃɛtr̪^ɔo], but this is not the case.

In some of the so-called reduplicated words such as বলাবলি [bolaboli] 'talking to each other', the nucleus of the first syllable of the reduplicant raises one notch up. But there are some others such as মারামারি [maramari] 'fighting with each other', চোখাচেখি [cok^hacok^hi] 'looking at each other' in which the nucleus of the first syllable of the reduplicant does not apparently raise. In words like কেনাকেনি [kenakeni] 'several acts of buying' or মেশামেশি [meʃameʃi] 'several acts of frequenting each other', some speakers raise the vowel: [kenakini] or [meʃamiʃi] whereas some others do not:

[kenakeni] or [meʃameʃi]. In কাটাকুটি /kaʈakuʈi/ 'correcting again and again' and আঁকিবুকি [ākibuki] 'several acts of childish drawing' the rhyme of the reduplicant goes three notches up in stead of one. Therefore, I can reasonably claim that the vowel harmony is not absolute in ESB.

Dasgupta's examples of deverbal forms, such as অচিন [ɔcin] 'unknown', অবুঝ [ɔbuʃ] 'unreasonable/not yet attained the age of reason', ঘুরঘুর [gʰurgʰur] 'suspicious roaming', হরবোলা [hɔrbola] 'mimic', etc. contain high and mid vowels whereas their corresponding basic verb roots: [buʃʰ], [cin], [gʰor] and [boɪ] contain mid and low vowels (cf. Dan). Free variations such as কিন [kin] and কেন [ken] 'you_{intim/derog}buy' or শুনেন [ʃunen] and শোনেন [ʃonen] 'you_{formal}listen/hear' in ESB also show that vowel raising cannot be claimed to be a general rule in monosyllabic verb roots.

If the rule of vowel raising or regressive assimilation had applied to the underlying form /k^hoɪ^ybar/ 'to open', /ga^ybar/ 'to sing' or /cabka^ybar/ 'to whip' as it has been proposed in generativist works, we should get the acceptable free variation খুলবার [k^hulbar] 'to open' but also unacceptable forms such as *[gɛyar] or *[cɛbkebar]. Vowel raising does not take place in the case of গাইল [ga^jlo] 'he has sung' or গাইব [ga^jbo] 'I will sing'. Had it been the case, we would get the unacceptable form *[gelɔ] (</ga(y/i)lo/) or *[gɛbo] (</ga(y/i)bo/. If vowel raising is obligatory, acceptable sequences like বইবে [bo^jbe] 'he will bear' will be ruled out.

b. Dasgupta recognizes that his system incorrectly derives [de^w] and [ne^w] whereas the actual forms are দাও [da^w] 'you give' and নাও /na^w/ 'you take'. For Dan (39) these roots "are irregular in the sense that they do not show the usual one degree vowel height alternation". Dan also mentions that her rules give unacceptable forms such as *[k^hεbo] (<[k^ha+ibo]) 'I will eat' and we note that they would rule out acceptable forms like বোঝে [boj^he] (<[boj^h+e]) 'he understands'.

c. According to Dan, the underlying form /kaɽ+iec^he/ results in কেটেছে [keɽec^he] 'he has cut' following the application of rules such as: a-mutation (a-M), vowel raising (VR) and suffix truncation (ST). If vowel raising (VR) and suffix truncation (ST) are applied to /kɔnkɔn+iec^he/, one obtains *[konkonec^he] rather than the acceptable forms কনকনিয়েছে [kɔnkoniēc^he] 'it has given heavy pain'. However, the same rules are able to transform the underlying form /gɛl+iec^he/ and [k^helec^he] to the acceptable forms গিলেছে [gilec^he] 'he has swallowed' or খেলেছে [k^helec^he] 'he has played'.

d. I agree with Paul that archaic and/or literary forms such as সহিব [ʃohibo] 'I will tolerate' or রহিব [rohibo] 'I will remain' justify the aspiration in roots like [soh] and [roh], but it is also true that aspiration is difficult to maintain in coda and apart from a few interjections such as [ah], [oh] and [uh], no word in Bengali ends in [h]. Moreover, there are derivations which cannot be explained with this abstract segment. For example, in free variations like গাইছেন [ga^jc^hen] and গাচ্ছেন [gacc^hen] both deriving from /gah(i/y)c^hen/ 'he

(formal) is singing' the [i] is not assimilated in the former but has undergone assimilation in the latter. In some other CV roots, the assimilation becomes a must: খাচ্ছেন [k^hacc^hen] 'he is eating but not *[k^ha^jc^hen]'.

e. Several abstract segments such as [y] (cf. Dasgupta) and [i] (cf. Dan) are added to the underlying form of the suffix in order to explain vowel raising (e.g. /k^ha(y/i)lo/>খেলো [k^he lo] 'he has eaten') which is assumed to be the consequence of some regressive assimilation according to Dasgupta. Various problems arise with these abstract segments:

i. they have to appear in all underlying forms including those in which they are not necessary at all. For example, করছে [korc^he] 'he is doing' can derive more easily with the suffix [c^he] than with [ycc^he].

ii. many of these underlying forms do not surface in any dialect of Bengali.

iii. [a]-deletion rule must accompany abstract segments and as a consequence, the number of rules increases.

iv. As Dan points out, the proposal of abstract segments is 'yet to be decided in the literature' concerning the theoretical framework Dasgupta (ibid.) and Paul (ibid.) both refer to.

f. In some cases, rule ordering is not respected, and in some others, we do not get an acceptable sequence if it is respected. For example, i-deletion must take place after vowel-raising but this does not always seem to be the case. Vowel-raising (i.e. vowel-heightening) has taken place in examples like সহিবে [ʃoibe] (in my description: [ʃo^jbe]) 'he will tolerate' or রইব [roi bo] (in

my description: [ro^jbo]) 'I will remain' although i-deletion has not occurred in these words. On the other hand, their free and/or dialectal stylistic variations: স'বে [ʃɔbe] 'he will tolerate' or র'বো [rɔbo] 'I will remain' have undergone i-deletion although no vowel-heightening has take place in them.

Sarkar (283) points out that "for the bases with a single vowel, i-Dropping occurs before vowel-heightening does. It is however, unclear why this occurs only in this category and nowhere else." Sarkar also holds that the undeleted [i] was "originally a part of the suffix and later came to be 'reanalyzed' as a part of the root of these verbs". In that case, it is unclear why this [i] is dropped in স'বে [ʃɔbe] 'he will tolerate' or র'বো [rɔbo] 'I will remain'. This reminds me of what Vennemann once said (1974:372) "writing grammars with ordered rules is a systematic way of lying about a language"!

g. Paul (74) argues that assimilation of [i] to [c^h] is something natural and "in reality quite simple." She further mentions that "In all cases where *i* assimilates to the following *ch*, the roots always ends in a vowel. That is, *i* occurs after a vowel. I assume that the high vowel in this context first loses its syllabicity i.e. becomes a glide and then assimilates to the following palatal segment" (ibid.). Paul seems to be right if free variants such as গাইছে [ga^jc^he] and গাচ্ছে [gacc^he] 'he sings' are taken into consideration. But, as I have mentioned previously, some forms such as [ʃo^jc^ho] সইছো 'you tolerate' must avoid assimilation because otherwise they will surface as an unacceptable sequence like *[ʃocc^ho] and therefore, it is not as natural and as simple as Paul believes.

h. There are verbs like 'to give' which contain more stems than the superficially observed 'high' and 'low' stems, e.g. দে /de/ 'give_{imperative 2nd intim/derog}', দিয়ে [die] 'having given', দাও [da^w] 'give_{imperative, 2nd informal}'. Some verbs have free variant base with raised vowels: কুড়ানো/কুড়োনো [[kurano]/[kuronono]] 'to pick up', পৌছানো/পৌছুনো [põuc^hano]/[põuc^huno] 'to reach' নেবানো/নিভানো/নেভানো [nebano]/[nib^hano]/[neb^hano] 'to extinguish', কিনেন/কেনেন [kinen]/[kenen] 'you_{2nd formal}, buy'. For Sarkar only bisyllabic bases, like [kura], [põuc^ha], etc., show such variation. But as we can see, monosyllabic bases like [kin] and [nib^h] can also have different stems. According to Sarkar (286) such variations represent "an ongoing historical change which we are fortunate to witness." In my view, this is a diachronic explanation rather than a synchronic one.

*[ga ^y], [ja ^y] 'he goes'	*[gacc ^h ilo], [jacc ^h ilo] 'he was going'	
*[gacc ^h e], [jacc ^h e] 'he goes'	[gi ^y ec ^h e], *[ji ^y ec ^h e], *[je ^y ec ^h e] 'he has gone'	*[gete], [jete] 'to go'
*[gabe], [jabe] 'he will go'	*/ji ^y ec ^h ilo/, */je ^y ec ^h ilo/, /gi ^y ec ^h ilo/ 'he had gone'	/gi ^y e/, */ji ^y e/, /je ^y e/ 'having gone'
/gelo/, */jelol/ 'he went'	*/gal/, /jal/ 'go'	/gele/, */jele/ 'if gone'
*/getol/, /jetol/ 'he used to go'	/ja ^w a/, */ga ^w a/ 'to go'	

i. The five defective verbs [ac^h], 'to be', [ja] and [ge] 'to go', [aʃ] 'to come', and [rɔ] 'stay/remain' involve suppletive allomorphy according to Dan (1992)

who holds that they can be handled either with morphological allomorphy (for example, Past tense: [ge]; Future tense: [ja], etc.) or with the blocking principle proposed by Aronoff (1976) (for example, expected *[jelɔ] or *[ji^yec^hi] are not realized because they are blocked by the forms গেলো /gelɔ/ 'he went' and গিয়েছি /gi^yec^hi/ 'I went' respectively).

It is clear from the above examples that no complementary distribution of [ga] and [ja] can be based on tense because both of them appear in several finite and non-finite verb-forms. Blocking does not seem to work either because যেয়ে [je^ye] 'having gone' has almost established itself as a synonym of গিয়ে [gi^ye] 'having gone' in ESB (in some dialects of Bengal, যেতাম [jetam] 'I used to go' also has a synonym [getam]).

Table-IV: Verbal forms with so-called roots /ac ^h / and /tha ^k /		
[ac ^h e], [t ^h ake], ?[rɔ ^y] 'he is'	*[ac ^h to], [t ^h akto], [rɔ ^j to] 'he was'	*[ac ^h te], [t ^h akte], ?[rɔ ^j te] 'to be'
*[ac ^h c ^h e], [t ^h akc ^h e], ?[rɔ ^j c ^h e] 'there is'	*[ac ^h], [t ^h ak], *[rɔ] 'be'	*[ac ^h a], [t ^h aka], *[rɔ ^w a] 'to be'
*[ac ^h be], [t ^h akbe], ?[rɔ ^j be], 'it will be'	*[ac ^h lo], [t ^h aklo], [rɔ ^j lo], 'it was'	*[ac ^h le], [t ^h akle], *[rɔ ^j le] 'if it is'

Synonymous 'suppletive' paradigms like গেলো [gelɔ] 'he has gone' instead of *[jelɔ] and [jacc^he] 'he is going' instead of গাছেছ [gacc^he], do not abide by

any rule. The verb form [a.ʃ] is unaccountably replaced by *আয়* [a^y] 'come'. Sarkar describes such contrasting bases as 'borrowals from the competing dialects' formed with the rules of those dialects. For Sarkar (284) they are "competing forms from different dialects that have sneaked their way into the standard speech, where they neatly divide their area of occurrence. The [ʃ]-stems, for example, occur in most of the categories, while the [g]-stems occur only in the categories of Simple Past and Completive". Again, this constitutes a diachronic description and not a synchronic one.

Dan (44) mentions that neither of the two descriptions (i.e. Dasgupta 1982 and Paul 1986) "explicitly exhibit the derivation of Bangla verb forms in actual cases and they do not show how mechanisms they propose really work." On the other hand, she claims that only a few derivations do not really abide by her rules and therefore they should not constitute strong evidence against her description of verbal morphology in Bengali. I think that all the atomistic/generative descriptions including Dan's are able to describe the verb formation in Bengali to a certain extent. But it is also true that a good number of verbal forms cannot be explained with the rules they propose. Therefore, I have good reason to believe that the atomistic/generative framework faces some serious and insurmountable inadequacies *vis à vis* the morphology of Bengali.

4.4. Why WWM: some arguments behind its selection as the theoretical framework

The description of a particular language (or parts of it) should generally follow the discussion leading to eliminate a certain number of competing theories in order to justify the particular theory which the language is described with (cf. Dell 1973). One may reasonably ask the reason behind my leaving aside the age-old tradition of atomistic analysis and choosing a comparatively recent approach for my purpose of describing the morphology of Bengali. Two things convinced me to select WWM as my theoretical framework: i) as we will see below, WWM has none of the handicaps I mentioned in section 4.3 and ii) it can bring solution to most of the problems left unresolved in the previous works on word-formation in Bengali.

4.4.1. WWM and some of the inadequacies of previous descriptions

a. Words like বিনীত /binito/ 'polite' are apparently a challenge for atomistic morphology whereas in WWM one can easily show how these words are formed by mapping them onto the relevant strategy. The two poles of the following strategy (1) can be analyzed into sub-components [bin]/[b^h] and constants [ɔʏ]/[ito]. Unlike the atomistic approach, WWM does not need to decide which category these subcomponents belong to, because in this approach (i) all words are seamless wholes and (ii) none of their subcomponents is allowed to have any meaning, function, category or status.

1. /Xɔʏ/_n ↔ /Xito/_{adj} 'who has /Xɔʏ/ in his mind'

ভয় /b^hɔʏ/ 'fear' ↔ ভীত /b^hito/ 'who has fear', 'afraid'

বিনয় /binɔʏ/ 'politeness' ↔ বিনীত /binito/ 'who has politeness', 'polite'

Atomistic morphology has no other choice but to consider wrongly both বিনীত /binito/ 'polite' (1) and চিহ্নিত /cinnito/ 'marked' (2) as affixal words

because of their apparent formal similarity. But following the WWM approach we can clearly show that these two words are not morphologically related because they cannot be mapped onto the same strategy. The source of the eventual confusion regarding বিনীত /binito/ 'polite' and চিহ্নিত /cinnito/ 'marked' is twofold: (i) the same sequence is involved in the right-hand pole of both of the strategies and (ii) this sequence has a common name (suffix) in the atomistic approach.

2. /Xo/_n ↔ /Xito/_{adj} 'Xo/-ed'

চিহ্ন /cinno/ 'sign' or 'mark' ↔ চিহ্নিত /cinnito/ 'marked'

দুঃখ /dukk^ho/ 'sorrow' ↔ দুঃখিত /dukk^hito/ 'sad'

We have seen that neither of the following subcomponents: [bin], [b^h], [o^y], [ito], [cinn], involved in (1) and (2) can be categorized as root, stem or morpheme. Hence WWM is right to claim that words are formed with elements that lack all the known and acceptable statuses proposed by atomistic morphology. The similarity or resemblance that may be observed between the constants of any two strategies is a coincidence and again, in WWM, such similarity-oriented observations are not at all pertinent for morphological analysis. What is pertinent for morphology is the formal difference between two words of a lexicon (cf. Neuvel & Singh, 2002).

b. Feminine kinship nouns like মামী /mami/ 'wife of the maternal uncle' and শিক্ষিকা /ʃikk^hika/ 'woman teacher' can be formed by mapping their masculine counterparts: মামা /mama/ 'maternal uncle' onto (3) and শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hok/ 'teacher' onto (4). This said, the pair constituted of মোরগ /morog/ 'cock' and মুরগী /murgi/ 'hen' cannot be mapped onto any strategy in Bengali

which means that synchronically these words cannot be shown to derive from each other. Therefore, they have to be memorized and once forgotten, no strategy can help the speaker-hearer to retrieve them.

3. /Xa/_{n, masc} ↔ /Xi/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /Xa/'

কাকা /kaka/ 'paternal uncle' ↔ কাকী /kaki/ 'wife of the paternal uncle'

মামা /mama/ 'maternal uncle' ↔ মামী /mami/ 'wife of the maternal uncle'

4. /Xɔk/_{n, masc} ↔ /Xika/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /Xɔk/'

শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hɔk/ 'teacher' ↔ শিক্ষিকা /ʃikk^hika/ 'woman teacher'

অধ্যাপক /odd^hapɔk/ 'professor' ↔ অধ্যাপিকা /odd^hapika/ 'lady professor'

c. Atomistic word-parts like *root*, *stem* or *affix* often undergo unaccountable formal changes. On the other hand, word subcomponents are automatically identified by the relevant strategy. The contour of the constant [c^he] or [n] as well as of the variable [kore], [kɔr] or [kɔrche] in the following strategies depends on the formal difference on which the relevant strategies are based. Unlike word-parts like stem, affix or morpheme, the two word subcomponents: *constant* and *variable* do not constitute any category and can be represented by any phonic sequence, even a discontinuous one. Thus WWM can avoid nail-biting questions concerning the status of [c^h] or [e] because this theory does not recognize such elements as independent entities but as integrated part of either the variable or the constant.

5. /X/_{perf verbal} ↔ /Xc^he/_{v, ind, pres. perfect, 3rd inform}

করে /kɔre/ 'having done' ↔ করেছে /korec^he/ 'he has done'

শনে /ʃune/ 'having listened to' ↔ শনেছে /ʃunec^he/ 'he has listened to'

d. The vowel mutation ($\text{ɔ}/\text{o}$, o/u , $\text{ɛ}/\text{e}$, etc.) standardly analyzed as a phonological rule in the Generative framework has been incorporated as a proper part of different morphological strategies despite its regularity. For example, the word শুনছে $/\text{ʃunc}^{\text{h}}\text{e}/$ 'he is listening' can be derived by mapping the word শোন $/\text{ʃon}/$ 'listen' onto (6). WWM considers o/u vowel mutation as the mechanism of segmental modification which is part and parcel of the strategy (6) along with the other mechanism of adjunction-deletion ($\emptyset/[c^{\text{h}}\text{e}]$).

6. $/XV\text{-highC}/_{\text{v, imp, pres, 2nd intim/derog}} \leftrightarrow /XV\text{+highC}c^{\text{h}}\text{e}/_{\text{v, ind, pres prog, 3rd inform}}$

শোন $/\text{ʃon}/$ 'listen' \leftrightarrow শুনছে $/\text{ʃunc}^{\text{h}}\text{e}/$ 'he is listening'

দেখ $/\text{dɛk}^{\text{h}}/$ 'look' \leftrightarrow দেখছে $/\text{dɛk}^{\text{h}}\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{e}/$ 'he is looking'

e. Atomistic approaches to morphology represent a highly centralized network (table-V) in the sense that each time a word needs to be formed, the system must resort to the root or to the stem. For example, the complement verbal করতে $/\text{korte}/$ 'to do' or the flexional verb করছিলাম $/\text{korc}^{\text{h}}\text{ilam}/$ 'I was doing' can be formed only by adding the suffix $[\text{te}]$ or $[\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{ilam}]$ to the root $[\text{kor}]$. Compared to this, WWM proposes a completely decentralized network (cf. table-VI). For example, verbs like দেবেন $[\text{deben}]$ 'you (formal) will give', দেবে $[\text{debe}]$ 'you (informal) will give' and দেন $[\text{den}]$ 'you (formal) give' can be analyzed back to দে $[\text{de}]$ 'you (intimate/derogative) give' which is a word. The verb দেবেন $[\text{deben}]$ 'you (formal) will give' can be formed with (8) and দেবে $[\text{debe}]$ 'you (formal) will give' with (7) among many other strategies and that there is no obligation to go back to the word দে $[\text{de}]$ 'you (intimate/derogative) give' for forming each and every paradigm of the verb দেওয়া $[\text{de}^{\text{w}}\text{a}]$ 'to give'.

7. /X/_{v, pres, imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /Xbe/_{v, simple fut, 2nd informal}

দে /de/ 'give' ↔ দেবে /debe/ 'you will give'

করা /kora/ 'make it done' ↔ করাবে /korabe/ 'you will make it done'

8. /X/_{v, pres/simp fut, 3rd inform} ↔ /Xɪ/_{v, pres/simp fut, 2nd/3rd, form}

দেবে /debe/ 'he_{inform} will give' ↔ দেবেন /deben/ 'you (formal) will give'

করেছে /korec^he/ 'he_{inform} has done' ↔ করেছেন /korec^hen/ 'you (formal) have done'

Since the very moment a word starts to exist, it becomes part of different word-formation networks of various sizes, which are constituted of word formation strategies. It is impossible to even visualize a full blown network in a limited two dimensional space (cf. Singh and Agnihotri, 1997). For example, table-VI contains about 70 primary strategies based on the mechanism of adjunction-deletion. In table-VII we notice how complex the picture becomes if only a handful of secondary strategies are added to it. According to Singh and Agnihotri (159) the speaker-hearer has "multiple ways of accessing a particular word" in terms of a large number of interacting strategies (table-VII) in his mental lexicon and there is apparently "no way of predicting which route will be utilized at a given point of time" and assumedly "all the routes get activated when a particular word is being accessed". The same morphological change can be achieved through different strategies, for example, the verbal form করেছে /korec^he/ 'he has done' can be formed either with (5) or with (8) among many other strategies.

f. Sarkar (281) seems to argue in favour of WWM when he states that verbal forms like করিনি /korini/ 'I have not done' or 'I did not do' "requires a Simple Present form instead of a Completive one". According to Sarkar (ibid.) the suffix [ni] "make a kind of syntactic demand on the verbal form preceding it". But negative verbs like করিনি /korini/ 'I have not done'/'I did not do' and নয় /no^y/ 'he_{inform} is not' can be formed with relevant morphological strategies like (9) and (10) without involving the syntax.

9. /X/_{v, simp pres, affirm} ↔ /Xni/_{v, simp past/past perfect, neg}

করি /kori/ 'I do' ↔ করিনি /korini/ 'I have not done'/'I did not do'

করেন /koren/ 'you do' ↔ করেননি /korenni/ 'you have not done'/'you did not do'

10. /hX/_{v, simp pres, affirm} ↔ /nX/_{v, simp pres, neg}

হয় /ho^y/ 'he_{inform} is' ↔ নয় /no^y/ 'he_{inform} is not'

হই /ho^j/ 'I am' ↔ নই /no^j/ 'I am not'

g. Starting from Panini, most studies in morphology have proposed a unidirectionality constraint on morphological operations. The WWM model does not impose any directionality constraint and proposes that all related words are equally accessible to the speaker. Compared to unidirectional word-formation rules, bi-directional strategies of WWM are more efficient because either of the poles can be activated in case of need. For example, if a speaker-hearer possesses the relevant strategy, he can form or understand the word বিনীত /binito/ 'polite' if he hears or remembers বিনয় /bino^y/ 'politeness'. No atomistic theory, to the best of my knowledge, guarantees such an easy and efficient way of formation and/or retrieval of words.

h. The constraint of unidirectionality is generally stated in terms of deriving actual concrete forms from shorter, more abstract, so-called unmarked base forms. The mechanism of truncation or deduction is not incompatible with unidirectionality in principle, but for some strange reason, the only mechanism generally used in atomistic approach is adjunction. Strategies of WWM are in my view a more efficient way of word formation because they can involve six different types mechanisms.

The mechanism of substitution has never been used in atomistic analysis though many examples from Bengali convincingly show that synchronically these mechanisms are no less efficient than adjunction. For many word-pairs, such as বিনয় /binɔʲ/ 'politeness' and বিনীত /binito/ 'polite' (1) or দুঃখ /dukk^ho/ 'sorrow' and দুঃখিত /dukk^hito/ 'sad' (2) substitution is the only mechanism with which they could be formed. Therefore, one can reasonably assume that WWM is a more efficient and exhaustive approach to morphological analysis as compared to others.

i. WWM makes a clear distinction between automatic and non-automatic alternations and considers non-automatic segmental and supra-segmental modifications as part of morphology. Therefore, a WWM description would be a 'purer' morphological description compare to other approaches in which the intervention of phonology is not clearly determined.

j. Words like সপরিবারে /ʃɔporibare/ 'along with the family' (11) সলজ্জ /ʃɔlɔʃʃɔ/ 'shy' (12) and are interesting examples which show that more than one constant and more than one mechanism can be involved in word-formation. These examples also show the efficacy of WWM as compared to atomistic approaches. If we accept [ʃɔ] to be a prefix, then how can we explain the

fact that it cannot be adjoined to the word লজ্জা [lɔjja] 'shyness' unless the final [a] is replaced with [o] or to the word [poribar] unless the suffix [e] is adjoined to the latter? The phonemic change involved here is not automatic because it does not take place in other similar contexts, such as কন্যা [konna] 'daughter'/সকন্যা [ʃɔkonna] 'with daughter'. With WWM, all such troublesome problems are nipped in the bud. Words are mapped onto a strategy and are analyzed into variable and constant and nothing more is required for the morphological description or analysis of a word.

11. /XC/_n ↔ /ʃɔXe/_{adv} 'with /XC/'

জোর /jor/ 'force' ↔ সজোরে /ʃɔjore/ 'forcefully'

পরিবার /poribar/ 'family' ↔ সপরিবারে /ʃɔporibare/ 'along with the family'

12. /Xa/_n ↔ /ʃɔXo/_{adj} 'with /Xa/'

লজ্জা /lɔjja/ 'shyness' ↔ সলজ্জ /ʃɔlɔjjo/ 'shy'

শ্রদ্ধা /srodd^ha/ 'respect' ↔ সশ্রদ্ধ /ʃɔsrodd^ho/ 'respectful'

k. The morphological description from a WWM point of view is not a taxonomic list of roots, stems or affixes, nor does it describe the interrelation claimed to exist between such elements. Here the description is based i) on the type of morphological operation (noun-verb, noun-adjective, etc), ii) on the formal, semantic and categorical differences that happen to exist among words (and not parts of them) and iii) on types of mechanisms which represent this differences or relate words to each other. Hence, in my view, a WWM description of word formation has every possibility to be a more authentic one as compared to others.

4.4.2. Unresolved leftovers of the previous descriptions and WWM

As I have mentioned earlier, WWM can successfully handle the cases left unresolved in the previous works. Lets start with the century-old problem of loose coalescence of root and suffix indicated in Chatterji (1926 (1986)). The so-called coalesced words like [kore^jc^hi] can be formed in two different ways: i. Emphatic perfect verbals formed with (13) can be mapped onto (14) or ii. Emphatic present perfect forms can be formed with (15).

13. /XV/_α (except conj and interj) non-emph ↔ /XV^j/_α (except conj and interj) emph 'of course /Xe/'

করে /kore/ 'he does' ↔ করেই /kore^j/ 'of course he does'

টাকা /taka/ 'the money' ↔ টাকাই /taka^j/ 'of course the money'

14. /X^j/_{perf} verbal, non-emph ↔ /X^jc^hi/_{pres perfect, 1st, emph} 'the action referred to in /X^j/ is done by me'

করেই /kore^j/ 'immediately after having done' ↔ করেইছি /kore^jc^hi/ 'of course, I have done!'

বলেই /bole^j/ 'immediately after having said' ↔ বলেইছি /bole^jc^hi/ 'of course, I have said!'

15. /Xec^hi/_{pres perfect, 1st} ↔ /Xe^jc^hi/_{pres perfect, 1st, emph} 'of course /Xec^hi/'

করেছি /korec^hi/ 'I have done' ↔ করেইছি /kore^jc^hi/ 'of course, I have done!'

বলেছি /bolec^hi/ 'I have said' ↔ বলেইছি /bole^jc^hi/ 'of course, I have said!'

Apart from হরবোলা /horbola/ 'a person who can mimic any sound' and /g^hurg^hur/ all the exceptional deverbal forms of Dasgupta (1982): অচিন /ocin/ 'unknown', অবুঝ /obuj^h/ 'not capable of understanding', মিল /mil/

'similarity', ডুব /dub/ 'a dip', বুলি /buli/ 'speech' can be mapped onto the following strategies.

16. /Xe/_{v, simp pres, 3rd inform} ↔ /X/_n 'action referred to in /Xe/'

মিলে /mile/ 'they look alike' ↔ মিল /mil/ 'similarity'

চলে /cole/ 'it goes' ↔ চল /col/ 'vogue, practice'

ডুবে /dube/ 'he sinks' ↔ ডুব /dub/ 'a dip'

মারে /mare/ 'he beats' ↔ মার /mar/ 'beating'

17. /CV_{-high}C/_{v, imp, 2nd int/derog} ↔ /oCV_{+high}C/_{adj} 'lacking the capacity needed for performing the action asked for in /CV_{-high}C/'

চেন /cen/ 'know' ↔ অচিন /ocin/ 'unknown'

বোঝ /boj^h/ 'understand' ↔ অবুঝ /obuj^h/ 'not capable of understanding'

I am aware of the fact that the adjectives অচিন /ocin/ 'unknown' and অবুঝ /obuj^h/ 'not capable of understanding' do not modify the same type of noun. /ocin/ modifies towns and places (mostly in folkloric tales) which are unknown to human beings (e.g. অচিন পুরী /ocin puri/ 'unknown palace') whereas /obuj^h/ modifies human beings or their mind: অবুঝ প্রেমিক /obuj^h premik/ 'the lover who does not understand the constraints of love', অবুঝ মন /obuj^h mon/ 'the mind that does not understand the constraints of life'. In my view, most ESB speaker/hearers overlook such semantic differences. For those who do not, অচিন /ocin/ 'unknown' would be a hapax legomenon subject to memorization.

Two different strategies can be proposed for /buli/ বুলি 'speech' and I am not sure which one of the two semantic relations is more acceptable for Bengali speakers in general. Although I think that most speaker-hearers would activate (18) in case of need, I do not however set aside the possibility that (19) can also become part of the morphology of some Bengali speakers.

18. /C₁ɔC₂a/arg verbal ↔ /C₁uC₂i/n 'something that result from /C₁ɔC₂a/'

বলা /bɔla/ 'to speak' ↔ বুলি /buli/ 'speech'

ঝরা /ʃ^hɔra/ 'to fall' ↔ ঝরি /ʃ^huri/ 'something falling'⁽⁹⁾

19. /CoC/n ↔ /CuCi/n 'a small /CoC/'

বোল /boɭ/ 'speech of small children' ↔ বুলি /buli/ 'speech'

ঝোল /k^hoɭ/ 'shell of small animals like tortoise' ↔ খুলি /k^huli/ 'skull'

Both of the free variants গাইছে /ga^jc^he/ and গাচ্ছে /gacc^he/ 'he is singing' can be formed with (20-21) and ESB speakers can choose either of them. There is no need to propose abstract segments like [h], [i] or [y] in the coda of the CV roots along with various deletion rules. Whether the underlying suffix contains a geminated segment or not is not pertinent information any more and degemination as well as assimilation rules can be abandoned for ever.

20. /X/v, simp. pres, 1st ↔ /XC^he/v, pres. prog, 3rd inform

গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইছে /ga^jc^he/ 'he is singing'

সই /ʃɔ^j/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সইছে /ʃɔ^jc^he/ 'he is tolerating'

21. /X/v, imp, pres, 2nd, intim/derog ↔ /XCC^he/v, ind, pres prog, 3rd inform

গা /ga/ 'sing' ↔ গাচ্ছে /gacc^he/ 'he is singing'

চা /ca/ 'want' ↔ চাচ্ছে /cacc^he/ 'he is willing to have'

The reason behind the anomalous behavior of *i*-deletion (cf. Sarkar) in verbal forms *সবে* /ʃɔbe/ and *সইবে* /ʃɔ^jbe/ 'he will tolerate' is that these words are mapped onto different strategies: (22) and (23) respectively. Both of the strategies are available for Bengali speakers but, /ga/ and /ʃɔ/ are not mapped onto (22) in ESB. We note that despite the formal similarity between *খা* /k^ha/ 'eat' and *গা* /ga/ 'sing', these two words cannot be mapped onto the same strategy (22).

22. /X/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /Xbe/_{v, simp Fut, 3rd inform}

খা /k^ha/ 'eat!' ↔ খাবে /k^habe/ 'he will eat'

স /ʃɔ/ 'tolerate!' ↔ ? সবে /ʃɔbe/ 'he will tolerate'

গা /ga/ 'sing!' ↔ ? গাবে /gabe/ 'he will sing' ⁽¹⁰⁾

23. /X/_{v, simp pres, 1st} ↔ /Xbe/_{v, simp fut, 3rd}

গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইবে /ga^jbe/ 'he will sing'

সই /ʃɔ^j/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সইবে /ʃɔ^jbe/ 'he will tolerate'

Both *খা* /k^ha/ 'eat' and *দে* /de/ 'give' are mapped onto the same strategy (24).

Unlike in generative approaches, WWM does not need to account for verb forms like */k^hεbo/ (which would result from vowel heightening) because there is no strategy in Bengali which would output such a word.

24. /X/_{v, pr, imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /Xbo/_{v, simp fut, 1st}

খা /k^ha/ 'eat!' ↔ খাবো /k^habo/ 'I will eat'

দে /de/ 'give!' ↔ দেবো /debo/ 'I will give'

The unacceptable derivations in Dasgupta (1982) দেও /de^w/ 'take' and নেও /ne^w/ 'give' belong to Dhaka-Mymensing dialect of Bengali and actual ESB verbal forms such as নাও /na^w/ 'take' and দাও /da^w/ 'give' can be formed with (25-26) among many others.

25. /Ce/_{v, pres, imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /Ca^w/_{v, pres imp, 2nd, inform}

নে /ne/ 'take!' ↔ নাও /na^w/ 'take'

দে /de/ 'give!' ↔ দাও /da^w/ 'give'

26. /Ci^j/_{v, simp pres 1st} ↔ /Ca^w/_{v, pres, imp, 2nd inform}

নিই /ni^j/ 'I take' ↔ নাও /na^w/ 'take'

দিই /di^j/ 'I give' ↔ দাও /da^w/ 'give'

As long as another pair with the same formal difference and semantic relation is not found, the potential pattern in (27) will not be part of Bengali morphology. As far as ESB is concerned, হরবোলা /hɔrbola/ 'a person who can mimic any sound' is almost an obsolete hapax legomenon. However, if another word such as *হরকোলা /hɔrkola/ is formed one day, /hɔrbola/ would be described as a complex word formed from the simple word বোল /bol/ 'speech'.

27. /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /hɔrXa/_{n/adj}

বোল /bol/ 'speech' ↔ হরবোলা /hɔrbola/ 'a person who can mimic any sound'

কোল /kol/ 'lap' ↔ *হরকোলা /hɔrkola/ 'a child who goes to everybody's lap'

I have described sequences such as কাটবার /kaʈbar/ 'to cut' or গাইবার /ga^jbar/ 'to sing' as the genitive form of the argument verbal কাটা /kaʈa/ 'to cut' or গাওয়া /ga^wa/ 'to sing'. As we can see below, these verbals, as well as their free variations কাটার /kaʈar/ 'to cut' and গাওয়ার /ga^war/ 'to sing' are formed with four different strategies (28-31). The parasitic epenthetic (i.e. non-etymological, non-underlying, non-phonological) (cf. Bhattacharja, forthcoming-2) consonant [b] or [w] that surfaces in these forms is an outcome of the respective strategies onto which these verbal forms are mapped. No such entity like *[kaʈb] exist in reality and its derivation should not preoccupy us at all. There are words such as কাট /kaʈ/ 'cut', গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' and গাও /ga^w/ 'sing' and as soon as they are mapped onto the relevant strategies, some other words such as কাটবার /kaʈbar/ 'to cut', গাইবার /ga^jbar/ and /ga^war/ গাওয়ার 'to sing' are formed. I am convinced that this much information is sufficient for the morphological description of these words.

28. /X/_{v, simp pres, 1st} ↔ /Xbar/_{arg verbal, gen}

গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইবার /ga^jbar/ 'for singing'

সই /ʃo^j/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সইবার /ʃo^jbar/ 'for tolerating'

29. /X/_{v, pres, imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /Xbar/_{arg verbal, gen}

খা /k^ha/ 'eat' ↔ খাবার /k^habar/ 'for eating'

কাট /kaʈ/ 'cut' ↔ ?কাটবার /kaʈbar/ 'for cutting'

গা /ga/ 'sing' ↔ ?গাবার /gabar/ 'for singing' ⁽¹⁰⁾

30. /XC/_{v, pres, imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /XC^{ar}/_{arg verbal, gen}

কাট /kaɽ/ 'cut' ↔ কাটার /kaɽar/ 'for cutting'

রাখ /rak^h/ 'keep' ↔ রাখার /rak^har/ 'for keeping'

31. /X^w/_{v, pres, imp, 2nd inform} ↔ /X^war/_{arg verbal, gen}

গাও /ga^w/ 'do' ↔ গাওয়ার /ga^war/ 'for singing'

খাও /k^ha^w/ 'read' ↔ খাওয়ার /k^ha^war/ 'for eating'

There is no strategy onto which both গিয়ে /gi^ye/ 'having gone' and যা /ja/ 'go' forms can be mapped. These two verbs are semantically and lexically related but there is no morphological relation between them. Sarkar (285) argues that "once a verb is defective, other close or homonymous verbs compensate for their surface absence in certain categories, at least by expanding their meaning when they are not absolutely synonymous." In other words, for historical or some other reasons when some verb forms disappears from the lexicon, the language replaces them with the forms of some synonymous verb. Although it is curious to note that the verbs 'to go' and 'to be' are defective in many other Indo-European languages including English and French, morphology cannot and need not respond to the how and why of such phenomena.

Although sequences like [g^hurg^hur] are called 'onomatopoeic words' (cf. Chatterji 1945 (1988)) in some grammatical traditions, I consider them simply as sequences of phonemes and not as words because they do not belong to any (syntactic) category. [g^hurg^hur] appears as a component in a compound verb /g^hurg^hurkora/ ঘুরঘুর করা 'to roam around with bad intention' which is a phrase rather than a word. Morphology is not concerned with

phrase-formation and WWM does not allow us to accept (32-33) as morphological strategies.

32. /Xe/_{v, simp pres, 3rd inform} ⇔ /XXkora/_{v, infinitive}

ঘুরে /g^hure/ 'he roams around' ⇔ ঘুরঘুর করা [g^hurg^hurkora] to roam around with bad intention

জ্বলে /jɔle/ 'it burns' ⇔ জ্বলজ্বল করা [jɔljɔlkora] to glitter

33. /X/_{v, imp, pres, 2nd intim/derog} ⇔ /XX/ 'ʔ'

ঘুর /g^hur/ 'roam', 'turn around' ⇔ ঘুরঘুর [g^hurg^hur] 'roaming around'

জ্বল /jɔl/ 'burn' ⇔ জ্বলজ্বল [jɔljɔl] 'effect of burning'

However, one can show that [g^hurg^hur] is formed with the verb ঘুর /g^hur/ 'turn around, move' but there are two problems to solve in this respect: i) one has to determine the category of [g^hurg^hur] as a word and ii) he has to find out another pair of words mappable onto the above pattern. Unless and until these two problems are settled, morphology will not have much to say about [g^hurg^hur].

Despite certain inadequacies, atomistic approaches may succeed in showing how words are formed or in analyzing already formed words, but they have nothing to say about how words are understood or remembered. I have shown that WWM is free from many descriptive and explanatory inadequacies the atomistic approaches often suffer from and it can solve the problems left unresolved in the previous atomistic studies. Moreover, WWM satisfies some of the necessary requirements for a theory which are: simplicity (cf. Chomsky, 1995), economy and exhaustiveness. Hence, I think that my preference for WWM as a tool for describing the system of word formation in Bengali is amply justified.

1. Terms like *language* and *dialect* represent highly problematic (cf. Singh and Agnihotri 1997) and vague notions, rather than clear-cut linguistic concepts (cf. Trudgill 2000). Such terms can be troublesome because they are often misunderstood and/or misinterpreted by language policy makers as well as by opportunist politicians. For example, the means of verbal communication used in Chittagong, Sylhet, and Dhaka areas in Bangladesh on the one hand, and vernaculars like *Chakma* and *Khasi* on the other, are, according to the 'non-academic folklore' (cf. Singh and Agnihotri), only *upabhasha* (*dialects*) and the standard dialect i.e. the S(tandard) C(olloquial) B(engali) is the *language* or *bhasha*.

The basic grammar as well as the lexicon of *Chakma* spoken in Chittagong hill tracts resemble to a great extent the grammar and vocabulary of *Chittagonian* (see Grierson 1903 for details), and both *Chittagonian* and *Chakma* are considered by Grierson as dialects of Bengali. But *Khasi* spoken in the Sylhet area cannot be considered as such, for it belongs to a different language family called Mon-khmer and obviously does not share the grammar and basic vocabulary with Bengali. Therefore, compared to *Chittagonian* or *Chakma*, *Khasi* is not a *dialect* of Bengali. It is a distinct *language* and/or a dialect of some other language.

2. To use a metaphor that comes to mind, *language* would be comparable to the concept of 'archi-phoneme' of the Prague school phonology, and *dialect* to its allophones.

3. According to Grierson (1903:18) "the purest and most admired Bengali is spoken in the area marked as central, perhaps spoken in the District of Hoogly". Apparently, it is this dialect which gradually evolved as SCB. In a footnote Grierson further mentions: "According to tradition, the Bengali spoken in Nadia is the purest form of the language, but actual experience shows that this is tradition and nothing more. All that can be said in its favour is that the colloquial Bengali of Nadia is more sanskritised than elsewhere, a peculiarity which is no doubt due to the influence of the Sanskrit schools which flourish in that district."

4. The term 'standard' has apparently two different interpretations, one is exclusively linguistic and the other is mainly socio-political. For Grierson (1903:18), "the centre of the Eastern Branch of the language may be taken to be the District of Dacca, where, what may be called Standard Eastern Bengali is spoken'. This is a purely linguistic view which probably means that the dialect of Bengali spoken in Dhaka district is understood by the speakers of other eastern dialects. But what we mean by ESB today is not the language of

Dhaka district but rather a variation of SCB chosen by general conventions as the standard dialect in a certain socio-political situation.

5. According to Grierson (1903) "The dialect of the educated is that known as Standard Bengali". As the specimen of this dialect in his *Linguistic Survey of India* shows, what he refers to as Standard Bengali is *Shadhu bhasha*, an exclusively written dialect now almost obsolete. Therefore, the dialect Grierson mentions as standard Bengali is not the standard dialect of today.

6. One may ask that, if *Chittagonian* is considered to be a dialect of Bengali, why are *Assamese* or *Oriya* considered as *language* despite the fact that they also share grammar and basic vocabulary with Bengali? The reason why *Chittagonian* is a dialect and *Assamese* is a *language* is mainly socio-political. In a particular socio-political context, standard *Assamese* (20 million speakers) is chosen as the state language of a province in India whereas *Chittagonian* (14 million speakers) remains a *dialect* of Bengali (cf. Wikipedia entry on *Chittagonian* and *Assamese*) although mutual intelligibility is apparently less between Bengali and Chittagonian as compared to that between Bengali and Assamese. I am aware that unlike Chittagonian, both Assamese and Oriya have an alphabet of their own and both of them have been used as the means of education and literary activities for centuries. However, once a favourable socio-political situation is created, such lacks are generally overlooked. Thus for example, the speakers of *Rohingya*, a dialect of Chittagonian (cf. Wikipedia entry on *Rohingya*) spoken in the district of Arakan in Myanmar, claim their vernacular to be an independent language whereas the Chittagonians do not seem to be bothered at all with the status of their mother tongue. This clearly shows that the manner in which a 'sub-dialect' gets the status of language while a 'dialect' remains only a dialect, is due to socio-political reasons.

7. As Ferguson (1945:37) uses braces "to enclose morphemes", I have used them in the passages where I refer to his work.

8. I am aware of the fact that Dasgupta's position vis-à-vis morphology has changed since Dasgupta 1995 (see also Dasgupta 2001, Dasgupta et al. 2000). Although Dasgupta (1982) does not represent Dasgupta's current view, I consider it as an important step towards the description and understanding of the verbal morphology of Bengali.

9. বুরি [j^huri] also means 'an aerial root of the tree falling towards the ground'. This word is also used as constant in words such as ফুলবুরি /phulj^huri/ 'falling flowers', সোনাবুরি /sonaj^huri/ 'falling gold' (name of a flower).

10. These forms are however used in poetic language.

Part-II
The Morphological Description

Chapter-5

Bengali Morphology: On describing and classifying the strategies

চাত্ত্ব বর্ণ্যং ময়াসৃষ্টং গুণকর্মবিভাগশঃ (গীতা, চতুর্থ অধ্যায়, জ্ঞানযোগ, শ্লোক:১৩)

[caturvarn^yam mo^ya sriṣṭam guṅkarmabib^hagaṣa]⁽¹⁾

(*Bhagabat Gita*, Chapter-4 (Jneanjoga), couplet-13)

5.1. Words and their categories

Since the very moment a word starts to exist in a lexicon, it must belong to some syntactic category, and as Sapir (1921 (2004:47)) points out, "linguistic form may and should be studied as types of patterning, apart from the associated functions." The question may arise whether the category of a word depends on its syntactic function or whether the function is an intrinsic property of the category itself. The same word can be used to perform different functions and it is not always easy to determine the syntactic category of a word unless they are used in a sentence (cf. Jespersen 1924 (1992)). Therefore, according to Jespersen (60) "everything should be kept in view, form, function and meaning" in order to determine the syntactic category of a certain word.⁽¹⁾

Although word categories are generally related to particular syntactic functions, it is rather the phrase that is entitled to have a function in the sentence, not the word. According to Bloomfield (1933 (1984:207)) "Syntax includes the construction of phrases" and when a single word performs a syntactic function in a sentence, it represents a phrase. The category of a phrase is determined by the category of its head word but the category of the

1. "The four categories (of human beings: priests, warriors, tradesmen and workers) classified according to their quality (guna) and function (karma), are my creations." (Tr. is mine)

latter does not change when the phrase has an unusual function (for example, a noun does not become an adjective when the noun phrase has the function of a modifier). Therefore, neither function can change the category nor can the category exclusively determine the function. In my view, categories and functions are two different sets of primitives which belong to different levels and do not necessarily converge.

Indian and European grammatical tradition differ in the number of word categories they postulate. In the European tradition there are eight categories: Noun, Pronoun, Adjective, Verb, Adverb, Preposition, Conjunction and Interjection. In the Indian grammatical tradition, there are five: Noun, Pronoun, Adjective (including Numerals and Quantifier), Verb and *Avyaya* or the category of all the indeclinable words. Apparently, the European way of classification is more detailed because in the Indian one, Adjective and Adverbs are put into the same category and the last three categories of European grammars are considered as *avyaya*. Unlike traditional grammars of Bengali, in the present description, the European classification will be followed, but some extra categories like Num(eral), Q(uantifier), M(easure) W(ord) and D(ate) W(ord) will also be used.

5.2. On coming up with a morphological strategy in Bengali

How do we determine the existence of a certain strategy in Bengali? As it has been mentioned before, a morphological strategy has to be justified with at least two pairs of words based on the same formal and categorical difference and semantic relatedness. For example, (1) is a legitimate pair of ESB because (1a) and (1b) is based on: i) the same formal difference between /X/ and /nirX/; ii) the same difference of categorical affiliation (one of the pair-mates belongs to the category of Noun and the other to Adjective) and iii) the same semantic relatedness: 'without X'

1. /CX/_n ↔ /nirCX/_{adj} 'without /CX/'
- a. দোষ /doʃ/ 'guilt' ↔ নির্দোষ /nirdoʃ/ 'guiltless'
- b. ভুল /b^hul/ 'fault' ↔ নির্ভুল /nirb^hul/ 'faultless'

The difference of categorical affiliation as well as the semantic relatedness in 2a and 2b is the same as in 1a and 1b. But neither of the former can be mapped onto (1) because they are not based on the same formal difference. Therefore, 2a and 2b license a different strategy.

2. /CXa/_n ↔ /niʃCXo/_{adj} 'without /CXa/'
- a. শঙ্কা /ʃoŋka/ 'fear' ↔ নিঃশঙ্ক /niʃʃoŋko/ 'fearless'
- b. চেষ্টা /ceʃta/ 'effort' ↔ নিশ্চেষ্ট /niʃceʃto/ 'effortless'

Although (1), (2) and (3) are based on the same categorical difference and semantic relatedness, the pair in (3) can be mapped neither onto (1) nor onto (2) because it shows a different formal difference. I do not consider (3) as a morphological strategy of Bengali because I have not found a second pair with the same formal and categorical difference as well as semantic relatedness.

3. /Xa/_n ↔ /nirX/_{adj} 'without /Xa/'
- দয়া /do^ya/ ↔ নির্দয় /nirdo^y/

The following strategies: (4), (5) and (6) are based on the same formal difference. But pairs that license (4) cannot be mapped onto (5) and (6) because the latter are based on a different categorical difference. And, despite the same categorical difference, 5a-b and 6a-b license different

strategies because these sets of pairs does not have the same semantic relatedness.

4. /XC/adj ↔ /XCi/n 'XC/-ness'

a. চালাক /calak/ 'clever' ↔ চালাকী /calaki/ 'cleverness'

b. শয়তান /ʃɔʏtan/ 'devil/wicked' ↔ শয়তানী /ʃɔʏtani/ 'wickedness'

5. /XC/n ↔ /XCi/adj 'somebody who has /XC/'

a. ধন /dʰɔn/ 'wealth' ↔ ধনী /dʰɔni/ 'rich'

b. জ্ঞান /gɛ(a)n/ 'knowledge' ↔ জ্ঞানী /gɛ(a)ni/ 'learned'

6. /XC/n ↔ /XCi/adj 'somebody who does /XC/'

a. সন্ত্রাস /ʃɔntraʃ/ 'terror' ↔ সন্ত্রাসী /ʃɔntraʃi/ 'terrorist'

b. বিলাস /bilaʃ/ 'luxury' ↔ বিলাসী /bilaʃi/ 'luxurious'

As কার্যকলাপ /karjokɔlap/ 'activities' was part of my lexicon, (7) was a dormant pattern as far as my morphology is concerned. But when I noticed the word কেশকলাপ /keʃkɔlap/ 'hair and its decoration' in the *Samsad dictionary of Bengali*, (7) should have become a strategy, but it has not because in my view, 7a and 7b are not based on the same semantic relatedness. However, it is possible that /karjokɔlap/ had a different meaning in Middle or Old Bengali and (7) had been a strategy in the morphology of the then Bengali. It seems that the strategy had a very limited productivity and was reduced to a pattern following the change in the meaning of the words like /karjokɔlap/.

7. /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xkɔlap/_{n, plu} 'X/ and similar things'

7a. কেশ /keʃ/ 'hair' ↔ কেশকলাপ /keʃkɔlap/ 'hair and its decoration'

7b. কার্য /karjo/ 'activity' ↔ কার্যকলাপ /karjokɔlap/ 'activities'

5.3. Classification of the strategies

As I have mentioned earlier, the present work contains a list of 1200 strategies. These strategies have been divided into different categories for the purpose of a comparative study. In Singh and Agnihotri (1997) a strategy is classified according to the syntactic category of the concerned words, more precisely speaking, according to the change it brings in the syntactic category of the words it forms. Strategies are primarily grouped into two categories: i) Intra-categorical (Noun-Noun, Verb-Verb, etc.) and ii) Inter-categorical (Noun-Verb, Adjective-Adverb, etc.) and then into six sub-categories: Nouns and Nouns (category-A), Verbs and Nouns (category-B), Nouns and Adjectives (category-C), Nouns and Adverbs (category-D), Verbs and Verbs (category-E), Verbs and Adjectives (category-F).

In my work, I have followed almost the same method of classification but I have tagged the strategies according to the type of morphological operation (Noun-Verb, Adjective-Noun, etc.) as well as the details of the morphological mechanism(s) involved in the strategy (Adjunction-Deletion, Segmental modification, etc.).

8. (NAADSMSF-244) /CoX/_{adj} ↔ /CaXjo/_n 'quality of /CoX/

চতুর /cotur/ 'clever' ↔ চতুর্য /caturjo/ 'cunningness

মধুর /mod^hur/ 'beautiful/pleasant' ↔ মধুর্য /mad^hurjo/ 'beauty'

For example, the strategy NAADSMSF-244 repeated above as (8)

- i) changes a noun into an adjective (or vice-versa): AN;
- ii) involves the mechanism of Adjunction-Deletion: AD;
- iii) involves the partial specification of the variable and segmental modification (SM) in the specified part;
- IV) the constant is sub-fixed (suffixed) to the right of the variable: SF.

This numbering style of the strategy tags as well as the classification of the strategies in general is not theoretically significant. However, I have tagged them as such for some practical reason: it helps us to put a particular strategy in its right place so that we can easily trace it when we need to. Classification of the strategy according to the morphological operation (Noun-Verb, Adjective-Noun, etc.) has on the other hand some significance and it is conceivable that in the morphology of the speaker, strategies do not remain scattered.

5.3.1. Intercategorical Morphology

Strategies concerned with inter-categorical morphology are responsible for changing the syntactic category of the word. As I have pointed out earlier, the syntactic categories that will be used in the present work are the following: N(oun), Pro(noun), Adj(ective), V(erb), Adv(erb), P(ostposition), Conj(unction), Int(erjection), Num(eral), Ord(inal), M(easure) W(ord) and D(ate) W(ord).

Noun-Adjective

9. (NASVADSF-30) /XC/_n ↔ /XCakt_o/_{adj} 'with much of /XC/ on or in something'

তৈল /tɔ^jl/ 'oil' ↔ তৈলাক্ত /tɔ^jlakt_o/ 'oily'

কর্দম /kɔrdom/ 'mud' ↔ কর্দমাক্ত /kɔrdomaktɔ/ 'muddy'

10. (NASVADSF-120) /XV/adj ↔ /XVta/n 'XV/-ness'

উচ্চ /ucco/ 'high' ↔ উচ্চতা /uccota/ 'height'

সম্ভাব্য /ʃomb^habbo/ 'probable' ↔ সম্ভাব্যতা /ʃomb^habbota/ 'probability'

Noun-Adverb

11. (NAdvADSF-356) /X/n ↔ /Xbɛpi/adv 'during the whole /X/'

মাস /maʃ/ 'month' ↔ মাসব্যাপী /maʃbɛpi/ 'during the whole month'

সপ্তাহ /ʃoptaho/ 'week' ↔ সপ্তাহব্যাপী /ʃoptahobɛpi/ 'during the whole week'

Noun-Verb

12. (NVSVSMSF-383): /C₁V_{-high}C₂VC₃/n ↔ /C₁V_{+high}C₂C₃a/v, simp pres, imp, 2nd intim/derog

'do /C₁V_{-high}C₂VC₃/'

ধমক /d^homok/ 'rebuff' ↔ ধমকা /d^homka/ 'rebuff'

বদল /bodol/ 'change' ↔ বদলা /bodla/ 'change'

13. (NVSADSF-387): /XC/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XCie/adj/n 'who can do /XC/'

নাচ /nac/ 'dance!' ↔ নাচিয়ে /nacie/ 'dancer'

বাজ /baʃ/ 'play!' ↔ বাজিয়ে /bajie/ 'musician'

Noun- Postposition

14. (NPSVADSF-382) /XC/n ↔ /XCe/p 'in /XC/'

পিছন /pic^hon/ 'back' ↔ পিছনে /pic^hone/ 'behind'

দিক /dik/ 'direction' ↔ দিকে /dike/ 'towards'

Verb-Adjective

15. (VASVADSF-399) /Xa/adj ↔ /Xano/arg verbal 'to make /Xa/'

কাঁচা /kāca/ '(work) done by a novice' ↔ কাঁচানো /kācano/ 'to undo some work'

পাকা /paka/ 'ripe, mature' ↔ পাকানো /pakano/ 'ripen, to make mature'

16. (VASVADSF-395) /XC/v, pr. Imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XConto/adj '/XC/-ing'

চল্ /col/ 'move, go' ↔ চলন্ত /colonto/ 'running'

পড়্ /por/ 'fall' ↔ পড়ন্ত /poronto/ 'falling'

Adjective-Adverb

17. (AAdvSVADSF-403) /XC/adj ↔ /XCe/adv 'in a /XC/ way'

ধীর /d^hir/ 'slow' ↔ ধীরে /d^hire/ 'slowly'

নীরব /nirob/ 'quiet' ↔ নীরবে /nirobe/ 'quietly'

18. (AAdvSBSF-404) /X/adv ↔ /Xkar/adj 'of /X/'

তখন /tok^hon/ 'at that time' ↔ তখনকার /tok^honkar/ 'of that time'

সেদিন /ʃedin/ 'on that day' ↔ সেদিনকার /ʃedinkar/ 'of that day'

Postposition-Adverb

19. (ADVPID-417) /X/adv ↔ /X/_p 'in the position referred to in /X/'

আগে /age/ 'before' ↔ /age/ আগে 'in front'

পাশে /paʃe/ 'beside' ↔ /paʃe/ পাশে 'beside'

Verb - Adverb

20. (VAdvSVADSF-414) /Xa/v ↔ /Xakalin/adv 'during /Xa/'

চলা /cola/ 'to continue', 'to function' ↔ চলাকালীন /colakalin/ 'during the time of

when something continues or functions'

থাকা /t^haka/ 'to stay' ↔ থাকাকালীন /t^hakakalin/ 'during the stay'

Interjection-Noun

21. (IntNSVADSF-419) /XC_N-syllab/Int ↔ /XC_N-syllab^{ota}/_n 'XC_N-syllab/-ness'

সাবধান /ʃabd^han/ 'be careful' ↔ সাবধানতা /ʃabd^han^{ota}/ 'carefulness'

নিশ্চয় /niʃco^y/ 'certainly' ↔ নিশ্চয়তা /niʃco^yota/ 'certainty'

5.3.2. Intracategorical Morphology

Strategies concerned with intra-categorical morphology do not change the syntactic category of the word. Intra-categorical morphology also subsumes nominal subcategories such as Case (CC), Gender (MF), Number (SP), Definiteness (ID), etc. In the description of intra-categorical morphology, traditional labels for morphological categories, such as Noun_{masc} or Noun_{gen} will be used.

Noun-Noun

22. (NNCCADSVSF-991) /XC/_{n, sing, nom} ↔ /XCer/_{n, sing, gen} 'of /XC/'

শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hok/ 'teacher' ↔ শিক্ষকের /ʃikk^hoker/ 'of the teacher'

চেয়ার /cear/ 'chair' ↔ চেয়ারের /cearer/ 'of the chair'

23. (NNMFBSBF-983) /Xo/_{n, masc} ↔ /Xi/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /Xo/'

ছাত্র /c^hatro/ 'male student' ↔ ছাত্রী /c^hatri/ 'female student'

পাত্র /patro/ 'bride groom' ↔ পাত্রী /patri/ 'bride'

24. (NNSPADSF-951) /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xra/_{n, plu} 'plural of /X/'

ডাকাত /ɖakat/ 'robber' ↔ ডাকাতরা /ɖakatra/ 'leaders'

ছেলে /c^hele/ 'boy' ↔ ছেলেরা /c^helera/ 'robbers'

25. (NNDIADSF-1014) /X/_{n,ind, sing/plu} ↔ /Xt̪a/_{n,def,sing} 'definite or specific /X/'

বই /boʃ/ 'book' ↔ বইটা /boʃt̪a/ 'the book'

কলম /kolom/ 'pen' ↔ কলমটা /kolomt̪a/ 'the pen'

Pronoun-Pronoun

26. (ProProCCSMADSF-1013) /(C₁)uC₂i/_{pron,nom} ↔ /(C₁)oC₂ake/_{pron,sing,acc/dat}

/(C₁)uC₂i/ used as goal, experiencer or patient'

তুমি /tumi/ 'you_{informal}' ↔ তোমাকে /tomake/ 'you_{informal}'

উনি /uni/ 'he_{formal}' ↔ ওনাকে /onake/ 'him_{formal}'

Adjective-Adjective

27. (AASVADPF-1038) /CX/_{adj} ↔ /ʃoCX/_{adj} 'self-/CX/'

শিক্ষিত /ʃikkhito/ 'educated' ↔ স্বশিক্ষিত /ʃoʃikkhito/ 'self-educated'

পরিকল্পিত /porikolpito/ 'planned' ↔ স্বপরিকল্পিত /ʃoporikolpito/ 'planned by himself'

Adverb ↔ Adverb

28. (AdvAdvRD-1071) /X/_{adv} ↔ /XX/_{adv} '/X/ in a continuous way'

ধীরে /d^hire/ 'slowly' ↔ ধীরেধীরে /d^hired^hire/ 'slowly and repeatedly'

জোরে /jore/ 'forcibly' ↔ জোরেজোরে /jorejore/ 'forcibly and repeatedly'

Verb-Verb

29. (VVADSF-1180):/X/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /Xbi/_{v, fut, 2nd intim/derog}

কাট /kat̪/ 'cut' ↔ কাটবি /kat̪bi/ 'you will cut'

সাঁতরা /ʃãtra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরাবি /ʃãtrabi/ 'you will swim'

5.4. Mechanism types

We have also classified the strategies into different categories according to the morphological mechanism(s) they involve.

5.4.1. Identity

30. (VVID-1199) /X/_{v, simp past, 2nd inform} ↔ /X/_{cond verbal}

চাইলে /ca^jle/ 'You have just wanted' ↔ চাইলে /ca^jle/ 'If (you) want'

গাইলে /ga^jle/ 'You have just sung' ↔ গাইলে /ga^jle/ 'If (you) sing'

5.4.2. Suffixation and Prefixation

Constants can be prefixed or suffixed to the variable. Let's note that in the present work, a completely different meaning is attributed to these two terms: 'prefixation' and 'suffixation'. In atomistic descriptions, they usually mean adjoining a prefix or a suffix to some entities called *root* or *stem*. As far as the present work is concerned, 'prefixation' means adjoining the constant to the left of (or before) the variable and 'suffixation' means adjoining the constant to the right (or after) the variable. When both suffixation and prefixation are involved in a strategy, the mechanism is labeled as 'circumfixation'.

Adjunctional-Deletion: Prefixation

31. (NAADPF-9) /X/_n ↔ /nirX/_{adj} 'X/less'/'without X'

দোষ /doʃ/ 'guilt' ↔ নির্দোষ /nirdoʃ/ 'guiltless'

ভুল /b^hul/ 'fault' ↔ নির্ভুল /nirb^hul/ 'faultless'

Adjunction-Deletion: Suffixation

32. (AASVADSF-1046) /XC/_{adj/n} ↔ /Xab^ho/_{adj} 'light /XC/'

নীল /nil/ 'blue' ↔ নীলাভ /nilab^ho/ 'bluish'

সবুজ /ʃobuj/ 'green' ↔ সবুজাভ /ʃobujab^ho/ 'greenish'

Adjunction-Deletion: Circumfixation

33. (NAADSMCF-252) /Xa/_n ↔ /ʃɔXo/_{adj} 'with /Xa/'

লজ্জা /lɔɟɟa/ 'shyness' ↔ সলজ্জা /ʃɔlɔɟɟo/ 'shy'

শ্রদ্ধা /srodd^ha/ 'respect' ↔ সশ্রদ্ধা /ʃɔsrodd^ho/ 'shy'

Suffixation does not necessarily belong to Adjunction-Deletion. In substitution too, the constant can be prefixed and suffixed to the variable. I have decided to indicate both the category of the mechanism (AD and SB) and its sub-categories (PF, SF, etc.) in the tagging of a strategy.

Substitution: Prefixation

34. (NNSBPF-910) /ʃɔX/_n ↔ /biX/_n 'contrary/opposite of /ʃɔX/'

স্বদেশ /ʃɔdeʃ/ 'one's own country' ↔ বিদেশ /bideʃ/ 'foreign country'

স্বধর্মী /ʃɔd^hormi/ 'member of the same religion' ↔ বিধর্মী /bid^hormi / 'member of a different religion'

Substitution: Suffixation

35. (ANSBSF-333) /Xo/_{adj} ↔ /Xi/_n 'who has /Xi/'

ক্লান্ত /klanto/ 'tired' ↔ ক্লান্তি /klanti/ 'tiredness'

ভ্রান্ত /b^hranto/ 'mistaken' ↔ ভ্রান্তি /b^hranti/ 'mistake'

5.4.3. Subjunction and Prejunction

From a strictly theoretical point of view, word sub-components are, in most of the cases, nothing but continuous or discontinuous sequences of phonemes. Although they do not have any meaning and cannot belong to any syntactic category some constants are homophonous with regular words in the lexicon (i.e. have a phonetic resemblance with them). However, as Singh and Dasgupta, (1999:266) points out, they resemble regular words "only in the

appearance". We may call such constants *prejunct* and *subjunct* depending on whether they precede (36) or follow (37) the variable. The outputs of the strategies which involve *prejunct* and *subjunct* are called 'compounds' in atomistic morphology. I have made a separate list of these strategies in order to determine the number of the so-called compounds (cf. Singh and Dasgupta) which show some kind of pattern regularity.

36. (NASVADPJ-253): /CX/_n ↔ /ɛkCX/_{adj} 'of the same /CX/'

মত /mɔt/ 'opinion' ↔ একমত /ɛkmɔt/ 'of the same opinion'/'unanimous'

জোট /jot/ 'group','union' ↔ একজোট /ɛkjot/ 'united' 'of the same group'

37. (NAADSJ-266): /X/_n ↔ /Xjukto/_{adj} 'with /X/'

সন্দেহ /ʃɔndeho/ 'suspicion' ↔ সন্দেহযুক্ত /ʃɔndehojukto/ 'suspected'

সীল /sil/ 'seal' ↔ সীলযুক্ত /siljukto/ 'sealed'

As soon as a full word is involved in word formation as a subcomponent, it becomes formally and semantically transformed. Apparently, this transformation takes place in two consequent stages. In the first stage, the sequence loses only its autonomy (which means that it is no more a word) (e.g. [jukto] in (37)). In the second stage, the sub-component undergoes phonetic as well as semantic distortion (e.g. [g^hor] and [kɔr] in (38) and (39)). These two different types of constants in Bengali represent therefore two different stages of grammaticalization of lexical elements i.e. the diachronic morphological changes that phonemic sequences involved in word-formation usually undergo.⁽²⁾

38. (NNSVADPF-474) /CX/_n ↔ /g^horCX/_n ' /CX/ of horse'

দৌড় /do^ur/ 'race' ↔ ঘোড়দৌড় /g^hordo^ur / 'horse-race'

সওয়ার /ʃo^war/ 'rider/passenger' ↔ ঘোড়সওয়ার /g^horʃo^war/ 'horseman/cavalryman'

39. (NNSVADSF-571) /XV/_n ↔ /XVko^r/_n 'who does or makes /XV/'

চিত্র /citro/ 'painting' ↔ চিত্রকর /citroko^r/ 'painter'

জাদু /jadu/ 'magic' ↔ জাদুকর /jaduko^r/ 'magician'

5.5. Partially specified variable

Some strategies of Adjunction-Deletion type require their variable to be partly specified (40). As the input of this strategy always ends in /a/, this partial specification of the variable must be part of the strategy. However, if the input ends either in a vowel or in a consonant (41), the specification must be avoided because, as Singh & Neuvel (2005:229) point out: "WFS must be formulated as generally as possible, but, and this is crucial, only as generally as the facts of matter permit."

Specified variable + Suffixation

40. (NNCCSVADSF-997) /Xa/_{n, nom} ↔ /Xa^y/_{n, loc} 'in /Xa/'

ক্ষমতা /k^ho^mota/ 'power' ↔ ক্ষমতায় /k^ho^mota^y/ 'in the power'

টাকা /taka/ 'money' ↔ টাকায় /taka^y/ 'in the money'

Some strategies require segmental modification in the specified part of the variable. Partial specification of the variable, as I have mentioned earlier, does not necessarily imply segmental modification whereas segmental modification presupposes partial specification of the variable. Therefore, I have decided, for the sake of economy, to indicate only segmental modification (SM) in the tagging of the strategies that involve it (42). If no

modification is involved in the specified part of the variable, SV (Specified Variable) is added to the tag (41).

Unspecified variable + Suffixation

41. (MFADSF-971) /X/_{n, masc} ↔ /Xni/_{n, fem} 'female/wife of /X/'

বিদেশী /bideʃi/ 'male foreigner' ↔ বিদেশিনী /bideʃini/ 'female foreigner'

কামার /kamar/ 'blacksmith' ↔ কামারনি /kamarni/ 'wife of a blacksmith or a female blacksmith'

Specified variable + Segmental Modification + Prefixation

42. (NADASMPF-220) /Xa/_n ↔ /ɔX/_{adj} 'lacking /Xa/'

সীমা /ʃima/ 'limit' ↔ অসীম /ɔʃim/ 'unlimited'

চেতনা /cetona/ 'sensation' ↔ অচেতন /ɔceton/ 'bereft of sensation'

Segmental modifications can be of two types: i) automatic and non-automatic. According to WWM, only automatic alternations are governed by the WFCs (cf. Singh 1984) of the relevant language whereas the non-automatic ones are dependant on particular morphological context. For example, (43) requires the repetition of the specified part of the variable. In order to decide whether this repetition is automatic or not (i.e. whether it is governed by a WFC of Bengali) an exhaustive list of the WFCs of Bengali must be provided and I have provided one in the section-5.11 of the present chapter.

Insertion/repetition + feature change + Prefixation

43. (NNADSMPPF-539) /CX/_n ↔ /protiCCX/_n 'a copy of /XC/'

ধ্বনি /d^honi/ 'sound' ↔ প্রতিধ্বনি /protidd^honi/ 'echo'

ছবি /c^hobi/ 'picture' ↔ প্রতিছবি /proticc^hobi/ 'reflection'

None of the following sequences: */protic^hobi/ and /protid^honi/ violate any WFC of Bengali. As পিছল /pic^hɔl/ 'slippery' and বিধান /bid^han/ 'rule or prescription' are acceptable words of Bengali, sequences like [Vc^hV] and [Vd^hV] cannot be ruled out. Therefore, the repetition of the segment can only be triggered by morphology. As we can note, the output of (43) should be */protid^hd^honi/ and */protic^hc^hobi/ rather than /protidd^honi/ and /proticc^hobi/. But the former cannot surface because they violate WFC-3 and WFC-4 of Bengali phonology.

5.6. So-called Morpho-Phonological change

Two different feature changes are involved in (44): /a/ → /ɔ/ and /s/ → /ʃ/. It may seem that the latter modification is phonological because in many words /s/ precedes /t/ (e.g. ব্যস্ত /bɛsto/ 'busy', রাস্তা /rasta/ 'road'). But the segmental change /s/ → /ʃ/ is not phonologically conditioned because we can also find আসতে /aʃte/_{complement verbal} 'to come' or ভালোবাসতে /b^halobaʃte/_{complement verbal} 'to love'. Therefore the alternation /ʃ/ ~ /s/ appears only in a particular strategy (44).

44. (NAADSMSF-225): /XaC^{+strident,+palatal}/_n ↔ /XɔC^{+strident,+alveolar}t_o/_{adj}

'/XaC^{+strident,+palatal}/-ed'

সন্ত্রাস /ʃontraʃ/ 'terror' ↔ সন্ত্রস্ত /ʃontrɔsto/ 'terrorized'

বিন্যাস /binnaʃ/ 'classification' ↔ বিন্যস্ত /binnɔsto/ 'classified'

In atomistic works on most of the Indian languages (e.g. Sarkar 1976, Dan 1992, Shukla 2001, Montaut 2004 among others) non-automatic segmental

changes are described as 'morpho-phonological' in the sense that they appear only in particular morphological context. It is speculated that the same morpho-phoneme /P/ is realized as [α] in the base word and [β] in the derived word. For example, /i/ and /u/ in the following words: নিসর্গ /niʃɔrgo/ 'nature' or ভূত /b^hut/ 'ghost' are transformed into a sequence of vowels (or diphthongs): /ɔ^j/ or /o^u/ respectively in the derived words নৈসর্গিক /no^jʃɔrgik/ 'related to natural' and ভৌতিক /b^ho^utik/ 'ghostly'. Such segmental changes are described in Sanskrit and Bengali grammars as *guna* and *vridhhi*. When the vowels like /i/, /u/ and /r/ becomes /e/ and /o/ and /ɔr/, the change is called *Guna* and when they become /ɔ^j/, /o^u/ and /ar/ respectively, it is labeled as a *Vridhhi* change (cf. Monier-Williams 1878 (1978), Chatterji 1945 (1988)).

Segmental modification: /u/ → /ou/ + suffixation

45. (NAADSMSF-228) /XuC/_n ↔ /Xo^uCik/_{adj} 'related to /XuC/'

ভূত /b^hut/ 'ghost' ↔ ভৌতিক /b^ho^utik/ 'ghostly'

মূল /mul/ 'base' ↔ মৌলিক /mo^ulik/ 'basic'

Segmental modification: /i/ → /ɔi/ + suffixation

46. (NAADSMSF-230): /CiXo/_n ↔ /Cɔ^jXik/_{adj} 'related to /CiXo/'

নিসর্গ /niʃɔrgo/ 'nature' ↔ নৈসর্গিক /no^jʃɔrgik/ 'natural'

বিবাহ /bibaho/ 'marriage' ↔ বৈবাহিক /bo^jbahik/ 'marital'

Segmental modification: /ɔ/ → /a/ + suffixation

47. (NAADSMSF-231) /CɔX/_n ↔ /CaXik/_{adj} 'related to /(C)aX/'

দপ্তর /dɔptor/ 'office' ↔ দাপ্তরিক /daptorik/ 'official'

সংগঠন /ʃɔngɔt^hon/ 'organization' ↔ সাংগঠনিক /ʃangɔt^honik/ 'organizational'

None of the segmental modifications involved in 45-47 is governed by any WFC of Bengali. Such alternations are realized in specific morphological contexts and do not apply 'across the board' (cf. Singh and Agnihotri 1997). Therefore, they are part of the morphological strategy onto which the relevant words are mapped (cf. Ford et al. 1997) and represent thereby a morphological mechanism. In the present work I have tried to determine how many different non-automatic segmental modifications are involved in Bengali morphology. The percentage of the strategies that involve non-automatic changes will show clearly whether they deserve the attention they have been paid (and pages they are attributed) in traditional Bengali grammars.

5.7. Difficulties of Classification

Singh (1999:82) mentions about "occasional difficulty of classifying a particular WFS" and such difficulties do in fact arise in classification of strategies according to the type of mechanism they involve. For example, (44) can be described to involve either adjunction-deletion or substitution. In the former point of view, [aʃ] is considered as the specified part of the variable and [tɔ] as the constant. In the latter, the said specified part [aʃ] is substituted by [ɔstɔ] or vice-versa.

44. (NAADSMSF-225): /XaC_{+strident,+palatal}/_n ↔ /XɔC_{+strident,+palatal}tɔ/_{adj}

'/XaC_{+strident,+palatal}/-ed'

সন্ত্রাস /ʃontraʃ/ 'violence' ↔ সন্ত্রস্ত /ʃontrɔstɔ/ 'afraid'

বিনাস /binnaʃ/ 'classification' ↔ বিনস্ত /binnɔstɔ/ 'classified'

WWM insists on the fact that there must be a formal difference between /X/ and /X'/. But what form the (') will take and how it will be realized is not the

concern of the theory. The mechanisms I propose in this work: adjunction-deletion, substitution, internal modification, etc. have no special affiliation to morphology. They are applicable to any mundane structure and in any of their application, the classification can appear troublesome: adjunction-deletion can be considered as substitution in the sense that \emptyset in the input is substituted by some phonic sequence in the output. Substitution can be seen as a special type of adjunction-deletion which requires that whenever α is deleted, β is adjoined. Another reason behind the difficulty regarding the classification of the strategies is that operation and mechanism-types are the 'categories' I have invented for the purpose of the present description and like any other category, they are implicitly inclined to the complications of categorization in general (cf. Aristotle 1939).

5.8. Phonological change: automatic alternation

The final consonant segment in the specified part of the variable in (48) is an aspirated one ($/d^h/$ and $/b^h/$) but the consonant becomes non-aspirated ($/d/$ and $/b/$) if it is immediately followed by another aspirated consonant $/d^h/$.

48. (NAADSMSF-238) $/XoC/n \leftrightarrow /XuCd^ho/_{adj}$ 'somebody who is affected by $/XoC/$ '

অবরোধ $/\text{oborod}^h/$ 'blockage' \leftrightarrow অবরুদ্ধ $/\text{oborudd}^h/$ 'blocked'

লোভ $/lob^h/$ 'greed, illicit attraction' \leftrightarrow লুব্ধ $/lubd^h/$ 'attracted to some illicit thing'

The constant in (49) ends in an unvoiced consonant ($/k/$) which becomes voiced ($/g/$) if it is immediately followed by a voiced consonant. But if it is followed by an unvoiced consonant, the $/k/$ of the constant does not undergo any change.

49. (NNSVADPF-504) /CX/_n ↔ /bakCX/_n 'CX/ related to speech'

দেবী /debi/ 'goddess' ↔ বাগদেবী /bagdebi/ 'goddess of speech'

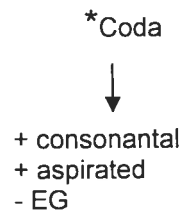
যুদ্ধ /judd^ho/ 'fight' ↔ বাকযুদ্ধ /bagjudd^ho/ 'fight with words'

শক্তি /ʃokti/ 'force'/power' ↔ বাকশক্তি /bakʃokti/ 'verbal power/power of speech'

None of these segmental (or feature) changes have been taken into account in the formulation of the (48) and (49) because both of them constitute phonologically conditioned automatic changes. They are triggered by the following Well-formedness conditions of Bengali:

1) WFC-3 does not allow an aspirated consonant in the Coda. Such a consonant is replaced with its non-aspirated counterpart: /d^h/ → /d/ and /b^h/ → /b/.

WFC-3



(Figure-3)

2) WFC-4 does not allow an unvoiced stop to precede a voiced one. Such a cluster is repaired with voicing of the preceding segment: /kd/ → /gd/ and /k₁j/ → /g₁j/.

WFC-4

*		C ₁		C ₂	
	[	- voiced - continuant	][	+ voiced]

(Figure-4)

5.9. Meta strategies

WWM claims that no strategy should allow more than one variable. The following strategies may seem to be counter examples to this assumption because all of them allow two different variables. In (50-51) transitive argument verbals can be used as Y and nouns as X; in (52) an adjective can be used as Y and nouns as X; in (53) both of the variables are adjectives whereas in (54) Y is an adjective and X is a noun.

50. (MetaANAADSJ-296): $/X/_{n} \leftrightarrow /XeY/_{adj}$ 'having been /Y/ by /X/'

বাঘ /bag/ 'tiger' \leftrightarrow বাঘেখাওয়া /bag^hek^hawa/ 'eaten by a tiger'

সাপ /ʃap/ 'snake' \leftrightarrow সাপেকাটা /ʃapekaʈa/ 'bitten by a snake'

51. (MetaNAADSJ-303): $/X/_{n} \leftrightarrow /XY/_{adj}$ '/Y/ with /X/'

রক্ত /rokt/ 'blood' \leftrightarrow রক্তমাখা /roktomak^ha/ 'spotted or smeared with blood'

বারুদ /barud/ 'gunpowder' \leftrightarrow বারুদভরা /barudb^hora/ 'full with gunpowder'

52. (MetaNAADPJ-297): $/X/_{n} \leftrightarrow /YX/_{adj}$ 'having a /Y/ type of /X/'

চরিত্র /coritro/ 'character' \leftrightarrow আদর্শচরিত্র /adorʃocoritro/ 'of ideal character'

সঙ্কল্প /ʃɔŋkɔlpɔ/ 'resolve', 'a solemn vow' ↔ দৃঢ়সঙ্কল্প /driɔʃɔŋkɔlpɔ/ 'resolute',
'firmly resolved'

53. (MetaAAADSJ-1062): /X/adj ↔ /XY/adj 'having /X/ type of /Y/'

গম্ভীর /gomb^hir/ 'reserved' ↔ গম্ভীরপ্রকৃতি /gomb^hirprokriti/ 'of reserved nature'

কোমল /komol/ 'soft' ↔ কোমলমতি /komolmoti/ 'soft-minded'

54. (MetaNADSJ-299): /X/n ↔ /XY/adj '/Y/ vis à vis /X/'

গর্ভপাত /gɔrb^hopat/ 'abortion' ↔ গর্ভপাতবিরোধী /gɔrb^hopatbirod^hi/ 'who

is against the practice of abortion'

দল /dɔl/ 'party', 'group' ↔ দলনিরপেক্ষ /dalniɔpekk^ho/ 'impartial, neutral to

any party or group'

We can note that i) the output of all the abovementioned strategies are adjectives and ii) the second variable (Y) they involve is either a *subjunct* or a *prejunct* which, as I mentioned earlier, look almost like their regular word counterparts, in this particular case, the adjectives. Words of the same syntactic category may show some kind of commonness i.e. they may share the same semantic features. For example, নিরপেক্ষ /niɔpekk^ho/ 'neutral' and বিরোধী /birod^hi/ 'who is against' are both adjectives and they denote a mental state of the speaker-hearer *vis à vis* nouns like দল /dɔl/ 'party', 'group' or গর্ভপাত /gɔrb^hopat/ 'abortion'. If the regular word counterparts of the *subjunct* or *prejunct* subcomponent of two different strategies belong to the same syntactic category and show some kind of commonness and if those strategies happen to be based on the same semantic relatedness, they merge into a **meta-strategy** or a meta-strategy emerges out of them. Following Neuvel (2003) we define meta-strategy as a strategy⁽³⁾ that involves more than one variable.

According to Neuvel variables can be of two different kinds: i) Resolved variable and ii) Meta-variable. A variable is resolved if its value is uniquely determined by mapping the word that contains it onto the relevant strategy. Such a variable can appear on both sides of a strategy. A meta-variable stands for features common to different strategies and can only appear on one side of the strategy. Neuvel (169) assumes that a genuine morphological variable is obtained "by comparing word pairs" while the others stem "from the comparison of strategies".

54a. (NADSJ): $/X/_{n} \leftrightarrow /Xnir\text{o}pekk^{h\text{o}}/_{adj}$ 'neutral vis à vis $/X/$ '

দল $/d\text{o}l/$ 'party', 'group' \leftrightarrow দলনিরপেক্ষ $/dalnir\text{o}pekk^{h\text{o}}/$ 'neutral vis à vis any party or group'

ধর্ম $/d^{h\text{o}}rmo/$ 'religion' \leftrightarrow ধর্মনিরপেক্ষ $/d^{h\text{o}}rmonir\text{o}pekk^{h\text{o}}/$ 'secular'

54b. (NADSJ): $/X/_{n} \leftrightarrow /Xbirod^{hi}/_{adj}$ 'anti- $/X/$ '

গর্ভপাত $/g\text{o}rb^{h\text{o}}pat/$ 'abortion' \leftrightarrow গর্ভপাতবিরোধী $/g\text{o}b^{h\text{o}}patbirod^{hi}/$ 'who is against the practice of abortion'

গণতন্ত্র $/g\text{o}n\text{o}t\text{o}ntro/$ 'democracy' \leftrightarrow গণতন্ত্রবিরোধী $/g\text{o}n\text{o}t\text{o}ntrobirod^{hi}/$ 'antidemocratic'

In my view, strategies such as (54a-b) which exclusively involve resolved variables (or 'genuine morphological variables') can be called **simple strategies**. These are subsumed by (54) which is a meta-strategy with one resolved variable X and a meta-variable Y . (54a) and (54b) can merge into the meta-strategy (54) because i) they are based on the same semantic relatedness and ii) the regular word counterparts of their subjuncts are adjectives that have some semantic features in common.

In order to justify the existence of a meta-strategy we need at least two simple strategies. However, this should be put in mind that no meta-strategy is indispensable. They emerge at a specific point of the process of grammaticalization of certain regular words and generally disappear with time. A regular strategy ceases to merge into a meta-strategy if

i) its prejunct or subjunct subcomponent undergoes formal change (e.g. ঘোড়া /g^hora/ 'horse' becomes [g^hor] in ঘোরদৌড় [g^hordo^r] 'race-course' (cf. NNADSVPF-474) or আর্ত [arto] 'suffering person' becomes [rto] in ক্ষুধার্ত /k^hud^harto/ 'hungry' (cf. NASVADSF-197);

ii) the regular word counterpart of its subjunct is in the process of losing its word-hood (e.g. /jato/ 'born' or /hoto/ 'dead' are seldom used as regular word in ESB whereas they appear randomly as constant in words like কৃষিজাত /kriʃijato/ 'agricultural' (cf. NAADSF-114) or হতবল /hotobol/ 'weak') (cf. NAADSVPF-16);

iii) the regular word deviates considerably from its constant counterpart in respect of semantic interpretation (e.g. জনক /jonok/ 'father' or দেশ /deʃ/ 'country' have not much to do with the sequence /jonok/ or /deʃ/ in প্রশংসাজনক /proʃoŋʃajonok/ 'praise-worthy' (cf. NAADSF-111) or গণ্ডদেশ /gondodeʃ/ 'the area of cheek') (cf. NAADSJ-770)

It seems that the nature of the meta-morphology of a particular language depends on the morpho-syntactic type the language belongs to. For example, the maximum number of variables per word is limited to two as far

as Bengali morphology is concerned, whereas a word in a polysynthetic language like W(est)-G(reenlandic) can have more than one meta variable (cf. Neuvel 2003). Another difference between the 'meta-morphology' of West-Greenlandic and Bengali is that Bengali almost exclusively involves words of different syntactic categories in its meta-strategies (we have not found but one intra categorical meta-strategy so far) whereas the meta-morphology in WG, as Neuvel (159) states, "relates words of similar syntactic category or "almost exclusively involve words of the same syntactic kind."

In my view, these strategies are part of Bengali morphology because, as Neuvel (163) points out for WG, they are "undeniably lexical relations of WG, and all can be extrapolated upon successfully to generate previously unseen words."... "On the other hand, given a reasonably sized WG lexicon, there will literally be thousands, if not tens of thousands of LCs (see footnote-3) that share part of their contrast ... and simply listing them would clearly be missing a grammatically relevant fact of WG morphology." There is no doubt that compare to polysynthetic WG, the number of meta-strategies would be insignificant in Bengali due to its dominantly synthetic/flexional nature but however, listing general strategies rather than the meta-strategies they merge into can hardly be justified. In the present work, meta-strategies tagged as (MetaNADSJ-00) figure in the list of strategies along with the simple ones.

5.10. Comparison and Generalization

At the third and last stage of the present study, all these operation and mechanism groups will be examined and compared with each other in order to glean generalization regarding the morphology of Bengali. I will show the number of strategies in each operation type and determine how many strategies involve identity, adjunction-deletion, substitution or other mechanisms. The number of strategies in particular mechanisms types

determines, in my view, the morphological character of Bengali. If the majority of the strategies involve suffixation, the morphology of Bengali will be more a 'suffixal' type; If the majority of them involve identity, Bengali would be closer to a 'positional' type and if 'subjunction' and 'prejunction' is involved in the majority of the strategies, Bengali can be claimed to be a agglutinating language like Turkish. This said, no language can be claimed to have an absolute preference for a particular mechanism. All languages, to some extent, involve varieties of mechanisms although all of them, as Sapir (1921 (2004:47)) points out "evinced a curious instinct for the development of one or more particular grammatical process at the expense of others".

5.11. A brief sketch of Bengali phonology

Ford et al. (1997:2) points out that "Morphological strategies alone do not account for all formal relationship. They sometimes get some help from phonology. Each time an aspect of a formal relationship is attributable to phonology, which covers all and only global, automatic operations governed by phonotactics, that aspect is suppressed in the morphological strategies" Ford et al. (14) also presume that no alternations except those "motivated or governed by well-formedness conditions (WFCs), defined over domains such as the syllable and the word, are phonological, irrespective of their function". According to Singh and Agnihotri (1997:62) "Phonological processes are automatic, i.e. apply across the board and appeal to universal laws that repair violations of well-formedness conditions in a given language."

Alternations that are not so governed are morphological, i.e. introduced as parts of morphological operations (cf. Ford et al.). For Singh and Agnihotri "They are non-automatic and are an essential part of the specific morphological operation with which they are associated." Therefore, any morphological description must be preceded by a phonological description so that phonological alterations are not confused with morphological ones.

The indispensability of a phonological description does not necessarily presuppose that it has to be done following some particular theory of phonology. However, I have decided to describe the phonology of Bengali in the light of the G(enerative) P(honotactics) (cf. Singh 1984, 1990). According to this theory, a phonological description includes essentially two things i) the *phonological alphabet* (cf. Singh 1990) (i.e. an inventory of the phonemes of the language) and ii) a list of WFCs formulated on the basis of phonotactics.

5.11.1. Phonemic inventory of Bengali

The phonemic inventory I propose contains 46 phonemes: 14 (7 oral and 7 nasal) vowels, 28 consonants, and 4 semi-vowels.

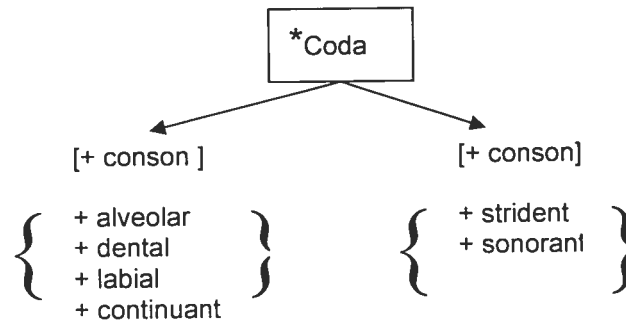
	Front		Back
Closed	i ī ^j		u ū ^ɥ
	e ē		o ō ^w
	ɛ ē		ɔ õ ^y
Open		a ā	

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b b ^h		t d t ^h d ^h	ʈ ʈ ^h ɖ ɖ ^h			k k ^h g g ^h	
Affricate					c ɟ c ^h ɟ ^h			
Nasal	m			n			ŋ	
Trill					r			
Fricative		f		s ʃ				h
Lateral Approximant	ɥ			l		y	w	

5.11.2. Well-formedness conditions (WFC) in Bengali

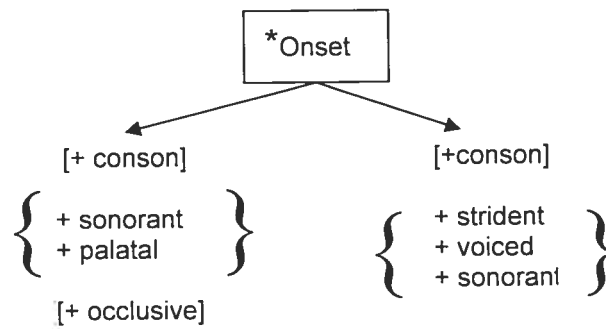
We have so far noticed the following WFCs in Bengali:

WFC-1



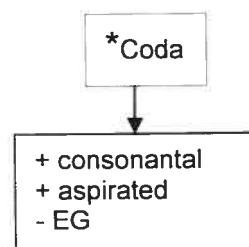
(Figure-1)

WFC-2:



(Figure-2)

WFC-3:



(Figure-3)

WFC-4:

*		C ₁		C ₂	
	[	- voiced - continuant	][	+ voiced]

(Figure-4)

WFC-5:

*		C ₁		C ₂	
	[	+ continuant + EG	][	- EG]

(Figure-5)

WFC-6:

*		C ₁		C ₂	
	[	+ vocalic - nasal	][	{ +vocalic +consonantal ----- - nasal }]

(Figure-6)

WFC-7:

*		C ₁		C ₂	
	[	+ nasal + coronal	][	+ occlusive + coronal]

(Figure-7)

My main concern being morphology, the phonological description presented here is significantly brief. However, a more detailed phonological profile of Bengali has been provided in appendix-1.

1. Following Panini, Chatterji (1945) makes a distinction between two types 'word': *shabda* and *pada*. With the exception of *avayas* (indeclinable words) *padas* are all inflected and the type of their inflection determines their function in the sentence. An inflected *shabda* becomes a *pada* but this does not necessarily mean that all that is inflected is a *shabda*. For example, noun/verb roots and stems are not *shabda* but once inflected, they also become *pada*. However, as Panini makes a distinction between two different sets of inflections: noun ending (*sup*) and verb ending (*ting*), it seems that for Panini too, form and function go hand in hand to a certain extent.

2. Bybee (1996) is worth-citing in this context although her point of view is an atomistic one: "The vast majority of affixes in the languages of the world evolve from independent words by the gradual process of 'grammaticization' or 'grammaticalisation'." (p.253) ... "In the progression from a lexical morpheme to a grammatical one, changes occur in the phonological shape of the morpheme, its meaning and its grammatical behavior." (ibid.:253-254) ... "Most derivational affixes in English and other languages can similarly be tracked back to independent words where evidence is available" (ibid.:255) and "The process of grammaticalization is not discrete, but continuous; grammaticization in the form of semantic change and further phonological reduction and fusion continues even after grammatical status is achieved, and even after affixation occurs. This means that we can categorize morphemes for their degree of grammaticization" (ibid.:255).

3. We would like to remind the reader that Neuvel (2003) does not use the terms such as 'Word Formation Strategy' or 'Morphological Strategy' because i) he expands on Ford and Singh's suggested formalism and ii) wants to avoid any confusion with Word formation rules of Aronoff (1976) or Anderson (1992). As Neuvel (2003:21) puts it "to emphasize the fact that the morphological strategies are merely representations of lexical contrast, I choose, following Baronian 2002, to refer to the rules of WWM as LEXICAL CORRESPONDENCES."

Chapter-6 Morphological Description

“WFRs are rules of the lexicon, and as such operate totally within the lexicon. They are totally separate from the other rules of the grammar, though not from the other components of the grammar.”

(Mark Aronoff, *Word Formation in Generative grammar*, 1976:46)

“The listing of the morphological strategies of a language constitutes a part of the description of that language. It is, therefore, an aspect of linguistic competence, a component of grammar.”

(Ford, Singh and Martohardjono *Pace Panini* 1997:2)

In this chapter, I will present the list of the morphological strategies of Bengali I have compiled for the present work. The chapter is divided into two sections: one will contain the Inter-categorical strategies and the other, the Intra-categorical ones. The minimum requirement of two pairs of words will be respected for each strategy although there may exist many other mappable pairs in the lexicon of Bengali. Although pronouns and adjective possessives constitute a closed lexical category and are presumably memorized by the speaker-hearer, a good number of them can be mapped onto morphological strategies and such strategies have also been included in the following list.

Words are transcribed in phonemic sequences which are supposed to undergo repair if they are not allowed by any WFC of Bengali phonology. For example, the sequence /und/ in the word সূন্দরী /ʃundori/ in strategy-1 violates two WFCs. According to WFC-6, no non-nasal vowel is allowed to precede a nasal vowel or consonant and WFC-7 allows no non-nasal coronal plosive (/t/, /d/, /c/, /j/, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/) follow the dental nasal /n/.

According to Singh (1984) a strategy of repair is triggered automatically whenever a sequence violates some WFC and as a consequence, /u/ becomes nasalized and the sequence /nd/ homorganic.

6.1 Inter-categorical strategies of Bengali

As I have pointed out earlier, the main syntactic categories used in this section are the following: Noun, Pronoun, Adjective, Verb, Adverb, Postposition, Conjunction and Interjection. Some very marginal categories such as Numeral, Quantifier, Ordinal, Measure word and Date words have also been used.

1. NAID: /X/_n ↔ /X/_{adj} 'with all the qualities of /X/'

সুন্দরী /ʃundori/ 'a pretty woman' ↔ সুন্দরী /ʃundori/ 'pretty

সোনালী /ʃonali/ 'colour of gold' ↔ সোনালী /ʃonali/ 'of golden colour'

2. NASVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /ɔCX/_{adj} '/CX/-less'

কলঙ্ক /kɔlɔŋko/ 'spot'/'disrepute' ↔ অকলঙ্ক /ɔkɔlɔŋko/ 'spotless'

বোধ /bod^h/ 'sense' ↔ অবোধ /ɔbod^h/ 'without sense'

3. NASVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /antoCX/_{adj} 'among /CX/s'

স্কুল /skul/ 'school' ↔ আন্তস্কুল /antoskul/ 'inter-school'

কলেজ /kolej/ 'college' ↔ আন্তকলেজ /antokolej/ 'inter-college'

4. NASVADPF: /X/_n ↔ /antoX/_{adj} 'within /X/'

আমেরিকা /amerika/ 'America' ↔ আন্তআমেরিকা /antoamerika/ 'within America'

চট্টগ্রাম /cɔt̪t̪ɔgram/ 'Chittagong' ↔ আন্তচট্টগ্রাম /antocɔt̪t̪ɔgram/ 'within Chittagong'

5. NAADPF: /X/_n ↔ /coturX/_{adj} 'endowed with four /X/s'

মুখ /muk^h/ 'face' ↔ চতুর্মুখ /cɔtur^hmuk^h/ 'who has four-faces'

অঙ্গ /ɔŋgo/ 'part', section' ↔ চতুরঙ্গ /cɔtur^hɔŋgo/ 'composed of four parts or sections'

6. NASVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /cotuʃCX/_{adj} 'endowed with four /CX/s'

পদ /pɔd/ 'foot, leg' ↔ চতুষ্পদ /cotuʃpɔd/ 'four-footed'

কোণ /kon/ 'angle' ↔ চতুষ্কোণ /cotuʃkon/ 'endowed with four-angles'

7.NASVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /diCX/_{adj} 'endowed with two /CX/s'

পদ /pɔd/ 'rule' ↔ দ্বিপদ /dipɔd/ 'biped'

তল /tɔl/ 'floor, deck' ↔ দ্বিতল /ditɔl/ 'two storied, double decked'

8.NAADPF: /X/_n ↔ /doX/_{adj} 'constituted of two /X/s'

আঁশ /ãʃ/ 'fiber' ↔ দোআঁশ /doãʃ/ 'composed of two fibers'

তলা /tɔla/ 'floor' ↔ দোতলা /dotɔla/ 'having two floors'

9.NAADPF: /X/_n ↔ /nirX/_{adj} '/X/less'

দোষ /doʃ/ 'guilt' ↔ নির্দোষ /nirdoʃ/ 'guiltless'

অহংকার /ɔhoŋkar/ 'pride' ↔ নিরহংকার /nirɔhoŋkar/ 'without pride', 'humble'

10.NASVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /niʃCX/_{adj} '/CX/-less'

শব্দ /ʃɔbdɔ/ 'sound' ↔ নিঃশব্দ /niʃʃɔbdɔ/ 'quiet'

পাপ /pap/ 'sin' ↔ নিঃপাপ /niʃpap/ 'sinless'/'virtuous'

11.NASVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /nisCX/_{adj} '/CX/-less'

তেজ /tej/ 'shine', 'strength' ↔ নিস্তেজ /nistej/ 'lacking vigour', 'dull', 'dim'

তরঙ্গ /tɔrɔŋgɔ/ 'waves' ↔ নিস্তরঙ্গ /nistɔrɔŋgɔ/ 'having no waves', 'calm'

12.NASVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /prakCX/_{adj} 'before or prior to /CX/'

জন্ম /jɔnmɔ/ 'birth' ↔ প্রাগজন্ম /pragjɔnmɔ/ 'prenatal'

স্কুল /skul/ 'school' ↔ প্রাকস্কুল /prakskul/ 'pre-school'

13.NASVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /biCX/_{adj} '/CX/-less'

ফল /fɔl/ 'fruit', 'consequence' ↔ বিফল /bifɔl/ 'fruitless', 'unsuccessful'

রস /rɔʃ/ 'juice', 'charm' ↔ বিরস /birɔʃ/ 'dry', 'dull'

14.NAADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /beCX/_{adj} '/CX/less'

কসুর /kosur/ 'fault' ↔ বেকসুর /bekosur/ 'faultless'

শরম /ʃɔrom/ 'shyness' ↔ বেশরম /beʃɔrom/ 'shameless'

15.NASVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /ʃɔCX/_{adj} 'with /CX/'

বিনয় /binoʃ/ 'politeness' ↔ সবিনয় /ʃɔbinoʃ/ 'politely'

পুত্র /putro/ 'son' ↔ সপুত্র /ʃɔputro/ 'with one's son'

16.NASVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /hɔtoCX/_{adj/n} 'having lost /CX/'

বুদ্ধি /budd^hi/ 'intelligence' ↔ হতবুদ্ধি /hɔto**budd^h**i/ 'stupefied'/'perplexed'

ভাগ্য /b^haggo/ 'fate'/'luck' ↔ হতভাগ্য /hɔto**b^h**aggo/ 'unfortunate'

17.NASVADSF: /XC/_{adj} ↔ /XCɔtto/_n '/XC/ness'

বিশাল /biʃal/ 'big'/'huge' ↔ বিশালত্ব /biʃalɔtto/ 'hugeness'/'

অমর /ɔmor/ 'immortal' ↔ অমরত্ব /ɔmorɔtto/ 'immortality'

18.NASVADSF: /XC/_{adj} ↔ /XCɔggɔ̃/_n 'who knows /XC/ well'

আইন /a^jn/ 'law' ↔ আইনজ্ঞ /a^jnɔggɔ̃/ 'who knows law well'

সঙ্গীত /ʃɔngit/ 'music' ↔ সঙ্গীতজ্ঞ /ʃɔngitɔggɔ̃/ 'who knows music well'

19.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCɔcɔr/_{adj} 'living on /XC/'

জল /jɔl/ 'water' ↔ জলচর /jɔlocɔr/ 'aquatic'

স্থল /st^hɔl/ 'land' ↔ স্থলচর /st^hɔlocɔr/ 'terrestrial'

20.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCɔjɔ/_{adj} 'produced in /XC/'

দেশ /deʃ/ 'country' ↔ দেশজ /deʃɔjɔ/ 'produced in the country'

জল /jɔl/ 'water' ↔ জলজ /jɔlɔjɔ/ 'born in the water', 'aquatic'

21.NASVADSF: /XC/_{adj} ↔ /XCɔta/_n '/XC/ness'

সৎ /ʃɔt/ 'honest' ↔ সততা /ʃɔtɔta/ 'honesty'

উদার /udar/ 'generous' ↔ উদারতা /udarɔta/ 'generosity'

22.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xodd^huʃito/_{adj} 'with /X/ majority of inhabitants'

হিন্দু /hindu/ 'Hindu' ↔ হিন্দুঅধুষিত /hinduodd^huʃito/ 'with a majority of Hindus'

মুসলিম /muslim/ 'Muslim' ↔ মুসলিমঅধুষিত /muslimodd^huʃito/ 'with a majority of Muslims'

23.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XC(ɔ)dd^hɔj/_{adj} 'having /XC/ sign on the top (on mythical vehicles or chariots)'

গরুড় /gorur/ 'name of a mythical bird' ↔ গরুড়ধ্বজ /gorur(ɔ)dd^hɔj/ 'having the icon of Garooda.'

ময়ূর /mo^yur/ 'peacock' ↔ ময়ূরধ্বজ /mo^yur(ɔ)dd^hɔj/ 'having the icon of peacock.'

24.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCɔban/_{adj/n} 'man blessed with /XC/'

রূপ /rup/ 'beauty' ↔ রূপবান /rupɔban/ 'handsome'

ধন /d^hɔn/ 'wealth' ↔ ধনবান /d^hɔnoban/ 'wealthy'

25.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCoboti/_{adj/n} 'woman blessed with /XC/'

রূপ /rup/ 'beauty' ↔ রূপবতী /rupoboti/ 'pretty'

ধন /d^hon/ 'wealth' ↔ ধনবতী /d^honoboti/ 'wealthy'

26.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCokolok/_{adj} 'dwelling place of /XC/'

দেব /deb/ 'god' ↔ দেবলোক /debolok/ 'heaven'

শিব /ʃib/ 'the god Shiva' ↔ শিবলোক /ʃibolok/ 'dwelling place of the god Shiva'

27.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCɔʃ/_{adj} 'covered with /XC/'

লোম /lom/ 'hair', 'fur' ↔ লোমশ /lomɔʃ/ 'hairy', 'furry'

রোম /rom/ 'hair', 'fur' ↔ রোমশ /romɔʃ/ 'hairy', 'furry'

28.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCɔʃʃo/_{adj} 'belonging to /XC/'

নিজ /nij/ 'self' ↔ নিজস্ব /nijɔʃʃo/ 'of self/ 'personal'

পর /por/ 'another' ↔ পরস্ব /porɔʃʃo/ 'another's'

29.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCɔst^ho/_{adj} 'taken into /XC/'

উদর /udor/ 'belly' ↔ উদরস্থ /udorɔst^ho/ 'in the belly'

পকেট /poket/ 'pocket' ↔ পকেটস্থ /poketɔst^ho/ 'in the pocket'

30.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCakto/_{adj} 'with much of /XC/ on or in something'

তৈল /to^jl/ 'oil' ↔ তৈলাক্ত /to^jlakto/ 'oily'

কর্দম /kordom/ 'mud' ↔ কর্দমাক্ত /kordomakto/ 'muddy'

31.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCakirno/_{adj} 'covered with /XC/'

জঙ্গল /ʃɔŋgol/ 'jungle' ↔ জঙ্গলাকীর্ণ /ʃɔŋgolakirno/ 'covered with jungles'

কণ্টক /kɔŋtok/ 'thorn' ↔ কণ্টকাকীর্ণ /kɔŋtokakirno/ 'covered with thorns'

32.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCakan^hi/_{adj} 'who desires /XC/'

মঙ্গল /mɔŋgol/ 'well-being' ↔ মঙ্গলাকাজী /mɔŋgolakan^hi/ 'well-wisher'

ধন /d^hon/ 'wealth' ↔ ধনাকাজী /d^honakan^hi/ 'who wants to acquire wealth'

33.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCatur/_{adj} 'overwhelmed with /XC/'

শোক /ʃok/ 'mourning/ 'grief' ↔ শোকাভূর /ʃokatur/ 'struck with grief'

কাম /kam/ 'sex-urge' ↔ কামাভূর /kamatur/ 'struck with sex-urge'

34. NASVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCad^hin/adj 'under /XC/ of somebody'
 নিয়ন্ত্রণ /niɔntron/ 'control' ↔ নিয়ন্ত্রণাধীন /niɔntronad^hin/ 'under control'
 আদেশ /adeʃ/ 'order' ↔ আদেশাধীন /adeʃad^hin/ 'under order'

35. NASVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCad^hik/adj 'more than /XC/'
 প্রাণ /pran/ 'life' ↔ প্রাণাধিক /pranad^hik/ 'more than one's life'
 জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ জীবনাধিক /jibonad^hik/ 'more than one's life'

36. NASVADSF: /XC/V-syllab/n ↔ /XC/V-syllabannito/adj '/XC/V-syllab/-ed'
 গৌরব /go^urob/ 'glory' ↔ গৌরবান্বিত /go^urobannito/ 'glorious'
 বিস্ময় /biʃʃɔ̃y/ 'surprise' ↔ বিস্ময়ান্বিত /biʃʃɔ̃yannito/ 'surprised'

37. NASVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCanug/adj '/XC/-abiding'
 আইন /a^jn/ 'law' ↔ আইনানুগ /a^jnanug/ 'law-abiding'
 নিয়ম /ni^yom/ 'rule' ↔ নিয়মানুগ /ni^yomanug/ 'rule-abiding'

38. NASVADSF: /XC/V-syllab/n ↔ /XC/V-syllabanuborti/adj 'who or which
 follows /XC/V-syllab/'
 নিয়ম /ni^yom/ 'rules' ↔ নিয়মানুবর্তী /ni^yomanuborti/ 'disciplined'
 সময় /ʃomo^y/ 'time', 'precise time' ↔ সময়ানুবর্তী /ʃomo^yanuborti/ 'punctual'

39. NASVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCand^ho/adj 'blind with /XC/'
 ক্রোধ /krod^h/ 'rage' ↔ ক্রোধাক্ষ /krod^hand^ho/ 'blind with rage'
 কাম /kam/ 'sex-urge'/'lust' ↔ কামাক্ষ /kamand^ho/ 'blind with sex-urge/lust'

40. NASVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCaponno/adj 'fallen in /XC/'
 সঙ্কট /ʃɔŋkot/ 'crisis' ↔ সঙ্কটাপন্ন /ʃɔŋkotaponno/ 'in crisis'
 বিপদ /bipod/ 'danger' ↔ বিপদাপন্ন /bipodaponno/ 'in danger'/'endangered'

41. NASVADSF: /XC/V-syllab/n ↔ /XC/V-syllababoho/adj 'full of /XC/V-syllab/'
 ভয় /b^hɔ̃y/ 'fear' ↔ ভয়বহ /b^hɔ̃yaboho/ 'horrible'/'dreadful'
 সুখ /ʃuk^h/ 'pleasure'/'happiness' ↔ সুখাবহ /ʃuk^haboho/ 'pleasant'

42. NASVADSF: /XC/V-syllab/n ↔ /XC/V-syllab Cabiʃto/adj 'very much in /XC/V-syllab/'
 কোপ /kop/ 'anger' ↔ কোপাবিষ্ট /kopabiʃto/ 'angry', 'enraged'
 ভয় /b^hɔ̃y/ 'fear' ↔ ভয়বিষ্ট /b^hɔ̃yabiʃto/ 'afraid'

43.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XC^hi/_{adj} 'who seeks /XC/'
 শরণ /ʃɔron/ 'refuge' ↔ শরণার্থী /ʃɔronart^hi/ 'who seeks refuge'
 স্নান /snan/ 'bath' ↔ স্নানার্থী /snanart^hi/ 'somebody who wants to bathe'

44.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XC^al/_{adj} 'with /XC/'
 দাঁত /dāt/ 'tooth', 'tusk' ↔ দাঁতাল /dātāl/ 'having large teeth or tusk'
 রস /rɔʃ/ 'juice' ↔ রসাল /rɔʃāl/ 'juicy'

45.NASVADSF: /Xa/_n ↔ /XC^alu/_{adj} 'who feels /Xa/'
 দয়া /dɔ^ya/ 'kindness' ↔ দয়ালু /dɔ^yalu/ 'kind'
 নিদ্রা /nidra/ 'sleep' ↔ নিদ্রালু /nidralu/ 'sleepy', 'drowsy'

46.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XC^alo/_{adj} 'rich in /XC/'
 জোর /jor/ 'force'/'strength' ↔ জোরালো /joralo/ 'strong'
 পঁচ /pēc/ 'knot', 'complication' ↔ পঁচালো /pēcalo/ 'complicated'

47.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XC^aʃokto/_{adj} 'addicted to /XC/'
 তামাক /tamak/ 'tobacco' ↔ তামাকাসক্ত /tamakaʃokto/ 'addicted to tobacco'
 কাম /kam/ 'sex-urge' ↔ কামাসক্ত /kamaʃokto/ 'sex-addict'

48.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XC^aʃi/_{adj} 'who eats only /XC/ type of food'
 নিরামিষ /niramiʃ/ 'vegetarian diet' ↔ নিরামিষাশী /niramiʃaʃi/ 'vegetarian'
 আমিষ /amiʃ/ 'non-vegetarian diet' ↔ আমিষাশী /amiʃaʃi/ 'non-vegetarian'

49.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XC^ahari/_{adj} 'who eats exclusively /XC/'
 শাক /ʃak/ 'any edible herb or creeper' ↔ শাকাহারী /ʃakahari/ 'vegetarian'
 ফল /fɔl/ 'fruit' ↔ ফলাহারী /fɔlahari/ 'frugivorous'

50.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XC^ayito/_{adj} 'affected with /XC/'
 বিদ্যুৎ /bidduṭ/ 'electricity' ↔ বিদ্যুতায়িত /bidduṭa^yito/ 'electrified'
 হিম /him/ 'ice'/'frost' ↔ হিমায়িত /hima^yito/ 'refrigerated'

51.NASVADSF: /Xa/_n ↔ /Xa^ja/_{adj/n} 'of /Xa/'
 ঢাকা /d^haka/ 'Dhaka' ↔ ঢাকাইয়া /d^haka^ja/ 'residents of Dhaka'
 চটগাঁ /caṭgā/ 'Chittagong' ↔ চটগাঁইয়া /caṭgā^ja/ 'residents of Chittagong'

52. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCi/_{adj} 'who has /XC/'

জ্ঞান /gɛ(a)n/ 'knowledge' ↔ জ্ঞানী /gɛ(a)ni/ 'learned', 'savant'

কৌতূহল /ko^utuhɔl/ 'curiosity' ↔ কৌতূহলী /ko^utuhɔli/ 'curious'

53. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCi/_{adj} 'having the know-how of running /XC/'

মজলিশ /mɔɟliʃ/ 'a party or social gathering' ↔ মজলিশী /mɔɟliʃi/ 'capable of brightening up a gathering or a party with pleasant talk or bearing'

আলাপ /alap/ 'conversation', 'acquaintance' ↔ আলাপী /alapi/ 'capable of undertaking a conversation or cultivating acquaintance', 'sociable'

54. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCi/_{adj} 'worthy of a considerable amount of /XC/'

দাম /dam/ 'price' ↔ দামী /dami/ 'costly'

মান /man/ 'respect' ↔ মানী /mani/ 'respected'

55. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCi/_{adj} 'made in /XC/'

বিলাত /bilat/ 'England', 'abroad' ↔ বিলাতী /bilati/ 'made in England or in abroad'

কাশ্মির /kaʃmir/ 'Kashmir' ↔ কাশ্মিরী /kaʃmiri/ 'made in Kashmir'

56. NA(SM)SVADSF: /XoC/_n ↔ /X(o)Ci/_{adj} 'made of /XoC/'

রেশম /reʃom/ 'silk' ↔ রেশমী /reʃ(o)mi/ 'made of silk'/'silken'

পশম /pɔʃom/ 'wool' ↔ পশমী /pɔʃ(o)mi/ 'woollen'

57. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCi/_{adj} 'of /XC/'

আকবর /akbɔr/ 'the emperor Akbar' ↔ আকবরী /akbɔri/ 'of the emperor Akbar'

সরকার /ʃorkar/ 'government' ↔ সরকারী /ʃorkari/ 'governmental'

58. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCi/_{adj/n} 'like /XC/'

সাহেব /ʃaheb/ 'European' ↔ সাহেবী /ʃahebi/ 'European-like'

নবাব /nobab/ 'Nabob' ↔ নবাবী /nobabi/ 'Nabob-like'

59. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCi/_{adj} 'having the colour of /XC/'

গোলাপ /golap/ 'rose' ↔ গোলাপী /golapi/ 'rose-coloured'

বাদাম /badam/ 'nut' ↔ বাদামী /badami/ 'nut-coloured', 'brown'

60. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCi/_{adj} 'reserved for /XC/'

অর্ডার /ɔrdar/ 'order' ↔ অর্ডারী /ɔrdari/ 'ordered'

ফরমায়েশ /forma^yɛʃ/ 'order' ↔ ফরমায়েশী /forma^yɛʃi/ 'ordered'

61.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCi/_{adj} 'doer of /XC/'

খুন /k^hun/ 'murder' ↔ খুনী /k^huni/ 'murderer'

বিলাস /bilaʃ/ 'luxury' ↔ বিলাসী /bilaʃi/ 'luxurious'

62.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCi/_{adj/n} 'supporter of /XC/'

মার্কসবাদ /marksbad/ 'Marxism' ↔ মার্কসবাদী /marksbadi/ 'Marxist'

পরিবেশবাদ /pɔribeʃbad/ 'environmentalism' ↔ পরিবেশবাদী /pɔribeʃbadi/ 'environmentalist'

63.NASVADSF: /XC/_{adj} ↔ /XCi/_n 'activity of /XC/'

চলাক /calak/ 'clever' ↔ চলাকী /calaki/ 'cleverness'

শয়তান /ʃɔ^ytan/ 'wicked' ↔ শয়তানী /ʃɔ^ytani/ 'wickedness'

64.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCik/_{adj} 'related to /XC/'

প্রশাসন /proʃaʃon/ 'administration' ↔ প্রশাসনিক /proʃaʃonik/ 'administrative'

বাচন /bacon/ 'speaking' ↔ বাচনিক /baconik/ 'verbal'/'related to speech'

65.NASVADSF: /XC/_{adj} ↔ /XCikɔron/_n 'act of making /XC/'

উদার /udar/ 'free-minded', 'open', 'capable of accepting diversities' ↔ উদারীকরণ

/udarikoron/ 'making laws or state policies less restrictive'

স্বাভাবিক /ʃab^habik/ 'normal' ↔ স্বাভাবিকীকরণ /ʃab^habikikoron/ 'act of making a situation normal'

66.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCito/_{adj} '/XC/-ed'

প্রচার /procar/ 'publicity' ↔ প্রচারিত /procarito/ 'publicized'/'advertised'

প্রমাণ /proman/ 'proof' ↔ প্রমাণিত /promanito/ 'proved'

67.NASVADSF: /X^y/_n ↔ /X^yito/_{adj} 'which has undergone /X^y/',

ব্যয় /be^y/ 'expenditure' ↔ ব্যয়িত /be^yito/ 'spent', 'used up'

ক্ষয় /k^hɔ^y/ 'decay' ↔ ক্ষয়িত /k^hɔ^yito/ 'decayed'

68.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCib^huto/_{adj} 'transformed into /XC/'

প্রস্তর /prostor/ 'stone' ↔ প্রস্তরীভূত /prostorib^huto/ 'petrified'

কার্বন /karbon/ 'carbon' ↔ কার্বনীভূত /karbonib^huto/ 'converted into carbon'

69.NASVADSF: /XC/adj ↔ /XCima/n /XC/-ness'

নীল /nil/ 'blue' ↔ নীলিমা /nilima/ 'blueness'

লাল /lal/ 'red' ↔ লালিমা /lalima/ 'redness'

70.NASVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCi^yo/adj 'of /XC/'

দল /dɔl/ 'party' ↔ দলীয় /dɔli^yo/ 'of the party'

জল /jɔl/ 'water' ↔ জলীয় /jɔli^yo/ 'aqueous'

71.NASVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCi^yo/adj 'worth of /XC/'

বরণ /bɔron/ 'respectful or cordial reception' ↔ বরণীয় /bɔroni^yo/ 'to be received or accepted'

স্মরণ /ʃɔron/ 'act of remembering' ↔ স্মরণীয় /ʃɔroni^yo/ 'to be remembered'

72.NNSVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCuk/n 'often possessed by /XC/'

কাম /kam/ 'sex-urge' ↔ কামুক /kamuk/ 'lascivious, libidinous'

ভাব /b^hab/ 'mood, absent mindedness' ↔ ভাবুক /b^habuk/ 'imaginative, absent minded'

73.NASVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCecc^hu/adj 'desirous of /XC/'

ভ্রমণ /b^hromon/ 'travel' ↔ ভ্রমণেচ্ছু /b^hromonecc^hu/ 'who wants to travel'

গমন /gɔmon/ 'act of going' ↔ গমনেচ্ছু /gɔmonecc^hu/ 'who wants to go'

74.NASVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCel/adj 'rich in /XC/'

দুধ /dud^h/ 'milk' ↔ দুধেল /dud^hel/ 'full of milk'

ফুল /ful/ 'flower' ↔ ফুলেল /fulel/ 'full of flowers'

75.NASVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCela/adj 'rich in /XC/'

সুর /ʃur/ 'music' ↔ সুরেলা /ʃurela/ 'melodious'

রোদ /rod/ 'sunlight' ↔ রোদেলা /rodela/ 'sunny'

76.NASVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCokto/adj 'expressed in /XC/'

উপর /upɔr/ 'up/'above' ↔ উপরোক্ত /upɔroktɔ/ 'cited above'

শেষ /ʃeʃ/ 'end' ↔ শেষোক্ত /ʃeʃokto/ 'cited at the end'

77.NASVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCocito/adj 'like /XC/'

বর্বর /bɔrbɔr/ 'barbarian' ↔ বর্বরোচিত /bɔrbɔrocito/ 'barbarian-like'

অদ্রজন /b^hɔdrojɔn/ 'gentleman' ↔ অদ্রজনোচিত /b^hɔdrojɔnocito/ 'gentleman-like'

78.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCottor/_{adj} 'post /XC/'

মরণ /mɔron/ 'death' ↔ মরণোত্তর /mɔronottor/ 'posthumous'

তালিবান /taliban/ 'the Taliban' ↔ তালিবানোত্তর /talibanottor/ 'after the fall of the Taliban government in Afghanistan'

79.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCoddipɔk/_{adj} 'something that creates /XC/ in mind'

কৌতুহল /ko^htuhɔl/ 'curiosity' ↔ কৌতুহলোদ্দীপক /ko^htuhɔloddipɔk/ 'something that creates curiosity in mind'

কাম /kam/ 'sexual desire' ↔ কামোদ্দীপক /kamoddipɔk/ 'erotic'

80.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCoddɔto/_{adj} 'about to do /XC/'

প্রস্থান /prost^han/ 'departure' ↔ প্রস্থানোদ্যত /prost^hanoddɔto/ 'ready to depart'

গমন /gɔmon/ 'act of going' ↔ গমনোদ্যত /gɔmonoddɔto/ 'ready to go'

81.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCommuk^h/_{adj} 'about to do /XC/'

প্রস্থান /prost^han/ 'departure' ↔ প্রস্থানোম্মুখ /prost^hanommuk^h/ 'ready to depart'

গমন /gɔmon/ 'act of going' ↔ গমনোম্মুখ /gɔmonommuk^h/ 'ready to go'

82.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCord^ho/_{adj} 'aged more than /XC/'

চল্লিশ /collisʃ/ 'forty' ↔ চল্লিশোর্ধ /collisʃord^ho/ 'above forty'

ত্রিশ /trisʃ/ 'thirty' ↔ ত্রিশোর্ধ /trisʃord^ho/ 'above thirty'

83.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /X^wala/_{adj} 'with /X/'

ফিতা /fita/ 'ribbon' ↔ ফিতাওয়ালা /fita^wala/ 'with ribbon'

চেন /cen/ 'zipper' ↔ চেনওয়ালা /cen^wala/ 'with zipper'

84.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVkobolito/_{adj} 'severely affected by /XV/'

বন্যা /bonna/ 'flood' ↔ বন্যাকবলিত /bonnakobolito/ 'affected by flood'

দুর্ঘটনা /durg^hɔʈɔna/ 'accident' ↔ দুর্ঘটনাকবলিত /durg^hɔʈɔnakobolito/ 'affected by an accident'

85.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xkɔr/_{adj} 'which does /X/'

ক্ষতি /k^hɔti/ 'loss', 'harm' ↔ ক্ষতিকর /k^hɔtikɔr/ 'injurious', 'harmful'

অপমান /ɔpomən/ 'insult' ↔ অপমানকর /ɔpomankɔr/ 'insulting'

86.NASVADSF: /XV/_{adj} ↔ /XVkɔron/_n 'act of making /XV/'

স্থায়ী /st^ha^yi/ 'permanent' ↔ স্থায়ীকরণ /st^ha^yikɔron/ 'to make permanent'

জাতীয় /jati^yo/ 'national' ↔ জাতীয়করণ /jati^yokɔron/ 'nationalization'

87.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xkɔrma/_{adj} 'doer of /X/'

পাপ /pap/ 'sin' ↔ পাপকৰ্মী /papkɔrma/ 'sinner'

পুণ্য /punno/ 'virtue' ↔ পুণ্যকৰ্মী /punnokɔrma/ 'virtuous'/'pious'

88.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xkami/_{adj} 'desirous to have /X/'

কল্যাণ /kollan/ 'well-being' ↔ কল্যাণকামী /kollankami/ 'who wants 'well-being'

শান্তি /ʃanti/ 'peace' ↔ শান্তিকামী /ʃantikami/ 'who wants peace'

89.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xkarok/_{adj} 'who has been in /X/'

ক্ষতি /k^hɔti/ 'loss', 'harm' ↔ ক্ষতিকারক /k^hɔtikarok/ 'injurious', 'harmful'

বল /bɔl/ 'force', 'energy' ↔ বলকারক /bɔlkarok/ 'invigorating', 'strengthening'

90.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xkalin/_{adj} 'during /X/'

মাতৃত্ব /matritto/ 'maternity' ↔ মাতৃত্বকালীন /matrittokalin/ 'during maternity'

প্রয়োগ /pro^yog/ 'application' ↔ প্রয়োগকালীন /pro^yogkalin/ 'during application'

91.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVkobid/_{adj} 'expert in /XV/'

কথা /kɔt^ha/ 'speech' ↔ কথাকোবিদ /kɔt^hakobid/ 'expert in speech'

অশ্ব /ɔʃʃo/ 'horse' ↔ অশ্বকোবিদ /ɔʃʃokobid/ 'expert in horse-related things'

92.NASVADSF: /XC/V-_{syllab}/_n ↔ /XC/V-_{syllab}kuʃɔl/_{adj} 'expert in /XC/V-_{syllab}/'

কার্য /karjo/ 'work' ↔ কার্যকুশল /karjokuʃɔl/ 'expert'

অভিনয় /ob^hino^y/ 'acting' ↔ অভিনয়কুশল /ob^hino^ykuʃɔl/ 'good actor'

93.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xkrito/_{adj} 'under /X/'

গ্রেফতার /greftar/ 'arrest' ↔ গ্রেফতারকৃত /greftarkrito/ 'arrested'

বীমা /bima/ 'insurance' ↔ বীমাকৃত /bimakrito/ 'with insured'

94.NASVADSF: /Xɔ/_n ↔ /Xɔkk^hɔm/_{adj} 'capable of /Xɔ/'

কার্য /karjo/ 'work' ↔ কার্যক্ষম /karjokk^hɔm/ 'capable of working'

কর্ম /kɔrmo/ 'work' ↔ কর্মক্ষম /kɔrmokk^hɔm/ 'capable of working'

95.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xk^hocito/_{adj} 'encrusted with /X/'

রত্ন /rɔtno/ 'gem' ↔ রত্নখচিত /rɔtnok^hocito/ 'encrusted with gem'

হীরক /hirɔk/ 'diamond' ↔ হীরকখচিত /hirɔkk^hocito/ 'encrusted with diamond'

96.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVg_{oto}/_{adj} 'something that concerns exclusively /XV/'
 ব্যক্তি /bɛkti/ 'person' ↔ ব্যক্তিগত /bɛktig_{oto}/ 'personal'
 স্বাস্থ্য /ʃast^ho/ 'health' ↔ স্বাস্থ্যগত /ʃast^hog_{oto}/ 'health-related'

97.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVgom_{mo}/_{adj} 'understandable with /XV/'
 চিন্তা /cinta/ 'thinking' ↔ চিন্তাগম্য /cintagom_{mo}/ 'understandable through thinking'
 ইন্দ্রিয় /indri^yo/ 'organs of sense' ↔ ইন্দ্রিয়গম্য /indri^yogom_{mo}/ 'understandable
 through the organs of sense'

98.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /Xgond^hi/_{adj} 'having the flavour of /XV/'
 পুষ্প /puʃpo/ 'flower' ↔ পুষ্পগন্ধী /puʃpogond^hi/ 'having the flavour of flower'
 মধু /mod^hu/ 'honey' ↔ মধুগন্ধী /mod^hugond^hi/ 'having the flavour of honey or a
 pleasant flavour'

99.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVgg_o/_{adj} 'expert in /XV/'
 ধর্ম /d^ho_rmo/ 'religion'/'virtue' ↔ ধর্মজ্ঞ /d^ho_rmogg_o/ 'expert in religion or virtue'
 অর্থনীতি /o_rt^ho_niti/ 'economics' ↔ অর্থনীতিজ্ঞ /o_rt^ho_nitigg_o/ 'expert in economics'

100.NASVADSF: /XVV_{-syllab}/_n ↔ /XVV_{-syllab}g_ē(a)pok/_{adj} 'which denotes /XVV_{-syllab}/'
 আনন্দ /anondo/ 'pleasure' ↔ আনন্দজ্ঞাপক /anondog_ē(a)pok/ 'something that shows the
 pleasure'
 সময় /ʃom^yo/ 'time' ↔ সময়জ্ঞাপক /ʃom^yog_ē(a)pok/ 'something that shows time'

101.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xgami/_{adj} 'going towards /X/'
 ঢাকা /d^haka/ 'city of Dhaka' ↔ ঢাকাগামী /d^hakagami/ 'going towards the city of Dhaka'
 অফিস /o_fiʃ/ 'office' ↔ অফিসগামী /o_fiʃgami/ 'going towards the office'

102.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xgoc_or/_{adj} 'within the scope of /X/'
 দৃষ্টি /driʃti/ 'view' ↔ দৃষ্টিগোচর /driʃtigoc_or/ 'visible'
 শ্রবণ /s_ro_bon/ 'audition'/'hearing' ↔ শ্রবণগোচর /s_ro_bongoc_or/ 'audible'

103.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xgr_osto/_{adj} 'under /X/'
 আতঙ্ক /ato_ŋko/ 'horror' ↔ আতঙ্কস্ত /ato_ŋkog_rosto/ 'horrified'
 বাতিক /batik/ 'neurosis', 'mania' ↔ বাতিকস্ত /batikg_rosto/ 'neurotic'

104.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCgrahi/_{adj/n} 'who takes /XC/'
 ঋণ /rin/ 'loan' ↔ ঋণগ্রাহী /ringrahi/ 'borrower', debtor'
 উৎকোচ /utkoc/ 'bribe' ↔ উৎকোচগ্রাহী /utkocgrahi/ 'a person who takes bribe'

105.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCg^hati/_{adj} 'injurious to /XC/'

জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ জীবনঘাতী /jibong^hati/ 'fatal'

প্রাণ /pran/ 'life' ↔ প্রাণঘাতী /prang^hati/ 'fatal'

106.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCcalito/_{adj} 'functioning with /XC/'

ইঞ্জিন /injin/ 'engine' ↔ ইঞ্জিনচালিত /injincalito/ 'run with an engine'

পেট্রোল /petrol/ 'petrol' ↔ পেট্রোলচালিত /petrolcalito/ 'run with petrol'

107.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xcari/_{adj} 'roaming in or on /X/'

আকাশ /akaʃ/ 'sky' ↔ আকাশচরী /akaʃcari/ 'roaming in the air'

সমুদ্র /ʃomudro/ ↔ সমুদ্রচরী /ʃomudrocari/ 'roaming in the seas'

108.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCcumbi/_{adj} 'kissing /XC/'

আকাশ /akaʃ/ 'sky' ↔ আকাশচুম্বী /akaʃcumbi/ 'sky-scrapper'

গগন /gogon/ 'sky' ↔ গগনচুম্বী /gogoncumbi/ 'sky-scrapper'

109.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVccuto/_{adj} 'fallen from or thrown out from /XV/'

চাকুরী /cakuri/ 'job' ↔ চাকুরীচ্যুত /cakuriccuto/ 'fired from one's job'

বৃক্ষ /brikk^ho/ 'tree' ↔ বৃক্ষচ্যুত /brikk^hoccuto/ 'fallen from the tree'

110.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCcuto/_{adj} 'thrown out from /XC/'

সমাজ /ʃomaj/ 'society' ↔ সমাজচ্যুত /ʃomajccuto/ 'ousted from one's society'

পরিবার /poribar/ 'society' ↔ পরিবারচ্যুত /poribarcuto/ 'ousted from one's family'

111.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVʃonok/_{adj} '/XV/-worthy'

নিন্দা /ninda/ 'condemnation' ↔ নিন্দাজনক /nindaʃonok/ 'condemnable'

প্রশংসা /proʃonʃa/ 'praise' ↔ প্রশংসাজনক /proʃonʃaʃonok/ 'praise-worthy'

112.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃonito/_{adj} 'due to /X/'

দুর্ঘটনা /durg^hoʃtona/ 'accident' ↔ দুর্ঘটনাজনিত /durg^hoʃtonaʃonito/ 'due to an accident'

ভ্রমণ /b^hromon/ 'travelling' ↔ ভ্রমণজনিত /b^hromonʃonito/ 'due to travelling'

113.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCʃorʃor/_{adj} 'having unbearable amount of /XC/'

রোগ /rog/ 'disease' ↔ রোগজর্জর /rogʃorʃor/ 'suffering from disease'

কাম /kam/ 'sex-urge' ↔ কামজর্জর /kamʃorʃor/ 'smitten with carnal desire'

114.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVjato/_{adj} 'produced by /XV/'
 কৃষি /kriʃi/ 'agriculture' ↔ কৃষিজাত /kriʃijato/ 'agricultural'
 শিল্প /ʃilpo/ 'industry' ↔ শিল্পজাত /ʃilpojato/ 'industrial'

115.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xjato/_{adj} 'stored in /X/'
 গুদাম /gudam/ 'ware-house' ↔ গুদামজাত /gudamjato/ 'stored'
 গোলা /gola/ 'granary' ↔ গোলাজাত /golajato/ 'garnered'

116.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVjibi/_{adj/n} 'having /XV/-related profession'
 কৃষি /kriʃi/ 'agriculture' ↔ কৃষিজীবি /kriʃijibi/ 'farmer'
 মৎস্য /motʃo/ 'fish' ↔ মৎস্যজীবি /motʃojibi/ 'fisherman'

117.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xjora/_{adj} 'existing everywhere in /X/'
 দুনিয়া /duni^ya/ 'world' ↔ দুনিয়াজোড়া /duni^yajora/ 'all over the world'
 দেশ /deʃ/ 'country' ↔ দেশজোড়া /deʃjora/ 'all over the country'

118.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xte/_{adj} '/X/-ly'
 আঁশ /ãʃ/ 'scale of a fish', 'fibre' ↔ আঁশটে /ãʃte/ 'smelling like the scale of a fish'
 তামা /tama/ 'thick' ↔ তামাটে /tamate/ 'having the colour like copper'

119.NASVADSF: /XV/_{adj} ↔ /XVtto/_n '/XV/-ness'
 ক্ষুদ্র /k^hudro/ 'small' ↔ ক্ষুদ্রত্ব /k^hudrotto/ 'smallness'
 পুরু /puru/ 'thick' ↔ পুরুত্ব /purutto/ 'thickness'

120.NASVADSF: /XV/_{adj} ↔ /ta/_n '/XV/-ness'
 উচ্চ /ucco/ 'high' ↔ উচ্চতা /uccota/ 'height'
 সম্ভাব্য /ʃomb^habbo/ 'probable' ↔ সম্ভাব্যতা /ʃomb^habbota/ 'probability'

121.NASVADSF: /Xo/_{n/adj} ↔ /Xotɔn/_{adj} 'of /Xo/'
 উর্ধ্ব /urd^ho/ 'high' ↔ উর্ধ্বতন /urd^hotɔn/ 'higher', 'of X'
 পূর্ব /purbo/ 'before' ↔ পূর্বতন /purbotɔn/ 'ex'

122.NASVADSF: /Xa/_n ↔ /Xatit/_{adj} 'beyond /Xa/'
 আশা /aʃa/ 'hope' ↔ আশাতীত /aʃatit/ 'unexpected'
 কল্পনা /kolpona/ 'imagination' ↔ কল্পনাতীত /kolponatit/ 'unimaginable'

123.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xtullo/_{adj} 'as honourable as /X/'
 দেব /deb/ 'God' ↔ দেবতুল্য /debtullo/ 'as honourable as God'
 পিতৃব্য /pitribbo/ 'uncle' ↔ পিতৃব্যতুল্য /pitribbotullo/ 'as honourable as an uncle'

124.NASVDSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVda^yok/_{adj} 'which gives /XV/'
 তৃপ্তি /tripti/ 'satisfaction' ↔ তৃপ্তিদায়ক /triptida^yok/ 'satisfactory'
 বেদনা /bedona/ 'pain' ↔ বেদনাদায়ক /bedonada^yok/ 'painful'

125.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xda^yini/_{adj} 'capable of giving /X/'
 জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ জীবনদায়িনী /jibonda^yini/ 'capable of giving life'
 আশা /aʃa/ 'hope' ↔ আশাদায়িনী /aʃada^yini/ 'capable of giving hope'

126.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xdar/_{adj} 'rich in /X/'
 জোর /jor/ 'strength' ↔ জোরদার /jordar/ 'strong'
 মজা /mɔja/ 'pleasure' ↔ মজাদার /mɔjadar/ 'pleasant'

127.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xdurɔst(o)/_{adj} 'in keeping with /X/'
 রাজনীতি /rajniti/ 'politics' ↔ রাজনীতিদুরস্ত /rajnitidurɔst(o)/ 'in keeping with
 politics'
 ফ্যাশন /fɛʃɔn/ ↔ ফ্যাশনদুরস্ত /fɛʃɔndurɔst(o)/ 'in keeping with the fashion'

128.NASVDSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVd^hɔr/_{adj} 'with /XV/ in hand'
 বংশী /boŋʃi/ 'flute' ↔ বংশীধর /boŋʃid^hɔr/ 'holding a flute'
 গদা /goda/ 'club' ↔ গদাধর /godad^hɔr/ 'holding a club'

129.NASVDSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVdd^hɔj/_{adj} 'having /XV/ sign on the top' (on mythical
 vehicles or chariots)
 হংস /hɔŋʃo/ 'swan'. 'duck' ↔ হংসধ্বজ /hɔŋʃodd^hɔj/ 'having the sign of swan on the top'
 চন্দ্র /cɔndro/ 'moon' ↔ চন্দ্রধ্বজ /cɔndrodd^hɔj/ 'having the sign of moon on the top'

130.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xd^hormi/_{adj} 'having the nature of /X/'
 কাব্য /kabbo/ 'poetry' ↔ কাব্যধর্মী /kabbod^hormi/ 'like poetry'
 উপন্যাস /upɔnnaʃ/ 'novel' ↔ উপন্যাসধর্মী /upɔnnaʃd^hormi/ 'novel-like'

131.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xd^hari/_{adj} 'holding /X/'
 অস্ত্র /as(t)ro/ 'arm' ↔ অস্ত্রধারী /as(t)rod^hari/ 'holding an arm', 'armed'
 বন্দুক /bonduk/ 'gun' ↔ বন্দুকধারী /bondukd^hari/ 'holding a gun'

132.NASVADSF: /Xa/n ↔ /Xad^hin/adj 'under /Xa/'

পরীক্ষা /porikk^ha/ 'examination' ↔ পরীক্ষাধীন /porikk^had^hin/ 'under examination'

আলোচনা /aloc^ona/ 'discussion' ↔ আলোচনাধীন /aloc^onad^hin/ 'under discussion'

133.NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xnaʃok/adj 'capable of exterminating /X/'

ক্লান্তি /klanti/ 'tiredness' ↔ ক্লান্তিনাশক /klantinaʃok/ 'something that exterminates tiredness'

কীট /kit/ 'insect' ↔ কীটনাশক /kitnaʃok/ 'insecticide'

134.NASVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVnaʃa/adj 'destroyer of /XV/'

কর্ম /kormo/ 'achievements' ↔ কর্মনাশা /kormonaʃa/ 'something that destroys human achievements'

কীর্তি /kirti/ 'great works' ↔ কীর্তিনাশা /kirtinaʃa/ 'something that destroys great works'

135.NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xnibaʃi/adj 'living in /X/ as a permanent resident'

মন্ট্রিয়ল /montriol/ 'Montreal' ↔ মন্ট্রিয়লনিবাসী /montriolnibaʃi/ 'living in Montreal'

কুমিল্লা /kumilla/ 'Comilla' ↔ কুমিল্লানিবাসী /kumillanibaʃi/ 'living in Comilla'

136.NASVADSF: /XC/N_{-syllab}/n ↔ /XC/N_{-syllab}annito/adj '/XC/N_{-syllab}/-ed'

বিস্ময় /biʃʃōʃ/ 'hope' ↔ বিস্ময়ান্বিত /biʃʃōʃannito/ 'hopeful'

প্রতাপ /protap/ 'might', 'power' ↔ প্রতাপান্বিত /protapannito/ 'mighty', 'powerful'

137.NASVADSF: /Xa/n ↔ /Xannito/adj '/Xa/'

আশা /aʃa/ 'hope' ↔ আশান্বিত /aʃannito/ 'who has got some hope'

চিন্তা /cinta/ 'thinking', 'anxiety' ↔ চিন্তান্বিত /protapannito/ 'anxious'

138.NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xnirb^hor/adj 'dependant on /X/'

কৃষি /kriʃi/ 'agriculture' ↔ কৃষিনির্ভর /kriʃinirb^hor/ 'dependent on agriculture'

ঋণ /rin/ 'loan' ↔ ঋণনির্ভর /rinnirb^hor/ 'dependent on loan'

139.NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xniʃt^ho/adj 'devoted to /X/'

আচার /acar/ 'religious and scriptural rites' ↔ আচারনিষ্ঠ /acarniʃt^ho/ 'observant of religious and scriptural rites'

ধর্ম /d^hormo/ 'religion' ↔ ধর্মনিষ্ঠ /d^hormoniʃt^ho/ 'observant of religious rites'

140.NSVAADSF: /Xa/n ↔ /Xanurup/adj 'like /X/'

আশা /aʃa/ 'hope' ↔ আশানুরূপ /aʃanurup/ 'in keeping with hope'

ইচ্ছা /icc^ha/ 'wish' ↔ ইচ্ছানুরূপ /icc^hanurup/ 'in keeping with wish'

141.NAADSf: /X/_n ↔ /Xpɔrɔbɔʃ/_{adj} 'biased with /X/'

হিংসা /hiŋʃa/ 'malevolence' ↔ হিংসাপরবশ /hiŋʃapɔrɔbɔʃ/ 'malevolent'

কাম /kam/ 'sex', 'libido' ↔ কামপরবশ /kampɔrɔbɔʃ/ 'biased with sexual desire'

142.NAADSf: /X/_n ↔ /Xpɔra^yon/_{adj} 'always motivated by/X/'

দুর্নীতি /durniti/ 'corruption' ↔ দুর্নীতিপরায়ণ /durnitipɔra^yon/ 'always involved in corruption'

কাম /kam/ 'sex', 'libido' ↔ কামপরায়ণ /kampɔra^yon/ 'lascivious', 'libidinous'

143.NAADSf: /X/_n ↔ /Xpont^{hi}/_{adj/n} 'supporter of /X/'

সরকার /ʃɔrkar/ 'government' ↔ সরকারপন্থী /ʃɔrkarpont^{hi}/ 'supporter of government'

ভাসানী /b^haʃani/ 'an ex-leader of Bangladesh' ↔ ভাসানীপন্থী /b^haʃanipont^{hi}/ 'supporter of Bhashani'

144.NAADSf: /X/_n ↔ /Xpana/_n 'having the form of /X/'

কুলো /kulo/ 'vessel made of bamboo slips for winnowing grains, etc.' ↔ কুলোপানা /kulopana/ 'as big as a kulo, kulo-like'

চাঁদ /cād/ 'moon' ↔ চাঁদপানা /cādpana/ 'as beautiful as the moon, moon-like'

145.NAADSf: /X/_n ↔ /Xpa^yi/_{adj/n} 'who takes /X/ in his body'

ধূম /d^hum/ 'smoke' ↔ ধূমপায়ী /d^humpa^yi/ 'smoker'

স্তন্য /stonno/ 'milk' ↔ স্তন্যপায়ী /stonnopa^yi/ 'mammal'

146.NAADSf: /X/_n ↔ /Xproti/_{adj} 'per /X/'

বাড়ী /bari/ 'house' ↔ বাড়ীপ্রতি /bariproti/ 'per house'

পরিবার /poribar/ 'family' ↔ পরিবারপ্রতি /poribarproti/ 'per family'

147.NAADSf: /X/_n ↔ /Xprotim/_{adj} 'like /X/'

বন্ধু /bond^hu/ 'friend' ↔ বন্ধুপ্রতিম /bond^huprotim/ 'like a friend'

অনুজ /onuj/ 'younger brother' ↔ অনুজপ্রতিম /onujprotim/ 'like a younger brother'

148.NASVADSf: /Xa/_n ↔ /Xapɔdo/_{adj} 'capable of giving /Xa/'

আশা /aʃa/ 'hope' ↔ আশাপ্রদ /aʃapɔdo/ 'something that inspires hope'

চিন্তা /cinta/ 'thought'/'anxiety' ↔ চিন্তাপ্রদ /cintapɔdo/ 'thought-provoking'

149.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVprōbon/_{adj} 'inclined to /XV/'

সন্দেহ /ʃōndehō/ 'suspicion' ↔ সন্দেহপ্রবণ /ʃōndehōprōbon/ 'suspicious'

কলহ /kōlōhō/ 'dispute' ↔ কলহপ্রবণ /kōlōhōprōbon/ 'fond of disputes'

150.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVpronodito/_{adj} 'driven by /XV/'

ঈর্ষা /irʃa/ 'envy' ↔ ঈর্ষাপ্রণোদিত /irʃapronodito/ 'driven by envy'

শত্রু /ʃōtru/ 'enemy' ↔ শত্রুপ্রণোদিত /ʃōtrupronodito/ 'driven by enemy'

151.NAADSf: /X/_n ↔ /Xproʃuto/_{adj} 'driven by /X/'

সন্দেহ /ʃōndehō/ 'suspicion' ↔ সন্দেহপ্রসূত /ʃōndehōproʃuto/ 'driven by suspicion'

অনুমান /anuman/ 'supposition' ↔ অনুমানপ্রসূত /anumanproʃuto/ 'based on supposition'

152.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVpani/_{adj/n} 'with /XV/ in hand'

খরগ /k^hōrgo/ 'sword' ↔ খরগপাণি /k^hōrgopani/ 'with a sword in hand'

বীণা /bina/ 'Vina', 'an Indian four-stringed musical instrument' ↔ বীণাপাণি /binapani/ 'with a Vina in hand'

153.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCferta/_{adj} 'returning from /XC/'

অফিস /ōfiʃ/ 'office' ↔ অফিসফেরতা /ōfiʃferta/ 'returning from office'

স্কুল /skul/ 'school' ↔ স্কুলফেরতা /skulferta/ 'returning from school'

154.NAADSf: /X/_n ↔ /Xbortī/_{adj} 'situated in /X/'

দূর /dur/ 'far' ↔ দূরবর্তী /durbortī/ 'situated far away'

মধ্য /modd^ho/ 'middle' ↔ মধ্যবর্তী /modd^hobortī/ 'situated in the middle'

155.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVbōrd^hok/_{adj/n} 'capable of increasing /XV/'

ক্ষুধা /k^hud^ha/ 'hunger' ↔ ক্ষুধাবর্ধক /k^hud^habōrd^hok/ 'appetizer'

শক্তি /ʃōkti/ 'power' ↔ শক্তিবর্ধক /ʃōktibōrd^hok/ 'capable of increasing power'

156.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVbōho/_{adj} 'bearing /XV/'

অর্থ /ōrt^ho/ 'meaning' ↔ অর্থবহ /ōrt^hobōho/ 'meaningful'

গন্ধ /gōnd^ho/ 'smell' ↔ গন্ধবহ /gōnd^hobōho/ 'bearing good smell'

157. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCbohirb^huto/_{adj} 'not in /XC/'

সংবিধান /ʃōṅbid^han/ 'constitution' ↔ সংবিধানবহির্ভূত /ʃōṅbid^hanbohirb^huto/ 'not supported by the constitution'

আইন /a^jn/ 'law' ↔ আইনবহির্ভূত /a^jnbohirb^huto/ 'illegitimate'

158.NAADSf: /X/_n ↔ /Xbohul/_{adj} 'having plenty of /X/'

ঘটনা /g^hɔ̃tɔna/ 'events' ↔ ঘটনাবহুল /g^hɔ̃tɔnabohul/ 'full of events'

মাস্তান /mastan/ 'hooligan' ↔ মাস্তানবহুল /mastanbohul/ 'full of hooligans'

159.NAADSf: /X/_n ↔ /Xbot/_{adj} 'like /X/'

সন্তান /ʃontan/ 'a son or a daughter' ↔ সন্তানবৎ /ʃontanbot/ 'like a son or a daughter'

বন্ধু /bond^hu/ 'friend' ↔ বন্ধুবৎ /bond^hubot/ 'like a friend'

160.NAADSf: /X/_n ↔ /Xbotʃol/_{adj} 'who has much affection for /X/'

সন্তান /ʃontan/ 'a son or a daughter' ↔ সন্তানবৎসল /ʃontanbotʃol/ 'who has much affection for his/her son or daughter'

বন্ধু /bond^hu/ 'friend' ↔ বন্ধুবৎসল /bond^hubotʃol/ 'who loves his friends a lot'

161.NAADSf: /X/_n ↔ /Xboti/_{adj} 'a woman blessed with /X/'

চরিত্র /coritro/ 'moral character' ↔ চরিত্রবতী /coritroboti/ 'a woman having a good moral character'

সন্তান /ʃontan/ 'child' ↔ সন্তানবতী /ʃontanboti/ 'a woman who is gifted with child'

162.NASVADSf: /XV/_n ↔ /XVbacok/_{adj} 'XV/-worthy'

প্রশংসা /proʃonʃa/ 'praise' ↔ প্রশংসাবাচক /proʃonʃabacok/ 'praise-worthy'

নিন্দা /ninda/ 'condemnation' ↔ নিন্দাবাচক /nindabacok/ 'condemnable'

163.NAADSf: /X/_n ↔ /Xbaj/_{adj/n} 'always inclined to /X/'

মামলা /mamla/ 'a lawsuit' ↔ মামলাবাজ /mamlabaj/ 'litigious'

নকল /nokol/ 'plagiarist' ↔ নকলবাজ /nokolbaj/ 'plagiarist'

164.NASVADSf: /XV/_n ↔ /XVbadi/_{adj} 'motivated to speak or tell /XV/'

সত্য /ʃotto/ 'truth' ↔ সত্যবাদী /ʃottobadi/ 'who seeks the truth'

মিথ্যা /mitt^ha/ 'lie' ↔ মিথ্যাবাদী /mitt^habadi/ 'liar'

165.NASVADSf: /XV/_n ↔ /XVban/_{adj/n} 'a man having /XV/'

ভাগ্য /b^haggo/ 'fortune' ↔ ভাগ্যবান /b^haggban/ 'a fortunate man'

সামর্থ্য /ʃamort^ho/ 'capacity' ↔ সামর্থ্যবান /ʃamort^hoban/ 'capable'

166.NAADSf: /X/_n ↔ /Xband^hob/_{adj} '/X/ friendly'

দুর্ভৃত্ত /durbritto/ 'criminal' ↔ দুর্ভৃত্তবান্ধব /durbrittoband^hob/ 'criminal-friendly'

পরিবেশ /poribeʃ/ 'environment' ↔ পরিবেশবান্ধব /poribeʃband^hob/ 'environment-friendly'

167.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVbahito/_n 'brought or driven by /XV/'

পানি /pani/ 'water' ↔ পানিবাহিত /panibahito/ 'borne by water'

নদী /nodi/ 'river' ↔ নদীবাহিত /nodibahito/ 'borne by river'

168.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xbahi/_{adj} '/X/-bearer'

ভার /b^har/ 'load' ↔ ভারবাহী /b^harbahi/ 'carrying load or weight'

ঐতিহ্য /o^jtiɟɟo/ 'tradition' ↔ ঐতিহ্যবাহী /o^jtiɟɟobahi/ 'traditional'

169.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xbidd^ho/_{adj} 'pierced by or nailed to /X/'

তীর /tir/ 'arrow' ↔ তীরবিদ্ধ /tirbidd^ho/ 'pierced with arrow'

বর্শা /borɟa/ 'spear'/'pike' ↔ বর্শাবিদ্ধ /borɟabidd^ho/ 'pierced with a spear or a pike'

170.NASVADSF: /XV/_{-syllab/n} ↔ /XV/_{-syllab}bidarok/_{adj} 'capable of splitting

/XV/_{-syllab/'}

মর্ম /mɔrmo/ 'heart' ↔ মর্মবিদারক /mɔrmobidarok/ 'heart-striking'

হৃদয় /ridɔ^y/ 'heart' ↔ হৃদয়বিদারক /ridɔ^ybidarok/ 'heart-breaking'

171.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCbidd^hoɟɟi/_{adj} 'destroyer of /XC/'

বিমান /biman/ 'aircraft' ↔ বিমানবিধ্বংসী /bimanbidd^hoɟɟi/ 'antiaircraft'

সাবমেরিন /sabmerin/ 'submarine' ↔ সাবমেরিনবিধ্বংসী /sabmerinbidd^hoɟɟi/ 'antisubmarine'

172.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVbid^hur/_{adj} 'affected with /XV/'

বেদনা /bedona/ 'pain' ↔ বেদনাবিধূর /bedonabid^hur/ 'painful'

দুঃখ /dukk^ho/ 'distress' ↔ দুঃখবিধূর /dukk^hobid^hur/ 'distressful'

173.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVbid^ho^uto/_{adj} 'washed by /XV/'

বর্ষা /borɟa/ 'monsoon' ↔ বর্ষাবিধৌত /borɟabid^ho^uto/ 'washed during monsoon'

নদী /nodi/ 'river' ↔ নদীবিধৌত /nodibid^ho^uto/ 'washed by river'

174.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XV(bi)borɟito/_{adj} 'deprived of /XV/'

যুক্তি /jukti/ 'reason' ↔ যুক্তি(বি)বর্জিত /jukti(bi)borɟito/ 'unreasonable'

ধারণা /d^harona/ 'idea' ↔ ধারণা(বি)বর্জিত /d^harona(bi)borɟito/ 'who does not have any idea'

175.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xbiɟɟok/_{adj} '/X/-related'

সাহিত্য /ɟahitto/ 'litterature' ↔ সাহিত্যবিষয়ক /ɟahittobiɟɟok/ 'about literature'

রসায়ন /rɔɟa^yɔn/ 'chemistry' ↔ রসায়নবিষয়ক /rɔɟa^yɔnbiɟɟok/ 'about chemistry'

176. NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xbihin/adj 'without /X/'

বাসস্থান /baʃost^han/ 'dwelling place' ↔ বাসস্থানবিহীন /baʃost^hanbihin/ 'without any dwelling place'

অর্থ /ort^ho/ 'money' ↔ অর্থবিহীন /ort^hobihin/ 'without money'

177. NASVDSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVbenjok/adj 'denoting or connoting /XV/'

আশা /aʃa/ 'hope' ↔ আশাব্যঞ্জক /aʃabenjok/ 'something that shows hope'

ঘৃণা /g^hrina/ 'hate' ↔ ঘৃণাব্যঞ্জক /g^hrinabenjok/ 'something that shows hatred'

178. NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xb^hagi/adj 'got to suffer from /X/'

ফল /fol/ 'consequences' ↔ ফলভাগী /folb^hagi/ 'suffering from the consequences of something'

কলঙ্ক /kolɔŋko 'bad reputation' ↔ কলঙ্কভাগী /kolɔŋkob^hagi/ 'suffering from bad reputation'

179. NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xb^hajon/adj 'object of /X/'

সন্দেহ /ʃɔndeho/ 'suspicion' ↔ সন্দেহভাজন /ʃɔndehob^hajon/ 'suspect'

বিরাগ /birag/ 'displeasure' ↔ বিরাগভাজন /biragb^hajon/ 'who incurs displeasure'

180. NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xb^hittik/adj 'limited to /X/'

থানা /t^hana/ 'police station'/'a particular administrative division' ↔ থানাভিত্তিক

/t^hanab^hittik/ 'limited in the area of Thana'

গ্রাম /gram/ 'village' ↔ গ্রামভিত্তিক /gramb^hittik/ 'limited in the area of a village'

181. NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xb^hittik/adj 'based on /X/'

তথ্য /tott^ho/ 'information' ↔ তথ্যভিত্তিক /tott^hob^hittik/ 'based on information'

অনুমান /onuman/ 'assumption' ↔ অনুমানভিত্তিক /onumanb^hittik/ 'based on assumption'

182. NASVDSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVb^huk/adj '/XV/-eater'

মাংস /maŋʃo/ 'meat' ↔ মাংসভুক /maŋʃob^huk/ 'carnivorous'

তৃণ /trinɔ/ 'grass' ↔ তৃণভুক /trinob^huk/ 'herbivorous'

183. NASVDSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVb^hukto/adj 'figuring or included in /XV/'

তালিকা /talika/ 'list' ↔ তালিকাভুক্ত /talikab^hukto/ 'included in the list'

লিস্ট /liʃti/ 'list' ↔ লিস্টভুক্ত /liʃtib^hukto/ 'included in the list'

184.NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xb^hedi/adj 'capable of piercing /X/'

মর্ম /mɔrmo/ 'heart' ↔ মর্মভেদী /mɔrmob^hedi/ 'something that pierces the heart'

গগন /gɔgon/ 'sky' ↔ গগনভদী /gɔgonb^hedi/ 'something that pierces the sky'

185.NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xb^hogi/adj 'enjoying or getting /X/'

সুবিধা /ʃubid^ha/ 'facility' ↔ সুবিধাভোগী /ʃubid^hab^hogi/ 'who enjoys facilities'

পেনসন /penʃɔn/ 'pension' ↔ পেনসনভোগী /penʃɔnb^hogi/ 'having a pension'

186.NASVDSF: /X/n ↔ /Xb^hoji/adj '/X/-eater'

মাংস /maŋʃo/ 'meat' ↔ মাংসভোজী /maŋʃob^hoji/ 'carnivorous'

আমিষ /amiʃ/ 'non-vegetarian food' ↔ আমিষভোজী /amiʃb^hoji/ 'non-vegetarian'

187.NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xb^hroʃto/adj 'having lost /X/'

পথ /pɔt^h/ 'way' ↔ পথভ্রষ্ট /pɔthb^hroʃto/ 'strayed'

স্মৃতি /sr̥iti/ 'memory' ↔ স্মৃতিভ্রষ্ট /sr̥itib^hroʃto/ 'suffering from dementia'

188.NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xmo^y/adj 'full of /X/'

বর্ণ /bɔrno/ 'colour' ↔ বর্ণময় /bɔrnomo^y/ 'full of colours'

গৌরব /go^urɔb/ 'glory' ↔ গৌরবময় /go^urɔbmo^y/ 'glorious'

189.NASVDSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVmona/adj '/XV/-minded'

গণতন্ত্র /gɔnotontro/ 'democracy' ↔ গণতন্ত্রমনা /gɔnotontromona/ 'democratic'

ধর্ম /d^hɔrmo/ 'religion' ↔ ধর্মমনা /d^hɔrmomona/ 'religious'

190.NASVDSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVman/adj 'who has /XV/'

খ্যাতি /k^hɛ(a)ti/ 'fame' ↔ খ্যাতিমান /k^hɛ(a)timan/ 'famous'

বুদ্ধি /budd^hi/ 'intelligence' ↔ বুদ্ধিমান /budd^himan/ 'intelligent'

191.NASVDSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCmuk^hɔr/adj 'full of /XC/'

বর্ষণ /bɔrʃon/ 'raining' ↔ বর্ষণমুখর /bɔrʃonmuk^hɔr/ 'rainy'

কোলাহল /kolahɔl/ 'loud and confused noise' ↔ কোলাহলমুখর /kolahɔlmuk^hɔr/ 'full of loud and confused noise'

192.NASVDSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVmuk^ho/adj 'having a face like /XV/'

মেয়ে /me^ye/ 'girl'/'woman' ↔ মেয়েমুখো /me^yemuk^ho/ 'having a face like a woman'

ঘোড়া /g^hora/ 'horse' ↔ ঘোড়ামুখো /g^horamuk^ho/ 'having a face like a horse'

193.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVmondito/_{adj} 'with /XV/'

ঐশ্বর্য /o^jʃorjo/ 'wealth'/'magesty' ↔ ঐশ্বর্যমণ্ডিত /o^jʃorjomondito/ 'grand'/'majestic'

সাফল্য /ʃafollo/ 'success' ↔ সাফল্যমণ্ডিত /ʃafollomondito/ 'successful'

194.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xmuk^{hi}/_{adj} 'faced or oriented to /X/'

পূর্ব /purbo/ 'east' ↔ পূর্বমুখী /purbomuk^{hi}/ 'facing the east'

পশ্চিম /poʃcim/ 'west' ↔ পশ্চিমমুখী /poʃcimmuk^{hi}/ 'facing the west'

195.NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVmulok/_{adj} 'constituting /XV/'

বাধ্যতা /badd^hota/ 'obligation' ↔ বাধ্যতামূলক /badd^hotamulok/ 'obligatory'

শাস্তি /ʃasti/ 'punishment' ↔ শাস্তিমূলক /ʃastimulok/ 'punitive'

196.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xjukto/_{adj} '/X/-added'

সার /ʃar/ 'manure' ↔ সারযুক্ত /ʃarjukto/ 'with manure added'

ননী /noni/ 'cream' ↔ ননীযুক্ত /nonijukto/ 'full-cream'

197.NASVADSF: /Xa/_n ↔ /Xarto/_{adj} 'suffering from /Xa/'

ক্ষুধা /k^hud^ha/ 'hunger' ↔ ক্ষুধার্ত /k^hud^harto/ 'hungry'

তৃষ্ণা /triʃna/ 'thirst' ↔ তৃষ্ণার্ত /triʃnarto/ 'thirsty'

198.NASVADSF: /Xa/_n ↔ /Xart^{hi}/_{adj} 'desirous to have /Xa/'

শিক্ষা /ʃikk^ha/ 'education' ↔ শিক্ষার্থী /ʃikk^hart^{hi}/ 'student'

বিদ্যা /bid^hda/ 'learning' ↔ বিদ্যার্থী /bid^hdart^{hi}/ 'learner'

199.NASVADSF: /Xa/_n ↔ /Xarho/_{adj} '/Xa/ worthy'

প্রশংসা /proʃoŋʃa/ 'praise' ↔ প্রশংসার্ত /proʃoŋʃarho/ 'praise-worthy'

নিন্দা /ninda/ 'condemnation' ↔ নিন্দার্ত /nindarho/ 'condemnable'

200.NAADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xroto/_{adj} 'busy in /X/'

কর্ম /kɔrmo/ 'work' ↔ কর্মরত /kɔrmo^{ro}to/ 'working'

আন্দোলন /andolon/ 'movement for some social or political cause' ↔ আন্দোলনরত

/andolon^{ro}to/ 'involved in movement for some social or political cause'

201.NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCrohito/_{adj} 'somebody who has lost /XC/'

বাহ্যজ্ঞান /baɟjoge(a)n/ 'knowledge or consciousness about external or surrounding objects' ↔ বাহ্যজ্ঞানরহিত /baɟjoge(a)nrohito/ 'without knowledge or consciousness about external or surrounding objects'

কাণ্ডজ্ঞান /kandʒɔŋ(a)n/ 'common sense' ↔ কাণ্ডজ্ঞানরহিত /kandʒɔŋ(a)nrohito/ 'lacking common sense'

202.NASVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVlɔbd^ho/adj 'obtained through /XV/'

সাধনা /ʃad^hona/ 'practice' ↔ সাধনালব্ধ /ʃad^honalɔbd^ho/ 'resulting from practice'
চেষ্টা /ceʃt̪a/ 'trying'/endeavour' ↔ চেষ্টালব্ধ /ceʃt̪alɔbd^ho/ 'resulting from an endeavour'

203.NASVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVlɔgno/adj 'touching /XV/'

কণ্ঠ /kɔnt̪^ho/ 'throat' ↔ কণ্ঠলগ্ন /kɔnt̪^hologno/ 'touching the throat'
বক্ষ /bɔkk^ho/ 'chest' ↔ বক্ষলগ্ন /bɔkk^hologno/ 'touching the chest'

204.NASVADSF: /XV_{-high}/n ↔ /XV_{-high}li/adj 'like /XV_{-high}/'

সোনা /ʃona/ 'gold' ↔ সোনালী /ʃonali/ 'of golden colour', 'gold-like'
মেয়ে /me^ye/ 'girl' ↔ মেয়েলী /me^yeli/ 'girl-like'

205.NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xlipʃu/adj 'avid for /X/'

অর্থ /ɔrt^ho/ 'money' ↔ অর্থলিপ্সু /ɔrt^holipʃu/ 'avaricious'
ধন /d^hon/ 'wealth' ↔ ধনলিপ্সু /d^honlipʃu/ 'avaricious'

206.NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xʃali/adj 'having a lot of /X/'

প্রভাব /prob^hab/ 'influence' ↔ প্রভাবশালী /prob^habʃali/ 'influential'
অর্থ /ɔrt^ho/ 'money' ↔ অর্থশালী /ɔrt^hoʃali/ 'rich'

207.NASVADSF: /Xa/n ↔ /Xaʃokto/adj 'addicted to /Xa/'

ক্রীড়া /krira/ 'game' ↔ ক্রীড়াসক্ত /kriraʃokto/ 'profoundly attached to games'
বেশ্যা /beʃʃa/ 'prostitute' ↔ বেশ্যাসক্ত /beʃʃaʃokto/ 'given to visiting prostitutes'

208.NASVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCʃomponno/adj 'endowed with /XC/'

গুণ /gun/ 'quality' ↔ গুণসম্পন্ন /gunʃomponno/ 'qualified'
মান /man/ 'standard' ↔ মানসম্পন্ন /manʃomponno/ 'standard'

209.NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xʃo^j/adj 'in keeping with /X/'

পছন্দ /pɔc^hondo/ 'choice' ↔ পছন্দসই /pɔc^hondoʃo^j/ 'in keeping with the choice'
চলন /cɔlon/ 'vogue' ↔ চলনসই /cɔlonʃo^j/ 'in vogue'

210.NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xʃoŋkranto/adj 'concerning /X/'

মামলা /mamla/ 'lawsuit' ↔ মামলাসংক্রান্ত /mamlaʃoŋkranto/ 'concerning a lawsuit'

নগর /nɔgɔr/ 'city' ↔ নগরসংক্রান্ত /nɔgɔrʃoŋkranto/ 'concerning the city'

211.NASVADSF: /Xu/n ↔ /Xuʃman/adj 'rich in /Xu/'

চক্ষু /cokk^hu/ 'eye' ↔ চক্ষুস্মান /cokk^huʃman/ 'who can see'

আয়ু /a^yu/ 'age' ↔ আয়ুস্মান /a^yuʃman/ 'somebody who lives long'

212.NASVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVʃʃat/adj 'reduced to /XV/'

ধূলি /d^huli/ 'dust' ↔ ধূলিসাৎ /d^huliʃʃat/ 'reduced to dust'

ভস্ম /b^hoʃʃō/ 'ashes' ↔ ভস্মসাত্ /b^hoʃʃōʃʃat/ 'reduced to ashes'

213.NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xʃapekk^ho/adj 'depending on /X/'

আলোচনা /alocōna/ 'discussion' ↔ আলোচনাসাপেক্ষ /alocōnaʃapekk^ho/ 'something to be decided after a discussion'

প্রমাণ /proman/ 'proof' ↔ প্রমাণসাপেক্ষ /promanʃapekk^ho/ 'something to be decided upon the presentation of proof'

214.NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xʃulob^h/adj '/X/-like'

কবি /kobi/ 'poet' ↔ কবিসুলভ /kobiʃulob^h/ 'like a poet'

বোলার /bolar/ 'bowler' ↔ বোলারসুলভ /bolarʃulob^h/ 'like a bowler'

215.NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xʃucok/adj 'expressing /X/'

প্রশংসা /proʃoŋʃa/ 'appreciation' ↔ প্রশংসাসূচক /proʃoŋʃaʃucok/ 'appreciative'

ফলাফল /fɔlafɔl/ 'result' ↔ ফলাফলসূচক /fɔlafɔlʃucok/ 'showing the result'

216.NASVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCʃil/adj 'doing /XC/'

উন্নয়ন /unno^yon/ 'development' ↔ উন্নয়নশীল /unno^yonʃil/ 'developing'

সৃজন /srijon/ 'creation' ↔ সৃজনশীল /srijonʃil/ 'creative'

217.NAADSF: /XC/N_{-syllab}/n ↔ /XC/N_{-syllab}sporʃi/adj 'touching /XC/N_{-syllab}'

গগন /gɔgon/ 'sky' ↔ গগনস্পর্শী /gɔgonsporʃi/ 'touching the sky'

হৃদয় /hrido^y/ 'heart' ↔ হৃদয়স্পর্শী /hrido^ysporʃi/ 'touching the sky'

218.NAADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xhara/adj 'somebody who has lost /X/'

গৃহ /griho/ 'house' ↔ গৃহহারা /grihohara/ 'homeless'

স্বজন /ʃoʃon/ 'relative' ↔ স্বজনহারা /ʃoʃonhara/ 'who has lost his relatives'

219.NAADSFS: /X/n ↔ /Xhin/adj 'without /X/'

সীমা /ʃima/ 'boundary, limit' ↔ সীমাহীন /ʃimahin/ 'endless, unlimited'

যোগাযোগ /jogajog/ 'communication' ↔ যোগাযোগহীন /jogajoghin/ 'without communication'

220.NASMADPF: /Xa/n ↔ /oX/adj 'lacking /Xa/'

সীমা /ʃima/ 'limit' ↔ অসীম /oʃim/ 'unlimited'

চেতনা /cetona/ 'sensation' ↔ অচেতন /oceton/ 'bereft of sensation'

221.NASMADPF: /Xa/n ↔ /nirX/adj 'who does not have /Xa/'

দয়া /do^ya/ 'mercy' ↔ নির্দয় /nirdo^y/ 'cruel'

আশা /aʃa/ 'hope' ↔ নিরাশ /niraʃ/ 'frustrated'

222.NAADSMSF: /Xmi/n ↔ /X/adj 'the nature of /X/'

আলসেমী /alʃemi/ 'laziness' ↔ আলসে /alʃe/ 'lazy'

নোংরামী /noŋrami/ 'vileness'/'dirtiness' ↔ নোংরা /noŋra/ 'dirty'/'vile'

223.NASMADSF: /Xa/n ↔ /X/adj 'without /Xa/'

হতাশা /hotaʃa/ 'frustration' ↔ হতাশ /hotaʃ/ 'frustrated'

নিরাশা /niraʃa/ 'despair, disappointment' ↔ নিরাশ /niraʃ/ 'disappointed'

224.NAADSMSF: /Xap/n ↔ /Xopto/adj 'affected by /Xap/'

উত্তাপ /uttap/ 'heat' ↔ উত্তপ্ত /uttopto/ 'heated'

অভিশাপ /ob^hiʃap/ 'curse' ↔ অভিশপ্ত /ob^hiʃopto/ 'cursed'

225.NAADSMSF: /XaC_{+strid, +palat}/n ↔ /XoC_{+strid, +dent}to/adj /XaC_{+strid, +palat}/'-ed'

সন্ত্রাস /ʃontraʃ/ 'violence' ↔ সন্ত্রস্ত /ʃontrɔsto/ 'afraid'

বিন্যাস /binnaʃ/ 'classification' ↔ বিন্যস্ত /binnoʃto/ 'classified'

226.NAADSMSF: /CuC/n ↔ /Co^uCo/adj 'related to /CuX/'

মূল /mul/ 'base' ↔ মৌল /mo^ulo/ 'basic'

রূপ /rup/ 'form' ↔ রৌপ /ro^upo/ 'formal'

227.NAADSMSF: /CiC/n ↔ /Co^jCo/adj 'of /CiX/'

জীব /jib/ 'animal' ↔ জৈব /jo^jbo/ 'of animal'

শিব /ʃib/ 'the god Shiva' ↔ শৈব /ʃo^jbo/ 'of Shiva'

228.NAADSMSF: /XuC/_n ↔ /Xo^hCik/_{adj} 'related to /XuC/'

ভূত /b^hut/ 'ghost' ↔ ভৌতিক /b^ho^htik/ 'ghostly'

মূল /mul/ 'base' ↔ মৌলিক /mo^hlik/ 'basic'

229.NAADSMSF: /CoXo/_n ↔ /CaXik/_{adj} 'related to /CoXo/'

যন্ত্র /jɔntro/ 'machine' ↔ যান্ত্রিক /jantrik/ 'mechanical'

তত্ত্ব /totto/ 'theory' ↔ তাত্ত্বিক /tattik/ 'theoretical'

230.NAADSMSF: /CiXo/_n ↔ /Co^jXik/_{adj} 'related to /CiXo/'

নিসর্গ /niʃorgo/ 'nature' ↔ নৈসর্গিক /no^jʃorgik/ 'natural'

বিবাহ /bibaho/ 'marriage' ↔ বৈবাহিক /bo^jbahik/ 'marrital'

231.NAADSMSF: /CoX/_n ↔ /CaXik/_{adj} 'related to /CoX/'

দপ্তর /doptor/ 'office' ↔ দাপ্তরিক /daptorik/ 'official'

সংগঠন /ʃɔngot^hɔn/ 'organization' ↔ সাংগঠনিক /ʃɔngot^hɔnik/ 'organizational'

232.NAADSMSF: /(C)(C)oX/_n ↔ /(C)CaXik/_{adj} 'on the basis of /(C)(C)oX/'

অনুমান /onuman/ 'guess' ↔ আনুমানিক /anumanik/ 'approximate'

প্রমাণ /proman/ 'proof' ↔ প্রামাণিক /pramanik/ 'authoritative'

233.NAADSMSF: /XaC/_n ↔ /XoCito/_{adj} 'who shows or does /XaC/'

উচ্ছাস /ucc^haʃ/ 'an emotional or passionate outburst' ↔ উচ্ছসিত /ucc^hoʃito/ 'very enthusiastic'

উল্লাস /ullaʃ/ 'rejoicing' ↔ উল্লসিত /ulloʃito/ 'rejoiced'

234.NAADSMSF: /Xar/_n ↔ /Xrito/_{adj} 'who/which has undergone /Xar/'

বহিষ্কার /bohiʃkar/ 'expulsion' ↔ বহিষ্কৃত /bohiʃkrito/ 'expelled'

আবিষ্কার /abiʃkar/ 'discovery' ↔ আবিষ্কৃত /abiʃkrito/ 'discovered'

235.NAADSMSF: /XoC/_n ↔ /XuCe/_{adj} 'who does /XoC/'

আমোদ /amod/ 'merriment' ↔ আমুদে /amude/ 'humourous'

রগড় /rogor/ 'fun' ↔ রগুড়ে /rogure/ 'funny'

236.NAADSMSF: /XV_{-high}C/_n ↔ /XV_{+high}Co/_{adj} 'of /XV_{-high}C/'

গাছ /gac^h/ 'tree' ↔ গেছে /gec^ho/ 'who lives on the tree'

বন /bon/ 'forest' ↔ বুনো /buno/ 'who lives in the forest', 'wild'

237.NAADSMSF: /Xoʃ/_n ↔ /Xuʃto/_{adj} 'having /XoC/'

দোষ /doʃ/ 'crime' ↔ দুষ্ট /duʃto/ 'criminal'

রোষ /roʃ/ 'anger' ↔ রুষ্ট /ruʃto/ 'angry'

238.NAADSMSF: /XoC/_n ↔ /XuCd^ho/_{adj} 'somebody who has undergone /XoC/'

অবরোধ /oborod^h/ 'confinement' ↔ অবরুদ্ধ /oborudd^ho/ 'confined'

লোভ /lob^h/ 'greed' ↔ লুব্ধ /lubd^ho/ 'greedy'

239.NAADSMSF: /Xiti/_n ↔ /Xo^jtik/_{adj} 'concerning /Xiti/'

রাজনীতি /rajniti/ 'politics' ↔ রাজনৈতিক /rajno^jtik/ 'political'

নীতি /niti/ 'morality' ↔ নৈতিক /no^jtik/ 'moral'

240.NAADSMSF: /XVC/_{n/adj} ↔ /XCami/_n 'nature of /XVC/'

পাগল /pagol/ 'mad' ↔ পাগলামী /paglami/ 'madness'

ফাজিল /fajil/ 'flippant' ↔ ফাজলামী /fajlami/ 'flippancy'

241.NAADSMSF: /(C)ɔXC/_{adj} ↔ /(C)aXCCo/_n 'quality of /(C)ɔXC/'

সফল /ʃɔfol/ 'successful' ↔ সাফল্য /ʃafollo/ 'success'

অলস /ɔloʃ/ 'idle' ↔ আলস্য /aloʃʃo/ 'idleness'

242.NAADSMSF: /CiXC/_{adj} ↔ /Co^jXCCo/_n '/CiXC/-ness'

নিকট /nikot/ 'near' ↔ নৈকট্য /no^jko^tto/ 'proximity'

দীন /din/ 'poor' ↔ দৈন্য /do^jnno/ 'poverty'

243.NAADSMSF: /(C)uX/_{adj} ↔ /(C)o^uXjo/_n 'quality of /(C)uX'

উদার /udar/ 'free-minded' ↔ উদার্য /o^udarjo/ 'free-mindedness'

সুন্দর /ʃundɔr/ 'beautiful' ↔ সৌন্দর্য /ʃo^undɔrjo/ 'beauty'

244.NAADSMSF: /CoX/_{adj} ↔ /CaXjo/_n 'quality of /CoX/'

চতুর /cotur/ 'clever', 'cunning' ↔ চতুর্য /caturjo/ 'cleverness'

মধুর /mod^hur/ 'sweet', 'pleasant' ↔ মধুর্য /mad^hurjo/ 'sweetness', 'beauty'

245.NASVADCF: /CX/_n ↔ /ɔCXi^yo/_{adj} 'un-/CX/-able'

পরিবর্তন /poriborton/ 'change' ↔ অপরিবর্তনীয় /ɔporibortoni^yo/ 'unchangeable'

বিস্মরণ /biʃʃōron/ 'oblivion' ↔ অবিস্মরণীয় /ɔbiʃʃōroni^yo/ 'unforgettable'

246.NASVADCF: /CVC/_n ↔ /co^uCVCa/_{adj} 'having four /CVC/'

কোণ /kon/ 'angle' ↔ চৌকোণা /co^ukona/ 'having four angles'

চাল /ca/ 'roof' ↔ চৌচালা /co^ucala/ 'having four roofs'

247.NASVADCF: /CVC/_n ↔ /beCVCa/_{adj} 'without /CVC/'

তাল /tal/ 'rythme' ↔ বেতলা /betala/ 'failing in rythme'

সুর /ʃur/ 'tune' ↔ বেসুরা /beʃura/ 'failing in tune'

248.NASVADCF: /CXC/_n ↔ /beXCi/_{adj} 'who does not do /CXC/'

খেয়াল /k^heal/ 'act of remembering' ↔ বেখেয়ালী /bek^heali/ 'who cannot remember'

নামাজ /namaʃ/ 'Islamic prayer' ↔ বেনামাজী /benamaʃi/ 'a Muslim who does not say his prayer'

249.NASVADCF: /CVC/_n ↔ /bohuCVCi/_{adj} 'having many /CVC/s'

রূপ /rup/ 'form' ↔ বহুরূপী /bohurupi/ 'capable of taking different forms'

মুখ /muk^h/ 'mouth'/'orientation' ↔ বহুমুখী /bohumuk^hi/ 'multi-lateral'

250.NASMADCF: /CVXC/_n ↔ /oCo^jXCik/_{adj} 'lacking /CVXC/'

বেতন /beton/ 'salary' ↔ অবৈতনিক /ob^otonik/ 'honorary', 'without salary'

নীতি /niti/ 'moral' ↔ অনৈতিক /ono^jtik/ 'immoral'

251.NASMADCF: /Xo^y/_n ↔ /oXe^yo/_{adj} 'impossible to achieve /Xo^y/'

পরাজয় /poraʃo^y/ 'defeat' ↔ অপরাজেয় /oporaʃe^yo/ 'unconquerable'

জয় /ʃo^y/ 'victory' ↔ অজেয় /oje^yo/ 'unconquerable'

252.NASMADCF: /CXa/_n ↔ /ʃoCXo/_{adj} 'with /CXa/'

লজ্জা /lɔʃʃa/ 'shyness' ↔ সলজ্জা /ʃoɔlɔʃʃo/ 'with shyness'

শ্রদ্ধা /srodd^ha/ 'respect' ↔ সশ্রদ্ধা /ʃoɔsrodd^ho/ 'with respect'

253.NASVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /εkCX/_{adj} 'of the same /CX/'

মত /mɔt/ 'opinion' ↔ একমত /εkmɔt/ 'of the same opinion'/'unanimous'

জোট /ʃot/ 'group','union' ↔ একজোট /εkʃot/ 'united' 'of the same group'

254.NASVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /(bi)gɔtoCX/_{adj} 'leaving behind /CX/'

শোক /ʃok/ 'mourning','grief' ↔ (বি)গতশোক /(bi)gɔtoʃok/ 'passed one's mourning'

যৌবন /ʃo^ubon/ 'youth' ↔ (বি)গতযৌবন /(bi)gɔtoʃo^ubon/ 'passed one's youth'

255.NASVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /hɔtoCX/_{adj} 'having lost /CX/'

ভাগ্য /b^haggo/ 'good luck', 'luck', 'fate' ↔ হতভাগ্য /hɔto**h**aggo/ 'unfortunate'

গৌরব /go^urob/ 'glory' ↔ হতগৌরব /hɔto**g**o^urob/ 'deprived of glory'

256.NASVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /ruddhoCX/_{adj} 'with a closed or stopped /CX/'

দ্বার /dar/ 'door' ↔ রুদ্ধদ্বার /rudd^hodar/ 'closed-door'

শ্বাস /ʃaʃ/ 'breath' ↔ রুদ্ধশ্বাস /rudd^hoʃaʃ/ 'breathless'

257.NAADSMPJ: /CXa/_n ↔ /dirg^hoCX/_{adj} 'having long /CXa/'

শ্রীবা /griba/ 'neck' ↔ দীর্ঘশ্রীবা /dirg^hogrib/ 'long-necked'

কায় /ka^ya/ 'body' ↔ দীর্ঘকায় /dirg^hoka^y/ 'tall'

258.NASVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCacc^honno/_{adj} 'full of /XC/'

অন্ধকার /ond^hokar/ 'dark' ↔ অন্ধকারাচ্ছন্ন /ond^hokarcc^honno/ 'dark'

শোক /ʃok/ 'grief', 'mourning' ↔ শোকাচ্ছন্ন /ʃokacc^honno/ 'severely stricken by grief'

259.NASVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCarto/_{adj} 'suffering from /XC/'

কাম /kam/ 'sex-urge' ↔ কামার্ত /kamarto/ 'stricken by sex-urge'

রোগ /rog/ 'disease', 'sickness' ↔ রোগার্ত /rogarto/ 'sick'

260.NASVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCaʃokto/_{adj} 'addicted to /XC/'

কাম /kam/ 'sexual intercourse' ↔ কামাসক্ত /kamaʃokto/ 'libidinous', 'lustful'

পান /pan/ 'having alcoholic drinks' ↔ পানাসক্ত /panaʃokto/ 'addicted to alcoholic drinks'

261.NASVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCk^haṭa/_{adj/n} 'who has been in /XC/'

জেল /jel/ 'jail' ↔ জেলখাটা /jelk^haṭa/ 'who has been in jail'

হাজত /hajot/ 'custody' ↔ হাজতখাটা /hajotk^haṭa/ 'who has been in custody'

262.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xgoriʃto/_{adj} 'with /X/ majority'

মুসলিম /muslim/ 'muslim' ↔ মুসলিমগরিষ্ঠ /muslimgoriʃto/ 'with majority of muslim'

হিন্দু /hindu/ 'hindu' ↔ হিন্দুগরিষ্ঠ /hindugoriʃto/ 'with a majority of hindu'

263.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xg^hono/_{adj} 'full of /X/'

আবেগ /abeg/ 'passion' ↔ আবেগঘন /abegg^hono/ 'passionate'

আনন্দ /anondo/ 'pleasure' ↔ আনন্দঘন /anondog^hono/ 'pleasant'

264.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xcinnito/_{adj} 'bearing the sign of /X/'

তারকা /taroka/ 'star' ↔ তারকাচিহ্নিত /tarokacinnito/ 'marked with a a sign of star'

টিক /tik/ 'tick' ↔ টিকচিহ্নিত /tikcinnito/ 'marked with tick'

265.NASVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCc^hara/_{adj} 'out of /XC/'

গ্রাম /gram/ 'village' ↔ গ্রামছাড়া /gramc^hara/ 'out of village'

দেশ /deʃ/ 'country' ↔ দেশছাড়া /deʃc^hara/ 'out of the country'

266.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xjukto/_{adj} '/X/-ed'

সন্দেহ /ʃɔndeho/ 'suspicion' ↔ সন্দেহযুক্ত /ʃɔndehojukto/ 'suspected'

সীল /sil/ 'seal' ↔ সীলযুক্ত /siljukto/ 'sealed'

267.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xtɛ(a)gi/_{adj} 'who has left /X/'

পক্ষ /pɔkk^ho/ 'side', 'party' ↔ পক্ষত্যাগী /pɔkk^hotɛ(a)gi/ 'who has left his party or group'

দল /dɔl/ 'party', 'group' ↔ দলত্যাগী /dɔltɛ(a)gi/ 'who has left his party or group'

268.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xpon/_{adj} 'ready to loose /X/ for some cause'

প্রাণ /pran/ 'life' ↔ প্রাণপণ /pranpon/ 'determined to do or obtain something even at the cost of life'

সর্বস্ব /ʃɔrboʃʃo/ 'everything one possesses' ↔ সর্বস্বপণ /ʃɔrboʃʃopon/ 'determined to do or obtain something even at the risk of losing everything'

269.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xpagol/_{adj} 'mad for /X/'

সিনেমা /sinema/ 'cinema' ↔ সিনেমাপাগল /sinemapagol/ 'cinema enthusiast'

কাজ /kaj/ 'work' ↔ কাজপাগল /kajpagol/ 'workaholic'

270.NASVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVbiob^hol/_{adj} 'overwhelmed with /XV/'

বেদনা /bedona/ 'pain' ↔ বেদনাবিহ্বল /bedɔnabiob^hol/ 'overwhelmed with pain'

দুঃখ /dukk^hɔ/ 'distress' ↔ দুঃখবিহ্বল /dukk^hɔbiob^hol/ 'overwhelmed with distress'

271.NASVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCpatla/_{adj} 'incapable of controlling one's /XC/'

মুখ /muk^h/ 'mouth' ↔ মুখপাতলা /muk^hpatla/ 'who can say anything'

কান /kan/ 'ear' ↔ কানপাতলা /kanpatla/ 'credulous', 'who believes everything without much evidence'

272.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xprod^han/_{adj} 'mostly /X/'

গ্রীষ্ম /griʃʃɔ/ 'summer' ↔ গ্রীষ্মপ্রধান /griʃʃɔprod^han/ 'tropical'

মুসলিম /muslim/ 'Muslim' ↔ মুসলিমপ্রধান /muslimprod^han/ 'with Muslim majority'

273.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xprapto/_{adj} 'who has got /X/'

ভার /b^har/ 'duty', 'responsibility', 'charge' ↔ ভারপ্রাপ্ত /b^harprapto/ 'who has the responsibility of doing something'

সাজা /ʃaja/ 'punishment' ↔ সাজাপ্রাপ্ত /ʃajaprapto/ 'punished'

274.NASVADSJ: /XV/_{-syllab/n} ↔ /XV/_{-syllab}prapto/_{adj} '/XV/_{-syllab}/-ed'

ধ্বংস /d^hoŋʃo/ 'destruction' ↔ ধ্বংসপ্রাপ্ত /d^hoŋʃoprapto/ 'destroyed'

ক্ষয় /k^ho^y/ 'decay' ↔ ক্ষয়প্রাপ্ত /k^ho^yprapto/ 'decayed'

275.NASVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVpra^y/_{adj} 'about to be /XV/'

অন্ধ /ond^ho/ 'blind' ↔ অন্ধপ্রায় /ond^hopra^y/ 'almost blind'

মৃত /mrito/ 'dead' ↔ মৃতপ্রায় /mritopra^y/ 'almost dead', 'dying'

276.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xpri^y/_n 'who likes /X/'

শান্তি /ʃanti/ 'peace' ↔ শান্তিপ্ৰিয় /ʃantipri^y/_n 'who likes peace'

ভোজন /b^hoʃon/ 'eating' ↔ ভোজনপ্ৰিয় /b^hoʃonpri^y/_n 'gourmet'

277.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbodd^h/_{adj} 'united in /X/'

সঙ্ঘ /ʃoŋg^ho/ 'club', 'group' ↔ সঙ্ঘবদ্ধ /ʃoŋg^habodd^ho/ 'united in a group'

দল /dɔl/ 'group' ↔ দলবদ্ধ /dɔlbodd^ho/ 'united in a group'

278.NASVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVbodd^h/_{adj} 'limited within /XV/'

সীমা /ʃima/ 'limit' ↔ সীমাবদ্ধ /ʃimabodd^ho/ 'limited'

গতি /gondi/ 'limit' ↔ গতিবদ্ধ /gondibodd^ho/ 'limited'

279.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbimuk^h/_{adj} 'who does not like his /X/'

কর্তব্য /kɔrtobbo/ 'duty' ↔ কর্তব্যবিমুখ /kɔrtobbobimuk^h/ 'undutiful'

স্বজন /ʃoʃon/ 'relative' ↔ স্বজনবিমুখ /ʃoʃonbimuk^h/ 'who does not like his relatives'

280.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbirudd^h/_{adj} 'against /X/'

নিয়ম /ni^yom/ 'rule' ↔ নিয়মবিরুদ্ধ /ni^yombirudd^ho/ 'contrary to the rules'

নীতি /niti/ 'principles', 'morals' ↔ নীতিবিরুদ্ধ /nitibirudd^ho/ 'contrary to the morals'

281.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xb^hora/_{adj} '/X/ full of something'

পকেট /pɔkɛt/ 'pocket' ↔ পকেটভরা /pɔkɛtb^hora/ 'pocket-full'

থালি /t^hala/ 'plate' ↔ থালিভরা /t^halab^hora/ 'plate-full'

282.NAADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xb^hroʃto/adj 'some one or something that has violated /X/'
 নিয়ম /ni^yom/ 'rule', 'custom' ↔ নিয়মভ্রষ্ট /ni^yomb^hroʃto/ 'infringer of rules or customs'
 ধর্ম /d^hormo/ 'religion' ↔ ধর্মভ্রষ্ট /d^hormob^hroʃto/ 'fallen from one's religious belief'

283.NAADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xmoɔgno/adj 'absorbed in /X/'
 ধ্যান /d^hε(a)n/ 'meditation' ↔ ধ্যানমগ্ন /d^hε(a)nmoɔgno/ 'meditating'
 আনন্দ /anondo/ 'pleasure' ↔ আনন্দমগ্ন /anondomoɔgno/ 'absorbed in pleasure'

284.NAADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xmukto/adj 'free from X'
 বিপদ /bipod/ 'danger' ↔ বিপদমুক্ত /bipodmukto/ 'out of all danger'
 আশঙ্কা /aʃonka/ 'fear' ↔ আশঙ্কামুক্ত /aʃonkamukto/ 'free from all fears'

285.NAADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xʃoŋgotto/adj 'consistent with /X/'
 আইন /a^jn/ 'law' ↔ আইনসঙ্গত /a^jnʃoŋgotto/ 'legal'
 যুক্তি /jukti/ 'reason' ↔ যুক্তিসঙ্গত /juktiʃoŋgotto/ 'conforming to reason',
 'reasonable'

286.NAADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xʃond^hani/adj 'who is always after /X/'
 সুযোগ /ʃujog/ 'opportunity' ↔ সুযোগসন্ধানী /ʃujogʃond^hani/ 'opportunist'
 অর্থ /ort^ho/ 'money' ↔ অর্থসন্ধানী /ort^hoʃond^hani/ 'avaricious'

287.NAADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xʃomprikto/adj 'related to /X/'
 রাজনীতি /rajniti/ 'politics' ↔ রাজনীতিসম্পৃক্ত /rajnitiʃomprikto/ 'related with
 politics'
 আইন /a^jn/ 'law' ↔ আইনসম্পৃক্ত /a^jnʃomprikto/ 'related with law'

288.NAADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xʃommotto/adj 'consistent with /X/'
 যুক্তি /jukti/ 'reason' ↔ যুক্তিসম্মত /juktiʃommotto/ 'conforming to reason',
 'reasonable'
 আইন /a^jn/ 'law' ↔ আইনসম্মত /a^jnʃommotto/ 'legal'

289.NASVADSJ: /XV/n ↔ /XVʃohiʃnu/adj 'who can tolerate /XV/'
 কষ্ট /koʃto/ 'hardship' ↔ কষ্টসহিষ্ণু /koʃtoʃohiʃnu/ 'painstaking', 'able to undergo
 hardship'
 দুঃখ /dukk^ho/ 'distress', 'hardship' ↔ দুঃখসহিষ্ণু /dukk^hoʃohiʃnu/ 'able to undergo
 distress or hardship'

290.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃorboʃo/_{adj} 'having nothing to show but /X/'
 দেহ /deho/ 'body' ↔ দেহসর্বস্ব /dehoʃorboʃo/ 'having nothing to show but ones body'
 ফ্যাশন /fɛʃon/ 'fashion' ↔ ফ্যাশনসর্বস্ব /fɛʃonʃorboʃo/ 'having nothing to show but
 the fashion one follows'

291.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃar/_{adj} 'reduced to /X/'
 কঙ্কাল /kɔŋkal/ 'skeleton' ↔ কঙ্কালসার /kɔŋkalʃar/ 'reduced to skeleton', 'skinny'
 হাড়ি /had̪i/ 'bones' ↔ হাড়িসার /had̪iʃar/ 'reduced to bones', 'skinny'

292.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃob^hab/_{adj} 'having the nature of /X/'
 নারী /nari/ 'woman' ↔ নারীস্বভাব /nariʃob^hab/ 'having the nature of woman', 'woman-
 like'
 পাগল /pagol/ 'mad' ↔ পাগলস্বভাব /pagolʃob^hab/ 'mad-like'

293.NAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xhin/_{adj} 'who does not have /X/'
 গৃহ /griho/ 'house, home' ↔ গৃহহীন /grihohin/ 'homeless'
 স্বজন /ʃoʃon/ 'relative' ↔ স্বজনহীন /bhumihin/ 'who does not have any relative'

Noun-Adjective Meta-strategies: 'concatenate an argument verbal to a noun'

294. **MetaNAADSJ:** /X/_n ↔ /XY/_{adj} 'Y/ed /X/'
 চেন /cen/ 'zipper' ↔ চেনখোলা /cen^hola/ 'with zipper unfastened'
 ঝালর /ʃ^halor/ 'valance' ↔ ঝালরকাটা /ʃ^halorkaṭa/ 'with valance'

295. **MetaNAADSJ:** /X/_n ↔ /XY/_{adj} 'used to do Y/ to /X/'
 মাংস /maŋʃo/ 'meat' ↔ মাংসকাটা /maŋʃokaṭa/ 'used for cutting meat'
 বাঘ /bag^h/ 'tiger' ↔ বাঘমারা /bagmara/ 'used for killing a tiger'

296. **MetaNASVADSJ:** /XC/_n ↔ /XeY/_{adj} 'Y/ by /XC/'
 বাঘ /bag^h/ 'tiger' ↔ বাঘেখাওয়া /bag^hek^hawa/ 'eaten by a tiger'
 সাপ /ʃap/ 'snake' ↔ সাপেকাটা /ʃapekaṭa/ 'bitten by a snake'

Noun-Adjective Meta-strategies: 'concatenate an adjective to a noun'

297. **MetaNAADPJ:** /X/_n ↔ /YX/_{adj} 'having a Y/ type of /X/'
 সঙ্কল্প /ʃonkolpo/ 'resolve', 'a solemn vow' ↔ দৃঢ়সঙ্কল্প /driroʃonkolpo/ 'resolute',
 'firmly resolved'
 চরিত্র /coritro/ 'character' ↔ আদর্শচরিত্র /adorʃocoritro/ 'of ideal character'

298. MetaNAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /XY/_{adj} 'Y/ with /X/

দৈন্য /do^jnno/ 'misery' ↔ দৈন্যপীড়িত /do^jnnopiritō/ 'suffering from misery'

স্নেহ /snehō/ 'affection' ↔ স্নেহধন্য /snehod^honno/ 'blessed with the affection'

299. MetaNAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /XY/_{adj} 'Y/ vis à vis /X/

দল /dōl/ 'party', 'group' ↔ দলনিরপেক্ষ /dalniropekk^ho/ 'impartial, neutral to any party or group'

গর্ভপাত /gorb^hopat/ 'abortion' ↔ গর্ভপাতবিরোধী /gorb^hopatbirod^hi/ 'who is against the practice of abortion'

300. MetaNAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /XY/_{adj} 'Y/ by /X/

স্বামী /ʃami/ 'husband' ↔ স্বামীসোহাগী /ʃamiʃohagi/ 'loved by one's husband'

গুরু /guru/ 'guru' ↔ গুরুদত্ত /gurudōtto/ 'given by one's guru'

301. MetaNAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /XY/_{adj} 'Y/ in /X/

নৃত্য /nritto/ 'dance' ↔ নৃত্যপটু /nrittopoṭu/ 'expert in dance'

হৃদরোগ /ridrog/ 'heart disease' ↔ হৃদরোগবিশেষজ্ঞ /ridrogbiʃeʃoggō/ 'heart specialist'

302. MetaNAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /XY/_{adj} 'Y in X'

লন্ডন /lōndōn/ 'London' ↔ লন্ডনপ্রবাসী /lōndōnprobaʃi/ 'living in London as a foreigner'

ফাইল /fa^jl/ 'file' ↔ ফাইলবন্দী /fa^jlbondi/ 'put in a file'

303. MetaNAADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /XY/_{adj} 'Y/ with /X/

রক্ত /roktō/ 'blood' ↔ রক্তমাখা /roktomak^ha/ 'spotted, daubed or smeared with blood'

ডিম /d̪im/ 'egg' ↔ ডিমভরা /d̪imb^hora/ 'full of eggs'

304. NASBSF: /Xo/_n ↔ /Xōl/_{adj} 'showing the existence of a lot of /Xo/

মাংস /maŋʃo/ 'meat' ↔ মাংসল /maŋʃōl/ 'fleshy'

কাঠ /kaʃt^ho/ 'wood' ↔ কাঠল /kaʃt^hōl/ 'woody'

305. NASBSF: /Xa/_n ↔ /Xoni^yo/_{adj} 'worth of /Xa/

প্রশংসা /proʃoŋʃa/ 'praise' ↔ প্রশংসনীয় /proʃoŋʃoni^yo/ 'praiseworthy', 'to be praised'

পরীক্ষা /porikk^ha/ 'examination' ↔ পরীক্ষনীয় /porikk^honi^yo/ 'to be examined'

306. NASBSF: /Xo/_n ↔ /Xakto/_{adj} 'covered with /Xo/

ঘর্ম /g^hormo/ 'sweat' ↔ ঘর্মাক্ত /g^hormakto/ 'wet with perspiration'

রক্ত /roktō/ 'blood' ↔ রক্তাক্ত /roktakto/ 'wet with blood'

307.NASBSF: /Xaʃ/n ↔ /Xosto/adj /'Xaʃ/-ed'

অভ্যাস /obb^haʃ/ 'habit' ↔ অভ্যস্ত /obb^hosto/ 'habituated'

আশ্বাস /aʃʃaʃ/ 'assurance' ↔ আশ্বস্ত /aʃʃosto/ 'assured'

308.NASBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xagoto/adj 'arrived and staying near /Xo/'

কণ্ঠ /kont^ho/ 'throat' ↔ কণ্ঠাগত /kont^hagoto/ 'arrived and staying near the throat'

ওষ্ঠ /oʃt^ho/ 'leap' ↔ ওষ্ঠাগত /oʃt^hagoto/ 'arrived and staying near the lips'

309.NASBSF: /Xo/n/Num ↔ /Xad^hik/adj 'more than /Xo/'

শত /ʃoto/ 'hundred' ↔ শতাব্দিক /ʃotad^hik/ 'more than hundred'

পুত্র /putro/ 'son' ↔ পুত্রাধিক /putrad^hik/ 'more than a son'

310.NASBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xad^hin/adj 'under /Xo/'

নেতৃত্ব /netritto/ 'leadership' ↔ নেতৃত্বাধীন /netrittad^hin/ 'under the leadership'

কর্তৃত্ব /kortritto/ 'rule, authority' ↔ কর্তৃত্বাধীন /kortrittad^hin/ 'under the rule or authority'

311.NASBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xanneʃi/adj 'who always try to find some /Xo/'

স্বার্থ /ʃart^ho/ 'self-interest' ↔ স্বার্থাশেষী /ʃart^hanneʃi/ 'self-seeker'

ছিদ্র /c^hidro/ 'a hole', 'a fault' ↔ ছিদ্রাশেষী /c^hidranneʃi/ 'fault-seeker'

312.NASBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xand^ho/adj 'blind with /Xo/'

স্বার্থ /ʃart^ho/ 'self-interest' ↔ স্বার্থান্বিত /ʃart^hand^ho/ 'biased by self-interest', 'an adamant self-seeker'

স্নেহ /sneh/ 'affection' ↔ স্নেহান্বিত /snehand^ho/ 'biased by one's affection for somebody'

313.NASBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xahari/adj/n 'who eats /Xo/'

মাংস /maŋʃo/ 'meat' ↔ মাংসাহারী /maŋʃahari/ 'who eats meat'

মৎস্য /motʃo/ 'fish' ↔ মৎস্যাহারী /motʃahari/ 'who eats fish'

314.NASBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xatit/adj 'beyond the scope of /Xo/'

সাধ্য /ʃadd^ho/ 'capacity' ↔ সাধ্যাতীত /ʃadd^hatit/ 'beyond the capacity'

বাক্য /bakko/ 'speech'/ 'sentence' ↔ বাক্যাতীত /bakkatit/ 'beyond the (capacity) of speech'

315.NASBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xabiʃto/adj 'thoroughly absorbed in /Xo/'
 স্নেহ /sneho/ 'affection' ↔ স্নেহাবিষ্ট /snehabiʃto/ 'thoroughly absorbed in affection'
 মোহ /moho/ 'mental obsession' ↔ মোহাবিষ্ট /mohabiʃto/ 'thoroughly absorbed in
 mental obsession'

316.NASBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xaʃi/adj '/Xo/-eater'
 মাংস /maŋʃo/ 'meat' ↔ মাংসাশী /maŋʃaʃi/ 'carnivorous, meat-eater'
 মৎস্য /motʃo/ 'fish' ↔ মৎস্যশী /motʃaʃi/ 'piscivorous, fish-eater'

317.NASBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xik/adj 'having the quality of /Xo/'
 সাহিত্য /ʃahitto/ 'literature' ↔ সাহিত্যিক /ʃahittik/ 'a literary writer'
 কাব্য /kabbo/ 'poetry' ↔ কাব্যিক /kabbik/ 'poetic'

318.NASBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xito/adj 'having /Xo/'
 চিহ্ন /cinno/ 'sign'/'mark' ↔ চিহ্নিত /cinnito/ 'marked'
 দুঃখ /dukk^ho/ 'sorrow' ↔ দুঃখিত /dukk^hito/ 'sorry'

319.NASBSF: /Xa/n ↔ /Xito/adj '/Xa/-ed'
 পরীক্ষা /porikk^ha/ 'examination' ↔ পরীক্ষিত /porikk^hito/ 'examined'/'tested'
 শিক্ষা /ʃikk^ha/ 'education' ↔ শিক্ষিত /ʃikk^hito/ 'educated'

320.NASBSF: /XVn/n ↔ /Xito/adj '/XVon/-ed'
 নির্বাচন /nirbacon/ 'election' ↔ নির্বাচিত /nirbacito/ 'elected'
 নির্মাণ /nirman/ 'construction' ↔ নির্মিত /nirmito/ 'construction'

321.NASBSF: /Xo^y/n ↔ /Xito/adj '/Xo^y/ed'
 পরাজয় /porajo^y/ 'defeat' ↔ পরাজিত /porajito/ 'defeated'
 অভিনয় /ob^hino^y/ 'acting' ↔ অভিনীত /ob^hinito/ 'performed', 'staged', 'acted'

322.NASBSF: /Xo^y/n ↔ /Xito/adj 'who has /Xo^y/'
 বিনয় /bino^y/ 'politeness' ↔ বিনীত /binito/ 'polite'
 ভয় /b^ho^y/ 'fear' ↔ ভীত /b^hito/ 'afraid'

323.NASBSF: /Xo^y/n ↔ /Xi^yoman/adj 'undergoing /Xo^y/'
 উদয় /udo^y/ 'rising' ↔ উদীয়মান /udi^yoman/ 'rising'
 নির্ণয় /nirno^y/ 'ascertainment' ↔ নির্ণীয়মান /nirni^yoman/ 'something that is being
 ascertained', 'under ascertainment'

324.NASBSF: /Xo/_n ↔ /Xil/_{adj} 'full or /Xo/'

বর্ণ /borno/ 'colour' ↔ বর্ণিল /bornil/ 'coloured'

স্বপ্ন /ʃopno/ 'dream' ↔ স্বপ্নিল /ʃopnil/ 'full of dreams'

325.NASBSF: /Xa/_n ↔ /Xio/_{adj} 'something that deserves to be object of /Xa/'

প্রার্থনা /prarth^hona/ 'prayer'/solicitation' ↔ প্রার্থনীয় /prarth^honio/ 'to be solicited'

পূজা /puja/ 'worship', 'respect' ↔ পূজনীয় /pujonio/ 'respectable'

326.NASBSF: /Xa/_n ↔ /Xu/_{adj} 'who has /Xa/'

জিঘাংসা /jig^hanʃa/ 'willingness to murder' ↔ জিঘাংসু /jig^hanʃu/ 'desirous of murdering'

জিজ্ঞাসা /jiggāʃa/ 'question', 'desire to know' ↔ জিজ্ঞাসু /jiggāʃu/ 'inquisitive'

327.NASBSF: /XV/_n ↔ /Xtuto/_{adj} 'son/daughter of /XV/'

পিসি /piʃi/ 'paternal aunt' ↔ পিসতুতো /piʃtuto/ 'related to paternal aunt'

খুড়া /k^hura/ 'paternal uncle' ↔ খুড়তুতো /k^hurtuto/ 'related to paternal uncle'

328.NASBSF: /Xan/_n ↔ /Xe^y/_{adj} 'something that should undergo /Xan/ or scheduled to undergo /Xan/'

অনুষ্ঠান /onuʃt^han/ 'celebration'/ 'ritual' ↔ অনুষ্ঠেয় /onuʃt^he^y/ 'should be observed or celebrated'

গান /gan/ 'song' ↔ গেয় /ge^y/ 'should be sung'

329.NASBSF: /XaC/_n ↔ /Xe^y/_{adj} 'possible to do /XaC/'

অনুমান /onuman/ 'guess' ↔ অনুমেয় /onume^y/ 'conjecturable', 'deducible'

পরিমাপ /porimap/ 'measurement' ↔ পরিমেয় /porime^y/ 'measurable'

330.NASBSF: /Xo/_{adj} ↔ /Xanʃo/_n '/Xo/ portion of something'

স্বল্প /ʃolpo/ 'a few' ↔ স্বল্পাংশ /ʃolpaŋʃo/ 'a small portion'

অর্ধ /ord^ho/ 'half' ↔ অর্ধাংশ /ord^hanʃo/ 'a half'

331.NASBSF: /Xo/_{adj} ↔ /Xaboʃeʃ/_n 'remainder of something that has become /Xo/'

দক্ষ /dogd^ho/ 'burned' ↔ দক্ষাবশেষ /dogd^haboʃeʃ/ 'remainder after burning'

ভুক্ত /b^hukt^o/ 'eaten' ↔ ভুক্তাবশেষ /b^hukt^oaboʃeʃ/ 'remainder after eating'

332.NASBSF: /Xo/adj ↔ /Xami/n 'activities of a /Xo/ person'

দুষ্ট /duʃto/ 'naughty'/'wicked' ↔ দুষ্টামি /duʃtami/ 'naughtiness'/'mischief'

নষ্ট /noʃto/ 'unchaste' ↔ নষ্টামি /noʃtami/ 'unchaste activities'

333.NASBSF: /Xo/adj ↔ /Xi/n 'who has /Xi/

ক্লান্ত /klanto/ 'tired' ↔ ক্লান্তি /klanti/ 'tiredness'

তৃপ্ত /tripto/ 'satisfied' ↔ তৃপ্তি /tripti/ 'satisfaction'

334.NASBSF: /Xi/n ↔ /Xo/adj 'something that has been experienced with /Xi/'

অনুভূতি /ɔnub^huti/ 'sensation'/'feeling' ↔ অনুভূত /ɔnub^huto/ 'felt'

দৃষ্টি /driʃti/ 'vision' ↔ দৃষ্ট /driʃto/ 'seen'

335.NASBSF: /Xe/adj ↔ /Xani/n 'having the sensation of /Xe/ type pain'

কনকনে /kɔnkɔne/ 'heavy' (used exclusively with pain) ↔ কনকনানি /kɔnkɔnani/

'having the sensation of a kind of heavy pain'

চিনচিনে /cincine/ 'light (used exclusively with pain)' ↔ চিনচিনানি /cincinani/ 'having the sensation of a kind of light pain'

336.NASBSF: /Xo/adj ↔ /Xikɔron/n 'act of making something /Xo/

পবিত্র /pobitro/ 'sacred' ↔ পবিত্রীকরণ /pobitrikɔron/ 'sanctification'/'

শুদ্ধ /ʃudd^ho/ 'pure' ↔ শুদ্ধীকরণ /ʃudd^hikɔron/ 'purification'

337.NAADSMSBSF: /XCoron/n ↔ /XCrito/adj 'XCoron/-ed'

বিবরণ /biboron/ 'description' ↔ বিবৃত /bibrito/ 'described'

অপহরণ /ɔpohoron/ 'kidnap' ↔ অপহৃত /ɔpɔrito/ 'kidnapped'

338.NASBSMSF: /CV_{-high}Xa/n ↔ /CV_{+high}Xito/adj 'CV_{-high}Xa/-ed'

লজ্জা /lojja/ 'shyness', 'shame' ↔ লজ্জিত /lojjito/ 'ashamed'

শঙ্কা /ʃɔŋka/ 'fear' ↔ শঙ্কিত /ʃɔŋkito/ 'afraid'

339.NASBSMSF: /XV_{-high}Cona/n ↔ /XV_{+high}Cito/adj 'XV_{-high}Cona/-ed'

বর্ণনা /bɔrnɔna/ 'description' ↔ বর্ণিত /bornito/ 'described'

পরিকল্পনা /porikɔlpona/ 'plan' ↔ পরিকল্পিত /porikɔlpito/ 'planned'

340.NASBSMSF: /CV_{-high}XV/n ↔ /CV_{+high}Xib^huto/adj 'transformed into /CV_{-high}XV/

ভস্ম /b^hɔʃʃɔ/ 'ash' ↔ ভস্মীভূত /b^hɔʃʃib^huto/ 'reduced to ashes'

শীলা /ʃila/ 'stone' ↔ শীলীভূত /ʃilib^huto/ 'transformed to stone'

341.NASBSMSF: /CV_{-high}Xon/n ↔ /CV_{+high}Xiʃnu/adj ' /CV_{-high}Xon/-ing'
 বর্ধন /bord^hon/ 'growth' ↔ বর্ধিষ্ণু /bord^hiʃnu/ 'growing'
 চলন /colon/ 'act of moving' ↔ চলিষ্ণু /colišnu/ 'something that moves'

342.NASBCF: /Xa/n ↔ /ɔXiɔ/adj 'not possible to do /Xa/'
 বর্ণনা /bɔrnona/ 'description' ↔ অবর্ণনীয় /ɔbɔrnoniɔ/ 'indescribable'
 কল্পনা /kolpna/ 'imagination' ↔ অকল্পনীয় /ɔkolpniɔ/ 'unimaginable'

343.NASBCF: /Xa/n ↔ /bitoXo/adj 'who has lost /Xa/'
 শ্রদ্ধা /srodd^ha/ 'respect' ↔ বীতশ্রদ্ধ /bitosrodd^ho/ 'disgusted'
 স্পৃহা /spriha/ 'desire' ↔ বীতস্পৃহা /bitospriho/ 'disinclined'

344.NASBCF: /Xa/n ↔ /niʃXo/adj 'without /Xa/'
 শঙ্কা /ʃɔŋka/ 'fear' ↔ নিশঙ্ক /niʃɔŋko/ 'fearless'
 চেষ্টা /ceʃta/ 'effort' ↔ নিশ্চেষ্ট /niʃceʃto/ 'effortless'

345.NARD: /X/n ↔ /XX/adj 'like /X/'
 বর /bɔr/ 'bridegroom' ↔ বর বর /bɔrbɔr/ 'bridegroom-like'
 মেয়ে /me^ye/ 'girl' ↔ মেয়েমেয়ে /me^yeme^ye/ 'girl-like'

346.NAdvSVADPF: /CX/n ↔ /aCX/adv 'since /CX/'
 জন্ম /jonmo/ 'birth' ↔ আজন্ম /ajonmo/ 'since birth'
 শৈশব /ʃoʃɔb/ 'childhood' ↔ আশৈশব /aʃoʃɔb/ 'since childhood'

347.NAdvSVADPF: /CX/n ↔ /ciroCX/adv 'during all /CX/'
 দিন /din/ 'day' ↔ চিরদিন /cirodin/ 'during all the days', 'always'
 কাল /kal/ 'time' ↔ চিরকাল /cirokal/ 'during all the time', 'always'

348.NAdvSVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCoto/adv 'according to /XC/'
 নিয়ম /ni^yom/ 'rule' ↔ নিয়মত /ni^yomoto/ 'according to the rule'
 আইন /a^jn/ 'rule' ↔ আইনত /a^jnoto/ 'according to the rule'

349.NAdvSVADSF: /Xa/n ↔ /Xa^y/adv 'due to /Xa/'
 বদান্যতা /bodannota/ 'generosity' ↔ বদান্যতায় /bodannota^y/ 'due to the generosity'
 অসাধুতা /ɔʃad^huta/ 'dishonesty' ↔ অসাধুতায় /ɔʃad^huta^y/ 'due to the dishonest'

350.NAdvSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCanuʃare/_{adv} 'according to /XC/'
 নিয়ম /ni^yom/ 'rule' ↔ নিয়মানুসারে /ni^yomanuʃare/ 'according to the rules'
 আইন /a^jn/ 'law' ↔ আইনানুসারে /a^jnanuʃare/ 'according to the law'

351.NAdvSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCanuʃa^yi/_{adv} 'according to /XC/'
 নিয়ম /ni^yom/ 'rule' ↔ নিয়মানুযায়ী /ni^yomanuʃa^yi/ 'according to the rules'
 আইন /a^jn/ 'law' ↔ আইনানুযায়ী /a^jnanuʃa^yi/ 'according to the law'

352.NAdvSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCe/_{adv} 'due to /XC/'
 পরিশ্রম /porisrom/ 'hard work' ↔ পরিশ্রমে /porisrome/ 'due to hard work'
 অসুখ /oʃuk^h/ 'disease' ↔ অসুখে /oʃuk^he/ 'due to disease'

353.NAdvSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCe/_{adv} 'following /XC/'
 অনুরোধ /onurod^h/ 'request' ↔ অনুরোধে /onurod^he/ 'following the request'
 উপদেশ /upodeʃ/ 'advice' ↔ উপদেশে /upodeʃe/ 'following the advice'

354.NAdvADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xkrome/_{adv} 'following /X/'
 আদেশ /adeʃ/ 'order' ↔ আদেশক্রমে /adeʃkrome/ 'following the order of'
 প্রসঙ্গ /proʃoŋgo/ 'context' ↔ প্রসঙ্গক্রমে /proʃoŋgokrome/ 'in the context of'

355.NAdvADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xpurbok/_{adv} 'with /X/'
 জোর /jor/ 'force' ↔ জোরপূর্বক /jorpurbok/ 'by force'
 ইচ্ছা /icc^ha/ 'will' ↔ ইচ্ছাপূর্বক /icc^hapurbok/ 'willingly'

356.NAdvADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xbɛpi/_{adv} 'during /X/'
 মাস /maʃ/ 'month' ↔ মাসব্যাপী /maʃbɛpi/ 'during the whole month'
 সপ্তাহ /ʃoptaho/ 'week' ↔ সপ্তাহব্যাপী /ʃoptahobɛpi/ 'during the whole week'

357.NAdvSVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVboʃoto/_{adv} 'due to /XV/'
 দুর্ভাগ্য /durb^haggo/ 'misfortune' ↔ দুর্ভাগ্যবশতঃ /durb^haggoboʃoto/ 'unfortunately'
 অসাবধানতা /oʃabd^hanota/ 'carelessness' ↔ অসাবধানতাবশতঃ /oʃabd^hanotaboʃoto/ 'due to carelessness'

358.NAdvADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xb^hore/_{adv} 'with /X/'
 ক্রোধ /krod^h/ 'anger' ↔ ক্রোধভরে /krod^hb^hore/ 'angrily'
 ঘৃণা /g^hrina/ 'hatred' ↔ ঘৃণাভরে /g^hrinab^hore/ 'with hatred'

- 359.NAdvADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xmɔto/adv 'according to /X/'
 পরামর্শ /pɔramorʃo/ 'advice' ↔ পরামর্শমত /pɔramorʃomɔto/ 'according to the advice'
 নিয়ম /niʃom/ 'rule' ↔ নিয়মমত /niʃommɔto/ 'according to the rule'
- 360.NAdvADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xmɔte/adv 'according to /X/'
 পরামর্শ /pɔramorʃo/ 'advice' ↔ পরামর্শমতে /pɔramorʃomɔte/ 'according to the advice'
 নিয়ম /niʃom/ 'rule' ↔ নিয়মমতে /niʃommɔte/ 'according to the rule'
- 361.NAdvADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xmotabek/adv 'according to /X/'
 পরামর্শ /pɔramorʃo/ 'advice' ↔ পরামর্শমোতাবেক /pɔramorʃomotabek/ 'according to the advice'
 নিয়ম /niʃom/ 'rule' ↔ নিয়মমোতাবেক /niʃommotabek/ 'according to the rule'
- 362.NAdvADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xjure/adv 'all over /X/'
 বিশ্ব /biʃo/ 'world' ↔ বিশ্বজুড়ে /biʃojure/ 'all over the world'
 মার্কেট /market/ 'market' ↔ মার্কেটজুড়ে /marketjure/ 'all over the market'
- 363.NAdvADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xjoge/adv 'with /X/'
 নৌকা /no^uka/ 'boat' ↔ নৌকাযোগে /no^ukajoge/ 'by boat'
 বিমান /biman/ 'aeroplane' ↔ বিমানযোগে /bimanjoge/ 'by aeroplane'
- 364.NAdvSVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XV-syllabʃo/adv 'with /XV-syllab/'
 বই /bo^j/ 'book' ↔ বইসহ /bo^jʃo/ 'with books'
 অস্ত্র /ɔs(t)ro/ 'arms' ↔ অস্ত্রসহ /ɔs(t)roʃo/ 'with arms'
- 365.NAdvSVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVʃohokare/adv 'with /XV/'
 উৎসাহ /utʃaho/ 'zeal' ↔ উৎসাহসহকারে /utʃahʃohokare/ 'zealously'
 আগ্রহ /agroho/ 'eagerness' ↔ আগ্রহসহকারে /agrohoʃohokare/ 'eagerly'
- 366.NAdvADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xbiʃeʃe/adv 'depending on /X/'
 ব্যক্তি /bɛkti/ 'person' ↔ ব্যক্তিবিশেষে /bɛktibiʃeʃe/ 'depending on the person'
 স্থান /st^han/ 'place' ↔ স্থানবিশেষে /st^hanbiʃeʃe/ 'depending on the place'
- 367.NAdvADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XC-syllabʃubade/adv 'in reference to /XC-syllab/ of two persons'
 গ্রাম /gram/ 'village' ↔ গ্রামসুবাদে /gramʃubade/ 'in reference to the fact that two persons have been resident of the same village'

পরিচয় /porico^y/ 'acquaintance' ↔ পরিচয়সুবাদে /porico^ysubade/ 'in reference to the fact that two persons are known to each other'

368.NAdvSVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVcc^hole/_{adv} 'in disguise of /XV/'

ক্রীড়া /krira/ 'game' ↔ ক্রীড়াচছেলে /kriracc^hole/ 'in pretence of game'

গল্প /golpo/ 'story' ↔ গল্পচছেলে /golpocc^hole/ 'in pretence of story'

369.NAdvSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCe/_{adv} 'depending on /XC/'

আন্দাজ /andaj/ 'guess' ↔ আন্দাজে /andaje/ 'by guess'

অন্ধবিশ্বাস /ond^hobiśśaś/ 'superstition' ↔ অন্ধবিশ্বাসে /ond^hobiśśaśe/ 'out of superstition'

370.NAdvSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCe/_{adv} 'because of /XC/'

কপালদৌষ /kopaldoś/ 'bad luck' ↔ কপালদৌষে /kopaldośe/ 'because of bad luck'

আচরণ /acoron/ 'behaviour' ↔ আচরণে /acorone/ 'because of behaviour'

371.NAdvSVADSF: /Xa/_n ↔ /Xa^y/_{adv} 'depending on /XC/'

আশা /aśa/ 'cause' ↔ আশায় /aśa^y/ 'in the hope'

ছুঁতা /c^hūta/ 'pretext' ↔ ছুঁতায় /c^hūta^y/ 'with the pretext'

372.NAdvSVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVte/_{adv} 'depending on /XV/'

যুক্তি /jukti/ 'reason' ↔ যুক্তিতে /juktite/ 'following the reason'

আশা /aśa/ 'hope' ↔ আশাতে /aśate/ 'with the hope'

373.NAdvSVADCF: /CX/_n ↔ /śoCXe/_{adv} 'accompanied with /CX/'

জোর /jor/ 'force' ↔ সজোরে /śojore/ 'accompanied with the force'

পরিবার /poribar/ 'family' ↔ সপরিবারে /śoporibare/ 'accompanied with the family'

374.NAdvSVADCF: /CXC/_n ↔ /jot^haCXCe/_{adv} 'in the right /CXC/'

স্থান /st^han/ 'place' ↔ যথাস্থানে /jot^hast^hane/ 'at the right place'

নিয়ম /ni^yom/ 'rule' ↔ যথানিয়মে /jot^hani^yome/ 'according to the right law'

375.NAdvSVADCF: /XC/_{N-syllab}/_n ↔ /nirXC/_{N-syllab}/_{adv} 'without /XC/_{N-syllab}/'

ভয় /bho^y/ 'fear' ↔ নির্ভয়ে /nirbho^ye/ 'without fear'

ঝঞ্ঝাট /jonjaṭ/ 'complication' ↔ নির্ঝঞ্ঝাটে /nirjonjaṭe/ 'without any complication'

376.NAdvSBSF: /Xo/_n ↔ /Xe/_{adv} 'with /Xo/'

সাহায্য /śahaḷḷo/ 'help' ↔ সাহায্যে /śahaḷḷe/ 'with the help'

আনন্দ /anondo/ 'pleasure' ↔ আনন্দে /anonde/ 'with pleasure'

377.NAdvSBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xe/adv 'following /Xo/'

পরামর্শ /pɔramorʃo/ 'advice' ↔ পরামর্শে /pɔramorʃe/ 'following the advice'

আদর্শ /adorʃo/ 'ideal' ↔ আদর্শে /adorʃe/ 'following the ideal'

378.NAdvSMSBCF: /CV_{-high}Xo/n ↔ /ʃoCV_{+high}Xe/adv 'accompanied with /CV_{-high}Xo/'

হর্ষ /horʃo/ 'pleasure' ↔ সহর্ষে /ʃohorʃe/ 'with pleasure'

শব্দ /ʃobdo/ 'sound' ↔ শব্দে /ʃobde/ 'with sound'

379.NAdv/VSMADSF: /C₁V_{-high}C₂VC₃/n ↔ /C₁V_{+high}C₂C₃e/adv (perfective verbal) 'having done /C₁V_{-high}C₂VC₃'

ধমক /dhomok/ 'rebuff' ↔ ধমকে /dhomke/ 'having rebuffed'/'by rebuffing'

বদল /bodol/ 'change' ↔ বদলে /bode/ 'having changed'

380.NAdv/VSMADSF: /XVC/n ↔ /XCe/adv (perfective verbal) 'having done /XVC/'

আছাড় /ac^har/ 'a throw of fall to the ground with force' ↔ আছড়ে /ac^hre/ 'having thrown or dashed to the ground violently'

সাঁতার /ʃāntar/ 'swimming' ↔ সাঁতরে /ʃāntre/ 'having swam'

381.NAdvADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xgune/adv 'thanks to /X/'

কপাল /kopal/ 'luck' ↔ কপালগুণে /kopalgune/ 'thanks to good luck'

চরিত্র /coritro/ 'luck' ↔ চরিত্রগুণে /coritrogune/ 'thanks to good luck'

382.NPSVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCe/p 'in /XC/'

পিছন /pic^hon/ 'back' ↔ পিছনে /pic^hone/ 'behind'

দিক /dik/ 'direction' ↔ দিকে /dike/ 'towards'

383.NVSMADSF: /C₁V_{-high}C₂VC₃/n ↔ /C₁V_{+high}C₂C₃a/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog 'do /C₁V_{-high}C₂VC₃'

ধমক /d^homok/ 'rebuff' ↔ ধমকা /d^homka/ 'rebuff'

বদল /bodol/ 'change' ↔ বদলা /bodla/ 'change'

384.NVSMADSF: /XVC/n ↔ /XCa/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog 'do /XVC/'

সাঁতার /ʃāntar/ 'swimming' ↔ সাঁতরা /ʃāntra/ 'swim'

কামড় /kamor/ 'bite' ↔ কামড়া /kamra/ 'bite'

ছাঁক /c^hāk/ 'sieve by using a /c^hākuni/! ↔ ছাঁকুনি /c^hākuni/ 'sieve with small holes'

386.NVSVADSF: /XC/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XCuni/n, action 'XC/-ing'

কাঁদ /kād/ 'cry!', 'lament!' ↔ কাঁদুনি /kāduni/ 'crying', 'lamentation'

খাট /k^haṭ/ 'work hard!' ↔ খাটুনি /k^haṭuni/ 'hard work'

387.NVSVADSF: /XC/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XCie/n 'somebody who does /XC/'

নাচ /nac/ 'dance!' ↔ নাচিয়ে /nacie/ 'dancer'

বাজ /baj/ 'play!' ↔ বাজিয়ে /bajie/ 'musician'

388.NVSVADSF: /Xa/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xa^je/adj/n 'who does the action asked for in /Xa/'

গা /ga/ 'sing!' ↔ গাইয়ে /ga^je/ 'singer'

খা /k^ha/ 'eat!' ↔ খাইয়ে /k^ha^je/ 'gourmet', 'gourmand'

389.NNSBSF: /XCa/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XCuni/n 'XCa/-ing'

পিটা /piṭa/ 'beat' ↔ পিটুনি /piṭuni/ 'act of beating'

বঁাকা /j^hāka/ 'shake!' ↔ বঁাকুনি /j^hākuni/ 'act of shaking'

390.NVSVRD: /C₁V_{-high}C₂/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /C₁V_{-high}C₂aC₁V_{+high}C₂i/n 'continuous instances of the action asked for in /C₁V_{-high}C₂/'

ছোট /c^hoṭ/ 'run' ↔ ছোটছুটি /c^hoṭac^huṭi/ 'running here and there'

দেখ /dɛk^h/ 'look!' ↔ দেখাদেখি /dɛk^hadek^hi/ 'several (reciprocal) acts of looking'

391.NVSVRD: /XC/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XCaXCi/n 'several reciprocal instances of the action asked for in /XC/'

মার /mar/ 'beat!' ↔ মারামারি /maramari/ 'beating each other' / 'several reciprocal acts of beating each other'

কাড় /kar/ 'seize by force or by tactics!' ↔ কাড়াকাড়ি /karakari/ 'several reciprocal acts of seizing by force or by tactics'

392.NVSVRD: /Xa/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XaXi/n 'several (reciprocal) instances of the action asked for in /Xa/'

পাল্টা /palṭa/ 'change' ↔ পাল্টাপাল্টি /palṭapalṭi/ 'exchanging something between each other'

ধাক্কা /d^hakka/ 'push' ↔ ধাক্কাধাক্কি /d^hakkadhakki/ 'several acts of pushing each other'

393.NVSVRD: /CV_{-high}Xa/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /CV_{-high}XaCV_{+high}Xi/n 'several (reciprocal) instances of the action asked for in /CV_{-high}Xa/'

বদলা /bɔdla/ 'change' ↔ বদলাবদলি /bɔdlabodli/ 'exchanging something between each other'

হাঁচড়া /hēcra/ 'drag or trail along forcefully' ↔ হাঁচড়াহাঁচড়ি /hēcrahēcri/ 'act of dragging or trailing along each other forcefully'

394.VASVID: /Xa/adj ↔ /Xa/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog 'put in the form or position of /Xa/'
উল্টা /ul̩ta/ 'turned upside down', 'reversed' ↔ উল্টা /ul̩ta/ 'turn upside down', 'reverse'

বাঁকা /bāka/ 'bent' ↔ বাঁকা /bāka/ 'bend'

395.VASVADSF: /XC/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XCɔnto/adj 'in the state of /XC/'

চল /col/ 'move, go' ↔ চলন্ত /colɔnto/ 'running'

পড় /por/ 'fall' ↔ পড়ন্ত /porɔnto/ 'falling'

396.VASVADSF: /XC/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XCane/adj 'capable of making somebody do the action asked for in /XC/'

কাঁদ /kād/ 'cry', 'weep', 'shed tears' ↔ কাঁদানে /kādane/ 'which makes shed tears'

নাচ /nac/ 'dance' ↔ নাচানে /nacane/ 'who make a person or an animal dance'

397.VASMADPF: /C₁V_{-high}C₂/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /ɔC₁V_{+high}C₂/adj 'incapable of doing the action asked for in /C₁V_{-high}C₂/'

চল /col/ 'move', 'go' ↔ অচল /acol/ 'motionless', 'steady'

চেন /cen/ 'know' ↔ অচিন /ocin/ 'unknown'

398.VASVADSF: /Xo/v, pres imp, 2nd inform ↔ /Xoman/adj 'doing the action asked for in /Xo/'

চল /colo/ 'you go' ↔ চলমান /coloman/ 'going'

বহ /boho/ 'you flow' ↔ বহমান /bohoman/ 'flowing'

399.VASVADSF: /Xa/adj ↔ /Xano/arg verbal 'to make /Xa/'

কাঁচা /kāca/ 'green, novice-like' ↔ কাঁচানো /kācano/ 'to undo all that has been already done'

পাকা /paka/ 'ripe, mature' ↔ পাকানো /pakano/ 'ripen, to make mature'

400.VASMADSF: /XɔC/ᵥ, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XɔCti/ₐdj 'doing the action asked for in /XɔC/'

চল্ /cɔl/ 'move', 'go' ↔ চলতি /colti/ 'moving', 'going'

পড়্ /pɔr/ 'fall' ↔ পড়তি /portti/ 'falling'

401.VASBSF: /Xe/ₐdj ↔ /Xano/ᵥ 'to have /Xe/ type pain'

কনকনে /konkɔne/ 'heavy' (used exclusively with pain) ↔ কনকনানো /kɔnkɔnɔno/ 'to feel a kind of (heavy) pain'

চিনচিনে /cincine/ 'light (used exclusively with pain)' ↔ চিনচিনানো /cincinɔno/ 'to feel a kind of light pain'

402.AAdvSVADSF: /XC/ₐdj ↔ /XCoto/ₐdv '/XC/-ly'

বিশেষ /biʃeʃ/ 'special' ↔ বিশেষত /biʃeʃoto/ 'specially'

সাধারণ /ʃadʰaron/ 'general' ↔ সাধারণত /ʃadʰaronoto/ 'generally'

403.AAdvSVADSF: /XC/ₐdj ↔ /XCe/ₐdv 'in a /XC/ way'

ধীর /dʰir/ 'slow' ↔ ধীরে /dʰire/ 'slowly'

নীরব /nirɔb/ 'quiet' ↔ নীরবে /nirɔbe/ 'quietly'

404.AAdvSVADSF: /XC/ₐdv/pron ↔ /XCkar/ₐdj 'of /XC/'

কখন /kɔkʰon/ 'at that time' ↔ কখনকার /kɔkʰonkar/ 'of when'

সেদিন /ʃedin/ 'on that day' ↔ সেদিনকার /ʃedinkar/ 'of that day'

405.AAdvSVADSF: /Xke/ₐdv of time ↔ /Xr/ₐdj 'of /Xke/'

আজকে /aʃke/ 'today' ↔ আজকের /aʃker/ 'of today'

কালকে /kalke/ 'tomorrow' ↔ কালকের /kalker/ 'of tomorrow'

406.AAdvSBCF: /(C)ɔXat/ₐdv ↔ /(C)aXik/ₐdj '/(C)aXik/-ly'

অকস্মাৎ /ɔkoʃʃāt/ 'suddenly' ↔ অকস্মিক /akoʃʃik/ 'sudden'

তৎক্ষণাৎ /totkʰonət/ 'immediately' ↔ তৎক্ষণিক /tatkʰonik/ 'immediate'

407.AAdv/ProSBSF: /XVV₋syllab/ₐdv ↔ /XVV₋syllabkar/ₐdj 'of /XVV₋syllab/'

এখানে /ekʰane/ 'here' ↔ এখানকার /ekʰankar/ 'of here'

কোথায় /kotʰaʲ/ 'where' ↔ কোথাকার /kotʰakar/ 'of where'

408.AAdvADSJ: /X/ₐdj ↔ /Xrupe/ₐdv 'in /X/ way'

সম্পূর্ণ /ʃompurno/ 'complete' ↔ সম্পূর্ণরূপে /ʃompurnorupe/ 'completely'

সুন্দর /ʃundor/ 'beautiful' ↔ সুন্দররূপে /ʃundorrupe/ 'beautifully'

409.AAdvADSJ: /X/adj ↔ /Xkore/adv 'in /X/ way'

ভালো /b^halo/ 'good' ↔ ভালো করে /b^halokore/ 'well'

সুন্দর /ʃundor/ 'beautiful' ↔ সুন্দর করে /ʃundorkore/ 'beautifully'

410.AAdvADSJ: /X/adj ↔ /Xb^habe/adv 'in /X/ way'

গভীর /gob^hir/ 'deep', 'profound' ↔ গভীরভাবে /gob^hirb^habe/ 'deeply', 'profoundly'

স্থানীয় /st^hani^yo/ 'local' ↔ স্থানীয়ভাবে /st^hani^yob^habe/ 'locally'

411.AAdvSVRD: /Xa/adj ↔ /XaXi/adv 'in /X/ way'

লম্বা /lomba/ 'tall' ↔ লম্বালম্বি /lombalombi/ 'lengthwise'

সোজা /ʃoja/ 'straight' ↔ সোজাসুজি /ʃoja ʃoji/ 'straightly'

412.AAdvSVRD: /Xe/adv ↔ /XeXe/adv 'Xe/-ly'

ধীরে /d^hire/ 'slowly' ↔ ধীরে ধীরে /d^hired^hire/ 'slowly'

আস্তে /aste/ 'slowly', 'without much noise' ↔ আস্তে আস্তে /asteaste/ 'slowly', 'without much noise'

413.VAdvSVADSF: /Xa/arg verbal ↔ /Xakale/adv 'during /Xa/'

থাকা /t^haka/ ↔ থাকাকালে /t^hakakale/

চলা /cola/ ↔ চলাকালে /colakale/

414.VAdvSVADSF: /XCa/arg verbal ↔ /XCakalin/adv 'during /XCa/ '

থাকা /t^haka/ 'to stay' ↔ থাকাকালীন /t^hakakalin/ 'during the stay'

চলা /cola/ 'to move, to function' ↔ চলাকালীন /colakalin/ 'during the time of functioning'

415.VAdvSVRD: /Xe/comp verbal ↔ /XeXe/adv 'during continuous instances of action referred to in /Xe/'

লিখতে /lik^hte/ 'to write' ↔ লিখতে লিখতে /lik^htelik^hte/ 'by writing'

লিখে /lik^he/ 'having written' ↔ লিখে লিখে /lik^he lik^he/ 'by writing'

416.VAdvSVRD: /Xe/comp/perf verbal ↔ /XeXe/adv 'having endlessly performed the action referred to in /Xe/ '

লিখতে /lik^hte/ 'to write' ↔ লিখতে লিখতে /lik^htelik^hte/ 'through writing'

লিখে /lik^he/ 'having written' ↔ লিখে লিখে /lik^he lik^he/ 'through writing'

পাশে /paʃe/ 'beside' ↔ /paʃe/ পাশে 'beside'

417.PASVADSF: /Xe/p ↔ /Xer/adj 'who is /Xe/'

সঙ্গে /ʃonge/ 'with' ↔ সঙ্গের /ʃonger/ 'of today'

পিছনে /pic^hone/ 'behind' ↔ পিছনের /pic^honer/ 'of behind'

418.IntNSVADSF: /XCN_{-syllab}/Int ↔ /XCN_{-syllab}oʈa/n 'XCN_{-syllab}/-ness'

সাবধান /ʃabd^han/ 'be careful' ↔ সাবধানতা /ʃabd^hanota/ 'carefulness'

নিশ্চয় /niʃco^y/ 'certainly' ↔ নিশ্চয়তা /niʃco^yota/ 'certainty'

419.AProADSF: /X/adj ↔ /Xʈa/pron 'the /X/-one'

খারাপ /k^harap/ 'bad' ↔ খারাপটা /k^harapʈa/ 'the bad one'

ভালো /b^halo/ 'good' ↔ ভালোটা /b^haloʈa/ 'the good one'

420.DemProSVADSF: /(C)V/ dem/relative pron ↔ /(C)Vʈa/pron 'the /(C)V/-one'

সে /ʃe/ 'that' ↔ সেটা /ʃeʈa/ 'that (sequent) one'

যে /je/ 'who', 'which' ↔ যেটা /oʈa/ 'which'

421.AA/ProADSF: /X/adj ↔ /Xʈuku/adj/pron 'X/-portion'

ভালো /b^halo/ 'good' ↔ ভালোটুকু /b^haloʈuku/ 'the good portion'

খারাপ /k^harap/ 'bad' ↔ খারাপটুকু /k^harapʈuku/ 'the bad portion'

422.Num/QA/ProADSF: /X/Num/Q ↔ /Xʈa/adj/pron 'X/-piece/quantity'

এক /ɛk/ 'one' ↔ একটা /ekʈa/ 'one piece'

কিছু /kic^hu/ 'some' ↔ কিছুটা /kic^huʈa/ 'some'

423.Num/QA/ProADSF: /X/Num/Q ↔ /Xʈi/adj/pron 'X/-piece'

ছয় /c^ho^y/ 'six' ↔ ছয়টি /c^ho^yʈi/ 'six pieces'

প্রত্যেক /prottek/ 'each' ↔ প্রত্যেকটি /prottekʈi/ 'each one of the pieces'

424.Num/QA/ProADSF: /X/Num/Q ↔ /Xk^hana/adj/pron 'X/-piece'

ছয় /c^ho^y/ 'six' ↔ ছয়খানা /c^ho^yk^hana/ 'six pieces'

কয়েক /ko^yɛk/ 'a few' ↔ কয়েকখানা /ko^yɛkk^hana/ 'a few pieces'

425.Num/QA/ProADSF: /X/Num/Q ↔ /Xjon/adj/pron 'X/-person'

ছয় /c^ho^y/ 'six' ↔ ছয়জন /c^ho^yjon/ 'six persons'

কয়েক /ko^yɛk/ 'a few' ↔ কয়েকজন /ko^yɛkjon/ 'a few people'

427.QA/ProSVADSF: /XC/_Q ↔ /XCtuku/_{adj/pron} 'XC/-quantity'

অনেক /ɔnek/ 'many' ↔ অনেকটুকু /ɔnektuku/ 'a good amount'

সব /ʃɔb/ 'all' ↔ সবটুকু /ʃɔbtuku/ 'the whole/entire'

428.NumDWSVADSF: /Xo/_{Num} ↔ /Xo^j/_{DW} 'Xo/-th'

এগারো /ɛgaro/ 'eleven' ↔ এগারোই /ɛgaro^j/ 'eleventh'

সতেরো /ʃotero/ 'seventeen' ↔ সতেরোই /ʃotero^j/ 'seventeenth'

429.NumDWSVADSF: /Xʃ/_{Num} ↔ /Xʃe/_{DW} 'Xo/-th'

একুশ /ekuʃ/ 'twenty-one' ↔ একুশে /ekuʃe/ 'twenty-first'

তেইশ /te^jʃ/ 'twenty-three' ↔ তেইশে /te^jʃe/ 'twenty-third'

430.NumDWSVADSF: /XC/_{Num} ↔ /XCi/_{DW} 'Xo/-th'

পাঁচ /pāc/ 'five' ↔ পাঁচই /pāci/ '5th'

আট /aṭ/ 'eight' ↔ আটই /aṭi/ 'eighth'

431.NumASVADSF: /XC/_{Num} ↔ /XCʃala/_{adj} 'XC/ year long'

পাঁচ /pāc/ 'five' ↔ পাঁচশালা /pācʃala/ '5 year long'

আট /aṭ/ 'eight' ↔ আটশালা /aṭʃala/ 'eight year long'

432.NumOrdSVADSF: /XC/_{Num} ↔ /XCtomo/_{ord} 'XC/-th'

একাদশ /ɛkadoʃ/ 'eleven' ↔ একাদশতম /ɛkadoʃtomo/ 'eleventh'

একত্রিশ /ɛktriʃ/ 'thirty-one' ↔ একত্রিশতম /ɛktriʃtomo/ 'thirty-first'

433.NumASVADSF: /XCN/_{-syllab/Num} ↔ /XCN/_{-syllab} CYCi/_{adj} 'XCN/_{-syllab} CYC/-long'

পাঁচ /pāc/ 'five' ↔ পাঁচহাতি /pāchatī/ 'measuring five hands'

নয় /no^y/ 'nine' ↔ নয়গজি /no^ygozi/ 'measuring nine yards'

434.MWASVADSF: /CXC/_{MW} ↔ /YCN/_{-syllab} CXCi/_{adj} 'YCN/_{-syllab} CXC/-long'

হাত /hat/ 'hand' ↔ পাঁচহাতি /pāchatī/ 'measuring five hands'

গজ /gɔj/ 'yard' ↔ নয়গজি /no^ygozi/ 'measuring nine yards'

435.NumASVADSF: /XCN/_{-syllab/Num} ↔ /XCN/_{-syllab} CYmeadi/_{adj} 'XCN/_{-syllab} CY/-long'

পাঁচ /pāc/ 'five' ↔ পাঁচবছরমেয়াদী /pācbo^hormeadi/ 'five year long'

নয় /no^y/ 'nine' ↔ নয়সপ্তাহমেয়াদী /no^yʃoptahome^yadi/ 'nine week long'

436.MWAADSF: /CX/_{MW} ↔ /YCN_{-syllab}CXmeadi/_{adj} 'YCN_{-syllab}CX/-long'
 বছর /bɔc^hor/ 'year' ↔ পাঁচবছরমেয়াদী /pācbɔc^hormeadi/ 'five year long'
 সপ্তাহ /ʃɔptah/ 'week' ↔ নয়সপ্তাহমেয়াদী /no^yʃɔptahome^yadi/ 'nine week long'

437.ProAAD: /Xa/_{pron, nom, plu} ↔ /X/_{adj (poss)/pron, sing, gen} 'of a particular member referred to in /Xa/'

ওঁরা /ōra/ 'they' ↔ ওঁর /ōr/ 'his'
 আপনারা /apnara/ 'you' ↔ আপনার /apnar/ 'your'

438.ProASVADSF: /N/_{pron, sing, nom} ↔ /Nr/_{adj (poss)/pron, sing, gen} 'of /X/'

এ /e/ 'he_{proximal}' ↔ এর /er/ 'his_{proximal}'

ও /o/ 'he_{distal}' ↔ ওর /or/ 'his_{distal}'

439.ProASVADSF: /Xe/_{pron, nom, sing/plu} ↔ /Xeder/_{adj (poss)/pron, sing/plu, gen} 'of the person(s) referred to in /Xe/'

নিজে /nije/ 'himself' ↔ নিজেদের /nijeder/ 'of themselves'

লোকে /loke/ 'people/public' ↔ লোকেদের /lokeder/ 'of the people/public'

440.ProASBSF: /Xi/_{pron, nom} ↔ /Xar/_{adj (poss)/pron, sing, gen} 'of /Xi/'

আমি /ami/ 'I' ↔ আমার /amar/ 'my'

আপনি /apni/ 'you' ↔ আপনার /apnar/ 'your'

441.ProASBSF: /Xra/_{pron, nom, plu} ↔ /Xder/_{adj (poss)/pron, plu, gen} 'of /Xra/'

তঁরা /tāra/ 'they formal' ↔ তঁদের /tāder/ 'their_{formal}'

আপনারা /apnara/ 'you formal' ↔ আপনাদের /apnader/ 'your_{formal}'

442.ProASBSF: /Xra/_{pron, plu, nom} ↔ /Xader/_{adj (poss)/pron, plu, gen} 'of /Xra/'

তোমরা /tomra/ 'you informal' ↔ তোমাদের /tomader/ 'your informal'

আমরা /amra/ 'they informal' ↔ আমাদের /amader/ 'their informal'

443.ProASBSF: /Xr/_{adj (poss)/pron, sing, gen} ↔ /Xder/_{adj (poss)/pron, plu, gen} 'of the person referred to in /Xr/ as well as of some other persons'

তোর /tor/ 'you int/dim' ↔ তোদের /toder/ 'your_{intim/dim}'

আপনার /apnar/ 'your_{formal}' ↔ আপনাদের /apnader/ 'your_{formal}'

444.ProASBSF: /Cini/_{pron, sing, nom} ↔ /Cār/_{adj (poss)/pron, sing, gen} 'of /Xini/'

মিনি /jini/ 'you' ↔ য়াঁর /jār/ 'you_{informal}'

তিনি /tini/ 'he_{formal}' ↔ তাঁর /tār/ 'they_{formal}'

445.ProASBSF: /Xar/_{adj (poss)/pron, sing, gen} ↔ /Xra/_{pron, nom, plu} 'of the indespensable member referred to in /Xra/'

আমার /amar/ 'my' ↔ আমরা /amra/ 'we'

তোমার /tomar/ 'your' ↔ তোমরা /tomra/ 'you'

446.ProASBSF: /Ce/_{pron, sing, nom} ↔ /Car/_{adj (poss)/pron, sing, gen} 'of /Xe/'

যে /je/ 'who' ↔ যার /jar/ 'of whom'

কে /ke/ 'who' ↔ কার /kar/ 'of whom'

447.ProASBSF: /Xr/_{adj (poss)/pron, sing, gen} ↔ /Xke/_{pron, sing, acc} 'of the person(s) referred to in /Xke/'

আপনার /apnar/ 'your_{formal}' ↔ আপনাকে /apnake/ 'you_{formal}'

ওনার /onar/ 'his' ↔ ওনাকে /onake/ 'him'

448.ProASBSF: /Xar/_{adj (poss)/pron, sing, gen} ↔ /Xa^y/_{pron, sing, acc/dat} 'of the person referred to in /Xa^y'

আমার /amar/ 'my' ↔ আমায় /ama^y/ 'to me'

তোমার /tomar/ 'your' ↔ তোমায় /toma^y/ 'to you'

449.ProASBSMSF: /(C)V_{+high}Ci/_{pron, sing, nom} ↔ /(C)V_{-high}Car/_{adj (poss)/pron, sing, gen} 'of /(C)V_{+high}Ci/'

তুমি /tumi/ 'you_{informal}' ↔ তোমার /tomar/ 'your_{informal}'

ইনি /ini/ 'he_{formal, proximal}' ↔ এনার /enar/ 'his_{formal, proximal}'

450.ProASBSMSF: /(C)V_{+high}Ci/_{pron, sing, nom} ↔ /(C)V_{-high}Cader/_{adj (poss)/pron, plu, gen} 'plural of the person referred to in /(C)V_{+high}Ci/'

তুমি /tumi/ 'you' ↔ তোমাদের /tomader/ 'your_{informal}'

ইনি /ini/ 'he_{formal, proximal}' ↔ এনাদের /enader/ 'their_{formal, proximal}'

6.2. Intra-categorical strategies of Bengali

As I have mentioned earlier, intra-categorical morphology subsumes nominal subcategories such as Case (CC), Gender (MF), Number (SP) and Definiteness (DI) among others. In the description of intra-categorical morphology, I will use traditional labels for morphological categories, such as $\text{Noun}_{\text{days}}$ or Noun_{gen} .

451. NNADPF: $/X/_{\text{n}} \leftrightarrow /otiX/_{\text{n}}$ 'extra-strong $/X/$ '

বৃষ্টি $/bri\text{ṣ}ti/$ 'rain' \leftrightarrow অতিবৃষ্টি $/otibri\text{ṣ}ti/$ 'heavy rainfall'

অভিনয় $/ob^hino^y/$ 'acting' \leftrightarrow অতিঅভিনয় $/otiob^hino^y/$ 'overacting'

452. NNSVADPF: $/VX/_{\text{n}} \leftrightarrow /onVX/_{\text{n}}$ 'opposite of $/VX/$ '

আহার $/ahar/$ 'eating' \leftrightarrow অনাহার $/onahar/$ 'fasting'

ইচ্ছা $/icc^ha/$ 'willingness' \leftrightarrow অনিচ্ছা $/onicc^ha/$ 'unwillingness'

453. NNSVADPF: $/CX/_{\text{n}} \leftrightarrow /opoCX/_{\text{n}}$ 'bad $/CX/$ '

কর্ম $/kormo/$ 'work, activity' \leftrightarrow অপকর্ম $/opokormo/$ 'mischief, a harmful act, crime'

প্রয়োগ $/pro^yog/$ 'application' \leftrightarrow অপপ্রয়োগ $/opopro^yog/$ 'misapplication'

454. NNSVADPF: $/CX/_{\text{n}} \leftrightarrow /ob^hiCX/_{\text{n}}$ 'synonym of $/CX/$ '

শাপ $/\text{ṣ}ap/$ 'curse' \leftrightarrow অভিশাপ $/ob^hi\text{ṣ}ap/$ 'curse'

মান $/man/$ 'huff caused by undesirable behaviors of a beloved person' \leftrightarrow অভিমান

$/ob^himan/$ 'huff caused by undesirable behaviors of beloved person'

455. NNSVADPF: $/CX/_{\text{n}} \leftrightarrow /ord^hoCX/_{\text{n}}$ 'half of $/CX/$ '

বৃত্ত $/britto/$ 'circle' \leftrightarrow অর্ধবৃত্ত $/ord^hobritto/$ 'half-circle'

ঘন্টা $/g^honta/$ 'hour' \leftrightarrow অর্ধঘন্টা $/ord^hog^honta/$ 'half an hour'

456. NNSVADPF: $/CX/_{\text{n}} \leftrightarrow /agCX/_{\text{n}}$ 'foremost $/CX/$ '

ডাল $/dal/$ 'branch' \leftrightarrow আগডাল $/agdāl/$ 'the topmost branch of a tree'

দুয়ার $/duar/$ 'door' \leftrightarrow আগদুয়ার $/agduar/$ 'the front door of a house'

457. NNSVADPF: $/CX/_{\text{n}} \leftrightarrow /attoCX/_{\text{n}}$ 'to cause $/CX/$ to oneself'

হত্যা $/hotta/$ 'murder, slaughter' \leftrightarrow আত্মহত্যা $/attohotta/$ 'suicide'

রতি $/roti/$ 'sex' \leftrightarrow আত্মরতি $/attoroti/$ 'masturbation'

458. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /attoCX/_n 'CX/ belonging to oneself'
 সম্মান /ʃomman/ 'respect' ↔ আত্মসম্মান /attōʃomman/ 'self respect'
 শক্তি /ʃokti/ 'power' ↔ আত্মশক্তি /attōʃokti/ 'one's own power'
459. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /apatoCX/_n 'CX/ that continue for a short period'
 সুস্থতা /ʃust^hota/ 'healthiness' ↔ আপাতসুস্থতা /apatoʃust^hota/ 'healthiness for
 a short period of time'
 মিল /mil/ 'similarity' ↔ আপাতমিল /apatomil/ 'fake similarity'
460. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /abohoCX/_n 'CX/ related to weather'
 চিত্র /citra/ 'picture' ↔ আবহচিত্র /abohocitra/ 'weather chart'
 বিদ্যা /bidā/ 'art', 'science' ↔ আবহবিদ্যা /abohobidā/ 'meteorology'
461. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /abaʃCX/_n 'CX/ used for living'
 ভূমি /b^humi/ 'land' ↔ আবাসভূমি /abaʃb^humi/ 'land where peoples live'
 গৃহ /griho/ 'house' ↔ আবাসগৃহ /abaʃgriho/ 'house for living'
462. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /amCX/_n 'CX/ of people'
 দরজা /doroja/ 'door' ↔ আমদরজা /amdoroja/ 'public entrance'
 দরবার /d̄orbar/ 'court' ↔ আমদরবার /amd̄orbar/ 'royal court'
463. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /aʃirCX/_n 'CX/ of benediction'
 বচন /bocon/ 'speech' ↔ আশীর্বচন /aʃirbocon/ 'speech of benediction'
 বাণী /bani/ 'speech' ↔ আশীর্বাণী /aʃirbani/ 'speech of benediction'
464. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /upoCX/_n 'sub /CX/'
 সচিব /ʃocib/ 'secretary' ↔ উপসচিব /upoʃocib/ 'assistant secretary'
 মন্ত্রী /montri/ 'minister' ↔ উপমন্ত্রী /upomontri/ 'state minister'/'sub-minister'
465. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /upoCX/_n 'CX/-like entity attached to /CX/'
 গ্রহ /groho/ 'planet' ↔ উপগ্রহ /upogroho/ 'satellite'
 শহর /ʃohor/ 'city' ↔ উপশহর /upoʃohor/ 'suburb city'
466. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /uporiCX/_n 'surfacing /CX/'
 তল /tol/ 'layer' ↔ উপরিতল /uporitol/ 'surface layer'
 ভাগ /b^hag/ 'portion', 'side' ↔ উপরিভাগ /uporib^hag/ 'upper side'

467. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /uroCX/_n 'a /CX/ that goes from here to there, not of much importance'
 চিঠি /ciṭ^hi/ 'letter' ↔ উড়োচিঠি /urociṭ^hi/ 'anonymous letter'
 কথা /kɔt^ha/ 'news' ↔ উড়োকথা /urokɔt^ha/ 'unconfirmed news'
468. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /ihoCX/_n 'CX/ of one's life time'
 কাল /kaɭ/ 'time' ↔ ইহকাল /ihokaɭ/ 'time during one's life time'
 জগৎ /ʃɔgɔt/ 'world' ↔ ইহজগৎ /ihɔʃɔgɔt/ 'world that one lives in during his life time'
469. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /karuCX/_n 'artistic /CX/'
 কাজ /kaʃ/ 'work' ↔ কারুকাজ /karukaʃ/ 'art work'
 পণ্য /ponno/ 'goods' ↔ কারুপণ্য /karuponno/ 'art goods'
470. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /k^hoʃCX/_n 'happy /CX/'
 মেজাজ /meʃa(z/ʃ)/ 'mood' ↔ খোশমেজাজ /k^hoʃmeʃaʃ/ 'good mood'
 খবর /k^hɔbor/ 'news' ↔ খোশখবর /k^hoʃk^hɔbor/ 'good news'
471. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /gɔnoCX/_n 'public /CX/'
 পরিবহণ /poribɔhon/ 'transport' ↔ গণপরিবহণ /gɔnoporibɔhon/ 'public transport'
 সংযোগ /ʃɔŋʃɔg/ 'communication' ↔ গণসংযোগ /gɔnoʃɔŋʃɔg/ 'mass communication'
472. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /gɔloCX/_n 'CX/ of throat'
 নালী /nali/ 'thin tube', 'vein' ↔ গলনালী /gɔlonali/ 'esophagus'
 রন্ধ /rɔnd^hro/ 'hole' ↔ গলরন্ধ /gɔlorɔnd^hro/ 'the cavity of the throat'
473. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /goCX/_n 'CX/ of cow'
 খাদ্য /k^haddo/ 'food' ↔ গোখাদ্য /gok^haddo/ 'cow food'
 দুগ্ধ /dugd^ho/ 'milk' ↔ গোধূগ্ধ /godugd^ho/ 'cow milk'
474. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /g^horCX/_n 'CX/ on horse'
 দৌড় /do^hr/ 'race' ↔ ঘোড়দৌড় /g^hordɔ^hr/ 'horse-race'
 সওয়ার /ʃɔ^war/ 'rider/passenger' ↔ ঘোড়সওয়ার /g^horʃɔ^war/ 'horseman/cavalryman'
475. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /coturCX/_n 'four /CX/'
 দিক /dik/ 'direction'/cardinal point' ↔ চতুর্দিক /coturdik/ 'four cardinal points'/every where'
 বর্ণ /bɔrno/ 'caste'/ 'social class' ↔ চতুর্বর্ণ /coturbɔrno/ 'four castes'

476. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /ciroCX/_n 'during all /CX/'
 কাল /kal/ 'time' ↔ চিরকাল /cirokal/ 'always'
 দিন /din/ 'day' ↔ চিরদিন /cirodin/ 'always'
477. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /c^hōddoCX/_n '/CX/ of disguise'
 নাম /nam/ 'name' ↔ ছদ্মনাম /c^hōddonam/ 'pen-name', 'pseudonym'
 বেশ /beʃ/ 'dress' ↔ ছদ্মবেশ /c^hōddobeʃ/ 'disguise'
478. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /jōnoCX/_n 'public /CX/'
 জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ জনজীবন /jōnojibon/ 'public life'
 মত /mɔt/ 'opinion' ↔ জনমত /jōnomɔt/ 'public opinion'
479. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /duboCX/_n '/CX/ under water'
 জাহাজ /jahaj/ 'ship' ↔ ডুবোজাহাজ /dubojahaj/ 'submarine'
 পাহাড় /pahar/ 'hill' ↔ ডুবোপাহাড় /dubopahar/ 'a submarine mountain'
480. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /triCX/_n 'constituted of three /CX/'
 ভুজ /b^huj/ 'arm' ↔ ত্রিভুজ /trib^huj/ 'triangle'
 কাল /kal/ 'sea' ↔ ত্রিকাল /trikal/ 'tree ages: past, present and future'
481. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /durCX/_n 'bad /CX/'
 নাম /nam/ 'name, good reputation' ↔ দুর্নাম /durnam/ 'disrepute, notoriety'
 বুদ্ধি /budd^hi/ 'intelligence' ↔ দুর্বুদ্ধি /durbudd^hi/ 'evil or harmful thought'
482. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /duʃCX/_n 'bad /CX/'
 শাসন /ʃaʃon/ 'rule' ↔ দুঃশাসন /duʃʃaʃon/ 'misgovernment'
 স্বপ্ন /ʃɔpno/ 'dream' ↔ দুঃস্বপ্ন /duʃʃɔpno/ 'nightmare'
483. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /do^ɟboCX/_n 'divine /CX/'
 শক্তি /ʃokti/ 'power' ↔ দৈবশক্তি /do^ɟboʃokti/ 'divine power'
 বাণী /bani/ ↔ দৈববাণী /do^ɟbobani/ 'oracle'
484. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /do^ɟtoCX/_n '/CX/ by two persons'
 শাসন /ʃaʃon/ 'rule' ↔ দ্বৈতশাসন /do^ɟtoʃaʃon/ 'diarchy'
 সঙ্গীত /ʃongit/ ↔ দ্বৈতসঙ্গীত /do^ɟtoʃongit/ 'duet'
485. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /nattoCX/_n '/CX/ related to theatre'
 জগৎ /jɔgot/ 'world' ↔ নাট্যজগৎ /nattojɔgot/ 'theatre-world'

প্রযোজনা /projojona/ 'production' ↔ নাট্যপ্রযোজনা /nat̪toprojojona/ 'theatrical production'

486. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /natCX/ₙ 'CX/ of grand child'

জামাই /jamaʃ/ 'husband', 'son-in-law' ↔ নাতজামাই /natjamaʃ/ 'husband of grand daughter'

বৌ /boʊ/ 'wife' ↔ নাতবৌ /natboʊ/ 'wife of grand son'

487. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /nriCX/ₙ 'CX/ of human being'

তত্ত্ব /totto/ 'theory' ↔ নৃতত্ত্ব /nritotto/ 'anthropology'

মুণ্ড /mundʊ/ 'head' ↔ নৃমুণ্ড /nrimundʊ/ 'human head'

488. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /noʊCX/ₙ 'CX/ related to vessel or boat'

যুদ্ধ /juddʰo/ 'battle', 'fight' ↔ নৌযুদ্ধ /noʊjuddʰo/ 'naval fight'

বাহিনী /bahini/ 'force' ↔ নৌবাহিনী /noʊbahini/ 'navy'

489. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /poncoCX/ₙ 'five CX/'

ভ্রাতা /bʰrata/ 'notes of music' ↔ পঞ্চভ্রাতা /poncobʰrata/ 'five brothers'

কন্যা /konna/ 'daughter', 'girl' ↔ পঞ্চকন্যা /poncokonna/ 'five girls'

490. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /pɔroCX/ₙ 'CX/ of other'

নিন্দা /ninda/ 'condemnation' ↔ পরনিন্দা /pɔroninda/ 'condemnation of other'

নারী /nari/ 'woman' ↔ পরনারী /pɔronari/ 'the woman of other'

491. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /poriCX/ₙ 'a kind of CX/'

দর্শন /dorʃon/ 'act of seeing' ↔ পরিদর্শন /poridorʃon/ 'inspection'

চালক /calok/ 'driver' ↔ পরিচালক /poricalok/ 'director'

492. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /patiCX/ₙ 'small CX/'

কাক /kak/ 'crow' ↔ পাতিকাক /patikak/ '(a particular type of) small crow'

নেতা /neta/ 'leader' ↔ পাতিনেতা /patineta/ 'small leader'

493. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /pitriCX/ₙ 'CX/ of father'

ঋণ /rin/ 'loan' ↔ পিতৃঋণ /pitririn/ 'debt incurred by one's father'

বিয়োগ /biʲog/ 'subtraction, death' ↔ পিতৃবিয়োগ /pitribiʲog/ 'death of one's father'

494. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /punoCX/ₙ 'CX/ again'

প্রাপ্তি /prapti/ 'act of gaining or achieving' ↔ পুনপ্রাপ্তি /punoprapti/ 'act of regaining or achieving again'

সংস্কার /ʃɔ̃(ɳ)ʃkar/ 'repair' ↔ পুনসংস্কার /punoʃɔ̃(ɳ)ʃkar/ 'act of repairing again'

495. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /punorCX/ₙ 'CX/ again'

জন্ম /ʃonmo/ 'birth' ↔ পুনর্জন্ম /punorʃonmo/ 'reincarnation, rebirth'

বিবাহ /bibaho/ 'marriage' ↔ পুনর্বিবাহ /punorbibaho/ 'second marriage'

496. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /po^uroCX/ₙ 'municipal /CX/'

সভা /ʃob^ha/ 'committee, meeting' ↔ পৌরসভা /po^uroʃob^ha/ 'municipal body'

পিতা /pita/ 'father' ↔ পৌরপিতা /po^uropita/ 'mayor'

497. NNSVADPF: /VX/ₙ ↔ /prottVX/ₙ 'something in return of /VX/'

উত্তর /uttor/ 'response' ↔ প্রত্যুত্তর /protuttor/ 'response to somebody's answer'

উপকার /upokar/ 'help', 'favour' ↔ প্রত্যুপকার /prottupokar/ 'good turn in return'

498. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /protiCX/ₙ 'something in return or in reaction to /CX/'

হিংসা /hiŋʃa/ 'jealousy', 'harming' ↔ প্রতিহিংসা /protihiŋʃa/ 'revenge'

দান /dan/ 'a donation, a gift' ↔ প্রতিদান /protidan/ 'a gift in return'

499. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /protiCX/ₙ 'a copy of /CX/'

লিপি /lipi/ 'writing' ↔ প্রতিলিপি /protilipi/ 'copy of the writing'

চিত্র /citro/ 'picture' ↔ প্রতিচিত্র /proticitro/ 'copy of the picture'

500. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /protiCX/ₙ 'CX/ of human beings'

রক্ষা /rokk^ha/ 'protection' ↔ প্রতিরক্ষা /protirokk^ha/ 'defence'

পালন /palon/ 'upbringing' ↔ প্রতিপালন /protipalon/ 'upbringing'

501. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /protiCX/ₙ 'an extra /CX/'

স্বাক্ষর /ʃakk^hor/ 'signature' ↔ প্রতিস্বাক্ষর /protiʃakk^hor/ 'countersignature'

মন্ত্রী /montri/ 'minister' ↔ প্রতিমন্ত্রী /protimontri/ 'state minister'

502. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /bonoCX/ₙ 'CX/ of forest'

ফুল /ful/ 'flower' ↔ বনফুল /bonoful/ 'flower that bloom in the forest'

দেবী /debi/ 'goddess' ↔ বনদেবী /bonodebi/ 'goddess believed to be the protector of the forest'

503. NNSVADPF: /ʃX/ₙ ↔ /bohiʃʃX/ₙ 'ʃX/ existing outside a certain territory'

সমুদ্র /ʃomudro/ 'sea' ↔ বহিঃসমুদ্র /bohiʃʃomudro/ 'high sea'

শত্রু /ʃotru/ 'enemy' ↔ বহিঃশত্রু /bohiʃʃotru/ 'enemy coming from outside the country'

504. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /bohirCX/_n 'CX/ related to outside'
 বাণিজ্য /baniʃʃo/ 'trade' ↔ বহির্বাণিজ্য /bohirbaniʃʃo/ 'foreign trade'
 দ্বার /dar/ 'door' ↔ বহির্দ্বার /bohirdar/ 'front door', 'gate'
505. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /bakCX/_n 'CX/ related to speech'
 দেবী /debi/ 'goddess' ↔ বাগদেবী /bagdebi/ 'goddess of speech'
 শক্তি /ʃokti/ 'power' ↔ বাকশক্তি /bakʃokti/ 'verbal power'
506. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /balloCX/_n 'CX/ of childhood'
 স্মৃতি /srīti/ 'memory' ↔ বাল্যস্মৃতি /ballosrīti/ 'memory of childhood'
 বন্ধু /bond^hu/ 'friend' ↔ বাল্যবন্ধু /ballobond^hu/ 'friend of childhood'
507. NASVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /bastuCX/_{adj} 'CX/ related to paternal homestead'
 সাপ /ʃap/ 'snake' ↔ বাস্ত্রসাপ /bastuʃap/ 'snake superstitiously believed to protect
 one's paternal homestead'
 ভিটা /b^hiṭa/ 'the piece of ground on which a dwelling house rests' ↔ বাস্ত্রভিটা
 /bastub^hiṭa/ 'the piece of ground on which one's paternal dwelling house rests'
508. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /baʃʃoCX/_n 'CX/ of outside'
 জ্ঞান /gɛ(a)n/ 'knowledge' ↔ বাহ্যজ্ঞান /baʃʃogɛ(a)n/ 'knowledge of external objects'
 জগৎ /ʃagot/ 'world' ↔ বাহ্যজগৎ /baʃʃoʃagot/ 'external world'
509. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /beleCX/_n 'CX/ constituted of sand'
 মাটি /maṭi/ 'soil' ↔ বেলেমাটি /belemaṭi/ 'sandy soil'
 পাথর /pat^hor/ 'stone' ↔ বেলেপাথর /belepat^hor/ 'sand stone'
510. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /biCX/_n 'opposite of /CX/'
 ক্রয় /kro^y/ 'purchase' ↔ বিক্রয় /bikro^y/ 'sale'
 শৃঙ্খলা /sriŋk^hola/ 'discipline' ↔ বিশৃঙ্খলা /bisriŋk^hola/ 'disorder'
511. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /biCX/_n 'big /CX/'
 তর্ক /torko/ 'reasoning' ↔ বিতর্ক /bitorko/ 'debate'
 জয় /ʃo^y/ 'victory' ↔ বিজয় /biʃo^y/ 'triumph'
512. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /b^hratriCX/_n 'CX/ of brother'
 গৃহ /griho/ 'house' ↔ ভ্রাতৃগৃহ /b^hratrigriho/ 'brother's house'
 জায়া /ja^ya/ 'wife' ↔ ভ্রাতৃজায়া /b^hratrija^ya/ 'brother's wife'

513. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /b^huCX/_n 'CX/ of earth'
 ত্বক /tok/ 'skin' ↔ ভূত্বক /b^hutok/ 'skin of the earth'
 কম্পন /kompon/ 'quake' ↔ ভূকম্পন /b^hukompon/ 'earthquake'
514. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /modd^hoCX/_n 'middle of /CX/'
 রাত /rat/ 'night' ↔ মধ্যরাত /modd^horat/ 'midnight'
 যুগ /jug/ 'age' ↔ মধ্যযুগ /modd^hojug/ 'middle age'
515. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /mɔnoCX/_n 'CX/ of mind'
 রোগ /rog/ 'disease' ↔ মনোরোগ /mɔnorog/ 'mental disease'
 বাসনা /baɣona/ 'desire' ↔ মনোবাসনা /mɔnobasna/ 'mental desire'
516. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /moruCX/_n 'CX/ of desert'
 ভূমি /b^humi/ 'land' ↔ মরভূমি /morub^humi/ 'desert'
 দস্যু /doɣɣu/ 'bandit' ↔ মরুদস্যু /morudoɣɣu/ 'bandit of desert'
517. NNASVDPF: /CX/_n ↔ /mɔhaCX/_n 'big /CX/'
 পরিচালক /poricalok/ 'director' ↔ মহাপরিচালক /mɔhaporicalok/ 'director general'
 সাগর /ɣagor/ 'sea' ↔ মহাসাগর /mɔhaɣagor/ 'ocean'
518. NNADPF: /X/_n ↔ /majX/_n 'middle of /X/'
 পথ /pot^h/ 'way, path' ↔ মাঝপথ /majpot^h/ 'midway'
 আকাশ /akaɣ/ 'sky' ↔ মাঝ আকাশ /majakaɣ/ 'mid-stream'
519. NNADPF: /X/_n ↔ /matriX/_n 'X/ of mother'
 দুগ্ধ /dugd^ho/ 'milk' ↔ মাতৃদুগ্ধ /matridugd^ho/ 'mother's milk'
 অঙ্ক /aŋko/ 'lap' ↔ মাতৃ-অঙ্ক /matrioŋko/ 'mother's lap'
520. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /matriCX/_n 'CX/ towards mother'
 ভক্তি /b^hokti/ 'respect' ↔ মাতৃভক্তি /matrib^hokti/ 'respect for mother'
 দায় /da^y/ 'liability' ↔ মাতৃদায় /matrida^y/ 'liability towards mother'
521. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /mritCX/_n 'CX/ of clay'
 শিল্প /ɣilpo/ 'craft', 'art', 'industry' ↔ মৃশিল্প /mritɣilpo/ 'pottery'
 পাত্র /patro/ 'pot', 'vessel' ↔ মৃপাত্র /mritpatro/ 'earthen pot or vessel'
522. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /juktoCX/_n 'united /CX/'
 রাজ্য /raɣjo/ 'kingdom' ↔ যুক্তরাজ্য /juktorajjo/ 'United Kingdom'

রাষ্ট্র /raʃtro/ 'state' ↔ যুক্তরাষ্ট্র /juktoraʃtro/ 'United States'

523. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /jugmoCX/_n 'joint /CX/'

সচিব /ʃocib/ 'secretary' ↔ যুগ্মসচিব /jugmoʃocib/ 'joint secretary'

প্রকল্প /prokolpo/ 'project' ↔ যুগ্মপ্রকল্প /jugmoprokolpo/ 'joint project'

524. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /juboCX/_n '/CX/ of young people'

সম্প্রদায় /ʃomprodaʃ/ 'community' ↔ যুবসম্প্রদায় /juboʃomprodaʃ/ 'young community'

সম্মেলন /ʃommelon/ 'summit', 'conference' ↔ যুবসম্মেলন /juboʃommelon/ 'youth summit', 'gathering of young people'

525. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /jo^unoCX/_n 'sexual /CX/'

জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ যৌনজীবন /jo^unojibon/ 'sexual life'

রোগ /rog/ 'disease' ↔ যৌনরোগ /jo^unorog/ 'sexual disease'

526. NNSVADPF: /aX/_n ↔ /jo^unaX/_n 'sexual /aX/'

আকাঙ্ক্ষা /akank^ha/ 'desire' ↔ যৌনাকাঙ্ক্ষা /jo^unakank^ha/ 'sexual desire'

আচরণ /acoron/ 'behavior' ↔ যৌনআচরণ /jo^unacoron/ 'sexual behavior'

527. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /rajCX/_n 'royal /CX/'

বাড়ি /bari/ 'house' ↔ রাজবাড়ি /rajbari/ 'palace of the king'

পরিবার /poribar/ 'family' ↔ রাজপরিবার /rajporibar/ 'royal family'

528. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /ritCX/_n '/CX/ of heart'

স্পন্দন /spondon/ 'vibration' ↔ হৃৎস্পন্দন /ritspondon/ 'heart-beat'

কম্পন /kompon/ 'trembling' ↔ হৃৎকম্পন /ritkompon/ 'trembling of the heart'

529. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /ritCX/_n '/CX/ of heart'

পিণ্ড /pindo/ 'ball'/'lump' ↔ হৃৎপিণ্ড /ritpindo/ 'lump of heart'

কমল /komol/ 'lotus' ↔ হৃৎকমল /ritkomol/ 'lotus of heart'

530. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /ridCX/_n '/CX/ of heart'

রোগ /rog/ 'disease' ↔ হৃদরোগ /ridrog/ 'heart disease'

বন্ধন /bond^hon/ 'tie', 'relation' ↔ হৃদবন্ধন /ridbond^hon/ 'tie of heart'

531. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /lokoCX/_n 'folk /CX/'

সংস্কৃতি /ʃõʃkriti/ 'culture' ↔ লোকসংস্কৃতি /lokoʃõʃkriti/ 'folk culture'

সঙ্গীত /ʃonggit/ 'music' ↔ লোকসঙ্গীত /lokoʃonggit/ 'folk music'

532. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /ʃɔnCX/_n 'synonyme of /CX/'

ত্রাস /traʃ/ 'violence' ↔ সন্ত্রাস /ʃontraʃ/ 'violence'

তুষ্ট /tuʃtɔ/ 'satisfied' ↔ সন্তুষ্ট /ʃontuʃtɔ/ 'satisfied'

533. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /ʃoptoCX/_n 'seven /CX/'

স্বর /ʃɔr/ 'notes of music' ↔ সপ্তস্বর /ʃoptoʃɔr/ 'seven notes of music'

সিন্ধু /ʃindʰu/ 'sea' ↔ সপ্তসিন্ধু /ʃoptoʃindʰu/ 'seven seas'

534. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /ʃoroCX/_n 'the six /CX/'

ঋতু /ritu/ 'season' ↔ ষড়ঋতু /ʃororitu/ 'six seasons'

দশা /dɔʃa/ 'stage, condition' ↔ ষড়দশা /ʃorodɔʃa/ 'the six stages of life according to Indian astrology'

535. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /ʃohoCX/_n 'co/CX/'

যাত্রী /jatri/ 'passenger' ↔ সহযাত্রী /ʃohojatri/ 'accompanying passenger'

যোদ্ধা /joddʰa/ 'fighter' ↔ সহযোদ্ধা /ʃohojoddʰa/ 'co fighter/fellow-fighter'

536. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /ʃohoCX/_n 'vice/CX/'

সভাপতি /ʃobʰapoti/ 'president' ↔ সহসভাপতি /ʃohoʃobʰapoti/ 'vice-president'

সম্পাদক /ʃompadok/ 'secretary' ↔ সহসম্পাদক /ʃohoʃompadok/ 'assistant secretary'

537. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /ʃoCX/_n '/CX/ of his own'

দেশ /deʃ/ 'country' ↔ স্বদেশ /ʃodeʃ/ 'one's native land'

ধর্ম /dʰɔrmo/ 'religion' ↔ স্বধর্ম /ʃodʰɔrmo/ 'one's own religion'

538. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /ʃuCX/_n 'good /CX/'

পুত্র /putro/ 'son' ↔ সুপুত্র /ʃuputro/ 'good son'

নাম /nam/ 'name' ↔ সুনাম /ʃunam/ 'goodwill, fame'

539. NNSMADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /protiCCX/_n 'a copy of /CX/'

ধ্বনি /dʰoni/ 'sound' ↔ প্রতিধ্বনি /protiddʰoni/ 'echo'

ছবি /cʰobi/ 'picture' ↔ প্রতিচ্ছবি /proticcʰobi/ 'reflection'

540. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCok/_n 'who does /XC/'

আবিষ্কার /abiʃkar/ 'invention, discovery' ↔ আবিষ্কারক /abiʃkarok/ 'inventor, discoverer'

বিচার /bicar/ 'judgement' ↔ বিচারক /bicarok/ 'judge'

541. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCagar/_n 'house of /XC/'
 হিম /him/ 'cold' ↔ হিমাগার /himagar/ 'cold storage'
 পাঠ /paṭh/ 'reading' ↔ পাঠাগার /paṭhagar/ 'library'
542. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCotto/_n '/XC/-ness'
 দাস /daʃ/ 'slave' ↔ দাসত্ব /daʃotto/ 'slavery'
 নাগরিক /nagorik/ 'citizen' ↔ নাগরিকত্ব /nagorikotto/ 'citizenship'
543. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCona/_n 'action of doing /XC/'
 সম্মান /ʃomman/ 'honour' ↔ সম্মাননা /ʃommanona/ 'act of showing honour'
 প্রচার /procar/ 'publicity' ↔ প্রচারণা /procarona/ 'act of doing publicity'
544. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCodd^honi/_n 'sounds of /XC/'
 পদ /pɔd/ 'foot/feet' ↔ পদধ্বনি /pɔdodd^honi/ 'sound of feet'
 তোপ /top/ 'canon' ↔ তোপধ্বনি /topodd^honi/ 'sound of canon'
545. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCad^hikar/_n 'right of /XC/'
 প্রবেশ /probeʃ/ 'entrance' ↔ প্রবেশাধিকার /probeʃad^hikar/ 'right of entrance'
 ভোট /b^hoṭ/ 'vote' ↔ ভোটাধিকার /bhoṭad^hikar/ 'voting right'
546. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCaṅko/_n 'the level at which /XC/ starts'
 গলন /gɔlon/ 'melting' ↔ গলনাঙ্ক /gɔlonanṅko/ 'melting point'
 তুষার /tuʃar/ 'snow' ↔ তুষারান্দক /tuʃaranṅko/ 'snow-point'
547. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCancol/_n 'area of /XC/'
 বন /bon/ 'forest' ↔ বনাঞ্চল /bonancol/ 'forest area'
 শহর /ʃohor/ 'town' ↔ শহরাঞ্চল /ʃohorancol/ 'urban area'
548. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCanu/_n '/XC/ in its microscopic form'
 জীব /jib/ 'animal' ↔ জীবাণু /jibanu/ 'microbe'
 কীট /kiṭ/ 'worm or insect' ↔ কীটপু /kiṭanu/ 'microscopic worm or insect, microbe'
549. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCanub^huti/_n 'sensation of /XC/'
 কাম /kam/ 'sex, sex urge' ↔ কামানুভূতি /kamanub^huti/ 'sexual desire'
 সুখ /ʃuk^h/ 'happiness' ↔ সুখানুভূতি /ʃuk^hanub^huti/ 'sensation of happiness'
550. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCanurag/_n 'love for /XC/'
 গুণ /gun/ 'quality' ↔ গুণানুরাগ /gunanurag/ 'love for quality'

সঙ্গীত /ʃoŋgit/ 'music' ↔ সঙ্গীতানুরাগ /ʃoŋgitanurag/ 'love for music'

551. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCanto/_n 'the end of /XC/'

বন /bon/ 'forest' ↔ বনান্ত /bonanto/ 'end of the forest'

দিন /din/ 'day' ↔ দিনান্ত /dinanto/ 'end of the day'

552. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCantor/_n 'change from one /XC/ to another'

স্থান /st^han/ 'place' ↔ স্থানান্তর /st^hanantor/ 'removal, transfer'

যুগ /jug/ 'era' ↔ যুগান্তর /jugantor/ 'change of era'

553. NNSVADSF: /Xi/_n ↔ /Xiana/_n 'the life-style of /Xi/'

বাঙালী /bāgali/ 'Bengali' ↔ বাঙালীআনা /bāgaliana/ 'Bengali-like (life) style'

ফরাসী /fɔraʃi/ 'French' ↔ ফরাসীয়ানা /fɔraʃiana/ 'French-like (life) style'

554. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCanuʃilon/_n 'exercise of /XC/'

জ্ঞান /gɛ(a)n/ 'knowledge' ↔ জ্ঞানানুশীলন /gɛ(a)nanuʃilon/ 'exercise/practice of knowledge'

সঙ্গীত /ʃoŋgit/ 'music' ↔ সঙ্গীতানুশীলন /ʃoŋgitanuʃilon/ 'exercise, practice of music'

555. NNSVADSF: /Xu/_n ↔ /Xuani/_n 'life-style of /Xu/'

বাবু /babu/ 'Hindu gentleman, a rich Hindu' ↔ বাবুয়ানী /babuani/ 'spending unnecessarily for a (Hindu) rich-like lifestyle'

হিন্দু /hindu/ 'Hindu' ↔ হিন্দুয়ানী /hinduani/ 'life-style or attitudes of a Hindu'

556. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCobond^hu/_n 'friend of /XC/'

দেশ /deʃ/ 'country' ↔ দেশবন্ধু /deʃobond^hu/ 'friend of the country'

দীন /din/ 'the poor' ↔ দীনবন্ধু /dinobond^hu/ 'friend of the poor'

557. NNSVADSF: /Xa/_n ↔ /Xari/_n 'who makes /Xa/'

পূজা /puja/ 'worship, devotion' ↔ পূজারী /pujari/ 'priest'

শাঁখা /ʃāk^ha/ 'bangle made of conch-shell' ↔ শাঁখারী /ʃāk^hari/ 'artisan involved in making such bangles'

558. NNSVADSF: /Xa/_n ↔ /Xarohi/_n 'passenger of /Xa/'

নৌকা /no^uka/ 'boat' ↔ নৌকারোহী /no^ukarohi/ 'passenger of boat'

রিক্সা /rikʃa/ 'Rikshaw', 'tricycle for transport' ↔ রিক্সারোহী /rikʃarohi/ 'passenger of Rikshaw'

559. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XC^hi/_n 'who seeks to do or to have /XC/'
 স্নান /snaɳ/ 'bath' ↔ স্নানার্থী /snaɳa^hi/ 'who wants to bathe'
 শরণ /ʃɔron/ 'refuge' ↔ শরণার্থী /ʃɔrona^hi/ 'refugee'
560. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XC^yon/_n 'expending /XC/ to some place'
 বন /bon/ 'forest' ↔ বনায়ন /bona^yon/ 'act of planting trees', 'creating new forests'
 নগর /noɡor/ 'city' ↔ নগরায়ন /noɡora^yon/ 'urbanization'
561. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCi/_n 'the activities of /XC/'
 মাস্টার /maʃtar/ 'teacher' ↔ মাস্টারী /maʃtari/ 'teaching'
 ডাকাডাক /dakat/ 'dacoit, robber' ↔ ডাকাতী /dakatⁱ/ 'robbery, banditry'
562. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCi/_n 'a professional of /XC/'
 সেতার /ʃetar/ 'sitar, a musical instrument' ↔ সেতারী /ʃetari/ 'a musician who plays on sitar'
 করাত /korat/ 'a saw' ↔ করাতী /korati/ 'a sawyer'
563. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCikoron/_n 'act of controlling something with /XC/'
 মাস্তান /mastan/ 'a hooligan' ↔ মাস্তানীকরণ /mastanikoron/ 'act of controlling a society or part of it with hooligans'
 সন্ত্রাস /ʃontraʃ/ 'violence' ↔ সন্ত্রাসীকরণ /ʃontraʃikoron/ 'act of controlling a society or part of it with violence'
564. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCima/_n '/XC/-ness'
 নীল /nil/ 'blue' ↔ নীলিমা /nilima/ 'blueness'
 লাল /lal/ 'red' ↔ লালিমা /lalima/ 'redness'
565. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCure/_n 'who professionally deals with /XC/'
 সাপ /ʃap/ 'snake' ↔ সাপুড়ে /ʃapure/ 'snake-charmer'
 কাঠ /kat^h/ 'wood' ↔ কাঠুরে /kat^hure/ 'wood-cutter'
566. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /X^wala/_n '/X/-driver'
 রিকশা /rikʃa/ 'a tricycle without motor' ↔ রিকশাওয়ালা /rikʃa^wala/ 'Rikshaw-puller'
 ভ্যান /vɛn/ 'a tricycle used for transport' ↔ ভ্যানওয়ালা /vɛn^wala/ 'Rikshaw van-puller'
567. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /X^wala/_n '/X/-seller'
 বাদাম /badam/ 'nuts' ↔ বাদামওয়ালা /badam^wala/ 'seller of nuts'
 আলু /alu/ 'potato' ↔ আলুওয়ালা /aluwala/ 'seller of potato'

568. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /X^wala/n 'who has /X/'
 ব্যাঙ্কব্যালেন্স /bɛŋkbɛləns/ 'good bank balance' ↔ ব্যাঙ্কব্যালেন্সওয়ালা /dari^wala/ 'who has a
 good bank balance'
 টাকা /taka/ 'money' ↔ টাকাওয়ালা /taka^wala/ 'rich'
569. NNSVADSF: /Xi/n ↔ /Xikikɔron/n 'act of giving an /Xi/ oriented character'
 রাজনীতি /rajniti/ 'politics' ↔ রাজনীতিকীকরণ /rajnitikikɔron/ 'politicization'
 অর্থনীতি /ɔrt^honiti/ 'politics' ↔ অর্থনীতিকীকরণ /ɔrt^honitikikɔron/, 'act of giving a
 economy-oriented character'
570. NNSVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCkɔmpo/n '/XC/-quake'
 ভূমি /b^humi/ 'earth' ↔ ভূমিকম্প /b^humikɔmpo/ 'earthquake'
 চন্দ্র /cɔndro/ 'moon' ↔ চন্দ্রকম্প /cɔndrokɔmpo/ 'moonquake'
571. NNSVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVkɔr/n 'somebody who does or makes /XV/'
 চিত্র /citro/ 'painting' ↔ চিত্রকর /citrokɔr/ 'painter'
 জাদু /jadu/ 'magic' ↔ জাদুকর /jadukɔr/ 'magician'
572. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xkɔla/n 'art of doing /X/'
 চিত্র /citro/ 'drawing' ↔ চিত্রকলা /citrokɔla/ 'art of drawing'
 কাম /kam/ 'sex' ↔ কামকলা /kamkɔla/ 'art of making sex'
573. NNSVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVkarok/n 'who does /XV/'
 আমদানী /amdani/ 'import' ↔ আমদানীকারক /amdanikarok/ 'importer'
 রপ্তানী /rɔptani/ 'export' ↔ রপ্তানীকারক /roptanikarok/ 'exporter'
574. NNSVADSF: /XC/C_{-syllab}/n ↔ /XC/C_{-syllab}kari/n 'who does /XC/C_{-syllab}/'
 ছিনতাই /c^hinta^j/ 'snatching' ↔ ছিনতাইকারী /c^hinta^jkari/ 'snatcher-thief'
 আবেদন /abedon/ 'application' ↔ আবেদনকারী /abedonkari/ 'applicant'
575. NNSVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCkuci/n 'small flakes of /XC/'
 বরফ /borof/ 'ice' ↔ বরফকুচি /borofkuci/ 'small flakes of ice'
 পেঁয়াজ /pɛaɟ/ 'onion' ↔ পেঁয়াজকুচি /pɛaɟkuci/ 'small flakes or chips of onion'
576. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xkrom/n 'the order in which /X/ takes place'
 কার্য /karɟo/ 'work' ↔ কার্যক্রম /karɟokrom/ 'the chronological order of some work'
 জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ জীবনক্রম /jibonkrom/ 'the chronological order or life'

577. NNSVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVkriti/_n 'the praiseworthy work of /XV/'
 কাব্য /kabbo/ 'poetry' ↔ কাব্যকৃতি /kabbokriti/ 'poetical works'
 সাহিত্য /ʃahitto/ 'literature' ↔ সাহিত্যকৃতি /ʃahittokriti/ 'literary works'
578. NNSVADSF: /XVIV_{-syllab}/_n ↔ /XVIV_{-syllab}/k^hana/_n 'working place of /XVIV_{-syllab}/'
 ডাক্তার /daktar/ 'doctor' ↔ ডাক্তারখানা /daktark^hana/ 'dispensary of a doctor'
 কসাই /kɔʃa^j/ 'butcher' ↔ কসাইখানা /kɔʃa^jk^hana/ 'butchery, butcher's shop'
579. NNSVADSF: /XVIV_{-syllab}/_n ↔ /XVIV_{-syllab}kk^hɔ^y/_n 'decay of /XVIV_{-syllab}/'
 ভূমি /b^humi/ 'soil' ↔ ভূমিক্ষয় /b^humikk^hɔ^y/ 'loss of soil'
 আয়ু /a^yu/ 'life-time', 'life-span' ↔ আয়ুক্সয় /a^yukk^hɔ^y/ 'loss of time to live'
580. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xk^hagi/_{n/adj} 'a woman superstitiously blamed for having caused the death of her own /X/'
 ভাতার /b^hatar/ 'husband' ↔ ভাতারখাগী /b^hatark^hagi/ 'a woman superstitiously blamed to cause the death of her husband'
 ছেলে /c^hele/ 'son' ↔ ছেলেখাগী /c^helek^hagi/ 'a woman superstitiously blamed to cause the death of her son'
581. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xk^hor/_n 'who has the bad habit of taking /X/'
 মদ /mod/ 'wine, alcohol' ↔ মদখোর /modk^hor/ 'who (often) drinks of alcohol'
 গাঁজা /gāja/ 'hashish' ↔ গাঁজাখোর /gājak^hor/ 'who smokes hashish'
582. NNSVADSF: /XCIV_{-syllab}/_n ↔ /XCIV_{-syllab}k^hepon/_n 'act of passing /XCIV_{-syllab}/ for nothing'
 কাল /kal/ 'time' ↔ কালক্ষেপণ /kalk^hepon/ 'act of passing time'
 সময় /ʃomɔ^y/ 'time' ↔ সময়ক্ষেপণ /ʃomɔ^yk^hepon/ 'act of passing time'
583. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCg^haṭa/_n 'a place where /XC/ anchors'
 জাহাজ /jahaj/ 'ship' ↔ জাহাজঘাটা /jahajg^haṭa/ 'port'
 লঞ্চ /lonc/ 'big engine boat' ↔ লঞ্চঘাটা /loncg^haṭa/ 'small port for big engine boats'
584. NNSVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVgiri/_n 'act of working as /XV/'
 গোয়েন্দা /goenda/ 'detective' ↔ গোয়েন্দাগিরি /goendagiri/ 'work of a detective'
 কেরানী /kerani/ 'clerk' ↔ কেরানীগিরি /keranigiri/ 'clerk-ship, work of a clerk'
585. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCci/_n 'person in charge of /XC/'
 মশাল /mɔʃal/ 'torch, flambeau' ↔ মশালচী /mɔʃalci/ 'torch-bearer'

কামান /kaman/ 'canon' ↔ কামানচী /kamanci/ 'artilleryman'

586. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xjibi/n 'one who professionally deals with /X/'

আইন /a^ɟn/ 'law' ↔ আইনজীবী /a^ɟnjibi/ 'lawyer'

মৎস্য /motʃo/ 'fish' ↔ মৎস্যজীবী /motʃojibi/ 'fisherman'

587. NNSVADSF: /Xʃ/n ↔ /Xʃta/n 'who gives /Xʃ/'

উপদেশ /upodeʃ/ 'advice' ↔ উপদেষ্টা /upodeʃta/ 'adviser'

আদেশ /adeʃ/ 'order' ↔ আদেষ্টা /adeʃta/ 'somebody who gives orders'

588. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xdubi/n 'sinking of /X/'

জাহাজ /jahaj/ 'ship' ↔ জাহাজডুবি /jahajdubi/ 'shipwreck'

নৌকা /no^ɟka/ 'boat' ↔ নৌকাডুবি /no^ɟkadubi/ 'boat wreck'

589. NNSVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVtto/n 'quality of /XV/'

ব্যক্তি /bɛkti/ 'person' ↔ ব্যক্তিত্ব /bɛktitto/ 'personality'

প্রভু /prob^hu/ 'master' ↔ প্রভুত্ব /prob^hutto/ 'predominance, authority'

590. NNSVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVta/n '/XV/-hood'

প্রার্থী /prarthi/ 'candidate' ↔ প্রার্থিতা /prarthita/ 'candidacy'

বন্ধু /bond^hu/ 'friend' ↔ বন্ধুতা /bond^huta/ 'friendship'

591. NNSVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVtro^y/n 'the three /XV/s'

বন্ধু /bond^hu/ 'friend' ↔ বন্ধুত্রয় /bond^hutro^y/ 'the two friends'

কন্যা /konna/ 'daughter' ↔ কন্যাত্রয় /konnatro^y/ 'the three daughters'

592. NNSVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCdorʃi/n_{adj} 'who can see /XC/'

ত্রিকাল /trikal/ 'tree divisions of time: present, past and future' ↔ ত্রিকালদর্শী

/trikaldorʃi/ 'somebody who can see present, past and future'

ভবিষ্যৎ /b^hobiʃʃot/ 'future' ↔ ভবিষ্যৎদর্শী /b^hobiʃʃotdorʃi/ 'somebody who can see the future'

593. NNSVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVddo^y/n 'the two /XV/s'

কর্মকর্তা /kɔrmokorta/ 'officer' ↔ কর্মকর্তাদ্বয় /kɔrmokortaddo^y/ 'the two officers'

মন্ত্রী /montri/ 'minister' ↔ মন্ত্রীদের /montriddo^y/ 'the two ministers'

594. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xdan/n '/X/-holder'

বাতি /bati/ 'lamp' ↔ বাতিদান /batidan/ 'lamp stand'

আতর /ator/ 'attar or Otto' ↔ আতরদান /atordan/ 'container for attar or Otto'

595. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCdani/_n 'XC-holder'

আতর /ator/ 'attar or Otto' ↔ আতরদানী /atordani/ 'container for attar or Otto'

কলম /kolom/ 'pen' ↔ কলমদানী /kolomdani/ 'pen-case, pen-stand'

596. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xdar/_n 'who has /X/'

দোকান /dokan/ 'shop' ↔ দোকানদার /dokandar/ 'shop-keeper'

জমি /jomi/ 'land' ↔ জমিদার /jomidar/ 'land-lord'

597. NNSVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVddar/_n 'entrance/gate of /XV/'

স্বর্গ /ʃorgo/ 'heaven' ↔ স্বর্গদ্বার /ʃorgoddar/ 'entrance of heaven'

দুর্গ /durgo/ 'fort' ↔ দুর্গদ্বার /durgoddar/ 'entrance of a fort'

598. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCdar/_n 'entrance/gate of /XC/'

নগর /nogor/ 'heaven' ↔ নগরদ্বার /nogordar/ 'entrance of a city'

কুটির /kuṭir/ 'hut' ↔ কুটিরদ্বার /kuṭirdar/ 'entrance of a hut'

599. NNSVADSF: /Xo/_n ↔ /Xodd^hoṇi/_n 'sounds made with /Xo/'

শঙ্খ /ʃoŋk^ho/ 'conch shell' ↔ শঙ্খধ্বনি /ʃoŋk^hodd^hoṇi/ 'sound of blowing a conch shell'

বংশী /boŋʃi/ 'flute' ↔ বংশীধ্বনি /boŋʃidd^hoṇi/ 'sound of a flute'

600. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xnobiʃ/_{n/adj} 'who does /X/'

নকল /nokol/ 'copy, transcription' ↔ নকলনবীশ /nokolnobiʃ/ 'a professional copyist or transcriber'

শিক্ষা /ʃikk^ha/ 'learning, education' ↔ শিক্ষানবীশ /ʃikk^hanobiʃ/ 'apprentice, novice'

601. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xnama/_n 'a written document of /X/'

নিকা /nika/ 'Islamic marriage' ↔ নিকাহনামা /nikanama/ 'document of Islamic marriage'

তালাক /talak/ 'Islamic divorce' ↔ তালাকনামা /talaknama/ 'document of Islamic divorce'

602. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xnaʃ/_n 'loss of /X/'

স্বাস্থ্য /ʃast^ho/ 'health' ↔ স্বাস্থ্যনাশ /ʃast^honaʃ/ 'loss of health'

জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ জীবননাশ /jibonnaʃ/ 'death'

603. NNSVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVnigrōho/_n 'torture/oppression of /XV/'

নারী /nari/ 'woman' ↔ নারীনিগ্রহ /narinigrōho/ 'torture/oppression of woman'

শিশু /ʃiʃu/ 'children' ↔ শিশুনিগ্রহ /ʃiʃunigrōho/ 'torture/oppression of children'

604. NNSVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVnibaʃ/_n 'hostel of /XV/'
 মহিলা /mohila/ 'women' ↔ মহিলানিবাস /mohilanibaʃ/ 'woman hostel'
 ছাত্রী /c^hatri/ 'student' ↔ ছাত্রীনিবাস /c^hatrinibaʃ/ 'female student's hostel'
605. NASVADSF: /Xa/_n ↔ /Xanurag/_n 'eagerness for /Xa/'
 বিদ্যা /bidya/ 'learning' ↔ বিদ্যানুরাগ /bidyanurag/ 'desire for learning'
 শিক্ষা /ʃikk^ha/ 'education' ↔ শিক্ষানুরাগ /ʃikk^hanurag/ 'desire for education'
606. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xpɔna/_n '/X/-like attitude'
 গিন্নী /ginni/ 'mistress of a house' ↔ গিন্নীপনা /ginnipɔna/ 'duties and styles of a house-wife'
 কাঙাল /kaŋal/ 'very poor' ↔ কাঙালপনা /kaŋalpɔna/ 'very poor-like attitude'
607. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xpont^hi/_{n/adj} 'who supports /X/'
 সরকার /ʃorkar/ 'government' ↔ সরকারপত্নী /ʃorkarpont^hi/ 'who supports government'
 মাদ্রাসা /madraʃa/ 'Islamic school' ↔ মাদ্রাসাপত্নী /madraʃapont^hi/ 'supporters of Islamic school'
608. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xponji/_{n/adj} 'an ordered collection of /X/'
 দিন /din/ 'day' ↔ /dinponji/ দিনপঞ্জি 'calendar'
 কর্ম /kɔrmo/ 'work' ↔ কর্মপঞ্জি /kɔrmoni/ 'list of works'
609. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xpat/_n 'act of falling/loosing /X/'
 রক্ত /rokt/ 'blood' ↔ রক্তপাত /roktopat/ 'bloodshed'
 জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ জীবনপাত /jibonpat/ 'sacrifice of life''
610. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xbɔr/_n 'respectable /X/'
 বন্ধু /bond^hu/ 'friend' ↔ বন্ধুবর /bond^hubɔr/ 'respectable friend'
 বীর /bir/ 'hero' ↔ বীরবর /birbɔr/ 'respectable hero'
611. NNSVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVpa^yi/_{n/adj} 'who swallows /XV/ in his body'
 সুরা /ʃura/ 'alcohol' ↔ সুরাপায়ী /ʃurapa^yi/ 'consumer of alcohol'
 রক্ত /rokt/ 'blood' ↔ রক্তপায়ী /roktopa^yi/ 'blood-sucker'
612. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xpremi/_n 'who admires /X/'
 মানব /manob/ 'human being' ↔ মানবপ্রেমী /manobpremi/ 'who loves human beings'

পুষ্প /puʃpo/ 'flower' ↔ পুষ্পপ্রেমী /puʃpopremi/ 'admirer of flowers'

613. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xferot/n 'who has returned from /X/'

বিলাত /bilat/ 'England' ↔ বিলাতফেরত /bilatferot/ 'back from England'

আমেরিকা /amerika/ 'flower' ↔ আমেরিতাফেরত /amerikaferot/ 'back from America'

614. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xbotta/n 'X/-ity'

সার /ʃar/ 'substance' ↔ সারবত্তা /ʃarbotta/ 'substantiality'

বীর্য /birjo/ 'vigour' ↔ বীর্যবত্তা /birjobotta/ 'vigorousness'

615. NNSVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVbad/n 'theory/motto of /XV/'

আদর্শ /adorʃo/ 'ideal' ↔ আদর্শবাদ /adorʃobad/ 'idealism'

সাম্য /ʃammo/ 'equality' ↔ সাম্যবাদ /ʃammobad/ 'communism'

616. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xbad/n 'theory by /X/'

মার্কস /marks/ 'Carl Marx' ↔ মার্কসবাদ /marksbad/ 'theory by Karl Marx'

মাও /mao/ 'Mao Tse Tung' ↔ মাওবাদ /maobad/ 'so-called theory by Mao Tse Tung'

617. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xbaj/n_{adj} 'skilled in /X/-related activities'

ধাপ্পা /d^happa/ 'bluff' ↔ ধাপ্পাবাজ /dhappabaj/ 'bluffer'

তলোয়ার /toloar/ 'sword' ↔ তলোয়ারবাজ /toloarabaj/ 'a person of skill with a sword'

618. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xbaj/n 'who is by nature inclined to /X/'

দুর্নীতি /durniti/ 'corruption' ↔ দুর্নীতিবাজ /durnitibaj/ 'corrupted'

ফাঁকি /fāki/ 'eye-wash', 'evasion' ↔ ফাঁকিবাজ /fākibaj/ 'deceitful', 'evasive'

619. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xbaʃi/n_{adj} 'who lives in /X/'

ঢাকা /d^haka/ 'city of Dhaka' ↔ ঢাকাবাসী /d^hakabaʃi/ 'inhabitants of Dhaka'

মন্ট্রিয়ল /monʈriol/ 'city of Montreal' ↔ মন্ট্রিয়ল /monʈriolbaʃi/ 'inhabitants of Montreal'

620. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xbid/n 'expert in /X/'

অর্থনীতি /ort^honiti/ 'economics' ↔ অর্থনীতিবিদ /ort^honitibid/ 'economist'

রসায়ন /roʃa^yon/ 'chemistry' ↔ রসায়নবিদ /roʃa^yonbid/ 'chemist'

621. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xbinnaʃ/n 'orderly arrangement of /X/'

নগর /nogor/ 'city' ↔ নগরবিন্যাস /nogorbinnaʃ/ 'arrangement of different areas in a city'

বাক্য /bakko/ 'sentence' ↔ বাক্যবিন্যাস /bakkobinnaʃ/ 'syntax'

622. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xbiʃeʃ/n 'a kind of /X/'
 পোষাক /poʃak/ 'dress' ↔ পোষাকবিশেষ /poʃakbiʃeʃ/ 'a kind of dress'
 খাদ্য /k^haddo/ 'food' ↔ খাদ্যবিশেষ /k^haddobiʃeʃ/ 'a kind of food'
623. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xbistar/n 'expansion of /X/'
 আধিপত্য /ad^hipotto/ 'suzerainty' ↔ আধিপত্যবিস্তার /ad^hipottobistar/ 'expansion of suzerainty'
 প্রভাব /prob^hab/ 'influence' ↔ প্রভাববিস্তার /prob^habbistar/ 'expansion of influence'
624. NNSVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCbeta/n 'expert in /XC/'
 ভূগোল /b^hugol/ 'geography' ↔ ভূগোলবেত্তা /b^hugolbeta/ 'expert in geography', 'geographer'
 ব্যাকরণ /bɛ(a)kɔron/ 'grammar' ↔ ব্যাকরণবেত্তা /bɛ(a)kɔronbeta/ 'expert in grammar'
625. NNSVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVbɔ^jro/n 'hostility between persons of different /XV/'
 জাতি /jati/ 'race' ↔ জাতিবৈর /jatibɔ^jro/ 'racism', 'racial hatred'
 ধর্ম /d^hormo/ 'religion' ↔ ধর্মবৈর /d^hormobɔ^jro/ 'communal feeling based on the difference of religion'
626. NNSVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVb^hɔŋgo/n 'breach/end of /XV/'
 স্বপ্ন /ʃɔpno/ 'dream' ↔ স্বপ্নভঙ্গ /ʃɔpnob^hɔŋgo/ 'end of dream'
 মোহ /moho/ 'mental obsession' ↔ মোহভঙ্গ /mohob^hɔŋgo/ 'end of mental obsession'
627. NNSVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVb^hronʃo/n 'loss of /XV/'
 চিত্ত /citto/ 'mind' ↔ চিত্তভ্রংশ /cittob^hronʃo/ 'dementia'
 স্মৃতি /srīti/ 'memory' ↔ স্মৃতিভ্রংশ /srītib^hronʃo/ 'dementia'
628. NNSVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVmotta/n 'demonstration of /XV/'
 শক্তি /ʃokti/ 'power', 'force' ↔ শক্তিমত্তা /ʃoktimotta/ 'demonstration of power'
 বুদ্ধি /budd^hi/ 'intelligence' ↔ বুদ্ধিমত্তা /budd^himotta/ 'demonstration of intelligence'
629. NNSVADSF: /XC/n ↔ /XCjada/n 'son of /XC/'
 নবাব /nobab/ 'Nabab' ↔ নবাবজাদা /nobabjada/ 'son of a Muslim king'
 পীর /pir/ 'Muslim guru' ↔ পীরজাদা /pirjada/ 'son of a Muslim guru'

630. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xjog/n 'act of attaining salvation through /X/ according to the Hindu philosophy'

জ্ঞান /gɛ(a)n/ 'knowledge' ↔ জ্ঞানযোগ /gɛ(a)njog/ 'act of attaining salvation through search of knowledge'

কর্ম /kɔrmo/ 'action', 'work' ↔ কর্মযোগ /kɔrmojog/ 'act of attaining salvation through action'

631. NNADSF: /X/n ↔ /Xjog/n 'astrological possibility of /X/'

প্রাপ্তি /prapti/ 'act of obtaining' ↔ প্রাপ্তিযোগ /praptijog/ 'possibility of obtaining something'

ভ্রমণ /bʰromon/ 'travel' ↔ ভ্রমণযোগ /bʰromonjog/ 'possibility of finding an occasion of travel'

632. NNSVADSF: /Xa/n ↔ /Xarto/n 'who has /Xa/'

ক্ষুধা /kʰudʰa/ 'hunger' ↔ ক্ষুধার্ত /kʰudʰarto/ 'hungry'

তৃষ্ণা /triʃna/ 'thirst' ↔ তৃষ্ণার্ত /triʃnarto/ 'thirsty'

633. NNSVADSF: /Xa/n ↔ /Xartʰi/n 'who undergoes /Xa/'

পরীক্ষা /porikkʰa/ 'examination' ↔ পরীক্ষার্থী /porikkʰartʰi/ 'examinee'

শিক্ষা /ʃikkʰa/ 'education' ↔ শিক্ষার্থী /ʃikkʰartʰi/ 'student'

634. NNADSF: /XC/V_{-syllab}/n ↔ /XC/V_{-syllab}rodʰ/n 'resistance against /XC/V_{-syllab}/'

ভাঙন /bʰāgon/ 'breaking', 'dismantling' ↔ ভাঙনরোধ /bʰāgonrodʰ/ 'hindering or resisting the breaking or dismantling'

অপচয় /apɔɔʲ/ 'wastage' ↔ অপচয়রোধ /ɔpɔɔʲrodʰ/ 'hindering or resisting the wastage'

635. NNSVADSF: /Xa/n ↔ /Xaloʲ/n 'building in which /Xa/ is given'

শিক্ষা /ʃikkʰa/ 'education, learning' ↔ শিক্ষালয় /ʃikkʰaloʲ/ 'educational institution'

বিদ্যা /bidda/ 'education, learning' ↔ বিদ্যালয় /biddaloʲ/ 'educational institution'

636. NNSVADSF: /Xa/n ↔ /Xali/n 'colour of /Xa/'

সোনা /ʃona/ 'gold' ↔ সোনালী /ʃonali/ 'colour of gold'

রূপা /rupa/ 'silver' ↔ রূপালী /rupali/ 'colour of silver'

637. NNSVADSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xɔlok/n 'the realm of /Xo/'

স্বর্গ /ʃɔrgo/ 'heaven' ↔ স্বর্গলোক /ʃɔrgolok/ 'the realm of heaven'

মর্ত /morto/ 'earth' ↔ মর্তলোক /mortolok/ 'the realm of earth'

638. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xlok/_n 'the realm of /X/'
 বিষ্ণু /biʃnu/ 'god Vishnu' ↔ বিষ্ণুলোক /biʃnulok/ 'the realm of the god Vishnu'
 যম /jom/ 'god of death' ↔ যমলোক /jomlok/ 'the realm of the god of death'
639. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃala/_n 'place for /X/'
 হাতি /hati/ 'elephant' ↔ হাতিশালা /hatiʃala/ 'stable where elephants are kept'
 রন্ধন /rɔndʰon/ 'act of cooking' ↔ রন্ধনশালা /rɔndʰonʃala/ 'kitchen'
640. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃɔŋkɔr/_n 'mixture of /X/'
 বর্ণ /borno/ 'caste' ↔ বর্ণসঙ্কর /bornoʃɔŋkɔr/ 'mixture of caste'
 ধাতু /dʰatu/ 'metal' ↔ ধাতুসঙ্কর /dʰatuʃɔŋkɔr/ 'mixture of metal'
641. NNSVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVʃɔŋstʰan/_n 'act of providing /XV/'
 কর্ম /kɔrmo/ 'work' ↔ কর্মসংস্থান /kɔrmoʃɔŋstʰan/ 'employment'
 অন্ন /ɔnno/ 'cooked rice, food' ↔ অন্নসংস্থান /ɔnnosɔŋstʰan/ 'act of procuring food, earning one's livelihood'
642. NNSVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVʃumari/_n 'census of /XV/'
 বৃক্ষ /brikkʰo/ 'tree' ↔ বৃক্ষসুমারী /brikkʰoʃumari/ 'governmental program of counting of all the trees of a certain area'
 পশু /poʃu/ 'animal' ↔ পশুসুমারী /poʃusumari/ 'governmental program of counting all the animals of a certain area'
643. NNSVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVʃebi/_{n/adj} 'who consumes /XV/'
 গঞ্জিকা /gonjika/ 'hashish' ↔ গঞ্জিকাসেবী /gonjikaʃebi/ 'who consumes hashish'
 বায়ু /baʷu/ 'air' ↔ বায়ুসেবী /baʷuʃebi/ 'people who goes out for a walk to breathe fresh air'
644. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XChani/_n 'destruction or loss of /XC/'
 প্রাণ /pran/ 'life' ↔ প্রাণহানি /pranhani/ 'destruction of life'
 ফসল /foʃol/ 'crop' ↔ ফসলহানি /foʃolhani/ 'destruction of crop'
645. NNSVADCF: /XC/_n ↔ /pɔrXCa/_n 'foreign /XC/ attached to something'
 গাছ /gacʰ/ 'tree' ↔ পরগাছা /pɔrgacʰa/ 'parasitic plant'
 চুল /cul/ 'hair' ↔ পরচুলা /pɔrcula/ 'wig'
646. NASVADCF: /CVC/_n ↔ /ɛkCVCa/_n 'something that has one /CVC/'
 চাল /cal/ 'roof' ↔ একচালা /ɛkcala/ 'village house with one roof'

ভার /tar/ 'string' ↔ একতারা /ektara/ 'musical instrument with one string'

647. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /ɔntorCX/_n '/CX/ directed towards the inside'

দর্শন /dɔrʃon/ 'act of seeing' ↔ অন্তর্দর্শন /ɔntordɔrʃon/ 'introspection'

দৃষ্টি /driʃti/ 'act of seeing', 'view' ↔ অন্তর্দৃষ্টি /antordriʃti/ 'inter sense'

648. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /ɔnguliCX/_n '/CX/ given by using one's fingers'

নির্দেশ /nirdeʃ/ 'order' ↔ অঙ্গুলিনির্দেশ /ɔngulinirdeʃ/ 'order given with one's finger'

সঙ্কেত /ʃɔŋket/ 'sign' ↔ অঙ্গুলিসঙ্কেত /ɔnguliʃɔŋket/ 'sign made with one's finger'

649. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /akaʃCX/_n '/CX/ of sky'

পথ /pɔth/ 'way, road' ↔ আকাশপথ /akaʃpɔth/ 'air-route'

দস্যু /doʃʃu/ 'bandit' ↔ আকাশদস্যু /akaʃdoʃʃu/ 'sky-pirate'

650. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /arokk^haCX/_n '/CX/ of defense'

বিভাগ /bib^hag/ 'section', 'department' ↔ আরক্ষাবিভাগ /arokk^habib^hag/ 'department/ section of defense'

বাহিনী /bahini/ 'force' ↔ আরক্ষাবাহিনী /arokk^habahini/ 'defense force'

651. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /artoCX/_n '/CX/ of a suffering person'

চিত্কার /citkar/ 'shout' ↔ আর্তচিত্কার /artocitkar/ 'shout of a suffering person'

স্বর /ʃɔr/ 'voice' ↔ আর্তস্বর /artoʃɔr/ 'voice of a suffering person'

652. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /alokCX/_n '/CX/ made with light'

চিত্র /citro/ 'picture' ↔ আলোকচিত্র /alokcitro/ 'photograph'

সঙ্কেত /ʃɔŋket/ 'sign' ↔ আলোকসঙ্কেত /alokʃɔŋket/ 'sign made with light'

653. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /uccoCX/_n 'higher /CX/'

শিক্ষা /ʃikk^ha/ 'education' ↔ উচ্চশিক্ষা /uccoʃikk^ha/ 'higher education'

বিদ্যালয় /biddalo^y/ 'school' ↔ উচ্চবিদ্যালয় /uccobiddalo^y/ 'high school'

654. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /uttorCX/_n '/CX/ of future'

কাল /kaɭ/ 'time, period, season' ↔ উত্তরকাল /uttorkaɭ/ 'future'

পুরুষ /puruʃ/ 'man, generation' ↔ উত্তরপুরুষ /uttorpuruʃ/ 'succeeding generation'

655. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /urd^hoCX/_n '/CX/ towards the top'

গতি /goti/ 'speed' ↔ উর্ধ্বগতি /urd^hogoti/ 'speed towards the top', 'increase'

সীমা /ʃima/ 'limit' ↔ উর্ধ্বসীমা /urd^hoʃima/ 'highest limit'

656. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /rituCX/_n 'CX/ related to the menstrual period'
 স্নান /sna/ 'bath' ↔ ঋতুস্নান /ritusna/ 'act of bathing on the fourth day of one's
 menstrual period'
 কাল /ka/ 'period', 'time' ↔ ঋতুকাল /rituka/ 'the menstrual period'
657. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /kɔt^haCX/_n 'CX/ related to speech'
 সাহিত্য /ʃahitto/ 'literature' ↔ কথাসাহিত্য /kɔt^haʃahitto/ 'novel writing'
 শিল্পী /ʃilpi/ 'artist' ↔ কথাশিল্পী /kɔt^haʃilpi/ 'novelist'
658. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /kɔnt^hoCCX/_n 'CX/ related to throat'
 ধ্বনি /d^honi/ 'sound' ↔ কণ্ঠধ্বনি /kɔnt^hodd^honi/ 'voice'
 স্বর /ʃɔr/ 'sound' ↔ কণ্ঠস্বর /kɔnt^hoʃɔr/ 'voice'
659. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /kakCX/_n 'light or fade /CX/'
 স্নান /sna/ 'bath' ↔ কাকস্নান /kaksna/ 'a brief or careless bath'
 জ্যোৎস্না /jo(t)sna/ 'sound' ↔ কাকজ্যোৎস্না /kakjo(t)sna / 'fade moonlight'
660. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /kabboCX/_n 'CX/ of poetry'
 রস /rɔʃ/ 'pleasure' ↔ কাব্যরস /kabborɔʃ/ 'pleasure deriving from poetry'
 গুণ /gun/ 'quality' ↔ কাব্যগুণ /kabbogun/ 'poetical quality'
661. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /kāt̪aCX/_n 'CX/ of thorns or prickles'
 তার /tar/ 'wire' ↔ কাঁটাতার /kāt̪atar/ 'bar-bed wire'
 বন /bon/ 'forest' ↔ কাঁটাবন /kāt̪abon/ 'hedge full of prickly shrubs'
662. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /karaCX/_n 'CX/ related to prison'
 দণ্ড /donḍo/ 'punishment', 'sentence' ↔ কারাদণ্ড /karadonḍo/ 'sentence of
 imprisonment'
 কর্মকর্তা kormokorta/ 'officer' ↔ কারাকর্মকর্তা /karakormokorta/ 'government officer in
 charge of prison', 'jailor'
663. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /kaɭCX/_n 'CX/ that brings death'
 সাপ /ʃap/ 'snake' ↔ কালসাপ /kaɭʃap/ 'snake that causes death'
 ঘুম /g^hum/ 'sleep' ↔ কালঘুম /kaɭg^hum/ 'sleep that ends in death'
664. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /kuloCX/_n 'CX/ of the family'
 গুরু /guru/ 'Guru' ↔ কুলগুরু /kuloguru/ 'Guru of the family'
 দেবতা /debota/ 'god' ↔ কুলদেবতা /kulodebota/ 'god of the family'

665. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /krɔmoCX/_n 'continuous /CX/'
 বিকাশ /bikaʃ/ 'development' ↔ ক্রমবিকাশ /krɔmobikaʃ/ 'gradual development'
 বৃদ্ধি /bridd^{hi}/ 'increase' ↔ ক্রমবৃদ্ধি /krɔmobridd^{hi}/ 'gradual increase'
666. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /k^hɔndɔCX/_n '/CX/ confined in a very limited area'
 প্রলয় /prolo^y/ 'dissolution' ↔ ঋণপ্রলয় /k^hɔndɔprolo^y/ 'a partial destruction'
 যুদ্ধ /judd^ho/ 'battle' ↔ ঋণযুদ্ধ /k^hɔndɔjudd^ho/ 'strife', 'small battle'
667. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /k^heaCX/_n '/CX/ for crossing a river'
 নৌকা /no^uka/ 'boat' ↔ খেয়ানৌকা /k^heano^uka/ 'boat used for ferrying between two banks
 of a river'
 মাঝি /maj^{hi}/ 'boatman' ↔ খেয়ামাঝি /k^heamaj^{hi}/ 'boatman who does ferrying between
 two banks of a river'
668. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /gɔɔCX/_n '/CX/ of elephant'
 দন্ত /dɔnto/ 'tooth' ↔ গজদন্ত /gɔɔdɔnto/ 'tusk'
 মুক্তা /mukta/ 'pearl' ↔ গজমুক্তা /gɔɔjomukta/ 'pearl that is believed to have shed from
 an elephant head (according to fables)'
669. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /goddoCX/_n '/CX/ of prose'
 ছন্দ /c^hɔndo/ 'poetical meter' ↔ গদ্যছন্দ /goddoc^hɔndo/ 'prose-like poetical meter'
 কবিতা /kobita/ 'poetry' ↔ গদ্যকবিতা /goddokobita/ 'poetry written in prose'
670. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /gɔrb^hoCX/_n '/CX/ of pregnancy'
 যন্ত্রণা /jɔntrɔna/ 'pain' ↔ গর্ভযন্ত্রণা /gɔrb^hoɔntrɔna/ 'labour-pain'
 কাল /ka/ 'time', 'period' ↔ গর্ভকাল /gɔrb^hoka/ 'period of pregnancy'
671. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /gaŋCX/_n '/CX/ found in coastal areas'
 চিল /cil/ 'hawk' ↔ গাঙচিল /gaŋcil/ 'sea-gull'
 শালিক /ʃalik/ 'a kind of bird' ↔ গাঙশালিক /gaŋʃalik/ 'such bird found in coastal areas'
672. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /guruCX/_n '/CX/ of guru'
 গৃহ /griho/ 'house' ↔ গুরুগৃহ /gurugriho/ 'house of guru'
 বাক্য /bakko/ 'sentence', 'words' ↔ গুরুবাক্য /gurubakko/ 'words of guru'
673. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /guruCX/_n '/CX/ for guru'
 ভক্তি /b^hokti/ 'devotion' ↔ গুরুভক্তি /gurub^hokti/ 'devotion for guru'

দক্ষিণা /dokk^hina/ 'money given as a token of respect' ↔ গুরুদক্ষিণা /gurudokk^hina/
'money given to guru as a token of respect'

674. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /guruCX/_n 'excessively big /CX/'
দণ্ড /dɔndɔ/ 'punishment' ↔ গুরুদণ্ড /gurudɔndɔ/ 'heavy punishment'
ভার /b^har/ 'load', 'responsibility' ↔ গুরুভার /gurub^har/ 'high responsibility'

675. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /grihoCX/_n '/CX/ done in the house'
কার্য /karjɔ/ 'work' ↔ গৃহকার্য /grihokarjɔ/ 'domestic work'
যুদ্ধ /judd^ho/ 'battle', 'war' ↔ গৃহযুদ্ধ /grihojudd^ho/ 'civil war'

676. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /grihoCX/_n '/CX/ of house'
দেবতা /debota/ 'god' ↔ গৃহদেবতা /grihodebota/ 'god of the house'
শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hok/ 'teacher' ↔ গৃহশিক্ষক /grihoʃikk^hok/ 'house tutor'

677. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /golapCX/_n '/CX/ of rose'
বাগান /bagan/ 'garden' ↔ গোলাপবাগান /golabbagan/ 'garden with roses'
জল /jɔl/ 'water' ↔ গোলাপজল /golabjɔl/ 'rose water'

678. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /cɔkroCX/_n 'circular /CX/'
রেল /rel/ 'railway' ↔ চক্ররেল /cɔkrorel/ 'circular railway'
বুহ /buho/ 'line of battle' ↔ চক্রবুহ /cakrobuh/ 'wheel-shaped battle order'

679. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /caCX/_n '/CX/ of tea'
পাতা /pata/ 'leaves' ↔ চাপাতা /capata/ 'tea-leaves'
চামচ /camoc/ 'spoon' ↔ চা-চামচ /cacamoc/ 'tea-spoon'

680. NNADPJ: /X/_n ↔ /c^hatroX/_n '/X/ of student'
আন্দোলন /andolon/ 'movement' ↔ ছাত্রআন্দোলন /catroandolon/ 'student movement'
জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ ছাত্রজীবন /c^hatrojibon/ 'student life'

681. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /c^hagCX/_n '/CX/ of goat'
শিশু /ʃiʃu/ 'child' ↔ ছাগশিশু /c^hagʃiʃu/ 'kid'
দুগ্ধ /dugd^ho/ 'milk' ↔ ছাগদুগ্ধ /c^hagdugd^ho/ 'goat's milk'

682. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /jɔnmɔCX/_n '/CX/ of birth'
দিন /din/ 'day' ↔ জন্মদিন /jɔnmɔdin/ 'date of birth', 'birthday'
ভূমি /b^humi/ 'land' ↔ জন্মভূমি /jɔnmɔb^humi/ 'native land', 'mother land'

683. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /jɔnɔnCX/_n 'CX/ of procreation'
 কোষ /koʃ/ 'cell' ↔ জনকোষ /jɔnɔnkoʃ/ 'reproductive cell'
 শক্তি /ʃokti/ 'power', 'capacity' ↔ জনশক্তি /jɔnɔnʃokti/ 'capacity of procreation'
684. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /jɔpCX/_n 'CX/ of prayer'
 মালা /mala/ 'garland' ↔ জপমালা /jɔpmala/ 'chalet'
 মন্ত্র /montro/ 'incantation', 'esoteric words' ↔ জপমন্ত্র /jɔpontro/ 'esoteric words to be recited during prayer'
685. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /jɔroCX/_n 'inanimate /CX/'
 পদার্থ /podart^ho/ 'matter' ↔ জড়পদার্থ /jɔropodart^ho/ 'inanimate matter'
 জগৎ /jɔgot/ 'body' ↔ জড়জগৎ /jɔrojgot/ 'inanimate body'
686. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /jɔroCX/_n 'CX/ of inanimate bodies'
 বিজ্ঞান /biggan/ 'science' ↔ জড়বিজ্ঞান /jɔrobigan/ 'physical or natural science'
 বিদ্যা /bid̪a/ 'know-how', 'knowledge' ↔ জড়বিদ্যা /jɔrobidda/ 'physical or natural science'
687. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /jiboCX/_n 'CX/ of living beings'
 বিজ্ঞান /biggan/ 'science' ↔ জীববিজ্ঞান /jibobigan/ 'biology'
 বিদ্যা /bid̪a/ 'know-how', 'knowledge' ↔ জীববিদ্যা /jibobidda/ 'biology'
688. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /jatCX/_n 'CX/ of the cast/species'
 ব্যবসা /beɔbʃa/ 'business' ↔ জাতব্যবসা /jatbeɔbʃa/ 'business of a particular cast'
 ধর্ম /d^hɔrmo/ 'religion', 'nature' ↔ জাতধর্ম /jatted^hɔrmo/ 'religion or nature of a particular cast or species'
689. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /jatCX/_n 'genuine /CX/'
 সাপ /ʃap/ 'snake' ↔ জাতসাপ /jatʃap/ 'a true snake', 'a poisonous snake'
 ব্যবসায়ী /beɔbʃa^yi/ 'tradesman' ↔ জাতব্যবসায়ী /jatbeɔbʃa^yi/ 'a true tradesman'
690. NNADPJ: /X/_n ↔ /jelX/_n 'X/ of prison'
 দারোগা /daroga/ 'police officer' ↔ জেলদারোগা /jeldaroga/ 'police officer in charge of a prison'
 আইন /a^jn/ 'law', 'code' ↔ জেলআইন /jela^jn/ 'prison code', 'law concerning the prisons of a country'

691. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /jeleCX/_n 'CX/ of fishermen'
 পাড়া /para/ 'area' ↔ জেলেপাড়া /jelepara/ 'area where mostly fishermen live'
 ডিঙ্গি /d̥igi/ 'small boat' ↔ জেলেডিঙ্গি /jeled̥igi/ 'small boat used for fishing'
692. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /tebilCX/_n 'CX/ used on a table'
 ঘড়ি /g^hori/ 'snake' ↔ টেবিলঘড়ি /tebig^hori/ 'table clock'
 চামচ /camoc/ 'spoon' ↔ টেবিলচামচ /tebilcamoc/ 'table spoon'
693. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /t^hakurCX/_n 'CX/ of god'
 দালান /dalan/ 'building' ↔ ঠাকুরদালান /t^hakurdalan/ 'building in which icons of god(s)
 are kept for the purpose of worship'
 ঘর /g^hor/ 'room' ↔ ঠাকুরঘর /t^hakurg^hor/ 'room in which icons of god(s) are kept for
 the purpose of worship'
694. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /dakCX/_n 'CX/ used for postal purposes'
 গাড়ি /gari/ 'car' ↔ ডাকগাড়ি /daggari/ 'mail-car'
 ঘর /g^hor/ 'room' ↔ ডাকঘর /dagg^hor/ 'post office'
695. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /deb(ɔ)CX/_n 'CX/ of god'
 শিশু /ʃiʃu/ 'child' ↔ দেবশিশু /deb(ɔ)ʃiʃu/ 'child of a god'
 গৃহ /griho/ 'house' ↔ দেবগৃহ /deb(ɔ)griho/ 'house of a god'
696. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /dealCX/_n 'CX/ fixed on the wall'
 ঘড়ি /g^hori/ 'clock' ↔ দেয়ালঘড়ি /dealg^hori/ 'wall-clock'
 পত্রিকা /potrika/ 'journal' ↔ দেয়ালপত্রিকা /dealpotrika/ '(handwritten) journal attached
 to the wall'
697. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /d^hormoCX/_n 'CX/ conducted or administered
 according to the rules of Dharma'
 যুদ্ধ /judd^ho/ ↔ ধর্মযুদ্ধ /d^hormojudd^ho/ 'in Indian mythology battle that does not break
 any rule prescribed by Dharma', 'battle/war for religion'
 রাজ্য /rajjo/ 'state', 'country' ↔ ধর্মরাজ্য /d^hormorajjo/ 'state or kingdom governed
 with scrupulous justice, without violating any rule prescribed by Dharma'
698. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /poddCX/_n 'CX/ with lotus'
 দিঘি /dig^hi/ 'large and deep pond' ↔ পদ্মদিঘি /poddodig^hi/ 'large and deep pond
 with lotuses bloomed on it'
 পুকুর /pukur/ 'pond' ↔ পদ্মপুকুর /poddopukur/ 'small pond with lotuses bloomed on it'

699. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /pat̪t̪^hoCX/_n /CX/ for reading in a particular curriculum'
 তালিকা /talika/ 'list' ↔ পাঠ্যতালিকা /pat̪t̪^hotalika/ 'reading list'
 পুস্তক /pustok/ 'book' ↔ পাঠ্যপুস্তক /pat̪t̪^hopustok/ 'books to be read in a particular course'
700. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /patalCX/_n 'underground /CX/'
 রেল /rel/ 'railway' ↔ পাতালরেল /patalrel/ 'underground railway', 'metro'
 পুরী /puri/ 'mansion', 'city' ↔ পাতালপুরী /patalpuri/ 'underground mansion or city in Indian mythology and fables'
701. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /pritiCX/_n /CX/ organized as a token of friendship'
 ভোজ /b^hoj/ 'feast' ↔ শ্রীতিভোজ /pritib^hoj/ 'friendly feast'
 সম্মেলন /ʃommelon/ 'summit', 'conference', 'gathering' ↔ শ্রীতিসম্মেলন /pritiʃommelon/ 'friendly gathering'
702. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /pret(ɔ)CX/_n /CX/ concerning spirits, dead persons'
 তত্ত্ব /totto/ 'doctrine' ↔ শ্রেততত্ত্ব /pret(ɔ)totto/ 'spiritualism'
 কর্ম /kormo/ 'work', 'action' ↔ শ্রেতকর্ম /pret(ɔ)kormo/ 'funeral/obsequial rites'
703. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /bɔdCX/_n 'bad /CX/'
 নাম /nam/ 'fame' ↔ বদনাম /bɔdnam/ 'bad reputation'
 মেজাজ /meja(j/z)/ 'mood' ↔ বদমেজাজ /bɔdmeja(j/z)/ 'bad temper'
704. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /bonCX/_n /CX/ responsible for forest'
 মন্ত্রী /montri/ 'minister' ↔ বনমন্ত্রী /bonmontri/ 'forest minister'
 কর্মী /kormi/ 'worker' ↔ বনকর্মী /bonkormi/ 'forest worker'
705. NNSVADPJ: /X/_n ↔ /bonX/_n /X/ found exclusively in the forest'
 মোরগ /morog/ 'cock' ↔ বনমোরগ /bonmorog/ 'woodcock'
 বিড়াল /biral/ 'cat' ↔ বনবিড়াল /bonbiral/ 'wild-cat', 'bush-cat'
706. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /bɔrCX/_n /CX/ related to bridegroom'
 যাত্রী /jatri/ 'passenger', 'person who goes to some particular place' ↔ বরযাত্রী /bɔrjatri/ 'persons who accompany a bridegroom in a wedding'
 মাল্য /mallo/ 'garland' ↔ বরমাল্য /bɔrmallo/ 'garland to be put around the neck of the bridegroom by the bride in a marriage ceremony'

707. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /biʃʃoCX/_n 'universal/world /CX/'
 ব্যাকরণ /bɛ(a)kɔron/ 'grammar' ↔ বিশ্বব্যাকরণ /biʃʃobe(a)kɔron/ 'universal grammar'
 সাহিত্য /ʃahitto/ 'literature' ↔ বিশ্বসাহিত্য /biʃʃoʃahitto/ 'world literature'
708. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /b^hoɔdroCX/_n 'civilized /CX/'
 মহিলা /mohila/ 'woman' ↔ ভদ্রমহিলা /b^hoɔdromohila/ 'lady'
 সমাজ /ʃomaʃ/ 'society' ↔ ভদ্রসমাজ /b^hoɔdroʃomaʃ/ 'civil society'
709. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /muktiCX/_n 'CX/ for liberty'
 বাহিনী /bahini/ 'force' ↔ মুক্তিবাহিনী /muktibahini/ 'liberation army'
 ফৌজ /fo^uʃ/ 'force' ↔ মুক্তিফৌজ /muktifo^uʃ/ 'liberation army'
710. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /roktocCX/_n 'red /CX/'
 চন্দন /cɔndon/ 'sandal' ↔ রক্তচন্দন /roktocɔndon/ 'red sandal'
 জবা /ʃoba/ 'china rose' ↔ রক্তজবা /roktocʃoba/ 'red species of china rose'
711. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /ʃitCX/_n 'CX/ of winter'
 বস্ত্র /boʃ(t)ro/ 'cloth' ↔ শীতবস্ত্র /ʃitboʃ(t)ro/ 'winter cloth'
 নিদ্রা /nidra/ 'sleep' ↔ শীতনিদ্রা /ʃitnidra/ 'hibernation'
712. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /ʃiʃuCX/_n 'CX/ of children'
 কাল /kal/ 'period', 'age' ↔ শিশুকাল /ʃiʃukal/ 'childhood'
 সাহিত্য /ʃahitto/ 'literature' ↔ শিশুসাহিত্য /ʃiʃuʃahitto/ 'child literature'
713. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /ʃub^hoCX/_n 'auspicious /CX/'
 বিবাহ /bibaho/ 'marriage' ↔ শুভবিবাহ /ʃub^hobibaho/ 'happy marriage ceremony'
 বিজয়া /biʃo^ya/ 'fourth day of the festival of goddess Durga in Bengal' ↔ শুভবিজয়া
 /ʃub^hobiʃo^ya/ 'happy festival of Bijoya'
714. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /ʃokCX/_n 'CX/ of mourning or grief'
 পুরী /puri/ 'house', 'city' ↔ শোকপুরী /ʃokpuri/ 'house or city of mourning'
 সংবাদ /ʃoŋbad/ 'news' ↔ শোকসংবাদ /ʃokʃoŋbad/ 'news of grief'
715. NNADPJ: /X/_n ↔ /striX/_n 'X/ of woman'
 শিক্ষা /ʃikk^ha/ 'education' ↔ স্ত্রীশিক্ষা /striʃikk^ha/ 'female education'
 আচার /acar/ 'rites' ↔ স্ত্রীআচার /striacar/ 'rites observed by women'

716. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /ʃɔrnoCX/_n 'golden /CX/'
 মুকুট /mukut/ 'crown' ↔ স্বর্ণমুকুট /ʃɔrnomukut/ 'crown made of gold'
 প্রতিমা /protima/ 'statue' ↔ স্বর্ণপ্রতিমা /ʃɔrnoprotima/ 'statue made of gold'
717. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /ʃɔb^habCX/_n '/CX/ by nature'
 কবি /kobi/ 'poet' ↔ স্বভাবকবি /ʃɔb^habkobi/ 'poet by nature'
 শিল্পী /ʃilpi/ 'artist' ↔ স্বভাবশিল্পী /ʃɔb^habʃilpi/ 'artist by nature'
718. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /hɔstoCX/_n '/CX/ done by hand'
 শিল্প /ʃilpo/ 'art', 'craft' ↔ হস্তশিল্প /hɔstoʃilpo/ 'handicraft'
 মৈথুন /mo^jt^hun/ 'act of sex' ↔ হস্তমৈথুন /hɔstomo^jt^hun/ 'masturbation'
719. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /hatCX/_n '/CX/ to be worn in hand'
 ঘড়ি /g^hori/ 'clock, watch' ↔ হাতঘড়ি /hadg^hori/ 'wristwatch'
 মোজা /moja/ 'socks' ↔ হাতমোজা /hatmoja/ 'socks worn in hands', 'gloves'
720. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCaro^hi/_n 'somebody on /XC/'
 বিমান /biman/ 'airplane' ↔ বিমানরোহী /bimano^hi/ 'air passenger'
 শকট /ʃokot/ 'vehicle' ↔ শকটারোহী /ʃokota^hi/
721. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCalo^y/_n 'building where /XC/ works'
 সচিব /ʃocib/ 'secretary' ↔ সচিবালয় /ʃocibalo^y/ 'secretariats'
 যম /jom/ 'Hindu god of death' ↔ যমালয় /jomalo^y/ 'court of the Hindu god of death', 'hell'
722. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCkopi/_n 'kopi like /XC/'
 ফুল /ful/ 'flower' ↔ ফুলকপি /fulkopi/ 'cauliflower'
 ওল /ol/ 'a kind of edible root' ↔ ওলকপি /olkopi/ 'a kind of edible root'
723. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVko^la/_n 'art of /XV/'
 নৃত্য /nritto/ 'dance' ↔ নৃত্যকলা /nrittoko^la/ 'art of dancing'
 চিত্র /citro/ 'painting' ↔ চিত্রকলা /citroko^la/ 'art of painting'
724. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xkoli/_n 'bud of /X/'
 কুসুম /kuʃum/ 'flower' ↔ কুসুমকলি /kuʃumkoli/ 'flower-bud'
 চাঁপা /cāpa/ 'Campak', 'a kind of flower' ↔ চাঁপাকলি /cāpakoli/ 'Campak-bud'

725. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVkoꝛmo/_n 'work of /XV/'
 সৃষ্টি /sriʃti/ 'creation' ↔ সৃষ্টিকর্ম /sriʃtikōꝛmo/ 'creative work'
 শিল্প /ʃilpo/ 'art' ↔ শিল্পকর্ম /ʃilpokōꝛmo/ 'artwork'
726. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xkormi/_n 'who does /X/'
 তদন্ত /todonto/ 'investigation' ↔ তদন্তকর্মী /todontokormi/ 'investigator'
 উদ্ধার /udd^har/ 'recue' ↔ উদ্ধারকর্মী /udd^harkormi/ 'rescuer'
727. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xkorta/_n 'officer of /X/'
 রক্ষা /rokk^ha/ 'act of saving somebody' ↔ রক্ষাকর্তা /rokk^hakorta/ 'who is in charge of saving somebody'
 নিয়োগ /niog/ 'appointment' ↔ নিয়োগকর্তা /niogkorta/ 'employer'
728. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVkaṭ^hinno/_n 'constriction of /XV/'
 ওষ্ঠ /oʃṭ^ho/ 'lip' ↔ ওষ্ঠকাঠিন্য /oʃṭ^hokaṭ^hinno/ 'act of not smiling at all'
 কোষ্ঠ /koʃṭ^ho/ 'colon' ↔ কোষ্ঠকাঠিন্য /koʃṭ^hokaṭ^hinno/ 'constipation'
729. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCkaꝓ/_n 'work of /XC/'
 ত্রাণ /tran/ 'relief' ↔ ত্রাণকাজ /trankaꝓ/ 'relief-work'
 উদ্ধার /udd^har/ 'rescue' ↔ উদ্ধারকাজ /udd^harkaꝓ/ 'rescue work'
730. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVkaṇḍo/_n 'incident of /XV/'
 হত্যা /hotta/ 'murder, killing' ↔ হত্যাকাণ্ড /hottakandḍo/ 'act of killing, murder'
 অগ্নি /ogni/ 'fire' ↔ অগ্নিকাণ্ড /ognikandḍo/ 'fire accident'
731. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xkal/_n 'period of /X/'
 শাসন /ʃaʃon/ 'reign' ↔ শাসনকাল /ʃaʃonkal/ 'period/time of reign'
 রচনা /roḥona/ 'composition' ↔ রচনাকাল /roḥonakal/ 'period/time of composition'
732. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xkal/_n 'season of /X/'
 গ্রীষ্ম /griʃʃō/ 'summer' ↔ গ্রীষ্মকাল /griʃʃōkal/ 'summer season'
 শীত /ʃit/ 'winter' ↔ শীতকাল /ʃitkal/ 'winter season'
733. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xko^uʃol/_n 'art of /X/'
 রচনা /roḥona/ ↔ রচনাকৌশল /roḥonako^uʃol/ 'art of writing'
 নির্মাণ /nirman/ 'construction' ↔ নির্মাণকৌশল /nirmanko^uʃol/ 'art of construction'

734. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xkoʃ/_n 'cell of /X/'

উদ্ভিদ /udb^hid/ 'plant' ↔ উদ্ভিদকোষ /udb^hidkoʃ/ 'vegetal cell'

প্রাণী /prani/ 'animal' ↔ প্রাণীকোষ /pranikoʃ/ 'animal cell'

735. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCkria/_n 'process /XC/'

পচন /pocon/ 'rotting' ↔ পচনক্রিয়া /poconkria/ 'process of rotting'

পরিপাক /poripak/ 'digestion' ↔ পরিপাকক্রিয়া /poripakkria/ 'process of digestion'

736. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xgac^h/_n 'tactic or skill of /X/'

আম /am/ 'tree' ↔ আমগাছ /amgac^h/ 'mango tree'

আতা /ata/ 'custard-apple' ↔ আতাগাছ /atagac^h/ 'custard-apple tree'

737. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCgan/_n 'song sung or words said mentioning /XC/
for the purpose of praising or of prayer'

গুণ /gun/ 'qualities' ↔ গুণগান /gungan/ 'words mentioning the qualities of somebody or something'

নাম /nam/ 'name' ↔ নামগান /namgan/ 'singing by mentioning the name of somebody'

738. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVgorima/_n 'pride of /XV/'

বংশ /boŋʃo/ 'family' ↔ বংশগরিমা /boŋʃogorima/ 'pride of the family one belongs to'

ডিগ্রী /digrī/ 'educational degree' ↔ ডিগ্রীগরিমা /digrīgorima/ 'pride of the degree that one have'

739. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XC(ɔ)gorbo/_n 'pride of /XC/'

কুল /kul/ 'family' ↔ কুলগর্ব /kul(ɔ)gorbo/ 'pride of the family one belongs to'

ধন /d^hɔn/ 'wealth' ↔ ধনগর্ব /d^hɔn(ɔ)gorbo/ 'pride of the wealth that one have'

740. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xgɔnona/_n 'counting of /X/'

লোক /lok/ 'people', 'population' ↔ লোকগণনা /lokɔnona/ 'census'

বৃক্ষ /brikk^ho/ 'tree' ↔ বৃক্ষগণনা /brikk^hɔɔnona/ 'counting trees in a particular region or country'

741. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCgiti/_n 'song written by /XC/'

নজরুল /nojru/ 'Nazrul' ↔ নজরুলগীতি /nojrugiti/ 'Nazrul song'

লালন /lalon/ 'Lalon' ↔ লালনগীতি /lalongiti/ 'Lalon song'

742. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xgoʃt^hi/_n 'group of /X/'

ধনিক /d^hɔnik/ 'rich people' ↔ ধনিকগোষ্ঠী /d^hɔnikgoʃt^hi/ 'group of rich people'

শিল্পী /ʃilpi/ 'artist' ↔ শিল্পীগোষ্ঠী /ʃilpigoʃt^hi/ 'group of artists'

743. NNSVADSJ: /Xo/n ↔ /Xogrɔnt^ho/n 'book of /Xo/'
 কাব্য /kabbo/ 'poetry' ↔ কাব্যগ্রন্থ /kabbogrɔnt^ho/ 'book of poem'
 ধর্ম /d^hɔrmo/ 'religion' ↔ ধর্মগ্রন্থ /d^hɔrmogrɔnt^ho/ 'book of religion'
744. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xcɔkro/n 'group of /X/'
 সন্ত্রাসী /ʃɔntraʃi/ ↔ সন্ত্রাসীচক্র /sontraʃicɔkro/ 'group of hooligans'
 ডাকাত /ɔakət/ 'dacoit', 'bandit' ↔ ডাকাতচক্র /ɔakətɔkro/ 'group of bandits'
745. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xcɔkro/ 'group of people involved in doing /X/'
 ক্রীড়া /krira/ ↔ ক্রীড়াচক্র /kriracɔkro/ 'group of people involved in sports'
 ব্যায়াম /be^yam/ 'physical exercise' ↔ ব্যায়ামচক্র /be^yamcɔkro/ 'group of people involved in physical exercise'
746. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xcɔkro/n 'group of people involved in discussing /X/'
 সাহিত্য /ʃahitto/ ↔ সাহিত্যচক্র /ʃahittocɔkro/ 'group of people involved in literary discussion'
 বিজ্ঞান /biggan/ 'science' ↔ বিজ্ঞানচক্র /biggancɔkro/ 'group of people involved in scientific discussion'
747. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xcorja/n 'practice of /X/'
 জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ জীবনচর্যা /jiboncorja/ 'practice of life'
 ধর্ম /d^hɔrmo/ 'religion' ↔ ধর্মচর্যা /d^hɔrmocorja/ 'practice of religion'
748. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xcɔrca/n 'practice of X'
 সাহিত্য /ʃahitto/ 'literature' ↔ সাহিত্যচর্চা /ʃahittocɔrca/ 'practice of literature'
 ব্যায়াম /be^yam/ 'physical exercise' ↔ ব্যায়ামচক্র /be^yamcɔrca/ 'practice of physical exercise'
749. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xcɔrito/n 'biography of /X/'
 রবীন্দ্র /robindro/ 'Rabindranath Tagore' ↔ রবীন্দ্রচরিত /robindrocɔrito/ 'biography of Rabindranath Tagore'
 শরৎ /ʃɔrot/ 'Sharatchandra Chatterji' ↔ শরৎচরিত /ʃɔrotcorito/ 'biography of Sharatchandra Chatterji'
750. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xcikitʃa/n 'treatment of /X/'
 পশু /poʃu/ 'beast' ↔ পশুচিকিৎসা /poʃucikitʃa/ 'veterinary'
 পাগল /pagol/ 'mad' ↔ পাগলচিকিৎসা /pagolcikitʃa/ 'psychotherapy'

751. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVcinta/_n 'thought about /XV/'
 রাষ্ট্র /raʃt̪ro/ 'state', 'nation' ↔ রাষ্ট্রচিন্তা /raʃt̪rocinta/ 'thoughts about the state or the nation'
 ধর্ম /d̪ʰɔrmo/ 'religion' ↔ ধর্মচিন্তা /d̪ʰɔrmocinta/ 'thoughts about the religion'
752. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVcinno/_n 'sign of /XV/'
 ক্ষত /k̪ʰɔto/ 'wound' ↔ ক্ষতচিহ্ন /k̪ʰɔtocinno/ 'scar'
 স্মৃতি /sr̪iti/ 'memory' ↔ স্মৃতিচিহ্ন /sr̪iticinno/ 'memorial'
753. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xc^hatro/_n 'student of /X/'
 মাদ্রাসা /madraʃa/ 'Islamic school' ↔ মাদ্রাসাছাত্র /madraʃac^hatro/ 'students of Islamic school'
 স্কুল /skul/ 'school' ↔ স্কুলছাত্র /skulc^hatro/ 'school student'
754. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCc^hana/_n 'young of /XC/'
 বিড়াল /biral/ 'cat' ↔ বিড়ালছানা /biralc^hana/ 'kitten'
 কুকুর /kukur/ 'dog' ↔ কুকুরছানা /kukurc^hana/ 'pup'
755. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xcalok/_n 'driver of /X/'
 ট্যাক্সী /tɛksi/ 'taxi' ↔ ট্যাক্সিচালক /tɛksicalok/ 'taxi-driver'
 বাস /bas/ 'bus' ↔ বাসচালক /bascalok/ 'bus-driver'
756. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCjɔr/_n 'fever of /XC/'
 কাম /kam/ 'sex, sex urge' ↔ কামজ্বর /kamjɔr/ 'ardent sex urge'
 ক্রিকেট /krikɛt/ 'cricket game' ↔ ক্রিকেটজ্বর /krikɛtjɔr/ 'ardent love for cricket'
757. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xjɔggõ/_n 'a great event full of /X/'
 আনন্দ /anondo/ 'pleasure' ↔ আনন্দযজ্ঞ /anondojɔggõ/ 'a great event full of pleasure'
 নিধন /nid̪ʰɔn/ 'killing' ↔ নিধনযজ্ঞ /nid̪ʰɔnjɔggõ/ 'massive killing'
758. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xjɔgot/_n 'world of /X/'
 সঙ্গীত /ʃɔngit/ 'music' ↔ সঙ্গীতজগৎ /ʃɔngitjɔgot/ 'music world'
 প্রাণী /prani/ 'animal' ↔ প্রাণীজগৎ /pranijɔgot/ 'animal world'
759. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xjɔp/_n 'recitation of /X/ as a form of prayer'
 মন্ত্র /montro/ 'spell', 'words recited in praise of God' ↔ মন্ত্রজপ /montrojɔp/ 'recite silently words in praise of God as a form of prayer'
 নাম /nam/ 'name of God or of a godly person' ↔ নামজপ /namjɔp/ 'recite silently the name of God or of a godly person as a form of prayer'

760. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xjibon/_n 'period of life during which one was /X/'
ছাত্র /c^hatro/ 'student' ↔ ছাত্রজীবন /c^hatrojibon/ 'student life'
বেকার /bekar/ 'unemployed' ↔ বেকারজীবন /bekarjibon/ 'period of unemployment'
761. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVjibon/_n 'period of life during which one does /XV/'
কর্ম /kormo/ 'work' ↔ কর্মজীবন /kormojibon/ 'professional life'
শিক্ষা /ʃikk^ha/ 'education' ↔ শিক্ষাজীবন /ʃikk^hajibon/ 'student life'
762. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xtotto/_n 'theory of /X/'
ভাষা /b^haʃa/ 'language' ↔ ভাষাতত্ত্ব /b^haʃatotto/ 'linguistics'
সঙ্গীত /ʃongit/ 'music' ↔ সঙ্গীততত্ত্ব /ʃongittotto/ 'theory of music'
763. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xtontro/_n 'a (governmental) system run by /X/'
সেনা /ʃena/ 'soldier' ↔ সেনাতন্ত্র /ʃenatontro/ 'government run by army'
বণিক /bonik/ 'merchant', 'businessman' ↔ বণিকতন্ত্র /boniktontro/ 'political/economic system run by merchants'
764. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xtori/_n 'boat for providing or giving /X/'
জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ জীবনতরী /jibontori/ 'life-boat'
আশা /aʃa/ 'hope' ↔ আশাতরী /aʃatori/ 'boat of hope'
765. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xtir/_n 'bank of /X/'
নদী /nodi/ 'river' ↔ নদীতীর /noditir/ 'bank of the river', 'river bank'
আটলান্টিক /aʈlantik/ 'The Atlantic' ↔ আটলান্টিকতীর /aʈlantiktir/ 'bank of the Atlantic'
766. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVtirt^ho/_n 'place (of pilgrimage) visited by /XV/s'
শিশু /ʃiʃu/ 'child' ↔ শিশুতীর্থ /ʃiʃutirt^ho/ 'place visited by children'
হিন্দু /hindu/ 'Hindu' ↔ হিন্দুতীর্থ /hindutirt^ho/ 'place for pilgrimage visited by the Hindus'
767. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xtirt^ho/_n 'place of pilgrimage related to /X/'
কবি /kobi/ 'poet' ↔ কবিতীর্থ /kobitirt^ho/ 'place where a poet was born or lived'
লালন /lalon/ 'mystic poet Lalon' ↔ লালনতীর্থ /lalontirt^ho/ 'place where the mystic poet Lalon lived'
768. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xtripti/_n 'satisfaction of /X/'
ক্ষুধা /k^hud^ha/ 'hunger' ↔ ক্ষুধাতৃপ্তি /k^hud^hatripti/ 'satisfaction of hunger'

কাম /kam/ 'sex-urge' ↔ কামতৃপ্তি /kamtripti/ 'satisfaction of sex-urge'

769. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xdɔmon/n 'control of /X/

ইন্দ্রিয় /indrio/ 'organ pf sense', 'sex-urge' ↔ ইন্দ্রিয়দমন /indriodɔmon/ 'control of organ pf sense', 'control of sex-urge'

সন্ত্রাস /ʃontraʃ/ 'violence', 'hooliganism' ↔ সন্ত্রাসদমন /ʃontraʃdɔmon/ 'control of violence'

770. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xdeʃ/n 'X/ part of human body'

উদর /udɔr/ 'belly' ↔ উদরদেশ /udɔrdeʃ/ 'the area of belly'

বক্ষ /bɔkkʰɔ/ 'chest' ↔ বক্ষদেশ /bɔkkʰodeʃ/ 'the area of chest'

771. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xdata/n 'who gives /X/

উত্তর /uttɔr/ 'response, answer' ↔ উত্তরদাতা /uttɔrdata/ 'somebody who responds or gives the answer'

জন্ম /jɔnmɔ/ 'birth' ↔ জন্মদাতা /jɔnmɔdata/ 'progenitor, father'

772. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xdan/n 'act of giving /X/

অন্ন /ɔnno/ 'food' ↔ অন্নদান /ɔnnɔdan/ 'act of offering food'

জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ জীবনদান /jibɔndan/ 'sacrifice of one's life'

773. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xdaʲ/n 'liability of /X/

ঋণ /rin/ 'loan' ↔ ঋণদায় /rindaʲ/ 'liability of debt'

কন্যা /konna/ 'unmarried girl' ↔ কন্যাদায় /konnadaʲ/ 'liability of being the father or the mother of an unmarried girl'

774. NNSVADSJ: /XV/n ↔ /XVdin/n 'date of /XV/

জন্ম /jɔnmɔ/ 'birth' ↔ জন্মদিন /jɔnmɔdin/ 'date of birth'

মৃত্যু /mrittu/ 'death' ↔ মৃত্যুদিন /mrittudin/ 'date of decease'

775. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xdiboʃ/n 'day of /X/

শোক /ʃok/ 'grief' ↔ শোকদিবস /ʃokdiboʃ/ 'day of mourning'

মৃত্যু /mrittu/ 'death' ↔ মৃত্যুদিবস /mrittudiboʃ/ 'date of decease'

776. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xdʰɔrmo/n 'duties or responsibilities of /X/

গৃহ /griho/ 'home' ↔ গৃহধর্ম /grihodʰɔrmo/ 'household duties'

সংসার /ʃɔɲʃar/ 'domestic life', 'family life', 'world' ↔ সংসারধর্ম /ʃɔɲʃardʰɔrmo/ 'duties or responsibilities of domestic life'

777. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCd^hɔʃ/_n 'fall of /XC/'

তুষার /tuʃar/ 'ice' ↔ তুষারধ্বস /tuʃard^hɔʃ/ 'avalanche'

পাহাড় /pahar/ 'hill' ↔ পাহাড়ধ্বস /pahard^hɔʃ/ 'slide of a part of a hill'

778. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCd^haron/_n 'act of carrying /XC/'

সন্তান /ʃontan/ 'child' ↔ সন্তানধারণ /ʃontand^haron/ 'to carry a child in one's womb'

প্রাণ /pran/ 'life' ↔ প্রাণধারণ /prand^haron/ 'to be alive'

779. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVd^hara/_n 'flow of /XV/'

চিন্তা /cinta/ 'thought, idea' ↔ চিন্তাধারা /cintad^hara/ 'trend of thought, line of thinking'

অশ্রু /osru/ 'tears' ↔ অশ্রুধারা /osrud^hara/ 'flow of tears'

780. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xnat^h/_n 'lord of /X/'

বিশ্ব /biʃʃo/ 'word' ↔ বিশ্বনাথ /biʃʃonat^h/ 'lord of the world'

জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ জীবননাথ /jibonnat^h/ 'lord of life'

781. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xniti/_n 'law(s) of /X/'

ধর্ম /d^hormo/ 'money' ↔ ধর্মনীতি /d^hormoniti/ 'laws of religion'

সমাজ /somaʃ/ 'society' ↔ সমাজনীতি /somaʃniti/ 'laws of society'

782. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xniti/_n 'policy regarding /X/'

শিক্ষা /ʃikk^ha/ 'education' ↔ শিক্ষানীতি /ʃikk^haniti/ 'policy regarding education'

শ্রম /srɔm/ 'labour' ↔ শ্রমনীতি /srɔmniti/ 'policy regarding labour'

783. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCnibritti/_n 'satisfaction of /XC/'

কৌতূহল /ko^utuhol/ 'curiosity' ↔ কৌতূহলনিবৃত্তি /ko^utuholnibritti/ 'satisfaction of curiosity'

কাম /kam/ 'sex-urge' ↔ কামনিবৃত্তি /kamnibritti/ 'satisfaction of sex-urge'

784. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xniʃt^ha/_n 'respectful and perfectionist attitude towards /X/'

আচার /acar/ 'rituals' ↔ আচারনিষ্ঠা /acarniʃt^ha/ 'ritualistic attitude'

কর্তব্য /kortobbo/ 'duty' ↔ কর্তব্যনিষ্ঠা /kortobboniʃt^ha/ 'dutiful attitude'

785. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xnetri/_{n, fem} 'a woman in charge of /X/'

সভা /ʃob^ha/ 'meeting' ↔ সভানেত্রী /ʃob^hanetri/ 'female president of the meeting'

দেশ /deʃ/ 'country' দেশনেত্রী /deʃnetri/ 'female leader of the country'

786. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xpokk^ho/_n 'the group of people on /X/'s side'
 কন্যা /konna/ 'bride' ↔ কন্যাপক্ষ /konnapokk^ho/ 'bride's side'
 বর /bor/ 'bridegroom' ↔ বরপক্ষ /borpokk^ho/ 'bridegroom's side'
787. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xpot̪ti/_n 'area of /X/ in a market'
 কামার /kamar/ 'blacksmith' ↔ কামারপট্টি /kamarpot̪ti/ 'blacksmiths corner in a market'
 তরকারী /torkari/ 'green vegetables' ↔ তরকারীপট্টি /torkaripot̪ti/ 'the corner in a market where green vegetables are sold'
788. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xpoti/_n 'person in charge of /X/'
 বিচার /bicar/ 'justice' ↔ বিচারপতি /bicarpoti/ 'justice'
 সেনা /ʃena/ 'soldier', 'army' ↔ সেনাপতি /ʃenapoti/ 'army commander'
789. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVpoti/_n 'a rich person who has /XV/ amount of money'
 কোটি /ko̪ti/ 'ten million' ↔ কোটিপতি /ko̪tipoti/ 'owner of ten million'
 লক্ষ /lɔkk^ho/ 'one hundred thousand' ↔ লক্ষপতি /lɔkk^hopot̪ti/ 'owner of one hundred thousand'
790. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVpoti/_n 'husband of /XV/'
 ভগ্নী /b^hogni/ 'sister' ↔ ভগ্নীপতি /b^hognipot̪ti/ 'husband of the sister'
 শচী /ʃoci/ 'Shaci' ↔ শচীপতি /ʃocipot̪ti/ 'husband of Shaci', 'god Indra'
791. NNSVADSJ: /XC/V_{-syllab}/_n ↔ /XC/V_{-syllab}pot̪ro/_n 'a document that expresses or manifests /XC/V_{-syllab}/'
 পরিচয় /poric^ho̪y/ 'identity' ↔ পরিচয়পত্র /poric^ho̪ypot̪ro/ 'identity card'
 আবেদন /abedon/ 'application' ↔ আবেদনপত্র /abedonpot̪ro/ 'letter of application'
792. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVpot̪ro/_n 'leaf of /XV/ tree or plant'
 পদ্ম /pɔddo/ 'lotus' ↔ পদ্মপত্র /pɔdopot̪ro/ 'leaves of lotus plant'
 বিল্ব /billo/ 'wood-apple', 'a kind of fruit' ↔ বিল্বপত্র /billopot̪ro/ 'leaves of wood-apple tree'
793. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xpot^h/_n 'way of /X/'
 আকাশ /akaʃ/ 'sky' ↔ আকাশপথ /akaʃpot^h/ 'air route'
 নদী /nodi/ 'river' ↔ নদীপথ /nodipot^h/ 'river route'
794. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xpɔd/_n 'Word category /X/'
 ক্রিয়া /kria/ 'action', 'verb' ↔ ক্রিয়াপদ /kriapɔd/

নাম /nam/ 'name' ↔ নামপদ /nampɔd/ 'noun'

795. NNADSJ: /X/ₙ ↔ /Xpodd^hoti/ₙ 'system of /X/'

কার্য /karjɔ/ 'action' ↔ কার্যপদ্ধতি /karjɔpodd^hoti/ 'action plan'

নির্মাণ /nirman/ 'construction' ↔ নির্মাণপদ্ধতি /nirmanpodd^hoti/ 'system or way of construction'

796. NNADSJ: /X/ₙ ↔ /Xpɔra/ₙ 'incantational/magic /X/ superstitiously believed to be capable of curing a disease'

পানি /pani/ 'water' ↔ পানিপড়া /panipɔra/ 'water superstitiously believed to be capable of curing a disease'

ডাব /ɔab/ 'green coconut' ↔ ডাবপড়া /ɔabpɔra/ 'green coconut superstitiously believed to be capable of curing a disease'

797. NNADSJ: /X/ₙ ↔ /Xpacar/ₙ 'unfortunate/illegal transfer of /X/'

মেধা /med^ha/ 'talent' ↔ মেধাপাচার /med^hapacar/ 'migration of talented persons from one country/region to another'

সার /ʃar/ 'fertilizer' ↔ সারপাচার /ʃarpacar/ 'fertilizer- smuggling'

798. NNSVADSJ: /XC/V_{-syllab}/ₙ ↔ /XC/V_{-syllab}pal/ₙ 'responsible for /XC/V_{-syllab}/'

ন্যায় /nɛ(a)^y/ 'justice' ↔ ন্যায়পাল /nɛ(a)^ypal/ 'person responsible for justice'

নগর /nɔgor/ 'city' ↔ নগরপাল /nɔgorpal/ 'mayor'

799. NNADSJ: /X/ₙ ↔ /Xpalon/ₙ 'act of carrying out /X/'

ব্রত /brɔtɔ/ 'ritual' ↔ ব্রতপালন /brɔtopalon/ 'observation of a ritual'

আদেশ /adeʃ/ 'order' আদেশপালন /adeʃpalon/ 'act of carrying out an order'

800. NNADSJ: /X/ₙ ↔ /Xpata/ₙ 'the leaf of /X/ plant or tree'

পদ্ম /paddɔ/ 'lotus' ↔ পদ্মপাতা /paddɔpata/ 'leaves of lotus plant'

বেল /bel/ 'wood-apple', 'a kind of fruit' ↔ বেলপাতা /belpata/ 'leaves of wood-apple tree'

801. NNADSJ: /X/ₙ ↔ /Xpara/ₙ 'the area in a village where people belonging to /X/ caste leaves'

কামার /kamar/ 'blacksmith' ↔ কামারপাড়া /kamarpara/ 'blacksmiths' quarter in a village'

জেলে /jele/ 'fisherman' ↔ জেলেপাড়া /jelepara/ 'fisherman's quarter in a village'

802. NNADSF: /X/ₙ ↔ /Xpet̪a/ₙ 'act of beating with /X/'

লাঠি /laṭhi/ 'cane', 'stick' ↔ লাঠিপেটা /laṭhipet̪a/ 'act of beating with a stick'

চাবুক /cabuk/ 'whip' ↔ চাবুকপেটা /cabukpet̪a/ 'act of beating with a whip'

803. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xprokriti/_n 'nature of /X/'
 গঠন /gɔtʰon/ 'structure' ↔ গঠনপ্রকৃতি /gɔtʰonprokriti/ 'nature of structure'
 ভূমি /bʰumi/ 'land' ↔ ভূমিপ্রকৃতি /bʰumiprokriti/ 'nature of land'
804. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xprotʰa/_n 'system/tradition of /X/'
 পণ /pɔn/ 'dowry' ↔ পণপ্রথা /panprotʰa/ 'dowry system'
 পর্দা /pɔrda/ 'curtain' ↔ পর্দাপ্রথা /pɔrdaprotʰa/ 'the custom that demands woman to be behind the curtain', 'the Purdah-system'
805. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xprodorʃoni/_n '/X/-exhibition'
 চিত্র /citro/ 'picture, painting' ↔ চিত্রপ্রদর্শনী /citroprodorʃoni/ 'painting exhibition'
 গোলাপ /golap/ 'rose' ↔ গোলাপপ্রদর্শনী /golapprodorʃoni/ 'rose exhibition'
806. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xpronali/_n 'system of /X/'
 চিন্তা /cinta/ 'thought' ↔ চিন্তাপ্রণালী /cintapronali/ 'system of thought'
 রন্ধন /rɔndʰɔn/ 'act of cooking' ↔ রন্ধনপ্রণালী /rɔndʰɔnpronali/ 'system of cooking'
807. NNADSJ: /XC/_{N-syllab}/_n ↔ /XC/_{N-syllab}probaho/_n 'flow of /XC/_{N-syllab}/'
 জল /jɔl/ 'water' ↔ জলপ্রবাহ /jɔlprobaho/ 'flow of water'
 সময় /ʃomɔʲ/ 'time' ↔ সময়প্রবাহ /ʃomɔʲprobaho/ 'flow of time'
808. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xprobaʃi/_{n/adj} 'living as foreigner in /X/'
 প্যারিস /periʃ/ 'city of Paris' ↔ প্যারিসপ্রবাসী /periʃprobaʃi/ 'living in Paris as a foreigner'
 কানাডা /kanadɑ/ 'Canada' ↔ কানাডাপ্রবাসী /kanadɑprobaʃi/ 'living in Canada as a foreigner'
809. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xprojukti/_n 'technology of /X/'
 তথ্য /tottʰo/ 'information' ↔ তথ্যপ্রযুক্তি /tottʰoprojukti/ 'information technology'
 নির্মাণ /nirman/ 'construction' ↔ নির্মাণপ্রযুক্তি /nirmanprojukti/ 'technology of construction'
810. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xproʲog/_n 'use of /X/'
 বাক্য /bakkɔ/ 'sentence' ↔ বাক্যপ্রয়োগ /bakkɔproʲog/ 'use of sentence'
 বল /bɔl/ 'force' ↔ বলপ্রয়োগ /bɔlproʲog/ 'use of force'
811. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCpranto/_n 'end of /XC/'
 নগর /nɔgor/ 'city' ↔ নগরপ্রান্ত /nɔgorpranto/ 'border of the city'

অঞ্চল /ancol/ 'the marginal portion of a sari hanging loosely' ↔ অঞ্চলপ্রান্ত
/ancolpranto/ 'end of the marginal portion of a sari hanging loosely'

812. NNADSF: /X/_n ↔ /Xprart^{hi}/_n 'some body who wants /X/'
সাহায্য /ʃahajjo/ 'help' ↔ সাহায্যপ্রার্থী /ʃahajjoprart^{hi}/ 'someone who wants help'
সমর্থন /ʃomort^hon/ 'support' ↔ সমর্থনপ্রার্থী /ʃomort^honprart^{hi}/ 'someone who seeks support'

813. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xpriti/_n 'the love for /X/'
ইংরেজী /ingreji/ 'English' ↔ ইংরেজীপ্রীতি /ingrejipriti/ 'fondness for English'
ক্রিকেট /kriket/ 'Cricket' ↔ ক্রিকেটপ্রীতি /kriketpriti/ 'fondness for cricket'

814. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xprem/_n 'the love for /X/'
মানব /manob/ 'love' ↔ মানবপ্রেম /manobprem/ 'love for human beings'
স্ত্রী /stri/ 'wife' ↔ স্ত্রীপ্রেম /striprem/ 'love for one's wife'

815. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xful/_n '/X/ flower'
গোলাপ /golap/ 'rose' ↔ গোলাপফুল /golapful/ 'rose'
পদ্ম /poddō/ 'lotus' ↔ পদ্মফুল /poddōful/ 'lotus'

816. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xful/_n 'flower of /X/'
ঝিঙে /j^hiŋe/ 'a kind of vegetable', 'fruit of cucurbitaceous plant' ↔ ঝিঙেফুল /j^hiŋeful/
'flower of cucurbitaceous plant'
তরমুজ /tormuj/ 'watermelon' ↔ তরমুজফুল /tormujful/ 'flower of watermelon'

817. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCful/_n 'flower resembling /XC/'
কাগজ /kagoj/ 'paper' ↔ কাগজফুল /kagojful/ 'bougainvillea', 'flower with petals resembling paper'
বক /bok/ 'heron' ↔ বকফুল /bokful/ 'a kind of heron-shaped flower'

818. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbahini/_n 'army/militia of /X/'
নারী /nari/ 'woman' ↔ নারীবাহিনী /naribahini/ 'army/militia formed of women'
রাজাকার /rajakar/ 'collaborator of Pakistani army during the liberation war of Bangladesh' ↔ রাজাকারবাহিনী /rajakarbahini/ 'army/militia of collaborators of Pakistani army during the liberation war of Bangladesh'

819. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbidda/_n 'art/skill of doing /X/'
অঙ্কন /oŋkōn/ 'drawing' ↔ অঙ্কনবিদ্যা /oŋkōnbidda/ 'the art/skill of drawing'
যাদু /jadu/ 'magic' ↔ যাদুবিদ্যা /jadubidda/ 'the art/skill of doing magic'

820. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbid^h/_n 'science/study of /X/'
 যুক্তি /jukti/ 'reason' ↔ যুক্তিবিদ্যা /juktibidda/ 'logic'
 রসায়ন /rɔʃaʔɔn/ 'chemistry' ↔ রসায়নবিদ্যা /pɔdɑrt^hobidda/ 'science of chemistry'
821. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbod^h/_n 'sense/feeling of /X/'
 গৌরব /gɔ^urɔb/ 'pride' ↔ গৌরববোধ /gɔ^urɔbbod^h/ 'feeling of pride'
 দুঃখ /dukk^ho/ 'sorrow', 'grief' ↔ দুঃখবোধ /dukk^hobod^h/ 'sense of grief'
822. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbodol/_n 'change of /X/'
 স্বাদ /ʃad/ 'taste of food' ↔ স্বাদবদল /ʃadbodol/ 'change of taste of food'
 রুচি /ruci/ 'choice', 'taste' ↔ রুচিবদল /rucibodol/ 'change of taste'
823. NNSVADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbon/_n 'forest of /X/'
 শাল /ʃal/ 'sal' 'shorea robusta' ↔ শালবন /ʃalbon/ 'forest constituted of sal trees'
 মেহগনি /mehogoni/ 'mahogany' ↔ মেহগনিবন /mehogonibon/ 'forest constituted of mahoganies'
824. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVbondor/_n 'port for a journey through /XV/'
 সমুদ্র /ʃomudro/ 'sea' ↔ সমুদ্রবন্দর /ʃomudrobondor/ 'seaport'
 নদী /nodi/ 'river' ↔ নদীবন্দর /nodibondor/ 'river port'
825. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbond^honi/_n 'something to tie /X/ with'
 বক্ষ /bɔkk^ho/ 'breast' ↔ বক্ষবন্ধনী /bɔkk^hobond^honi/ 'brassiere'
 কোমর /komor/ 'waist' ↔ কোমরবন্ধনী /komorbond^honi/ 'belt'
826. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbond^hu/_n 'friend of /X/'
 বঙ্গ /bɔŋgo/ 'Bengal' ↔ বঙ্গবন্ধু /bɔŋgobond^hu/ 'friend of Bengal'
 দেশ /deʃ/ 'country' ↔ দেশবন্ধু /deʃbond^hu/ 'friend of the country'
827. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbaʃ/_n 'act of living in /X/'
 গর্ভ /gɔrb^ho/ 'womb' ↔ গর্ভবাস /gɔrb^hobaʃ/ 'act of of staying in one's mother's womb'
 হোটেল /hotel/ 'hotel' ↔ হোটেলবাস /hotelbaʃ/ 'act of staying in a hotel'
828. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbɔrʃon/_n 'act of throwing plenty of /X/'
 গুলি /guli/ 'bullet' ↔ গুলিবর্ষণ /gulibɔrʃon/ 'act of firing continuously'
 তীর /tir/ 'arrow' ↔ তীরবর্ষণ /tirbɔrʃon/ 'act of throwing arrows'

829. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVbarʃiki/_n 'anniversary of /XV/'
 জন্ম /jɔnmɔ/ 'birth' ↔ জন্মবার্ষিকী /jɔnmobarʃiki/ 'birthday'
 বিবাহ /bibaho/ 'marriage' ↔ বিবাহবার্ষিকী /bibahobarʃiki/ 'marriage anniversary'
830. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVbic^hed/_n 'division of /XV/'
 বিবাহ /bibaho/ 'marriage' ↔ বিবাহবিচ্ছেদ /bibahobic^hed/ 'divorce'
 সন্ধি /ʃondi/ 'blending of two sounds', 'sandhi' ↔ সন্ধিবিচ্ছেদ /ʃondibic^hed/ 'disjoining of two blended sounds'
831. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbit^hi/_n 'a row of /X/'
 শাল /ʃal/ 'shorea robusta', 'sal tree' ↔ শালবীথি /ʃalbit^hi/ 'vista of sal trees'
 তরু /toru/ 'tree' ↔ তরুবীথি /torubit^hi/ 'row of trees', 'vista'
832. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbida^y/_n 'act of giving gift or money to /X/ when /X/ leaves one's house'
 পণ্ডিত /pondit/ 'erudite', 'pundit', ' ↔ পণ্ডিতবিদায় /ponditbida^y/ 'act of giving honorarium or gift to a pundit'
 কাঙালী /kāgali/ 'beggar' ↔ কাঙালীবিদায় /kāgalibida^y/ 'act of giving money or gift to beggars'
833. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVbid^han/_n 'deciding about /XV/'
 দণ্ড /dōṅḍo/ 'punishment' ↔ দণ্ডবিধান /dōṅḍobid^han/ 'act of giving punishment'
 শাস্তি /ʃasti/ 'punishment' ↔ শাস্তিবিধান /ʃastibid^han/ 'act of giving punishment'
834. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbinimo^y/_n 'exchange of /X/'
 মত /mɔt/ 'opinion' ↔ মতবিনিময় /mɔtbinimo^y/ 'exchange of opinion'
 পত্র /pɔtro/ 'letter' ↔ পত্রবিনিময় /pɔtrobinimo^y/ 'exchange of letter'
835. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVbiplɔb/_n 'revolution in /XV/'
 রাষ্ট্র /raʃtro/ 'state' ↔ রাষ্ট্রবিপ্লব /raʃtrobiplɔb/ 'revolution in a state'
 শিল্প /ʃilpo/ 'industry' ↔ শিল্পবিপ্লব /ʃilpobiplɔb/ 'industrial revolution'
836. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbima/_n 'insurance related to /X/'
 জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ জীবনবীমা /jibonbima/ 'life-insurance'
 শিক্ষা /ʃikk^ha/ 'education' ↔ শিক্ষাবীমা /ʃikk^habima/ 'education-insurance', 'insurance of education'
837. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbiroti/_n 'interval during /X/'
 যুদ্ধ /judd^ho/ 'battle' ↔ যুদ্ধবিরতি /judd^hobiroti/ 'cease-fire', 'armistice'

ভোজন /b^hoɟɔn/ 'eating' ↔ ভোজনবিরতি /b^hoɟɔnbiroti/ 'interval during eating'

838. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbiʃarod/_n 'expert in /X/'

ধর্ম /d^hɔrmo/ 'religion' ↔ ধর্মবিশারদ /d^hɔrmoʃarod/ 'expert in religion'

অঙ্কন /ɔŋkɔn/ 'drawing' ↔ অঙ্কনবিশারদ /ɔŋkɔnbiʃarod/ 'expert in drawing'

839. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbɛbost^ha/_n 'system of /X/'

শাসন /ʃaʃon/ 'rule' ↔ শাসনব্যবস্থা /ʃaʃonbɛbost^ha/ 'system of rule'

শিক্ষা /ʃikk^ha/ 'education' ↔ শিক্ষাব্যবস্থা /ʃikk^habɛbost^ha/ 'system of education'

840. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbɛpari/_n 'merchant of /X/'

আলু /alu/ 'potato' ↔ আলুব্যাপারী /alubɛpari/ 'merchant who sells potato'

বাদাম /badam/ 'nuts' ↔ বাদামব্যাপারী /badambɛpari/ 'merchant who sells nuts'

841. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbritti/_n 'profession of /X/'

তঞ্চক /tɔncɔk/ 'cheat' ↔ তঞ্চকবৃত্তি /tɔncɔkbritti/ 'cheating'

বেশ্যা /beʃʃa/ 'prostitute' ↔ বেশ্যাবৃত্তি /beʃʃabritti/ 'prostitution'

842. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbridd^hi/_n 'increase of /X/'

মূল্য /mullo/ 'price' ↔ মূল্যবৃদ্ধি /mullobridd^hi/ 'increase of price'

জ্বর /ɟɔr/ 'fever' ↔ জ্বরবৃদ্ধি /ɟɔrbridd^hi/ 'increase of fever'

843. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbroti/_n 'someone who considers /X/ as the vocation of his life'

জ্ঞান /gɛ(a)n/ 'knowledge' ↔ জ্ঞানব্রতী /gɛ(a)nbroti/ 'who considers knowledge as the vocation of his life'

শিক্ষা /ʃikk^ha/ 'education' ↔ শিক্ষাব্রতী /ʃikk^habroti/ 'who considers education as the vocation of his life'

844. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbriʃti/_n 'rain of /X/'

বরফ /bɔrof/ 'ice' ↔ বরফবৃষ্টি /bɔrofbriʃti/ 'rain mixed with snow'

অমৃত /omrito/ 'ambrosia' ↔ অমৃতবৃষ্টি /omritobriʃti/ 'rain of ambrosia'

845. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCbrittano/_n 'description of /XC/'

ভ্রমণ /b^hromon/ 'travel' ↔ ভ্রমণবৃত্তান্ত /b^hromonbrittano/ 'travelogue', 'description of travel'

জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ জীবনবৃত্তান্ত /jibonbrittano/ 'biography', 'description of one's life'

846. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xbo^jcitro/_n 'diversity of /X/'
 প্রাণী /prani/ 'animal' ↔ প্রাণীবৈচিত্র্য /pranibo^jcitro/ 'diversity of fauna'
 উদ্ভিদ /udb^hid/ 'plant' ↔ উদ্ভিদবৈচিত্র্য /udb^hidbo^jcitro/ 'diversity of flora'
847. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xb^hokti/_n 'devotion towards /X/'
 ঈশ্বর /iʃʃor/ 'God' ↔ ঈশ্বরভক্তি /iʃʃorb^hokti/ 'devotion towards God'
 গুরু /guru/ 'guru' ↔ গুরুভক্তি /gurub^hokti/ 'devotion towards guru'
848. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVb^honggo/_n 'breach of /XV/'
 চুক্তি /cukti/ 'contract' ↔ চুক্তিভঙ্গ /cuktib^honggo/ 'breach of contract'
 শান্তি /ʃanti/ 'peace' ↔ শান্তিভঙ্গ /ʃantib^honggo/ 'breach of the peace'
849. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xb^honggi/_n 'style of /X/'
 দৃষ্টি /driʃti/ 'look', 'view' ↔ দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী /driʃtib^honggi/ 'way of considering something',
 'point of view'
 বাচন /bacon/ 'speech', 'talking' ↔ বাচনভঙ্গী /baconb^honggi/ 'style of talking'
850. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xb^hoʃʃo/_n 'ash of /X/'
 চিতা /cita/ 'funeral pyre' ↔ চিতাভস্ম /citab^hoʃʃo/ 'the ashes of a funeral pyre'
 মদন /modon/ 'Madan', 'god of love in Hindu mythology' ↔ মদনভস্ম /modonb^hoʃʃo/
 'ashes of Madan burned by the god Shiva'
851. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xb^hab/_n 'mental state of /X/'
 ভক্তি /b^hokti/ 'devotion' ↔ ভক্তিভাব /b^hoktib^hab/ 'devoted disposition of mind'
 প্রেম /prem/ 'love' ↔ প্রেমভাব /premb^hab/ 'loving disposition of mind'
852. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVb^har/_n '(heavy) load of /XV/'
 বেদনা /bedona/ 'pain', 'sorrow' ↔ বেদনাতার /bedonab^har/ 'load of pain or sorrow one
 has to bear'
 কার্য /karjo/ 'work' ↔ কার্যভার /karjob^har/ 'load of work'
853. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xb^hog/_n 'act of having /X/'
 দুঃখ /dukk^ho/ 'distress' ↔ দুঃখভোগ /dukk^hob^hog/ 'act of undergoing distress'
 রোগ /rog/ 'disease' ↔ রোগভোগ /rogb^hog/ 'act of suffering from disease'
854. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xb^hoʃ(ɔn)/_n 'feast offered to /X/'
 কাঙালী /kāngali/ 'beggar' ↔ কাঙালীভোজ(ন) /kāngali b^hoʃ(ɔn)/ 'ceremony of offering
 food to beggars'

বালক /balok/ 'boy' ↔ বালকভোজ(ন) /balokb^hoʝ(ɔn)/ 'ceremony of offering food to small boys'

855. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xmala/_n 'a collection of /X/'

বর্ণ /borno/ 'letter' ↔ বর্ণমালা /bornomala/ 'garland of letters', 'alphabet'

পর্বত /pɔrbot/ 'mountain' ↔ পর্বতমালা /pɔrbotmala/ 'mountains-range'

856. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xmontri/_n 'minister in charge of /X/'

বন /bon/ 'forest' ↔ বনমন্ত্রী /bonmontri/ 'minister in charge of forest department'

মৎস্য /motʃo/ 'fish' ↔ মৎস্যমন্ত্রী /motʃomontri/ 'minister in charge of the fisheries department'

857. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XComorjada/_n 'dignity of /XC/'

কূল /kul/ 'family' ↔ কূলমর্যাদা /kulomorjada/ 'dignity of one's family'

পদ /pɔd/ 'post' ↔ পদমর্যাদা /pɔdomorjada/ 'dignity of one's post'

858. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xmurti/_n 'statue/figure made of /X/'

ছায়া /c^ha^ya/ 'shadow' ↔ ছায়ামূর্তি /c^ha^yamurti/ 'spectre'

প্রস্তর /prostɔr/ 'stone' ↔ প্রস্তরমূর্তি /prostormurti/ 'statue made of stone'

859. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVmullɔ/_n '/XV/-value'

ধাতু /d^hatu/ 'poetry' ↔ ধাতুমূল্য /d^hatumullɔ/ 'value of the metal'

শিল্প /ʃilpo/ 'art' ↔ শিল্পমূল্য /ʃilpomullɔ/ 'value of art'

860. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_N+syllab/_n ↔ /XC/_N+syllabmela/_n '/XC/_N+syllab/-fair'

বই /bo^j/ 'book' ↔ বইমেলা /bo^jmela/ 'book fair'

বিজ্ঞান /biggan/ 'science' ↔ বিজ্ঞানমেলা /bigganmela/ 'science fair'

861. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xjatra/_n 'voyage towards /X/'

তীর্থ /tirt^ho/ 'place of pilgrimage' ↔ তীর্থযাত্রা /tirt^hoʝatra/ 'voyage towards a place of pilgrimage'

বিদেশ /bideʃ/ 'abroad' ↔ বিদেশযাত্রা /bideʃjatra/ 'going abroad'

862. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xjatri/_n 'person going to /X/'

তীর্থ /tirt^ho/ 'place of pilgrimage' ↔ তীর্থযাত্রী /tirtojatri/ 'pilgrim'

জাপান /japan/ 'Japan' ↔ জাপানযাত্রী /japanjatri/ 'person going to or travelling to Japan'

863. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xjatri/_n 'passenger of /X/'

বাস /bas/ 'bus' ↔ বাসযাত্রী /basjatri/ 'passenger of bus'

রিক্সা /rikʃa/ 'Rikshaw' ↔ রিক্সাযাত্রী /rikʃajatri/ 'passenger of Rikshaw'

864. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xjatri/_n 'passenger of /X/'

বর /bɔr/ 'bridegroom' ↔ বরযাত্রী /bɔrjatri/ 'persons accompanying the bridegroom towards the house of the bride on the day of marriage ceremony'

কন্যা /konna/ 'bride' ↔ কন্যায়াত্রী /konnajatri/ 'persons accompanying the bride towards the house of the bridegroom on the day of marriage ceremony'

865. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xjapon/_n 'act of passing /X/'

নিশি /niʃi/ 'night' ↔ নিশিযাপন /niʃijapon/ 'passing night'

জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ জীবনযাপন /jibonjapon/ 'act of leading one's life'

866. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xjug/_n 'age of /X/'

বরফ /bɔrof/ 'snow', 'ice' ↔ বরফযুগ /bɔrofjug/ 'iceage'

ফারাও /faraõ/ 'Pharaoh' ↔ ফারাওযুগ /faraõjug/ 'age of Pharaoh'

867. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xjugol/_n 'the two /X/'

চরণ /cɔron/ 'foot' ↔ চরণযুগল /cɔronjugol/ 'feet'

হংস /hɔŋʃɔ/ 'lover' ↔ হংসযুগল /hɔŋʃɔjugol/ 'the two swans'

868. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xjudd^ho/_n 'fight with /X/'

বন্দুক /bonduk/ 'gun' ↔ বন্দুকযুদ্ধ /bondukjudd^ho/ 'gun fight'

অসি /ɔʃi/ 'sword' ↔ অসিযুদ্ধ /ɔʃijudd^ho/ 'fight with swords'

869. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xjudd^ho/_n 'fight taking place in /X/'

আকাশ /akaʃ/ 'sky' ↔ আকাশযুদ্ধ /akajudd^ho/ 'act of fighting in the air'

তারকা /taroka/ 'star' ↔ তারকাযুদ্ধ /tarokajudd^ho/ 'star war'

870. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xrokk^hok/_n 'who guards /X/'

দুর্গ /durgo/ 'fort', 'castle' ↔ দুর্গরক্ষক /durgorokk^hok/ 'guard of the fort'

দ্বার /dar/ 'door' ↔ দ্বারক্ষক /darrokk^hok/ 'doorkeeper'

871. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xrokk^hi/_n '/X/-guard'

বন /bon/ 'forest' ↔ বনরক্ষী /bonrokk^hi/ 'forest-guard'

দেহ /deho/ 'goal' ↔ দেহরক্ষী /dehorokk^hi/ 'body-guard'

872. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xroʃ/_n 'juice of /X/'

দ্রাক্ষা /drakk^ha/ 'grapes' ↔ দ্রাক্ষারস /drakk^haroʃ/ 'grape juice'

সোম /ʃom/ 'a kind of mythical creeper used for making alcohol' ↔ সোমরস /ʃomrɔʃ/ 'juice of Soma'

873. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xrɔʃ/n 'pleasure that can procure /X/'
 কাব্য /kabbo/ 'poetry' ↔ কাব্যরস /kabborɔʃ/ 'the pleasure of poetry'
 সঙ্গীত /ʃongit/ 'music' ↔ সঙ্গীতরস /ʃongitɔʃ/ 'the pleasure of music'

874. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xrɔʃik/n_{adj} 'admirer of /X/'
 কাব্য /kabbo/ 'poetry' ↔ কাব্যরসিক /kabborɔʃik/ 'who can appreciate or get pleasure in poetry'
 সঙ্গীত /ʃongit/ 'music' ↔ সঙ্গীতরসিক /ʃongitɔʃik/ 'who can appreciate or get pleasure in music'

875. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xraʃi/n 'zodiac/astrological sign of /X/'
 সিংহ /siŋho/ 'lion' ↔ সিংহরাশি /siŋhoraʃi/ '(zodiac sign of) lion'
 মেঘ /meʃ/ 'ram' ↔ মেঘরাশি /meʃraʃi/ '(zodiac sign of) Aries'

876. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xlokk^hon/n 'sign/symptom of /X/'
 রোগ /rog/ 'disease' ↔ রোগলক্ষণ /roglokk^hon/ 'sign/symptom of having disease'
 গর্ভ /gɔrb^ho/ 'womb', 'pregnancy', 'conception' ↔ গর্ভলক্ষণ /gɔrb^hɔlokk^hon/ 'sign/symptom of being pregnant'

877. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xlɔta/n '/X/-creeper'
 আঙুর /aŋgur/ 'grape' ↔ আঙুরলতা /aŋgurlɔta/ 'vine'
 কুমড়া /kumra/ 'pumpkin' ↔ কুমড়ালতা /kumralɔta/ 'pumpkin-creeper'

878. NNADSJ: /X/n ↔ /Xlɔl(ɔ)ʃa/n 'indecent desire for /X/'
 কাম /kam/ 'sex-urge' ↔ কামলালসা /kamlɔl(ɔ)ʃa/ 'indecent desire for the satisfaction of sex-urge'
 অর্থ /ɔrt^ho/ 'money' ↔ অর্থলালসা /ɔrt^hɔlɔl(ɔ)ʃa/ 'indecent desire for money'

879. NNSVADSJ: /XV/n ↔ /XVlila/n 'undesirable act of /XV/'
 ধ্বংস /d^hoŋʃo/ 'destruction' ↔ ধ্বংসলীলা /d^hoŋʃolila/ 'undesirable act of destruction/devastation'
 হত্যা /hotta/ 'killing' ↔ হত্যালীলা /hottalila/ 'undesirable act of killing'

880. NNSVADSJ: /XC/n ↔ /XC^llila/n 'game of /XC/'
 কাম /kam/ 'sex' ↔ কামলীলা /kamlila/ 'game of sex'
 প্রেম /prem/ 'love' ↔ প্রেমলীলা /premlila/ 'the game of love'

881. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃokti/_n 'power of /X/'
 শ্রবণ /srobɔn/ 'hearing' ↔ শ্রবণশক্তি /srobɔnʃokti/ 'power of hearing'
 চিন্তা /cinta/ 'act thinking' ↔ চিন্তাশক্তি /cintaʃokti/ 'power of thinking'
882. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃoɔjja/_n 'bed of /X/'
 পুষ্প /puʃpo/ 'flower' ↔ পুষ্পশয্যা /puʃposoɔjja/ 'bed of flowers'
 কণ্টক /kontɔk/ 'thorns' ↔ কণ্টকশয্যা /kontɔksoɔjja/ 'bed of thorns'
883. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃas(t)ro/_n 'science of /X/'
 কাম /kam/ 'sex-urge' ↔ কামশাস্ত্র /kamʃas(t)ro/ 'science of love'
 রতি /roti/ 'sexual intercourse' ↔ রতিশাস্ত্র /rotiʃas(t)ro/ 'science of love'
884. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃilpi/_n 'artist of /X/'
 সঙ্গীত /ʃonggit/ 'music' ↔ সঙ্গীতশিল্পী /ʃonggitʃilpi/ 'musician'
 চিত্র /citro/ 'painting' ↔ চিত্রশিল্পী /citroʃilpi/ 'painter'
885. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃoʃli/_n 'style of /X/'
 রচনা /roɔna/ 'composition' ↔ রচনামূল্য /roɔnaʃoʃli/ 'style of composition'
 গঠন /gotʰon/ 'structure' ↔ গঠনমূল্য /gotʰonʃoʃli/ 'style of structure'
886. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVsrab/_n 'exudation during /XV/'
 গর্ভ /gorbʰo/ 'pregnancy' ↔ গর্ভস্রাব /gorbʰosrab/ 'miscarriage'
 ঋতু /ritu/ 'period of menstruation' ↔ ঋতুস্রাব /ritusrab/ 'menstruation'
887. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xsreni/_n 'the class of /X/'
 শ্রমিক /sromik/ 'worker' ↔ শ্রমিকশ্রেণী /sromiksreni/ 'class of worker'
 ব্যবসায়ী /bebʃaʲi/ 'merchant' ↔ ব্যবসায়ীশ্রেণী /bebʃaʲisreni/ 'class of merchant'
888. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃoʃta/_n 'fundamental nature of /X/'
 জাতি /jati/ 'race', 'nation' ↔ জাতিসত্তা /jatiʃoʃta/ 'fundamental nature of the race or
 of the nation'
 মানব /manɔb/ 'human being' ↔ মানবসত্তা /manɔbʃoʃta/ 'fundamental nature of a human
 being'
889. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ↔ /XCʃonggi/_n 'companion during /XC/'
 ভ্রমণ /bʰromon/ 'travel' ↔ ভ্রমণসঙ্গী /bʰromonʃonggi/ 'companion during travel'
 জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ জীবনসঙ্গী /jibonʃonggi/ 'life-partner'

890. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃoŋkoʃ/_n 'critical situation in which /X/ is stuck'
 চিকিৎসা /cikitʃa/ 'treatment' ↔ চিকিৎসাসঙ্কট /cikitʃaʃoŋkoʃ/
 'critical situation concerning treatment of a person'
 অস্তিত্ব /ostitto/ 'existence' ↔ অস্তিত্বসঙ্কট /ostittoʃoŋkoʃ/ 'critical situation
 concerning the existence of a person or a thing'
891. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃoŋkoʃ/_n 'critical scarcity of /X/'
 অর্থ /ort^ho/ 'money' ↔ অর্থসঙ্কট /ort^hoʃoŋkoʃ/ 'critical scarcity of money'
 ডলার /dɔlar/ 'dollar' ↔ ডলারসঙ্কট /dɔlarʃoŋkoʃ/ 'critical scarcity of dollar'
892. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃoŋg^ho/_n 'the organization of /X/s'
 জাতি /jati/ 'nation' ↔ জাতিসঙ্ঘ /jatiʃoŋg^ho/ 'united nations'
 শ্রমিক /sromik/ 'worker' ↔ শ্রমিকসঙ্ঘ /sromikʃoŋg^ho/ 'trade union'
893. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃomaj/_n 'the class of /X/'
 ছাত্র /c^hatro/ 'student' ↔ ছাত্রসমাজ /c^hatroʃomaj/ 'the class of students'
 পণ্ডিত /pondit/ 'learned persons' ↔ পণ্ডিতসমাজ /ponditʃomaj/ 'the class of learned
 persons'
894. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVʃal/_n 'the year of /XV/'
 জন্ম /jɔnmo/ 'birth' ↔ জন্মসাল /jɔnmoʃal/ 'year of birth'
 মৃত্যু /mrittu/ 'death' ↔ মৃত্যুসাল /mrittuʃal/ 'year of death'
895. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃikar/_n 'hunting of /X/'
 মৎস্য /motso/ 'fish' ↔ মৎস্যশিকার /motʃoʃikar/ 'fishing'
 হরিণ /horin/ 'deer' ↔ হরিণশিকার /horinʃikar/ 'hunting of deer'
896. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃuci/_n 'list of /X/'
 ভ্রমণ /b^hromon/ 'travel' ↔ ভ্রমণসূচী /b^hromonʃuci/ 'list of different places to be visited'
 কর্ম /kormo/ 'action', 'activities' ↔ কর্মসূচী /kormosuci/ 'list of works to be done',
 'agenda'
897. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃeba/_n 'entertainment/service to /X/'
 অতিথি /otit^hi/ 'guest' ↔ অতিথিসেবা /otit^hiʃeba/ 'act of taking care of the guests'
 মানব /manob/ 'human beings' ↔ মানবসেবা /manobʃeba/ 'act of helping human beings'
898. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xʃo^uʃt^hob/_n 'beauty of /X/'
 রচনা /rocona/ 'composition' ↔ রচনাসৌষ্ঠব /roconaʃo^uʃt^hob/ 'beauty of composition'
 গঠন /got^hon/ 'structure' ↔ গঠনসৌষ্ঠব /got^honʃo^uʃt^hob/ 'beauty of structure'

899. NNADSJ: /XVV_{-syllab}/_n ↔ /XVV_{-syllab}stomb^ho/_n 'column for /XVV_{-syllab}/'
 স্মৃতি /srīti/ 'memory' ↔ স্মৃতিস্তম্ভ /srītistomb^ho/ 'monument'
 বিজয় /biɔ^y/ 'speech' ↔ বিজয়স্তম্ভ /biɔ^ystomb^ho/ 'monument commemorating victory'

900. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVst^hoɭ/_n 'the place of /XV/'
 ঘটনা /g^hɔ^tona/ 'occurrence', 'incident' ↔ ঘটনাস্থল /g^hɔ^tonast^hoɭ/ 'the scene of occurrence'
 হত্যাকাণ্ড /hottakandɔ/ 'murder' ↔ হত্যাকাণ্ডস্থল /hottakandost^hoɭ/ 'the scene of murder'

901. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVsnan/_n 'bath in /XV/'
 গঙ্গা /gɔŋga/ 'Ganges' ↔ গঙ্গান্নান /gɔŋgasnan/ 'act of bathing in the Ganges'
 সমুদ্র /ʃomudro/ 'sea' ↔ সমুদ্রান্নান /ʃomudrosnan/ 'act of bathing in the sea'

902. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xspriha/_n 'desire for /X/'
 ধ্বংস /d^hɔŋʃo/ 'destruction' ↔ ধ্বংসপ্ৰহা /d^hɔŋʃospriha/ 'desire of destruction'
 ভোজন /b^hoɔjon/ 'eating' ↔ ভোজনপ্ৰহা /b^hoɔjonspriha/ 'desire for having sexual intercourse'

903. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ↔ /XVsfiti/_n 'increase in the quantity or in the size of /XV/'
 মুদ্রা /mudra/ 'money' ↔ মুদ্রাস্ফীতি /mudrasfiti/ 'inflation'
 দেহ /deho/ 'body' ↔ দেহস্ফীতি /dehosfiti/ 'obesity'

904. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xsrot/_n 'outflow of /X/'
 রক্ত /ro^kto/ 'blood' ↔ রক্তস্রোত /ro^ktosrot/ 'outflow of blood'
 কাল /kaɭ/ 'time' ↔ কালস্রোত /kalsrot/ 'outflow of time'

905. NNADSJ: /X/_n ↔ /Xhotta/_n 'killing of /X/'
 প্রাণী /prani/ 'animal' ↔ প্রাণীহত্যা /pranihotta/ 'slaughtering of animal'
 মানুষ /manuʃ/ 'human being' ↔ মানুষহত্যা /manuʃhotta/ 'murder'

906. NNSBPF: /VX/_n ↔ /uccaX/_n 'high /VX/'
 অভিলাষ /ob^hilaʃ/ 'desire' ↔ উচ্চাভিলাষ /uccab^hilaʃ/ 'ambition'
 আকাঙ্ক্ষা /akaŋk^ha/ 'eagerness' ↔ উচ্চাকাঙ্ক্ষা /uccakaŋk^ha/ 'ambition'

907. NNSBPF: /oX/_n ↔ /k^hudraX/_n '/oX/ of smaller size'
 অন্ত্র /ontro/ 'intestine' ↔ ক্ষুদ্রান্ত্র /k^hudrantro/ 'small intestine'
 অস্ত্র /os(t)ro/ 'arm' ↔ ক্ষুদ্রাস্ত্র /k^hudras(t)ro/ 'small arm'

908. NNSBPF: /uX/n ↔ /krɔmoX/n 'gradual /uX/'
 উৎকর্ষ /utkorʃo/ 'amelioration' ↔ ক্রমোৎকর্ষ /krɔmotkorʃo/ 'gradual amelioration'
 উন্নতি /unnoti/ 'progress' ↔ ক্রমোন্নতি /krɔmonnoti/ 'gradual progress'
909. NNSBPF: /ɔX/n ↔ /jo^unaX/n '/ɔX/ of sex'
 অঙ্গ /ongo/ 'human organ' ↔ যৌনাঙ্গ /jo^ungo/ 'sexual organ'
 অনুভূতি /ɔnub^huti/ 'sensation' ↔ যৌনানুভূতি /jo^unanub^huti/ 'sexual sensation'
910. NNSBPF: /ʃɔX/n ↔ /biX/n 'contrary/opposite of /ʃɔX/'
 স্বদেশ /ʃodeʃ/ 'one's own country' ↔ বিদেশ /bideʃ/ 'foreign country'
 স্বধর্মী /ʃɔd^hormi/ 'member of the same religion' ↔ বিধর্মী /bid^hormi/ 'member of a different religion'
911. NNSBSF: /Xa/n ↔ /Xodeʃ/n '/Xa/ area'
 তলা /tɔla/ 'bottom' ↔ তলদেশ /tɔlodeʃ/ 'bottom area'
 গলা /gɔla/ 'throat' ↔ গলদেশ /gɔlodeʃ/ 'area of the throat'
912. NNSBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xag^hat/n 'stroke with /Xo/'
 বেত্র /betro/ 'cane' ↔ বেত্রাঘাত /betrag^hat/ 'stroke with a cane'
 বজ্র /bojro/ 'thunder' ↔ বজ্রাঘাত /bojrag^hat/ 'thunder-stroke'
913. NNSBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xanu/n 'smallest /Xo/'
 গ্রহ /groho/ 'planet' ↔ গ্রহানু /grohanu/ 'asteroid'
 ডিম্ব /dɔimbo/ 'egg' ↔ ডিম্বানু /dɔimbanu/ 'ovum', 'egg-cell'
914. NNSBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xanub^huti/n 'sensation of /Xo/'
 আনন্দ /anondo/ 'pleasure' ↔ আনন্দানুভূতি /anondanub^huti/ 'feeling of pleasure'
 দুঃখ /dukk^ho/ 'sorrow, sadness' ↔ দুঃখানুভূতি /dukk^hanub^huti/ 'feeling of sadness'
915. NNSBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xanuʃilon/n 'practice of /Xo/'
 ধর্ম /d^hɔrmo/ 'religion' ↔ ধর্মানুশীলন /d^hɔrmanuʃilon/ 'practice of religion'
 কাব্য /kabbo/ 'poetry' ↔ কাব্যানুশীলন /kabbanuʃilon/ 'practice of poetry'
916. NNSBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xanto/n 'end of /Xo/'
 দেহ /deho/ 'body' ↔ দেহান্ত /dehanto/ 'death'
 সপ্তাহ /soptaho/ 'week' ↔ সপ্তাহান্ত /ʃoptahanto/ 'week-end'

917. NNSBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xaboʃeʃ/n 'remainder of /Xo/'
 দেহ /deho/ 'body' ↔ দেহাবশেষ /dehaboʃeʃ/ 'remainder', 'residual'
 স্থাপত্য /st^hapotto/ 'architecture', 'architectural work' ↔ স্থাপত্যাবশেষ /st^hapottaboʃeʃ/
 'remainder of some architectural work'
918. NNSBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xabdo/n 'era attributed or related to /Xo/'
 খ্রীষ্ট /k^hristo/ 'Jesus Christ' ↔ খ্রীষ্টাব্দ /k^hristabdo/ 'the era of Jesus Christ'
 বঙ্গ /boŋgo/ 'Bengal' ↔ বঙ্গাব্দ /boŋgabdo/ 'the Bengal era counted from 693 AD'
919. NNSBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xami/n 'the (bad) quality of /Xo/'
 দুষ্টি /duʃto/ 'wicked, naughty' ↔ দুষ্টামী /duʃtami/ 'naughtiness, mischief'
 নষ্ট /noʃto/ 'rotten, unchaste' ↔ নষ্টামী /noʃtami/ 'sexual mischief'
920. NNSBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xart^hi/n 'who wants /Xo/'
 পুত্র /putro/ 'son' ↔ পুত্রার্থী /putrart^hi/ 'who wants son'
 পুণ্য /punno/ 'piety', 'virtue' ↔ পুণ্যার্থী /punnart^hi/ 'who wants piety or virtue'
921. NNSBSF: /Xon/n ↔ /Xok/n 'something that does /Xon/'
 বিস্ফোরণ /biʃforon/ 'explosion' ↔ বিস্ফোরক /biʃforok/ 'explosive'
 প্রতিফলন /protifolon/ 'reflection' ↔ প্রতিফলক /protifolok/ 'reflector'
922. NNSBSF: /Xon/n ↔ /Xok/n 'who does /Xon/'
 সমর্থন /ʃomort^hon/ 'support' ↔ সমর্থক /ʃomort^hok/ 'supporter'
 প্রেরণ /preron/ 'act of sending' ↔ প্রেরক /prerok/ 'sender'
923. NNSBSF: /Xa/n ↔ /Xok/n 'who does /Xa/'
 লেখা /lek^ha/ 'act of writing' ↔ লেখক /lek^hok/ 'writer'
 শিক্ষা /ʃikk^ha/ 'education' ↔ শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hok/ 'teacher'
924. NNSBSF: /Xona/n ↔ /Xok/n 'who does /Xona/'
 পরিচালনা /poricalona/ 'direction' ↔ পরিচালক /poricalok/ 'director'
 সাধনা /ʃadhona/ 'arduous endeavour' ↔ সাধক /ʃadhok/ 'who is engaged in arduous
 endeavour'
925. NNSBSF: /Xan/n ↔ /Xata/n 'who does /Xan/'
 নির্মাণ /nirman/ 'construction' ↔ নির্মাতা /nirmata/ 'constructor'
 দান /dan/ 'donation' ↔ দাতা /data/ 'donor'

926. NNSBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xanurag/n 'love for /Xo/
 শিল্প /ʃilpo/ 'art' ↔ শিল্পানুরাগ /ʃilpanurag/ 'love for art'
 কাব্য /kabbo/ 'poetry' ↔ কাব্যানুরাগ /kabbanurag/ 'love for poetry'
927. NNSBSF: /Xok/n ↔ /Xika/n_{diminutive} 'a smaller /Xok/'
 পুস্তক /pustok/ 'book' ↔ পুস্তিকা /pustika/ 'booklet', 'a small book'
 নাটক /naʈok/ 'drama' ↔ নাটিকা /naʈika/ 'a small drama'
928. NNSBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xa^yon/n 'act of making /Xo/'
 শিল্প /ʃilpo/ 'industry' ↔ শিল্পায়ন /ʃilpa^yon/ 'industrialization'
 চিত্র /citro/ 'picture' ↔ চিত্রায়ন /citra^yon/ 'filming'
929. NNSBSF: /Xo^y/n ↔ /Xeta/n_{diminutive} 'who does /Xo^y/'
 বিক্রয় /bikro^y/ 'sale' ↔ বিক্রেতা /bikreta/ 'salesman'
 অভিনয় /ob^hino^y/ 'acting' ↔ অভিনেতা /ob^hineta/ 'actor'
930. NNSBSF: /Xa/n ↔ /Xuk/n 'who does /Xa/'
 ভিক্ষা /b^hikk^ha/ 'begging' ↔ ভিক্ষুক /b^hikk^huk/ 'beggar'
 নিন্দা /ninda/ 'reproach', 'vilification' ↔ নিন্দুক /ninduk/ 'who vilifies or slanders'
931. NNSBSF: /Xo/n ↔ /Xa^yon/n 'act of providing /Xo/'
 অর্থ /ortho/ 'money' ↔ অর্থায়ন /ortha^yon/ 'finance'
 গৃহ /griho/ 'house' ↔ গৃহায়ন /griha^yon/ 'housing', 'accommodation'
932. NNSVRD: /CX/n ↔ /hXCX/n '/CX/ and similar things'
 ভাব /b^hab/ 'mental state', 'mood' ↔ হাবভাব /habb^hab/ 'gestures and deportment'
 চাল /cal/ 'manners' ↔ হালচাল /halcal/ 'manners and conditions'
933. NNSVRD: /XC/n ↔ /XCaXCi/n 'reciprocal action involving two or several /XC/
 of different persons'
 কান /kan/ 'ear' ↔ কানাকানি /kanakani/ 'whisper to one another, spread rumour'
 হাত /hat/ 'hand' ↔ হাতহাতি /hatahati/ 'hand-to-hand fight'
934. NNSVRD: /XVC/n ↔ /XCaXCi/n 'fighting that involves exchange of /XVC/'
 কামড় /kamor/ 'bite' ↔ কামড়াকামড়ি /kamrakamri/ 'biting each other'
 আছাড় /ac^har/ 'a fall or throw to the ground with force' ↔ আছড়াআছড়ি /ac^hraac^hri /
 'mutual knocking to the ground as in wrestling'

935. NNSVRD: /Xi/n ↔ /XaXi/n 'fighting that involves exchange of /Xi/'
 ঘুৰি /g^huʃi/ 'blow', 'punch' ↔ ঘুৰাঘুৰি /g^huʃag^huʃi/ 'blows and counter blows'
 খামচি /k^hamci/ 'act of tweaking with finger nails' ↔ খামচাখামচি /k^hamcak^hamci/
 'tweaking each other with finger nails'
936. NNSVRD: /C₁∩C₂∩C₃/n ↔ /C₁∩C₂C₃aC₁∩C₂C₃i/n 'continuous and reciprocal instances of /C₁∩C₂∩C₃/'
 বদল /bɔdɔl/ 'change' ↔ বদলাবদলি /bɔdlabɔdli/ বদলাবদলি 'several (reciprocal) instances of exchanging'
 ধমক /d^hɔmɔk/ 'rebuff' ↔ ধমকাধমকি /d^hɔmkad^hɔmki/ 'several (reciprocal) instances of rebuffing'
937. NNSVSPRD /CX/n, sing ↔ /CXCaʈi/n 'several instances of /CX/'
 কান্না /kanna/ 'crying' ↔ কান্নাকাটি /kannakaʈi/ 'several instances of crying'
 ঝগড়া /ʃ^hɔgra/ 'dispute' ↔ ঝগড়াঝাটি /ʃ^hɔgraj^haʈi/ 'several instances of dispute'
938. NNSVRD: /XCV(C)σ₁σ₂/n ↔ /XCV(C)σ₁σ₂ʈVσ₁σ₂/n 'XCV(C)σ₁σ₂/ and similar feelings.'
 অনুশোচনা /onuʃoɔna/ 'regret' ↔ অনুশোচনাটোচনা /onuʃoɔnaʈoɔna/ 'regret, etc'
 পরিকল্পনা /pɔrikɔlpona/ 'plan' ↔ পরিকল্পনাটল্পনা /pɔrikɔlponaʈɔlpona/ 'plan, etc.'
939. NNSPID: /X/n, sing ↔ /X/n, plu 'plural of /X/'
 নৌকা /no^hka/ 'boat' ↔ নৌকা /no^hka/ 'boats'
 বই /bɔj/ 'book' ↔ বই /bɔj/ 'books'
940. NNSPSVADSF: /XC/n, sing ↔ /XCaboli/n, plu 'plural of /XC/'
 গুণ /gun/ 'quality' ↔ গুণাবলী /gunaboli/ 'qualities'
 নিয়ম /ni^yɔm/ 'rule' ↔ নিয়মাবলী /ni^yɔmaboli/ 'rules'
941. NNSPSVADSF: /XC/n, sing ↔ /XCera/n, plu 'plural of /XC/'
 ডাকাত /ɔkat/ 'robber' ↔ ডাকাতেরা /ɔkatɛra/ 'robbers'
 শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hɔk/ 'teacher' ↔ শিক্ষকেরা /ʃikk^hɔkɛra/ 'teachers'
942. NNSPADSF: /X/n, sing ↔ /Xkul/n, plu 'plural of /X/'
 কৃষক /kriʃɔk/ 'farmer' ↔ কৃষককুল /kriʃɔkkul/ 'farmers'
 অলি /oli/ 'bee' ↔ অলিকুল /olikul/ 'bees'
943. NNSPADSF: /X/n, sing ↔ /Xgɔn/n, plu 'plural of /X/'
 অধ্যাপক /add^hapɔk/ 'professor' ↔ অধ্যাপকগণ /add^hapɔkgɔn/ 'professors'

মন্ত্রী /montri/ 'minister' ↔ মন্ত্রীগণ /montrigon/ 'ministers'

944. NNSPADSF: /X/_{n, sing, indef} ↔ /Xguli/_{n, plu, def} 'plural of /X/'

কলম /kolom/ 'pen' ↔ কলমগুলি /kolomguli/ 'the pens'

টাকা /taka/ 'money' ↔ টাকাগুলি /takaguli/ 'the money'

945. NNSPADSF: /X/_{n, sing, indef} ↔ /Xgulo/_{n, plu, def} 'plural of /X/'

কলম /kolom/ 'pen' ↔ কলমগুলো /kolomgulo/ 'the pens'

টেবিল /tebil/ 'table' ↔ টেবিলগুলো /tebilgulo/ 'the tables'

946. NNSPADSF: /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xpati/_{n, plu} 'plural of /X/'

খরচ /k^horoc/ 'expenditure' ↔ খরচপাতি /k^horocpati/ 'expenditures'

যন্ত্র /jontro/ 'equipment', 'machine' ↔ যন্ত্রপাতি /jontropati/ 'equipment', 'machinery'

947. NNSPADSF: /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xborgo/_{n, plu} 'plural of /X/'

পণ্ডিত /pondit/ 'learned man' ↔ পণ্ডিতবর্গ /ponditborgo/ 'a group of learned men'

অতিথি /otit^{hi}/ 'invited person' ↔ অতিথিবর্গ /otit^{hi} borgo/ 'a group of invited persons'

948. NNSPADSF: /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xbrindo/_{n, plu} 'plural of /X/'

সদস্য /sodɔʃɔ/ 'member' ↔ সদস্যবৃন্দ /sodɔʃɔbrindo/ 'members'

ভক্ত /b^hokto/ 'devotee' ↔ ভক্তবৃন্দ /b^hoktobrindo/ 'devotees'

949. NNSPADSF: /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xmondoli/_{n, plu} 'plural of /X/'

শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hok/ 'teacher' ↔ শিক্ষকমন্ডলী /ʃikk^hok mondoli/ 'teachers'

দর্শক /dorʃok/ 'spectator' ↔ দর্শকমন্ডলী /dorʃokmondoli/ 'spectators'

950. NNSPSVADSF: /XV/_{n, sing} ↔ /XVjut^ho/_{n, (collective/aggregate) plu} 'plural of /XV/'

হস্তি /hosti/ 'elephant' ↔ হস্তিযুথ /hostijut^ho/ 'herd of elephants'

সিংহ /ʃiŋho/ 'lion' ↔ সিংহযুথ /ʃiŋhojut^ho/ 'herd of lions'

951. NNSPADSF: /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xra/_{n, plu} 'plural of /X/'

ছেলে /c^hele/ 'boy' ↔ ছেলেরা /c^helera/ 'boys'

ডাকাত /dakat/ 'robber' ↔ ডাকাতরা /dakatra/ 'robbers'

952. NNSPADSF: /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xraʃi/_{n, plu} 'plural of /X/'

বালুকা /baluka/ 'sand' ↔ বালুকারাশি /balukaraʃi/ 'sands'

বৃক্ষ /brikk^ho/ 'tree' ↔ বৃক্ষরাশি /brikk^horaʃi/ 'trees'

953. NNSPADSF: /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xraji/_{n, plu} 'plural of /X/'
 তারকা /taroka/ 'star' ↔ তারকারাজি /tarokaraji/ 'stars'
 গ্রহ /groho/ 'planet' ↔ গ্রহরাজি /grohoraji/ 'planets'
954. NNSPADSF: /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xjomuho/_{n, plu} 'plural of /X/'
 প্রশ্ন /proʃno/ 'question' ↔ প্রশ্নসমূহ /proʃnojomuho/ 'questions'
 পুস্তক /pustok/ 'book' ↔ পুস্তকসমূহ /pustokjomuho/ 'books'
955. NNSPADSJ: /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xdol/_{n, plu} 'plural of /X/'
 ছাত্র /c^hatro/ 'student' ↔ ছাত্রদল /c^hatrodol/ 'a group of students'
 ভিক্ষুক /b^hikk^huk/ 'beggar' ↔ ভিক্ষুকদল /b^hikk^hukdol/ 'a group of beggars'
956. NNSPADSJ: /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xgucc^ho/_{n, (collective/aggregate) plu} 'plural of /X/'
 পুষ্প /puʃpo/ 'flower' ↔ পুষ্পগুচ্ছ /puʃpogucc^ho/ 'bunch of flowers'
 প্রস্তাব /prostab/ 'proposition' ↔ প্রস্তাবগুচ্ছ /prostabgucc^ho/ 'a bunch of propositions'
957. NNSPADSJ: /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xpotro/_{n, plu} 'multiplicity of /X/ and similar things'
 কাগজ /kagoj/ 'papers' ↔ কাগজপত্র /kagojpotro/ 'papers and similar things'
 চিঠি /ci^thi/ 'letter' ↔ চিঠিপত্র /ci^thipotro/ 'letters and similar documents'
958. NNSPADSF: /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xpat/_{n, plu}
 দোকান /dokan/ 'shop' ↔ দোকানপাট /dokanpat/ 'shops and related things'
 রাজ্য /rajjo/ 'kingdom' ↔ রাজ্যপাট /rajjopat/ 'kingdom and related things'
959. NNSPADSJ: /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xmohol/_{n, plu} 'X/ portion (of some population)'
 মহিলা /mohila/ 'woman' ↔ মহিলামহল /mohilamohol/ 'women'
 বুদ্ধিজীবী /budd^hijibi/ 'intellectual' ↔ বুদ্ধিজীবীমহল /budd^hijibimohol/ 'intellectuals'
960. NNSPSBSF: /Xo/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xali/_{n, plu} 'multiplicity of /Xo/'
 চিত্র /citro/ 'picture' ↔ চিত্রালী /citrالي/ 'pictures'
 পত্র /potro/ 'leaf' ↔ পত্রালী /potrali/ 'leaves'
961. NNSPSBSF: /Xo/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xaboli/_{n, plu} 'multiplicity of /Xo/'
 দৃশ্য /driʃʃo/ 'scene' ↔ দৃশ্যাবলী /driʃʃaboli/ 'a collection of scenes'
 পত্র /potro/ 'leaf' ↔ পত্রাবলী /potraboli/ 'leaves'
962. NNSPSBSF: /Xo/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xera/_{n, plu} 'Xo/s'
 ছাত্র /c^hatro/ 'student' ↔ ছাত্রেরা /c^hatrera/ 'students'

সৈন্য /ʃoʃnno/ 'soldier' ↔ সৈন্যেরা /ʃoʃnnera/ 'soldiers'

963. NNSPSVRD: /XC/_{n, sing} ↔ /XCaX/_{n, plu} 'multiplicity of /XC/'

মাল /mal/ 'merchandise' ↔ মালামাল /malamal/ 'merchandises'

গাল /gal/ 'insult' ↔ গালাগাল /galagal/ 'insults'

964. NNSPRD: /X/_{n, sing, loc} ↔ /XX/_{n, plu, loc} 'on the multiplicity of /X/'

ডালে /dale/ 'on a branch' ↔ ডালে ডালে /daledale/ 'on branches'

পাতায় /pataʲ/ 'on a leaf' ↔ পাতায় পাতায় /pataʲpataʲ/ 'on leaves'

965. NNSPRD: /X/_n ↔ /XXanto/_{n, plu} 'X and beyond'

বন /bon/ 'forest' → বনবনান্ত /bonbonanto/ 'forest and beyond'

দূর /dur/ 'far' → দূরদূরান্ত /durduranto/ 'far and beyond'

966. NNSPRD: /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /XX/_{n, plu} '/X/, etc.'

নিয়ম /niʲom/ 'rule' ↔ নিয়মকানুন /niʲomkanun/ 'rules'

গাড়ি /gari/ 'car' ↔ গাড়িঘোড়া /garig^hora/ 'cars and other means of transports'

967. AASPRD: /X/_{adj, sing} ↔ /XX/_{ad, plu} 'plural of /X/'

বড় /bɔro/ 'big' ↔ বড়বড় /bɔrobɔro/ 'apparently big'

মোটা /moʈa/ 'fat' ↔ মোটা মোটা /moʈa moʈa/ 'apparently fat'

968. ProProSMADSF: /V_{+high}Ci/_{pron, sing} ↔ /V_{-high}Cara/_{pron, plu} 'plural of /V_{+high}Ci/'

ইনি /ini/ 'he_{proximal}' ↔ এনারা /enara/ 'they_{proximal}'

উনি /uni/ 'he_{distal}' ↔ ওনারা /onara/ 'they_{distal}'

969. NNMFSVADSF: /XC/_{n, masc} ↔ /XCi/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /XC/'

কৃষাণ /kriʃan/ 'farmer' ↔ কৃষাণী /kriʃani/ 'wife of a farmer'

কিশোর /kiʃor/ 'teen-age boy' ↔ কিশোরী /kiʃori/ 'teen-age girl'

970. NNMFSVADSF: /XC/_{n, masc/comm} /XCini/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /XC/'

বাঘ /bag^h/ 'tiger' ↔ বাঘিনী /bag^hini/ 'tigress'

নাগ /nag/ '(mythological) snake' ↔ নাগিনী /nagini/ '(mythological) she-snake'

971. NNMFADSF: /X/_{n, masc/comm} ↔ /Xni/_{n, fem} 'female/wife of /X/'

বিদেশী /bideʃi/ 'male foreigner' ↔ বিদেশিনী /bideʃini/ 'female foreigner'

কামার /kamar/ 'blacksmith' ↔ কামারনি /kamarni/ 'wife of a blacksmith or a female blacksmith'

972. NNMFSVADSF: /XC/_{n, masc} ↔ /XCa/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /XC/'
 প্রেমিক /premik/ 'male lover' ↔ প্রেমিকা /premika/ 'female lover'
 কোকিল /kokil/ 'he cuckoo' ↔ কোকিলা /kokila/ 'she cuckoo'
973. NNMFSMADSF: /XCōC/_{n, masc} ↔ /XCCi/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /XCōC/'
 পাগল /pagol/ 'male mad' ↔ পাগলি /pagli/ 'female mad'
 ছাগল /c^hagol/ 'male goat' ↔ ছাগলী /c^hagli/ 'female goat'
974. NNMFSJ: /X/_{masc} ↔ /Xo^u/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /X/'
 মুচি /muci/ 'cobble' ↔ মুচিবৌ /mucibo^u/ 'wife of a cobbler'
 কামার /kamar/ 'blacksmith' ↔ কামারবৌ /kamarbo^u/ 'wife of a blacksmith'
975. NNMFSVADPJ: /CX/_{n, masc/comm} ↔ /mohilaCX/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /CX/'
 কবি /kobi/ 'poet' ↔ মহিলাকবি /mohilakobi/ 'poetess'
 পুলিশ /puliʃ/ 'policeman' ↔ মহিলা পুলিশ /mohilapuliʃ/ 'policewoman'
976. NNMFSVADPJ: /CX/_{n, masc/comm} ↔ /madiCX/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /CX/'
 হাতি /hati/ 'he elephant' ↔ মাদি হাতি /madihati/ 'she elephant'
 ঘোড়া /g^hora/ 'horse' ↔ মাদি ঘোড়া /madig^hora/ 'mare'
977. NNMFSVADPJ: /CX/_{n, masc/comm} ↔ /puruʃCX/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /CX/'
 শ্রমিক /sromik/ 'worker' ↔ পুরুষ শ্রমিক /pusruʃsromik/ 'male worker'
 বাঘ /bag^h/ 'tiger' ↔ পুরুষ বাঘ /puruʃbag^h/ 'he-tiger', 'male tiger'
978. NNMFSVADPJ: /CX/_n ↔ /nariCX/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /CX/'
 শ্রমিক /sromik/ 'labour' ↔ নারী শ্রমিক /narisromik/ 'female labourer'
 কর্মী /kormi/ 'worker' ↔ নারী কর্মী /narikormi/ 'female worker'
979. NNMFSVADPJ: /CX/_{n, masc/comm} ↔ /me^yeCX/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /CX/'
 মানুষ /manuʃ/ 'human being' ↔ মেয়েমানুষ /me^yemanuʃ/ 'woman'
 মৌমাছি /mo^umac^hi/ 'bee' ↔ মেয়ে মৌমাছি /me^yemo^umac^hi/ 'she-bee'
980. NNMFSVADPJ: /CX/_{n, masc/comm} ↔ /striCX/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /CX/'
 বাঘ /bag^h/ 'tiger' ↔ স্ত্রী বাঘ /stribagh/ 'tigress'
 মৌমাছি /mo^umac^hi/ 'bee' ↔ স্ত্রী মৌমাছি /strimo^umac^hi/ 'she-bee'
981. NNMFSBSF: /Xo/_{n, masc} ↔ /Xa/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /Xo/'
 বৃদ্ধ /bridd^ho/ 'old man' ↔ বৃদ্ধা /bridd^ha/ 'old woman'

শিষ্য /ʃiʃʃo/ 'male disciple' ↔ শিষ্যা /ʃiʃʃa/ 'female disciple'

982. NNMFSBSF: /Xo/_{n, masc} ↔ /Xani/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /Xo/'

ঔদ্র /ʃudro/ 'male non Brahmin' ↔ শূদ্রাণী /ʃudrani/ 'female non Brahmin',
'wife of a non Brahmin'

ইন্দ্র /indro/ 'Indra, the mythological king of Hindu heaven' ↔ ইন্দ্রাণী /indrani/ 'wife of
Indra'

983. NNMFSBSF: /Xo/_{n, masc} ↔ /Xi/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /Xo/'

ছাত্র /c^hatro/ 'male student' ↔ ছাত্রী /c^hatri/ 'female student'

বুড়ো /buro/ 'old man' ↔ বুড়ি /buri/ 'old woman'

984. NNMFSBSF: /Xa/_{n, masc} ↔ /Xi/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /Xa/'

পাগলা /pagla/ 'male mad' ↔ পাগলি /pagli/ 'female mad'

মামা /mama/ 'maternal uncle' ↔ মামী /mami/ 'maternal aunt'

985. NNMFSBSF: /Xok/_{n, masc} ↔ /Xika/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /Xok/'

শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hok/ 'teacher' ↔ শিক্ষিকা /ʃikk^hika/ 'woman teacher'

অধ্যাপক /odd^hapok/ 'professor' ↔ অধ্যাপিকা /odd^hapika/ 'lady professor'

986. NNMFSBSF: /Xa/_{n, masc} ↔ /Xri/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /Xa/'

নেতা /neta/ 'leader' ↔ নেত্রী /netri/ 'woman leader'

অভিনেতা /ob^hineta/ 'actor' ↔ অভিনেত্রী /ob^hinetri/ 'actress'

987. NNMFSMSBSF: /CV_{-high}Xa/_{n, masc} ↔ /CV_{+high}Xi/_{n, fem} 'feminine of
/CV_{-high}Xa/'

সখা /ʃok^ha/ 'male friend' ↔ সখী/সখি /ʃok^hi/ 'female friend'

ভেড়া /b^hera/ 'ram' ↔ ভেড়ী /b^heri/ 'ewe'

988. NNMFSBSMSF: /CV_{-high}Xo/_{n, masc} ↔ /CV_{+high}Xini/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /CV_{-high}Xo/'

সর্প /ʃorpo/ 'he-snake' ↔ সর্পিনী /ʃorpini/ 'she-snake'

যক্ষ /jokk^ho/ 'demy-god in Hindu mythology' ↔ যক্ষিনী /jokk^hini/ 'demy-goddess in
Hindu mythology'

989. NNMFSBSF: /Xban/_{adj/n, masc} ↔ /Xboti/_{adj/n, fem} 'feminine of /Xban/'

দয়াবান /do^yaban/ 'kind (man)' ↔ দয়াবতী /do^yaboti/ 'kind (woman)'

পূন্যবান /punnoban/ 'pious (man)' ↔ পূন্যবতী /punnoboti/ 'pious (woman)'

990. NNMFID: /X/adj, masc ↔ /X/adj, fem 'feminine of /X/'
 সুন্দর /ʃundor/ 'beautiful' ↔ সুন্দর /ʃundor/ 'beautiful'
 ভালো /b^halo/ 'good' ↔ ভালো /b^halo/ 'good'
991. NNMFID: /X/n, masc/comm ↔ /X/n, fem 'feminine of /X/'
 শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hok/ 'teacher' ↔ শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hok / 'teacher'
 অধ্যাপক /od^hapok/ 'professor' ↔ অধ্যাপক /odd^hapok/ 'professor'
992. NNCCADSF: /X/n, nom ↔ /Xke/n, acc/dat 'X/ used as patient or goal'
 মেয়ে /me^ye/ 'daughter', 'girl' ↔ মেয়েকে /me^yeke/ 'to the girl'
 মানুষ /manuʃ/ 'human being' ↔ মানুষকে /manuʃke/ 'to the human beings'
993. NNCCSVADSF: /XV/n, nom ↔ /XVr/n, gen 'of /XV/'
 মেয়ে /me^ye/ 'daughter', 'girl' ↔ মেয়ের /me^yer/ 'of the girl', 'daughter's'
 কুকুরগুলো /kukurgulo/ 'dogs' ↔ কুকুরগুলোর /kukurgulor/ 'of the dogs'
994. NNCCSVADSF: /XC/n, sing, nom ↔ /XCer/n, sing, gen 'of /XC/'
 শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hok/ 'teacher' ↔ শিক্ষকের /ʃikk^hoker/ 'of the teacher'
 চেয়ার /cear/ 'chair' ↔ চেয়ারের /cearer/ 'of the chair'
995. NNCCADSF: /X/n/pron, nom, sing ↔ /Xder/n/pron, gen, plu 'of more than one /X/'
 নিজে /nije/ 'himself' ↔ নিজেদের /nijeder/ 'of themselves'
 শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hok/ 'teacher' ↔ শিক্ষকদের /ʃikk^hokder/ 'of (the) teachers'
996. NNCCSVADSF: /Xder/n/pro, gen, plu ↔ /Xderke/n/pro, acc, plu 'the referent of /Xder/
 used as experiencer or receiver'
 মেয়েদের /me^yeder/ 'of the daughters', 'of the girls' ↔ মেয়েদেরকে /me^yederke/ 'to the
 daughters', 'to the girls'/'girls or daughter' (used as direct object)
 ওদের /oder/ 'their' ↔ ওদেরকে /oderke/ 'them'
997. NNCCSVADSF: /Xa/n, nom ↔ /Xa^y/n, loc 'in /Xa/'
 ক্ষমতা /k^homota/ 'power' ↔ ক্ষমতায় /k^homota^y/ 'in the power'
 ঢাকা /d^haka/ 'Dhaka' ↔ ঢাকায় /d^haka^y/ 'in Dhaka'
998. NNCCSVADSF: /XC/n, nom ↔ /XCe/n, loc 'in /XC/'
 বাজার /bajar/ 'market' ↔ বাজারে /bajare/ 'in the market'
 সকাল /ʃokal/ 'morning' ↔ সকালে /ʃokale/ 'in the morning'

999. NNCCSVADSF: /XV/_{n, nom} ↔ /XVte/_{n, loc} 'in /XV/'

ছুরি /c^huri/ 'knife' ↔ ছুরিতে /c^hurite/ 'in the knife'

ঢাকা /d^haka/ 'Dhaka' ↔ ঢাকাতে /d^hakate/ 'in Dhaka'

1000. NNCCSVADSF: /XV/_{n, nom} ↔ /XVte/_{n, nom} 'synonym of /XV/'

বুলবুলি /bulbuli/ 'bulbul' ↔ বুলবুলিতে /bulbulite/ 'by bulbul'

গরু /goru/ 'cow' ↔ গরুতে /gorute/ 'by cow'

1001. NNCCSVADSF: /XC/_{n, nom} ↔ /XCe/_{n, nom} 'synonym of /XC/'

পাগল /pagol/ 'mad' ↔ পাগলে /pagole/ 'mad'

লোক /lok/ 'people' ↔ লোকে /loke/ 'people'

1002. NNCCSVADSF: /XV/_{n, nom} ↔ /XVr/_{n, gen} 'made of /XV/'

সোনা /ʃona/ 'gold' ↔ সোনার /ʃonar/ 'made of gold'

চিনি /cini/ 'sugar' ↔ চিনির /cinir/ 'made of sugar'

1003. NNCCSVADSF: /XC/_{n, nom} ↔ /XCer/_{n, gen} 'made of /XC/'

মোম /mom/ 'wax' ↔ মোমের /momer/ 'made of wax'

প্লাস্টিক /plastik/ 'plastic' ↔ প্লাস্টিকের /plastiker/ 'made of plastic'

1004. NNCCSBSF: /Xo/_{n, sing, nom} ↔ /Xe/_{n, sing, loc} 'in /Xo/'

পাত্র /patro/ 'pot' ↔ পাত্রে /patre/ 'in (the) pot'

চন্দ্র /condro/ 'moon' ↔ চন্দ্রে /condre/ 'in the moon'

1005. NNCCSBSF: /Xo/_{n, nom} ↔ /Xer/_{n, gen} 'of /Xo/'

ছাত্র /c^hatro/ 'student' ↔ ছাত্রের /c^hatrer/ 'of (the) student'

সৈন্য /ʃoinno/ 'soldier' ↔ সৈন্যের /ʃoinner/ 'of (the) soldier'

1006. NNCCID: /X/_{n, nom} ↔ /X/_{n, acc} '/X/ used as patient'

কাপড় /kapor/ 'cloth' ↔ কাপড় /kapor/ 'cloth' (used as direct object)

কুকুর /kukur/ ↔ কুকুর /kukur/ 'dog' (used as direct object)

1007. NNCCID: /X/_{n, nom} ↔ /X/_{n, loc} 'in /X/'

বাড়ি /bari/ 'house' ↔ বাড়ি /bari/ 'in the house'

ঢাকা /d^haka/ 'Dhaka' ↔ ঢাকা /d^haka/ 'in Dhaka'

1008. NNCCID: /X/_{n, nom} ↔ /X/_{n, voc} '/X/ used to draw attention of /X/'

রাজকুমারী /rajkumari/ 'princess' ↔ রাজকুমারী /rajkumari/ 'O princess'

ঝক /rik/ 'Rik' ↔ ঝক /rik/ 'O Rik'

1009. NNCCID: /X/_{n, plu, gen (adj poss)} ↔ /X/_{n, plu, acc} 'X/ used as patient'
 মেয়েদের /me^yeder/ 'of the daughters', 'of the girls', ↔ মেয়েদের /me^yeder/ 'daughters',
 'girls' (used as direct or indirect object)
 ছাত্রদের /c^hatroder/ 'of the students' ↔ ছাত্রদের /chatroder/ 'students' (used as direct
 or indirect object)

1010. NNCCID: /X/_{n, gen, plu (adj poss)} ↔ /X/_{n, dat, plu} 'X/ used as receiver or goal'
 মেয়েদের /me^yeder/ 'of the daughters', 'of the girls', ↔ মেয়েদের /me^yeder/ 'daughters',
 'girls' (used as direct or indirect object)
 ছাত্রদের /c^hatroder/ 'of the students' ↔ ছাত্রদের /chatroder/ 'students' (used as direct
 or indirect object)

1011. NNCCID: /X/_{n, loc} ↔ /X/_{n, instr} 'X/ used as instrument'
 ক্ষমতায় /k^homota^y/ 'in the power' ↔ ক্ষমতায় /k^homota^y/ 'with the power'
 ঔষধে /o^uṣod^he/ 'in the medicine' ↔ ঔষধে /o^uṣod^he/ 'with the medicine'

1012. ProProCCSBSF: /Xi/_{pron, sing, nom} ↔ /Xake/_{pron, sing, acc/dat} 'Xi/ used as goal,
 experiencer or patient'
 আমি /ami/ 'I' ↔ আমাকে /amake/ 'me'
 আপনি /apni/ 'you' ↔ আপনাকে /apnake/ 'you' (used as direct or indirect object)

1013. ProProCCSMSBSF: /(C₁)V_{+high}C₂i/_{pron, sing, nom} ↔ /(C₁)V_{-high}C₂ake/_{pron, sing,}
 acc/dat/(C)V_{+high}Ci/ used as goal, experiencer or patient'
 তুমি /tumi/ 'you' ↔ তোমাকে /tomake/ 'you_{acc}', 'to you'
 ইনি /ini/ 'he proximal form' ↔ এনাকে /enake/ 'him proximal form'

1014. NNIDADSF: /X/_{n, indef, sing/plu} ↔ /Xt̪a/_{n, def, sing} 'definite or specific X/'
 বই /bo^j/ 'book' ↔ বইটা /bo^jt̪a/ 'the book'
 কলম /kolom/ 'pen' ↔ কলমটা /kolomt̪a/ 'the pen'

1015. NNIDADSF: /X/_{n, indef, sing/plu} ↔ /Xt̪i/_{n, def, sing} 'definite or specific X/'
 বই /bo^j/ 'book' ↔ বইটি /bo^jt̪i/ 'the book'
 কলম /kolom/ 'pen' ↔ কলমটি /kolomt̪i/ 'the pen'

1016. NNIDADSF: /X/_{n, indef, sing/plu} ↔ /Xk^han(a/i)/_{n, def, sing} 'definite or specific X/'
 বই /bo^j/ 'book' ↔ বইখানা /bo^jk^hana/ or বইখানি /bo^jk^hani/ 'the book'
 শাড়ি /ṣari/ 'sari' ↔ শাড়িখানা /ṣarik^hana/ or শাড়িখানি /ṣarik^hani/ 'the sari'

1017. NNIDADSF: /X/_{n, uncount, indef} ↔ /Xt̪uku/_{n, uncount, def} 'definite or specific /X/'
 দুধ /dud^h/ 'milk' ↔ দুধটুকু /dud^ht̪uku/ 'the milk'
 ভাত /b^hat/ 'rice' ↔ ভাতটুকু /b^hat̪uku/ 'the rice'

1018. NNIDADSF: /X/_{n, indef, sing/plu} ↔ /Xmohodɔ̃/_{n, sing, def} 'definite or specific /X/'
 মন্ত্রী /montri/ 'minister' ↔ মন্ত্রীমহোদয় /montrimohodɔ̃/ 'the minister'
 অধ্যাপক /odd^hapok/ 'professor' ↔ অধ্যাপকমহোদয় /odd^hapokmohodɔ̃/ 'the professor'

1019. NNDIID: /X/_{n, sing, indef} ↔ /X/_{n, sing, def} 'a particular /X/'
 ছাত্র /c^hatro/ 'student' ↔ ছাত্র /c^hatro/ 'the student'
 মন্ত্রী /montri/ 'minister' ↔ মন্ত্রী /montri/ 'the minister'

1020. AASVADPF: /CX/_{adj} ↔ /ɔCX/_{adj} 'opposite of /CX/'
 বাধ্য /badd^ho/ 'obedient' ↔ অবাধ্য /ɔbadd^ho/ 'disobedient'
 সাধারণ /ʃad^haron/ 'ordinary' ↔ অসাধারণ /ɔʃad^haron/ 'not ordinary'/'extra-ordinary'

1021. AASVADPF: /VX/_{adj} ↔ /ɔnVX/_{adj} 'opposite of /VX/'
 উর্বর /urbor/ 'fertile' ↔ অনুর্বর /ɔnurbor/ 'barren'
 অভিজ্ঞ /ob^higgō/ 'experienced' ↔ অনভিজ্ঞ /ɔnob^higgō/ 'inexperienced'

1022. AASVADPF: /CX/_{adj} ↔ /ɔrd^hoCX/_{adj} 'half /CX/'
 মৃত /mr̩to/ 'dead' ↔ অর্ধমৃত /ɔrd^homr̩to/ 'half-dead'
 দগ্ধ /dɔgd^ho/ 'burned' ↔ অর্ধদগ্ধ /ɔrd^hodɔgd^ho/ 'half-burned'

1023. AAADPF: /CX/_{adj} ↔ /attoCX/_{adj} 'self /CX/'
 বিস্মৃত /bisr̩to/ 'forgotten' ↔ আত্মবিস্মৃত /attobisr̩to/ 'self-oblivious'
 স্বীকৃত /ʃikr̩to/ 'acknowledged' ↔ আত্মস্বীকৃত /attoʃikr̩to/ 'self-acknowledged'

1024. AAADPF: /X/_{adj} ↔ /ad^hX/_{adj} 'half /X/'
 ভাঙ্গা /b^haŋa/ 'broken' ↔ আধভাঙ্গা /ad^hb^haŋa/ 'half-broken'
 পাগল /pagol/ 'mad' ↔ আধপাগল /ad^hpagol/ 'half-mad'

1025. AASVADPF: /CX/_{adj} ↔ /apatoCX/_{adj} '/CX/ for the time being'
 মধুর /mod^hur/ 'sweet' ↔ আপাতমধুর /apatomod^hur/ 'sweet for the time being'
 কঠিন /koṭ^hin/ 'difficult' ↔ আপাতকঠিন /apatokoṭ^hin/ 'difficult for the time being'

1026. AASVADPF: /CX/_{adj} ↔ /art^hoCX/_{adj} '/CX/-economic'
 সামাজিক /ʃamaɟik/ 'social' ↔ আর্থসামাজিক /art^hoʃamaɟik/ 'socio-economic'

রাজনৈতিক /rajno^jtik/ 'political' ↔ আর্থরাজনৈতিক /art^horajno^jtik/ 'politico-economic'

1027. AASVADPF: /CX/adj ↔ /inggoCX/adj '/CX/ and English'

মার্কিন /markin/ 'American' ↔ ইঙ্গমার্কিন /inggomarkin/ 'Anglo-American'

ভারতীয় /b^haroti^yo/ 'Indian' ↔ ইঙ্গভারতীয় /inggob^haroti^yo/ 'Anglo-Indian'

1028. AASVADPF: /CX/adj ↔ /gɔrCX/adj 'opposite of /CX/'

রাজী /raji/ 'agreed' ↔ গররাজী /gorraji/ 'disagreed'

হাজির /hajir/ 'present' ↔ গরহাজির /gorhajir/ 'absent'

1029. AASVADPF: /CX/adj ↔ /ciroCX/adj '/CX/ for always'

স্থায়ী /st^ha^yi/ 'permanent' ↔ চিরস্থায়ী /cirost^ha^yi/ 'eternal'

বিশ্বস্ত /biʃʃɔsto/ 'trustful' ↔ চিরবিশ্বস্ত /cirobiʃʃɔsto/ 'always trustful'

1030. AASVADPF: /X/adj ↔ /durX/adj '/X/ with much difficulties'

অতিক্রম্য /otikrommo/ 'to be passed beyond or crossed' ↔ দুরতিক্রম্য /durotikrommo/ 'to be passed beyond or crossed with difficulties'

ভক্ষ্য /b^hokk^ho/ 'eatable' ↔ দুর্ভক্ষ্য /durb^hokk^ho/ 'hard to eat'

1031. AASVADPF: /CX/adj ↔ /duʃCX/adj '/CX/ with much difficulties'

পাচ্য /pacco/ 'digestible' ↔ দুঃপাচ্য /duʃpacco/ 'not easily digestible'

সহনীয় /ʃɔhoni^yo/ 'tolerable' ↔ দুঃসহনীয় /duʃʃɔhoni^yo/ 'not easily tolerable', 'intolerable'

1032. AASVADPF: /CX/adj ↔ /natiCX/adj 'not too /CX/'

দীর্ঘ /dirgh^o/ 'long' ↔ নাতিদীর্ঘ /natidirgh^o/ 'not too long'

স্থূল /st^hulo/ 'fat' ↔ নাতিস্থূল /natist^hulo/ 'not too fat'

1033. AASVADPF: /CX/adj ↔ /nimnoCX/adj '/CX/ underneath'

লিখিত /lik^hito/ 'written' ↔ নিম্নলিখিত /nimnolik^hito/ 'written below'

বর্ণিত /bornito/ 'described' ↔ নিম্নবর্ণিত /nimnobornito/ 'described below'

1034. NNSVADPF: /CX/adj ↔ /poriCX/adj '/CX/ in an advanced stage'

পক্ক /pɔkko/ 'ripen' ↔ পরিপক্ক /poripɔkko/ 'well ripen'

পুষ্ট /puʃto/ 'ripen' ↔ পরিপুষ্ট /poripuʃto/ 'well ripen'

1035. AAADPF: /CX/adj ↔ /purboCX/adj '/CX/ from before'

পরিচিত /poricito/ 'acquainted' ↔ পূর্বপরিচিত /purboporicito/ 'acquainted from before'

প্রকাশিত /prokaʃito/ 'published' ↔ পূর্বপ্রকাশিত /purboprokaʃito/ 'published before'

1036. AASVADPF: /CX/adj ↔ /biCX/adj 'very /CX/'

ভ্রান্ত /b^hranto/ 'mistaken', 'erroneous' ↔ বিভ্রান্ত /bib^hranto/ 'very confused',
'distracted'

নম্র /nomro/ 'polite' ↔ বিনম্র /binomro/ 'very polite'

1037. AASVADPF: /CX/adj ↔ /beCX/adj 'not /CX/'

সরকারী /ʃorkari/ 'governmental' ↔ বেসরকারী /beʃorkari/ 'nongovernmental'

ঠিক /t^hik/ 'true' ↔ বেঠিক /bet^hik/ 'false'

1038. AASVADPF: /CX/adj ↔ /ʃoCX/adj 'self done /CX/'

শিক্ষিত /ʃikk^hito/ 'educated' ↔ স্বশিক্ষিত /ʃoʃikk^hito/ 'self-educated'

পরিকল্পিত /porikolpito/ 'planned' ↔ স্বপরিকল্পিত /ʃoporikolpito/ 'self-planned'

1039. AASVADPF: /CX/adj ↔ /ʃorboCX/adj 'the most /CX/'

প্রাচীন /pracin/ 'old' ↔ সর্বপ্রাচীন /ʃorbopracin/ 'oldest'

নিম্ন /nimno/ 'low' ↔ সর্বনিম্ন /ʃorbonimno/ 'lowest'

1040. AASVADPF: /CX/adj ↔ /ʃorboCX/adj '/CX/ to everybody'

পরিচিত /poricito/ 'known' ↔ সর্বপরিচিত /ʃorboporicito/ 'known to everybody'

জনপ্রিয় /jonopri^yo/ 'popular' ↔ সর্বজনপ্রিয় /ʃorbojonopri^yo/ 'popular to everybody'

1041. AASVADPF: /CX/adj ↔ /ʃolpoCX/adj 'very little /CX/'

পরিচিত /poricito/ 'known' ↔ স্বল্পপরিচিত /ʃolpoporicito/ 'not very known'

শিক্ষিত /ʃikk^hito/ 'educated' ↔ স্বল্পশিক্ষিত /ʃolpoʃikk^hito/ 'not very educated'

1042. AASVADPF: /CX/adj ↔ /ʃuCX/adj 'extremely /CX/'

বিশাল /biʃal/ 'big' ↔ সুবিশাল /ʃubiʃal/ 'very big'

পরীক্ষিত /porikk^hito/ 'tested' ↔ সুপরীক্ষিত /ʃuporikk^hito/ 'well tested'

1043. AASVADSF: /XC/adj ↔ /XCi^yo/adj 'synonym of /XC/'

আবশ্যক /aboʃʃok/ 'necessary' ↔ আবশ্যকীয় /aboʃʃoki^yo/ 'necessary'

অত্যাবশ্যক /ottaboʃʃok/ 'compulsory' ↔ অত্যাবশ্যকীয় /ottaboʃʃoki^yo/ 'compulsory'

1044. AASVADSF: /XC/adj ↔ /XC(o)korma/adj 'who does /XC/ things'

ক্রুর /krur/ 'cruel' ↔ ক্রুরকর্মা /krur(o)korma/ 'doer of cruel acts'

হীন /hin/ 'hateful', 'mean' ↔ হীনকর্মা /hin(o)korma/ 'doer of hateful acts'

1045. AASVADSF: /XC/adj ↔ /XCikrito/adj 'made /XC/'

সরল /ʃorol/ 'simple' ↔ সরলীকৃত /ʃorolikrito/ 'simplified'

তরল /torol/ 'liquid' ↔ তরলীকৃত /torolikrito/ 'liquidized'

1046. AASVADSF: /XC/adj ↔ /XCab^ho/adj 'light /XC/'

নীল /nil/ 'blue' ↔ নীলাভ /nilab^ho/ 'bluish'

সবুজ /ʃobuj/ 'green' ↔ সবুজাভ /ʃobujab^ho/ 'greenish'

1047. AAADSF: /X/adj ↔ /Xka^y/adj 'endowed with /X/ body'

বিশাল /biʃal/ 'big' ↔ বিশালকায় /biʃalka^y/ 'endowed with a big body'

ক্ষুদ্র /k^hudro/ 'small' ↔ ক্ষুদ্রকায় /k^hudroka^y/ 'endowed with a small body'

1048. AAADSF: /X/adj ↔ /Xkam/adj 'who has been /X/'

সফল /ʃofol/ 'successful' ↔ সফলকাম /ʃofolkam/ 'successful man or woman'

ব্যর্থ /bert^ho/ 'unsuccessful' ↔ ব্যর্থকাম /bert^hokam/ 'unsuccessful man or woman'

1049. AASVADSF: /Xo/adj ↔ /Xojibi/adj '/Xo/-lived'

দীর্ঘ /dirg^ho/ 'long' ↔ দীর্ঘজীবী /dirg^hojibi/ 'long-lived'

অল্প /olpo/ 'a few', 'not much' ↔ অল্পজীবী /olpojibi/ 'short-lived'

1050. AASVADSF: /Xa/adj ↔ /Xate/adj '/Xa/-ly'

রোগা /roga/ 'sickly', 'lean' ↔ রোগাটে /rogate/ 'somewhat lean'

ঘোলা /g^hola/ 'turbid', 'muddy' ↔ ঘোলাটে /g^holate/ 'slightly turbid or muddy'

1051. AASVADSF: /X/adj ↔ /Xtor(o)/adj 'more /X/'

বৃহৎ /brihot/ 'big' ↔ বৃহত্তর /brihottor(o)/ 'bigger'

ক্ষুদ্র /k^hudro/ 'small' ↔ ক্ষুদ্রতর /k^hudrotor(o)/ 'smaller'

1052. AASVADSF: /X/adj ↔ /Xtom(o)/adj 'the most /X/'

বৃহৎ /brihot/ 'big' ↔ বৃহত্তম /brihottom(o)/ 'biggest'

ক্ষুদ্র /k^hudro/ 'small' ↔ ক্ষুদ্রতম /k^hudrotom(o)/ 'smallest'

1053. AASVADSF: /XV/adj ↔ /XVd^ha/adj '(broken) in /XV/ parts'

বহু /bohu/ 'many' ↔ বহুধা /bohud^ha/ 'in many pieces'

শত /ʃoto/ 'hundred' ↔ শতধা /ʃotod^ha/ 'in hundred pieces'

1054. AAADSF: /X/adj ↔ /Xnama/adj 'an /X/ person'

খ্যাত /k^hε(a)to/ 'known' ↔ খ্যাতনামা /k^hε(a)tonama/ 'famous person'

সার্থক /ʃart^hok/ 'successful' ↔ সার্থকনামা /ʃart^hoknama/ 'successful person'

1055. AASVADSF: /XV/adj ↔ /XVprotiponno/adj 'shown or proven /XV/'

হেয় /heo/ 'hateful' ↔ হেয়প্রতিপন্ন /heoprotiponno/ 'proved as hateful'

মিথ্যা /mitt^ha/ 'false' ↔ মিথ্যাপ্রতিপন্ন /mitt^haprotiponno/ 'proved as false'

1056. AASVADSF: /Xo/adj ↔ /Xobbbo/adj 'will be /Xo/'

অনুষ্ঠিত /onuʃt^hito/ 'held' ↔ অনুষ্ঠিতব্য /onuʃt^hitobbbo/ 'to be held'

গঠিত /got^hito/ 'formed' ↔ গঠিতব্য /got^hitobbbo/ 'to be formed'

1057. AAADSF: /Xo/adj ↔ /Xomeadi/adj 'of /Xo/ duration'

দীর্ঘ /dirg^ho/ 'long' ↔ দীর্ঘমেয়াদী /dirg^homeadi/ 'of long duration'

অল্প /olpo/ 'a few', 'not much' ↔ অল্পমেয়াদী /olpomeadi/ 'of short duration'

1058. AAADSF: /X/adj ↔ /Xmonoro^h/adj 'whose intention or aim has been /X/'

সফল /ʃofol/ 'successful' ↔ সফলমনোরথ /ʃofolmonoro^h/ 'whose aim is fulfilled'

ব্যর্থ /bert^ho/ 'unsuccessful' ↔ ব্যর্থমনোরথ /bert^homonoro^h/ 'whose aim is not fulfilled'

1059. AAADSF: /X/adj ↔ /Xmuk^hi/adj 'with /X/ number of faces or orientations'

এক /ek/ 'one' ↔ একমুখী /ekmuk^hi/ 'unilateral'

বহু /bohu/ 'many' ↔ বহুমুখী /bohumuk^hi/ 'multilateral'

1060. AAADSF: /X/adj ↔ /Xʃonk^hok/adj 'of /X/ number'

বিপুল /bipul/ 'big' ↔ বিপুলসংখ্যক /bipulʃonk^hok/ 'of a big amount', 'many'

ক্ষুদ্র /k^hudro/ 'small' ↔ ক্ষুদ্রসংখ্যক /k^hudroʃonk^hok/ 'of a small amount', 'a few'

1061. AASVADSJ: /XC/adj ↔ /XCdoro^hon/adj 'XC/ looking'

ভয়ঙ্কর /b^ho^yonkor/ 'terrible' ↔ ভয়ঙ্করদর্শন /b^ho^yonkordoro^hon/ 'dreadful', 'awe-inspiring'

কুৎসিত /kutʃit/ 'ugly' ↔ কুৎসিতদর্শন /kutʃitdoro^hon/ 'ugly-looking'

1062. MetaAASVADSJ: /XC/adj ↔ /XY/adj 'having /XC/ type of /Y/'

গম্ভীর /gomb^hir/ 'reserved' ↔ গম্ভীরপ্রকৃতি /gomb^hirprokriti/ 'of reserved nature'

কোমল /komol/ 'soft' ↔ কোমলমতি /komolmoti/ 'soft-minded'

1063. AASBPF: /uX/adj ↔ /ʃorboX/adj 'uX/ of all'

উত্তম /uttom/ 'best' ↔ সর্বোত্তম /ʃorbottom/ 'best of all'

উচ্চ /ucco/ 'high' ↔ সর্বোচ্চ /ʃorbocco/ 'highest'

1064. AASPSVRD: /CX/adj ↔ /CXʃX/adj 'CX/ enough'

বড় /bɔro/ 'big' ↔ বড়সড় /bɔroʃɔro/ 'big enough'

মোটা /moʈa/ 'fat' ↔ মোটা মোটা /moʈa ʃoʈa/ 'fat enough'

1065. AASVRD: /C₁iC₂/adj ↔ /C₁iC₂C₁aC₂/adj 'perfectly /C₁iC₂/'

ফিট /fit/ 'well-dressed' ↔ ফিটফিট /fitʃat/ 'perfectly well dressed'

ঠিক /t^hik/ 'alright', 'okay' ↔ ঠিকঠাক /t^hik t^hak/ 'perfectly alright or okay'

1066. AASVRD: /C₁VC₂/adj ↔ /C₁VC₂C₁aC₂/adj 'C₁VC₂/ and alike'

গোল /gol/ 'round' ↔ গোলগাল /golgal/ 'round and alike'

ভুল /b^hul/ 'false', 'mistaken' ↔ ভুলভাল /b^hulb^hal/ 'false and alike'

1067. AASVRD: /CX/adj ↔ /CXbiCX/adj 'extremely /CX/'

ছিন্ন /c^hinno/ 'cut', 'separated' ↔ ছিন্নবিচ্ছিন্ন /c^hinnobic^hinno/ 'cut or separated into several pieces in an extremely irregular way'

চূর্ণ /curno/ 'broken', 'grinded' ↔ চূর্ণবিচূর্ণ /curnobicurno/ 'broken into very small pieces'

1068. AASVRD: /XCVσ/adj ↔ /XCVσtVσ/adj 'XCVσ/ or alike'

জনকল্যানমুখী /ʃɔnokollanmuk^hi/ 'social welfare oriented' ↔ জনকল্যানমুখীটুখি

ʃɔnokollanmuk^hituk^hi/ 'social welfare-oriented or alike'

আবহাওয়াসম্পর্কিত /abha^waʃomporkito/ 'weather-related' ↔ আবহাওয়াসম্পর্কিতটম্পর্কিত

/abha^waʃomporkitoʃito/ 'weather-related or alike.'

1069. AASVRD: /XCV(C)σ₁σ₂σ₃/adj ↔ /XCV(C)σ₁σ₂σ₃tV(C)σ₁σ₂σ₃/adj 'XCVσ₁σ₂σ₃/ and alike'

আবহাওয়াসম্পর্কিত /abha^waʃomporkito/ 'weather-related' ↔ আবহাওয়াসম্পর্কিতটম্পর্কিত

/abha^waʃomporkitoʃomporkito/ 'weather-related or alike.'

স্মৃতিবিজরিত /sritibijorito/ 'related to souvenir' ↔ স্মৃতিবিজরিতটিজরিত

/sritibijoritoʃijorito/ 'related to souvenir or alike'

1070. AdvAdvSVADSF: /XV/adv ↔ /XCke/adv 'synonym of /XC/'

আজ /aʃ/ 'today' ↔ আজকে /aʃke/ 'today'

কাল /kal/ 'tomorrow' ↔ কালকে /kalke/ 'tomorrow'

1071. AdvAdvSRD: /X/adv ↔ /XX/adv 'X/ in a continuous way'

ধীরে /d^hire/ 'slowly' ↔ ধীরেধীরে /d^hired^hire/ 'slowly and repeatedly'

হটাত /hoʈat/ 'suddenly' ↔ হটাত হটাত /hoʈat hoʈat/ 'suddenly and repeatedly'

1072. NumNumADPF: /X/Num ↔ /unoX/Num 'less than /X/'

চল্লিশ /collɪʃ/ 'forty' ↔ উনচল্লিশ /unocollɪʃ/ 'thirty-nine'

আশি /aʃi/ 'eighty' ↔ উনআশি /unoaʃi/ 'seventy-nine'

1073. VSVADSF: /XC/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XCa/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog, caus

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শোনা /ʃona/ 'make listen'

লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লেখা /lek^ha/ 'make write'

1074. VSVADSF: /XC/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XCa/arg verbal

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শোনা /ʃona/ 'to listen'

লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লেখা /lek^ha/ 'to write'

1075. VSVADSF: /XV^{-high}/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV^{-high}^wa/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog, caus

খা /k^ha/ 'eat' ↔ খাওয়া /k^ha^wa/ 'make eat'

দে /de/ 'give' ↔ দেওয়া /de^wa/ 'make him give'

1076. VSVADSF: /XV^{-high}/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV^{-high}^wa/arg verbal

খা /k^ha/ 'eat' ↔ খাওয়া /k^hawa/ 'to eat'

দে /de/ 'give' ↔ দেওয়া /dewa/ 'to give'

1077. VSVADSF: /Xa/v, pres imp, 2nd, intim/derog ↔ /Xano/arg verbal

দেখা /dɛk^ha/ 'make see', 'show' ↔ দেখানো /dɛk^hano/ 'to show'

সাঁতরা /ʃãtra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরানো /ʃãtrano/ 'to swim'

1078. VVADSF: /X/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xbar/arg verbal, gen

খা /k^ha/ 'eat' ↔ খাবার /k^habar/ 'for eating'

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শোনবার /ʃonbar/ 'for listening'

1079. VVADSMSF: /XV^{-high}C/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV^{+high}Cbar/arg verbal, gen

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনবার /ʃunbar/ 'for listening'

লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখবার /lik^hbar/ 'for writing'

1080. VSVADSF: /Xa/arg verbal ↔ /Xr/arg verbal, gen

দেখা /dɛk^ha/ 'to see' ↔ দেখার /dɛk^har/ 'for doing'/'to do'

করা /kɔra/ 'to do' ↔ করার /kɔrar/ 'for doing'/'to do'

1081. VSVADSF: /Xa^j/v, simp pres, 1st ↔ /Xa^jbar/arg verbal, gen

গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইবার /ga^jbar/ 'for singing'

সই /ʃoʃ/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সইবার /ʃoʃbar/ 'for tolerating'

1082. VVSVADSF: /Xaʃ/v, simp pres, 1st ↔ /Xaʃle/cond verbal

চাই /caʃ/ 'I want' ↔ চাইলে /caʃle/ 'if (I, you, they...) want'

সই /ʃoʃ/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সইলে /ʃoʃle/ 'if (I, you, they...) tolerate'

1083. VVADSF: /X/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xle/cond verbal

ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'come' ↔ ভালোবাসলে /b^halobaʃle/ 'if (I, you, they...) love'

সাঁতরা /ʃãtra/ 'swim_{intim/derog}' ↔ সাঁতরালে /ʃãtrale/ 'if (I, you, they...) swim'

1084. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}C/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV_{+high}Cle/cond verbal

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনলে /ʃunle/ 'if (I, you, they...) listen'

লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখলে /lik^hle/ 'if (I, you, they...) write'

1085. VVADSMSF: /CV_{-high}/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /CV_{+high}le/cond verbal

খা /k^ha/ 'eat' ↔ খেলে /k^he/le/ 'you ate'

শো /ʃo/ 'lie down' ↔ শুলে /ʃule/ 'you lied down'

1086. VVSVADSF: /Xʃ/v, simp pres, 1st ↔ /Xte/compl verbal

গাই /gaʃ/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইতে /gaʃte/ 'to sing'

সই /ʃoʃ/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সইতে /ʃoʃte/ 'to tolerate'

1087. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}C/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV_{+high}Cte/compl verbal

লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখতে /lik^hte/ 'to write'

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনতে /ʃunte/ 'to listen'

1088. VVADSMSF: /CV_{-high}/v, pres imp, 2nd int/derog ↔ /CV_{+high}te/compl verbal

খা /k^ha/ 'eat' ↔ খেতে /k^hete/ 'to eat'

শো /ʃo/ 'lie down' ↔ শুতে /ʃute/ 'to lie down'

1089. VVADSF: /X/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xte/compl verbal

ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'come' ↔ ভালোবাসতে /b^halobaʃte/ 'to love'

সাঁতরা /ʃãtra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরাতে /ʃãtrate/ 'to swim'

1090. VVSVADSF: /XV/arg verbal ↔ /XVte/arg verbal, loc /perf 'causal' verbal

দেখানো /dek^hano/ 'make see', 'show' ↔ দেখানোতে /dek^hanote/ 'because of the fact that (I, you, he, she, they...) have shown'

খাওয়া /k^ha^wa/ 'to eat' ↔ খাওয়াতে /k^ha^wate/ 'because of the fact that (I, you, he, she, they...) have eaten'

1091. VVSMADSF: /XV_{-high}C/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV_{+high}Ce/perf verbal
 ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'love' ↔ ভালোবেসে /b^halobeʃe/ 'having loved'
 শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনে /ʃune/ 'having listened'

1092. VVADSMSF: /CV_{-high}/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /CV_{+high}^ye/perf verbal
 খা /k^ha/ 'eat' ↔ খেয়ে /k^he^ye/ 'having eaten'
 শো /ʃo/ 'lie down' ↔ শুয়ে /ʃu^ye/ 'having lied down'

1093. VVSBSF: /Xa/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xie/perf verbal
 পালা /pala/ 'flee' ↔ পালিয়ে /palie/ 'having fled'
 সাঁতরা /ʃāntra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরিয়ে /ʃāntrie/ 'having swam'

1094. VVSBSF: /Xa/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xe/perf verbal
 চাবকা /cabka/ 'whip' ↔ চাবকে /cabke/ 'having whipped'
 সাঁতরা /ʃāntra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরে /ʃāntre/ 'having swam'

1095. VVSBSMSF: /CV_{-high}Xa/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /CV_{+high}Xe/perf verbal
 ধমকা /d^homka/ 'rebuff'/'snub' ↔ ধমকে /d^homke/ 'having rebuffed'/'by rebuffing'/'by snubbing'
 বদলা /bodla/ 'change' ↔ বদলে /bodle/ 'having changed' 'by changing'

1096. VVSVADSF: /Xi/v, simp pres, 1st ↔ /Xie/perf verbal, caus
 করি /kori/ 'I do' ↔ করিয়ে /korie/ 'having made done'
 দেখি /dek^hi/ 'I see' ↔ দেখিয়ে /dek^hie/ 'having shown'

1097. VVSVADSF: /XC/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XConto/verbal adjective
 চল /col/ 'move', 'go' ↔ চলন্ত /colonto/ 'moving'
 পড় /por/ 'fall' ↔ পড়ন্ত /poronto/ 'falling'

1098. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}C/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV_{+high}Ci/v, simp pres, 1st
 শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনি /ʃuni/ 'I listen'
 লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখি /lik^hi/ 'I write'

1099. VVSVADSF: /Xa/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xa^j/v, simp pres, 1st
 করা /kora/ 'you make do' ↔ করাই /kora^j/ 'I make do'
 সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'you swim' ↔ সাঁতরাই /ʃātra^j/ 'I swim'

1100. VWSVADSF: /XC/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XCi/v, simp pres, 1st
 ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'love' ↔ ভালোবাসি /b^halobaʃi/ 'I love'
 কাট /kaʈ/ 'cut' ↔ কাটি /kaʈi/ 'I cut'
1101. VWSVADSF: /XC/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XCo/v, simp pres, 2nd inform
 শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শোনো /ʃono/ 'you listen'
 ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'love' ↔ ভালোবাসো /b^halobaʃo/ 'you love'
1102. VWSVADSF: /Xa/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xa^w/v, 2nd inform, simp pres
 করা /kora/ 'you make do' ↔ করাও /kora^w/ 'you make do'
 সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'you swim' ↔ সাঁতরাও /ʃātra^w/ 'you swim'
1103. VWSVADSF: /XC/v, pres imp, intim/derog, 2nd ↔ /XCe/v, ind, simp pres, 3rd inform
 শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শোনে /ʃone/ 'he listens'
 ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'love' ↔ ভালোবাসে /b^halobaʃe/ 'he loves'
1104. VWSVADSF: /Xa/v, 2nd intim/derog, pres imp ↔ /Xaʃ/v, 2nd intim/derog, simp pres
 করা /kora/ 'make do' ↔ করাস /koraʃ/ 'you will make do'
 সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরাস /ʃātraʃ/ 'you will swim'
1105. VWSVADSF: /Xi/v, pres, 1st ↔ /Xiʃ/v, pres, 2nd, intim/derog
 শুনি /ʃuni/ 'I listen' ↔ শুনিস /ʃuniʃ/ 'you listen'
 করেছি /korec^hi/ 'I have done' ↔ করেছিস /korec^hiʃ/ 'you have done'
1106. VWSVADSF: /XV/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XVa^y/v, ind, simp pres, 3rd inform
 খা /k^ha/ 'eat' ↔ খায় /k^ha^y/ 'he eats'
 নে /ne/ 'take' ↔ নেয় /ne^y/ 'he takes'
1107. VWSVADSF: /XV/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XVn/v, ind, simp pres, 2nd/3rd form
 নে /ne/ 'take' ↔ নেন /nen/ 'you take'/'takes'
 দেখা /dɛk^ha/ 'show' ↔ দেখান /dɛk^han/ 'you show'/'he shows'
1108. VWSVADSF: /Xe/v, pres/fut, 3rd inform ↔ /Xen/v, pres/fut, 2nd/3rd form
 শুনে /ʃune/ 'he listens' ↔ শুনেন /ʃunen/ 'you listen'/'he listens'
 করবে /korbe/ 'he will do' ↔ করবেন /korben/ 'you will do'/'he will do'
1109. VWADSMF: /XV_{-high}C/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV_{+high}Cun/v, pres imp/subj, 2nd form
 শোন /ʃon/ 'you listen' ↔ শুনুন /ʃunun/ 'you listen'

লেখ /lek^h/ 'you write' ↔ লিখুন /lik^hun/ 'you write'

1110. VSVADSF: /XaC/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /XaCun/_{v, pres imp/subj, 2nd form}

ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'love' ↔ ভালোবাসুন /b^halobaʃun/ 'love'

কাট /kaʈ/ 'cut' ↔ কাটুন /kaʈun/ 'cut'

1111. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}C/_{v, pres imp, intim/derog, 2nd} ↔ /XV_{+high}Cuk/_{v, simp pres, 3rd inform, subj}

শোন /ʃon/ 'you listen' ↔ শুনুক /ʃunuk/ 'let him listen'

লেখ /lek^h/ 'you write' ↔ লিখুক /lik^huk/ 'let him write'

1112. VVADSMSF: /CV_{-high}/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /C_{+high}k/_{v, 3rd inform, subj}

নে /ne/ 'take' ↔ নিক /nik/ 'let him take'

দে /de/ 'give' ↔ দিক /dik/ 'let him give'

1113. VSVADSF: /Xa/_{v, pres imp, intim/derog, 2nd} ↔ /Xak/_{v, simp pres, 3rd inform, subj}

সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরাক /ʃātrak/ 'let him swim'

বাজা /baja/ 'play (an instrument)' ↔ বাজাক /bajak/ 'let him play (an instrument)'

1114. VVADSMSF: /CV_{-high}/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /CV_{+high}^j/_{v, simp pres, 1st}

নে /ne/ 'take' ↔ নিই /ni^j/ 'I take'

শো /ʃo/ 'lie down' ↔ শুই /ʃu^j/ 'I lie down'

1115. VVSMMSF: /Ce/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /Ca^w/_{v, pres imp, 2nd inform}

নে /ne/ 'take' ↔ নাও /na^w/ 'take_{inform}'

দে /de/ 'give' ↔ দাও /da^w/ 'take_{inform}'

1116. VSVADSF: /CV/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /CV^y/_{v, simp pres, 3rd inform}

নে /ne/ 'take' ↔ নেয় /ne^y/ 'he_{inform} takes'

শো /ʃo/ 'lie down' ↔ শোয় /ʃo^y/ 'he lies down'

1117. VVADSBSF: /CV_{-high}/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /C_{+high}n/_{v, pres imp, 2nd form}

নে /ne/ 'take' ↔ নিন /nin/ 'take'

দে /de/ 'give' ↔ দিন /din/ 'give'

1118. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}C/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /XV_{+high}Cc^{hi}/_{v, pres prog, 1st}

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শনছি /ʃunc^{hi}/ 'I am listening'

লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখছি /lik^hc^{hi}/ 'I am writing'

1119. VSVADSF: /XC/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XCc^{hi}/v, pres prog, 1st
 ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'love' ↔ ভালোবাসছি /b^halobaʃc^{hi}/ 'I am loving'
 কাট /kaʈ/ 'cut' ↔ কাটছি /kaʈc^{hi}/ 'I am cutting'
1120. VVADSMSF: /Xa/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xacc^{hi}/v, pres prog, 1st
 দেখা /dɛk^ha/ 'show' ↔ দেখাছি /dɛk^hacc^{hi}/ 'I am showing'
 সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরাছি /ʃātracc^{hi}/ 'I am swimming'
1121. VSVADSF: /XV^{-high}C/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV^{+high}Cc^{ho}/v, pres prog, 2nd inform
 শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনছো /ʃunc^{ho}/ 'you are listening'
 লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখছো /lik^hc^{ho}/ 'you are writing'
1122. VSVADSF: /XC/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XCc^{ho}/v, pres prog, 2nd inform
 ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'love' ↔ ভালোবাসছো /b^halobaʃc^{ho}/ 'you are loving'
 কাট /kaʈ/ 'cut' ↔ কাটছো /kaʈc^{ho}/ 'you are cutting'
1123. VSVADSF: /Xa/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xacc^{ho}/v, pres prog, caus, 2nd inform
 করা /kora/ 'make do' ↔ করাছে /kɔracc^{ho}/ 'you_{inform} are making do', 'you_{inform} are
 having (something) done'
 সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরাছে /ʃātracc^{ho}/ 'you are swimming'
1124. VVADSMSF: /XV^{-high}C/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV^{+high}Cc^{he}/v, pres prog, 3rd
 শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনছে /ʃunc^{he}/ 'he is listening'
 লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখছে /lik^hc^{he}/ 'he is writing'
1125. VSVADSF: /XC/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XCc^{he}/v, pres prog, 3rd inform
 ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'love' ↔ ভালোবাসছে /b^halobaʃc^{he}/ 'he is loving'
 কাট /kaʈ/ 'cut' ↔ কাটছে /kaʈc^{he}/ 'he is cutting'
1126. VSVADSF: /Xa/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xacc^{he}/v, pres prog, 3rd inform
 করা /kara/ 'make do' ↔ করাছে /kɔracc^{he}/ 'he is making do'
 সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরাছে /ʃātracc^{he}/ 'he_{inform} is swimming'
1127. VSVADSF: /Xa^j/v, simp pres, 1st ↔ /Xa^jc^{hi}/v, pres prog, 1st
 গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইছি /ga^jc^{hi}/ 'I am singing'
 সহ্য /ʃɔ^j/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সহ্যছি /ʃɔ^jc^{hi}/ 'I am tolerating'

1128. VSVADSF: /Xa^j/_{v, simp pres, 1st} ↔ /Xa^jc^ho/_{v, pres prog, 2nd inform}
 গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইছো /ga^jc^ho/ 'you are singing'
 সহি /ʃo^j/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সহিছো /ʃo^jc^ho/ 'you are tolerating'
1129. VSVADSF: /Xa^j/_{v, simp pres, 1st} ↔ /Xa^jc^he/_{v, pres prog, 3rd inform}
 গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইছে /ga^jc^he/ 'he is singing'
 সহি /ʃo^j/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সহিছে /ʃo^jc^he/ 'he is tolerating'
1130. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /XV_{+high}CC^hi/_{v, pres. prog, 1st}
 শো /ʃo/ 'lie down' ↔ শুচিছ /ʃucchi/ 'I am lying down'
 দে /de/ 'give' ↔ দিচিছ /dicchi/ 'I am giving'
1131. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /XV_{+high}CC^he/_{v, pr. prog, 3rd inform}
 শো /ʃo/ 'lie down' ↔ শুছেছ /ʃucche/ 'he is lying down'
 দে /de/ 'give' ↔ দিছেছ /dicche/ 'he is giving'
1132. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /XV_{+high}CC^ho/_{v, pr. prog, 2nd inform}
 শো /ʃo/ 'lie down' ↔ শুছছ /ʃuccho/ 'you are lying down'
 দে /de/ 'give' ↔ দিছছ /diccho/ 'you are giving'
1133. VSVADSF: /Xe/_{perf verbal} ↔ /Xec^hi/_{v, pres. perfect, 1st}
 নিয়ে /nie/ 'having taken' ↔ নিয়েছি /niec^hi/ 'I have taken'
 শুনে /ʃune/ 'having heard' ↔ শুনেছি /ʃunec^hi/ 'I have heard'
1134. VSVADSF: /Xe/_{perf verbal} ↔ /Xec^ho/_{v, pres perfect, 2nd inform}
 নিয়ে /nie/ 'having taken' ↔ নিয়েছো /niec^ho/ 'you have taken'
 শুনে /ʃune/ 'having heard' ↔ শুনেছো /ʃunec^ho/ 'you have heard'
1135. VSVADSF: /Xe/_{perf verbal} ↔ /Xec^he/_{v, ind, pres. perfect, 3rd inform}
 নিয়ে /nie/ 'having taken' ↔ নিয়েছে /niec^he/ 'he has taken'
 শুনে /ʃune/ 'having heard' ↔ শুনেছে /ʃunec^he/ 'he has heard'
1136. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}C/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /XV_{+high}C^hlam/_{v, simp past, 1st}
 শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনলাম /ʃunlam/ 'I listened'
 লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখলাম /lik^hlam/ 'I wrote'
1137. VVADSF: /X/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /X^hlam/_{v, simp past, 1st}
 সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরলাম /ʃātralam/ 'I swam'

ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'love' ↔ ভালোবাসলাম /b^halobʃlam/ 'I loved'

1138. VVADSMSF: /XV^{-high}C/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV^{+high}Cle/v, simp past, 2nd inform

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনলে /ʃunle/ 'you listened'

লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখলে /lik^hle/ 'you wrote'

1139. VVADSF: /X/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xle/v, simp past, 2nd inform

ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'love' ↔ ভালোবাসলে /b^halobaʃle/ 'you loved'

সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরালে /ʃātrale/ 'you swam'

1140. VVADSMSF: /XV^{-high}C/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV^{+high}Clo/v, simp past, 3rd inform

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনলো /ʃunlo/ 'he listened'

লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখলো /lik^hlo/ 'he wrote'

1141. VVADSF: /X/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xlo/v, simp past, 3rd inform

ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'love' ↔ ভালোবাসলো /b^halobaʃlo/ 'he loved'

সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরালো /ʃātralo/ 'he swam'

1142. VVADSMSF: /XV^{-high}C/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV^{+high}Cli/v, simp past, 2nd intim/derog

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনলি /ʃunli/ 'you listened'

লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখলি /lik^hli/ 'you wrote'

1143. VVADSF: /X/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xli/v, simp past, 2nd intim/derog

ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'love' ↔ ভালোবাসলি /b^halobaʃli/ 'you loved'

সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরালি /ʃātrali/ 'he swam'

1144. VVSVADSF: /X^j/v, simp pres, 1st ↔ /Xlam/v, simp past, 1st

গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইলাম /ga^jlam/ 'he sung'

সই /ʃo^j/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সইলাম /ʃo^jlam/ 'he tolerated'

1145. VVSVADSF: /X^j/v, simp pres, 1st ↔ /X^jle/v, simp past, 2nd/3rd inform

গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইলে /ga^jle/ 'you sung', 'he sung'

সই /ʃo^j/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সইলে /ʃo^jle/ 'you tolerated', 'he tolerated'

1146. VVSVADSF: /X^j/v, simp pres, 1st ↔ /X^jlo/v, simp past, 3rd inform

গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইল /ga^jlo/ 'he sung'

সই /ʃo^j/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সইল /ʃo^jlo/ 'he tolerated'

1147. VSVADSF: /X^j/_v, simp pres, 1st ↔ /X^jli/_v, simp past, 2nd intim/derog
 গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইলি /ga^jli/ 'you sung'
 সহি /ʃo^j/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সহিলি /ʃo^jli/ 'you tolerated'
1148. VVADSMSF: /CV^{-high}/_v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /CV^{+high}lam/_v, simp past, 1st
 খা /k^ha/ 'eat' ↔ খেলাম /k^helam/ 'I ate'
 শো /ʃo/ 'lie down' ↔ শলাম /ʃulam/ 'I lied down'
1149. VVADSMSF: /CV^{-high}/_v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /CV^{+high}le/_v, simp past, 2nd inform
 খা /k^ha/ 'eat' ↔ খেলে /k^hele/ 'you ate'
 শো /ʃo/ 'lie down' ↔ শলে /ʃule/ 'you lied down'
1150. VVADSMSF: /CV^{-high}/_v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /CV^{+high}lo/_v, simp past, 3rd inform
 খা /k^ha/ 'eat' ↔ খেল /k^helo/ 'he ate'
 দে /de/ 'give' ↔ দিল /dilo/ 'he gave'
1151. VVADSMSF: /CV^{-high}/_v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /CV^{+high}li/_v, simp past, 2nd intim/derog
 খা /k^ha/ 'eat' ↔ খেলি /k^heli/ 'you ate'
 শো /ʃo/ 'lie down' ↔ শলি /ʃuli/ 'you lied down'
1152. VSVADSF: /Xi/_v, 1st, pres prog/perf ↔ /Xilam/_v, 1st, past prog/perf
 নিচ্ছি /nicc^hi/ 'I am taking' ↔ নিচ্ছিলাম /nicc^hilam/ 'I was taking'
 শুনেছি /ʃunec^hi/ 'I have listened' ↔ শুনেছিলাম /ʃunec^hilam/ 'I had listened'
1153. VSVADSF: /Xi/_v, pres prog/perf 1st ↔ /Xile/_v, past prog/perf, 2nd inform
 নিচ্ছি /nicc^hi/ 'I am taking' ↔ নিচ্ছিলে /nicc^hile/ 'you were taking'
 শুনেছি /ʃunec^hi/ 'I have listened' ↔ শুনেছিলে /ʃunec^hile/ 'you had listened'
1154. VSVADSF: /Xi/_v, pres prog/perf 1st ↔ /Xilo/_v, past prog/perf, 2nd inform
 নিচ্ছি /nicc^hi/ 'I am taking' ↔ নিচ্ছিলো /nicc^hilo/ 'he was taking'
 শুনেছি /ʃunec^hi/ 'I have listened' ↔ শুনেছিল /ʃunec^hilo/ 'he had listened'
1155. VSVADSF: /Xi/_v, pres prog/perf 1st ↔ /Xili/_v, past prog/perf, 2nd intim/derog
 নিচ্ছি /nicc^hi/ 'I am taking' ↔ নিচ্ছিলি /nicc^hili/ 'you were taking'
 শুনেছি /ʃunec^hi/ 'I have listened' ↔ শুনেছিলি /ʃunec^hili/ 'you had listened'
1156. VSVADSF: /Xe/_v, past/fut, 2nd inform ↔ /Xen/_v, past/fut, 2nd/3rd form
 নিয়েছিলে /ni^yec^hile/ 'you had taken' ↔ নিয়েছিলেন /ni^yec^hilen/ 'you had taken'

করবে /korbe/ 'you will do' ↔ করবেন /korben/ 'he_{form} will do' / 'you_{form} will do'

1157. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}C/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV_{+high}Ctam/v, habit past, 1st

লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখতাম /lik^htam/ 'I used to do'

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনতাম /ʃuntam/ 'I used to listen'

1158. VVADSF: /X/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xtam/v, habit past, 1st

ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'love' ↔ ভালোবাসতাম /b^halobaʃtam/ 'I used to love'

সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'swim!' ↔ সাঁতরাতাম /ʃātratam/ 'I used to swim'

1159. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}C/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV_{+high}Cte/v, habit past, 2nd inform

লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখতে /lik^hte/ 'you used to write'

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen!' ↔ শুনতে /ʃunte/ 'you used to listen'

1160. VVADSF: /X/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xte/v, habit past, 2nd inform

ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'love' ↔ ভালোবাসতে /b^halobaʃte/ 'you used to love'

সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'swim!' ↔ সাঁতরাতে /ʃātrate/ 'you used to swim'

1161. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}C/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV_{+high}Cto/v, habit past, 3rd inform

লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখতো /lik^hto/ 'he used to write'

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen!' ↔ শুনতো /ʃunto/ 'he used to listen'

1162. VVADSF: /X/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xto/v, habit past, 3rd inform

ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'love' ↔ ভালোবাসতো /b^halobaʃto/ 'he used to love'

সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'swim!' ↔ সাঁতরাতো /ʃātrato/ 'he used to swim'

1163. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}C/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV_{+high}Cti/v, habit past, 2nd intim/derog

লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখতি /lik^hti/ 'you used to write'

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen!' ↔ শুনতি /ʃunti/ 'you used to listen'

1164. VVADSF: /X/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xti/v, habit past, 2nd intim/derog

ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'love' ↔ ভালোবাসতি /b^halobaʃti/ 'you used to love'

সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'swim!' ↔ সাঁতরতি /ʃātrati/ 'you used to swim'

1165. VWSVADSF: /Xa^j/v, simp pres, 1st ↔ /Xa^jtam/v, habit past, 1st

গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইতাম /ga^jtam/ 'I used to sing'

সই /ʃo^j/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সইতাম /ʃo^jtam/ 'he used to tolerate'

1166. VVSVADSF: /Xa^j/_{v, simp pres, 1st} ↔ /Xa^jte/_{v, habit past, 2nd inform}

গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইতে /ga^jte/ 'you used to sing'

সই /ʃo^j/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সইতে /ʃo^jte/ 'you used to tolerate'

1167. VVSVADSF: /Xa^j/_{v, simp pres, 1st} ↔ /Xa^jti/_{v, habit past, 2nd intim/derog}

গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইতি /ga^jti/ 'you used to sing'

সই /ʃo^j/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সইতি /ʃo^jti/ 'you used to tolerate'

1168. VVSVADSF: /Xa^j/_{v, simp pres, 1st} ↔ /Xa^jto/_{v, habit past, 3rd inform}

গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইত /ga^jto/ 'he used to sing'

সই /ʃo^j/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সইত /ʃo^jto/ 'he used to tolerate'

1169. VVADSMSF: /CV_{-high}/_{v, pres imp, 2nd int/derog} ↔ /CV_{+high}ta^m/_{v, habit past, 1st}

খা /k^ha/ 'eat' ↔ খেতাম /k^hetam/ 'I used to eat'

শো /ʃo/ 'lie down' ↔ শুতাম /ʃutam/ 'I used to lie down'

1170. VVADSMSF: /CV_{-high}/_{v, pres imp, 2nd int/derog} ↔ /CV_{+high}te/_{v, habit past, 2nd inform}

খা /k^ha/ 'eat' ↔ খেতে /k^hete/ 'you used to eat'

শো /ʃo/ 'lie down' ↔ শুতে /ʃute/ 'you used to lie down'

1171. VVADSMSF: /CV_{-high}/_{v, pres imp, 2nd int/derog} ↔ /CV_{+high}to/_{v, habit past, 3rd inform}

খা /k^ha/ 'eat' ↔ খেত /k^heto/ 'he used to eat'

শো /ʃo/ 'lie down' ↔ শুত /ʃuto/ 'he used to lie down'

1172. VVSMADSF: /XV_{-high}/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /XV_{+high}ti/_{v, habit past, 2nd intim/derog}

শো /ʃo/ 'lie down' ↔ শুতি /ʃuti/ 'you used to lie down'

দে /de/ 'give' ↔ দিতি /diti/ 'you used to give'

1173. VVANADSF: /X/_{v, simp pres, affirmative} ↔ /Xni/_{v, simp past/past perfect, neg}

করি /kori/ 'I do' ↔ করিনি /korini/ 'I have not done'/'I did not do'

করেন /koren/ 'you do' ↔ করেননি /korenni/ 'you did not do'

1174. VVANADSF: /X/_{v (except present and past perfect) affirm} ↔ /Xna/_{v (except present and past perfect), neg}

করি /kori/ 'I do' ↔ করিনা /korina/ 'I do not do'

গাইছে /ga^jc^he/ 'he is singing' ↔ গাইছেনা /ga^jc^hena/ 'he is not singing'

1175. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}C/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /XV_{+high}Cbo/_{v, fut, 1st}

লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখবো /lik^hbo/ 'I will write'

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনবো /ʃunbo/ 'I will listen'

1176. VVADSF: /X/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /Xbo/_{v, fut, 1st}
 সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরারো /ʃātrabo/ 'I will swim'
 কাট /kaɽ/ 'cut' ↔ কাটবো /kaɽbo/ 'I will cut'

1177. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}C/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /XV_{+high}Cbe/_{v, fut, 2nd inform}
 লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখবে /lik^hbe/ 'you will write'
 শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনবে /ʃunbe/ 'you will listen'

1178. VVADSF: /X/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /Xbe/_{v, fut, 2nd inform}
 সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরাবে /ʃātrabe/ 'you will swim'
 কাট /kaɽ/ 'cut' ↔ কাটবে /kaɽbe/ 'you will cut'

1179. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}C/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /XV_{+high}Cbi/_{v, fut, 2nd intim/derog}
 লেখ /lek^h/ 'write' ↔ লিখবি /lik^hbi/ 'you will write'
 শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনবি /ʃunbi/ 'you will listen'

1180. VVADSF: /X/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /Xbi/_{v, fut, 2nd intim/derog}
 সাঁতরা /ʃātra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরাবি /ʃātrabi/ 'you will swim'
 কাট /kaɽ/ 'cut' ↔ কাটবি /kaɽbi/ 'you will cut'

1181. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}/_{v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /XV_{+high}bi/_{v, simp fut, 2nd intim/derog}
 শো /ʃo/ 'lie down' ↔ শুবি /ʃubi/ 'you will lie down'
 দে /de/ 'give' ↔ দিবি /dibi/ 'you will give'

1182. VVSVADSF: /X^j/_{v, simp pres, 1st} ↔ /X^jbo/_{v, simp fut, 1st}
 গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইব /ga^jbo/ 'I will sing'
 সহি /ʃo^j/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সহিব /ʃo^jbo/ 'I will tolerate'

1183. VVSVADSF: /X^j/_{v, simp pres, 1st} ↔ /X^jbe/_{v, simp fut, 2nd inform}
 গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইবে /ga^jbe/ 'you will sing'
 সহি /ʃo^j/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সহিবে /ʃo^jbe/ 'you will tolerate'

1184. VVSVADSF: /X^j/_{v, simp pres, 1st} ↔ /X^jbi/_{v, simp fut, 2nd intim/derog}
 গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইবি /ga^jbi/ 'you will sing'
 সহি /ʃo^j/ 'I tolerate' ↔ সহিবি /ʃo^jbi/ 'you will tolerate'

1185. VVSM: /CɔX/ _{simp pres} ↔ /CaX/ _{simp pres, caus}
 চল /cɔl/ 'go'/'move' ↔ চাল /cal/ 'make (something) move'
 মরে /more/ 'he dies' ↔ মারে /mare/ 'he kills'
1186. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}C/v, _{pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /XV_{+high}Co/v, _{2nd inform, fut imp}
 শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনো /ʃuno/ 'listen (in future)'
 ভালোবাস /b^halobaʃ/ 'love' ↔ ভালোবেসো /b^halobeʃo/ 'love (in future)'
1187. VVADSMSF: /CV_{-high}/v, _{pres, imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /CV_{+high}O/v, _{2nd inform, fut imp,}
 খা /k^ha/ 'eat' ↔ খেও /k^heo/ 'eat (in future)'
 নে /ne/ 'take' ↔ নিও /nio/ 'take (in future)'
1188. VVADSMSF: /XV_{-high}^y/v, _{simp pres, 3rd} ↔ /XV_{+high}^yO/v, _{2nd inform, fut imp}
 শোয় /ʃo^y/ 'he lies down' ↔ শয়ো /ʃu^yo/ 'lie down (in future)'
 দেয় /de^y/ 'he gives' ↔ দিয়ো /di^yo/ 'give (in future)'
1189. VVSVADSF: /Xi/v, _{simp pres, 1st} ↔ /Xio/v, _{2nd inform, fut imp}
 শুনি /ʃuni/ 'I listen' ↔ শুনিও /ʃunio/ 'make him listen (in future)'
 দেখি /dek^hi/ 'I see' ↔ দেখিও /dek^hio/ 'show (in future)'
1190. VVSVADSF: /X^j/v, _{simp pres, 1st} ↔ /Xo/v, _{2nd inform, fut imp}
 বই /bo^j/ 'I bear' ↔ বইও /bo^jo/ 'make him bear (in future)'
 খাই /k^ha^j/ 'he gives' ↔ খাইও /k^ha^jo/ 'make him eat (in future)'
1191. VVSVADSF: /Xi/v, _{simp pres, 1st} ↔ /Xiʃ/v, _{2nd int/derog, fut imp}
 শুনি /ʃuni/ 'I listen' ↔ শুনিস /ʃuniʃ/ 'listen (in future)'
 খেলি /k^heli/ 'I play' ↔ খেলিস /k^heliʃ/ 'play (in future)'
1192. VVSVADSF: /Xa/v, _{2nd intim/derog, pres imp} ↔ /Xaʃ/v, _{2nd int/derog, fut imp}
 করা /kɔra/ 'make (somebody) do' ↔ করাস /kɔraʃ/ 'make (somebody) do (in future)'
 সাঁতরা /ʃãtra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরাস /ʃãtraʃ/ 'swim(in future)'
1193. VVSBFS: /Xa/v, _{pres imp, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ /Xio/v, _{2nd inform, fut imp}
 সাঁতরা /ʃãtra/ 'swim' ↔ সাঁতরিও /ʃãtrio/ 'swim (in future)'
 উলটা /ultã/ 'turn upside down' ↔ উলটিও /ultio/ 'turn upside down (in future)'
1194. VVADSF: /Xi/v, _{2nd int/derog, past prog/habit} ↔ /Xiʃ/v, _{ind, 2nd int/dim, past prog/habit}
 করতি /kɔrti/ 'you used to do' ↔ করতিস /kɔrtiʃ/ 'you used to do'

করছিলি /korc^hili/ 'you were doing' ↔ করছিলিস /korc^hiliʃ/ 'you were doing'

1195. VVID: /X/arg verbal ↔ /X/verbal adj

করা /kɔra/ 'to do' ↔ করা /kɔra/ 'done'

সাজানো /ʃajano/ 'to decorate' ↔ সাজানো /ʃajano/ 'decorated'

1196. VVID: /Xa/v, simp pres, caus, imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xa/arg verbal

করা /kɔra/ 'make (something) done' ↔ করা /kɔra/ 'to do'

খাওয়া /k^ha^wa/ 'make (something) eat' ↔ খাওয়া /k^ha^wa/ 'to eat'

1197. VVID: /X/v, habit past, 2nd inform ↔ /X/compl verbal

করতে /korte/ 'you used to do' ↔ করতে /korte/ 'to do'

নিতে /nite/ 'you used to take' ↔ নিতে /nite/ 'to take'

1198. VVID: /X/v, habit past, 2nd inform, caus ↔ /X/arg verbal, loc/causal perf verbal

করতে /kɔrate/ 'you used to make (something) done' ↔ করতে /kɔrate/ 'because of the fact that (I, you, he, she, they...) have done'

শোনাতে /ʃonate/ 'you used to make (something) heard by somebody' ↔ শোনাতে

/ʃonate/ 'because of the fact that (I, you, he, she, they...) have heard'

1199. VVID: /X/v, simp past, 2nd inform ↔ /X/cond verbal

চাইলে /ca^jle/ 'you wanted' ↔ চাইলে /ca^jle/ 'if wanted'

গাইলে /ga^jle/ 'you sang' ↔ গাইলে /ga^jle/ 'if sung'

1200. VVID: /X/perf verbal ↔ /X/v, simp pres, 3rd inform

করে /kore/ 'having done' ↔ করে /kore/ 'he does'

দেখে /dek^he/ 'having seen' ↔ দেখে /dek^he/ 'he sees'

1201. VVID: /X/v, 1/2/3 sing ↔ /X/v, 1/2/3 plu

করবে /korbe/ 'he will do' ↔ করবে /korbe/ 'they will do'

দেখতাম /dek^htam/ 'I used to see' ↔ দেখতাম /dek^htam/ 'we used to see'

1202. VVID: /X/v, 2nd intim/derog, simp pres ↔ /X/v, 2nd intim/derog, fut, imp

করিস /koriʃ/ 'you do' ↔ করিস /koriʃ/ 'do'

শুনিস /ʃuniʃ/ 'you listen' ↔ শুনিস /ʃuniʃ/ 'listen'

1203. VVID: /X/v, fut, 2nd inform ↔ /X/v, fut, 3rd, inform

করবে /korbe/ 'he will do' ↔ করবে /korbe/ 'you will do'

দেখবে /dek^hbe/ 'he will see' ↔ দেখবে /dek^hbe/ 'you will see'

1204. VVID: /X/_v, 2nd form, imp ↔ /X/_v, 3rd form subj
 আসুন /aʃun/ 'come' ↔ আসুন /aʃun/ 'let him come'
 দেখুন /dek^hun/ 'look' ↔ দেখুন /dek^hun/ 'let him look'
1205. VVID: /X/_v, pres prog ↔ /X/_v, immediate fut
 করছি /korc^hi/ 'I am doing' ↔ করছি /korc^hi/ 'I am going to do'
 দেখছে /dek^hc^he/ 'he is looking' ↔ দেখছে /dek^hc^he/ 'he is going to look'
1206. VVID: /X/_v, simp pres, 2nd form ↔ /X/_v, simp pres, 3rd form
 করেন /koren/ 'you do' ↔ করেন /koren/ 'he does'
 শুনেন /ʃunen/ 'you listen' ↔ শুনেন /ʃunen/ 'he listens'
1207. VVRD: /X/_{perf/compl} verbal ↔ /XX/_{imperf} continuative verbal 'while doing /X/ continuously'
 লিখতে /lik^hte/ 'to write' ↔ লিখতে লিখতে /lik^htelik^hte/ 'while (he//they was/were)
 writing continuously'
 পড়তে /pote/ 'to write' ↔ পড়তে পড়তে /potepote/ 'while (he//they was/were)
 reading continuously'
1208. VVRD: /X/_{perf/compl} verbal ↔ /XX/_{perf} continuative verbal 'having done /X/ continuously'
 লিখতে /lik^hte/ 'to write' ↔ লিখতে লিখতে /lik^htelik^hte/ 'having written continuously'
 লিখে /lik^he/ 'having writing' ↔ লিখে লিখে /lik^helik^he/ 'having written continuously'
1209. ααnon-emph-emphSVADSF: /XV/_α (except conj & interj), non-emph ↔ /XV^j/_α (except conj & interj)
 emph 'XV/ rather than anything else' (cf. Dasgupta, 1992)
 টাকা /taka/ 'money' ↔ টাকাই /taka^j/ 'only money'
 পাশে /paʃe/ 'beside' ↔ পাশেই /paʃefaʃe/ 'only beside'
1210. ααnon-emph-emphSVADSF: /XC/_{+syllab/α} (except conj & interj), non-emph ↔
 /XC/_{+syllab/α} (except conj & interj), emph 'XC/ rather than anything else'
 কলম /kolom/ 'pen' ↔ কলমই /kolomi/ 'only pen'
 খায় /k^ha^y/ 'he eats' ↔ খায়ই /k^ha^yi/ 'of course he eats'
1211. ααInclnon-inclSVADSF: /Xa/_α (except conj & interj), non-incl ↔ /Ca^w/_α (except conj & interj), incl
 'Xa/ in addition to something else' (cf. Dasgupta, 1992)
 টাকা /taka/ 'money' ↔ টাকাও /taka^w/ 'money also'
 ভেড়া /b^hera/ 'ram' ↔ ভেড়াও /b^hera^w/ 'ram also'
1212. ααInclNon-inclSVADSF: /X/_α (except conj & interj), non-incl ↔ /Xo/_α (except conj & interj), incl 'X/
 in addition to something else'
 রানী /rani/ 'queen' ↔ রানীও /ranio/ 'queen also'

আসেন /aʃen/ 'he comes' ↔ আসেনও /aʃeno/ 'he comes also'

1213. $\alpha\alpha$ SVRD: /CX/ _{α (except conj & interj)} ↔ /CX_tX/ _{α (except conj & interj)} '/X/ and similar things'

বই /boʃ/ 'book' ↔ বইটই /boʃ_toʃ/ 'book and similar things'

পাশে /paʃe/ 'beside' ↔ পাশেটাশে /paʃe_taʃe/ 'beside and similar other positions'

1214. $\alpha\alpha$ SVRD: /CX/ _{α (except conj & interj)} ↔ /CXfX/ _{α (except conj & interj)} '/X/ and similar trashes'

বই /boʃ/ 'book' ↔ বইফই /boʃ_foʃ/ 'book and similar trashes'

পাশে /paʃe/ 'beside' ↔ পাশেফাশে /paʃe_faʃe/ 'beside and in similar other disgusting positions'

1215. $\alpha\alpha$ NNSVRD: /XCV σ / _{α (except conj & interj)} ↔ /XCV σ _tV σ / _{α (except conj & interj)} '/XCV σ / and similar things'

টেলিভিশন /teliviʃon/ 'television' ↔ /teliviʃont_iʃon/ টেলিভিশনটিশন 'television, etc.'

ভালোবাসে /b^halobaʃe/ 'loves' ↔ ভালোবাসেটাসে /b^halobaʃe_taʃe/ 'loves, etc.'

1. I have not mentioned the S(emantic) R(elatedness) for the verb-verb strategies. The SRs for these strategies would be like the following: 'the action asked for in /X/ performed by i) a different person, ii) in a different time, iii) in a different manner', etc.

Part-III
Extensions & Conclusions

Chapter-7

Reduplication in Bengali and WWM

"At first glance, reduplication seems a rare bird among morphological processes, an exotic curiosity. Struck by the apparent novelty of reduplication, previous investigators have treated reduplication as a special case - and were confronted with problems as a result... When we recognize that the same theory must cover the duckbill platypus as well as the house cat, we gain a deeper understanding of both the platypus and the cat."

(Alec Marantz, *Re Reduplication*, Linguistic Inquiry, 1982: 482)

Despite the fact that WWM does not believe in multiple morphologies (cf. Ford et al. 1997) and therefore, no (morphological) mechanism including reduplication is given any special mention, I have included this chapter on the so-called 'reduplication' phenomena in Bengali for the following reasons: i) apart from being briefly mentioned (Chatterji 1945 (1988), Abbi 1992), to the best of our knowledge, reduplication in Bengali has not been studied previously and ii) I believe that I can give a better description of it in the light of WWM compare to other approaches which nevertheless pay special attention to reduplication and consider the latter as an indispensable field of research. Therefore, I shall in this chapter not only describe Reduplication in Bengali *à la* WWM but also show that other possible accounts of it are somewhat inadequate.

However, in my view, 'reduplication' would represent a problematic notion because as we will see below, in many words like *papa* often labelled as 'reduplicated word', nothing is reduplicated at all. Words that can be shown to be genuinely constituted of the repetition of another word are outputs of strategies that require its (partly specified or totally unspecified) variable to be repeated. In the light of Singh (2003:155-157) I see reduplication as a type of morphological strategy that allows a speaker to form a new word from an old one by adjoining the latter entirely (complete reduplication) or "some

recognizable and definable part of it to itself (partial reduplication)". Such strategies are activated to form complex words like মোটামোটা [moʈamoʈa] or মোটাসোটা [moʈasoʈa] 'fat and alike' with simple words like মোটা [moʈa] 'fat' or vice-versa. There is nothing special with these strategies and although I have previously described reduplication as a separate mechanism type for descriptive reasons, it is in fact a sub-type of adjunction deletion.

7.1. What is Reduplication

7.1.1. Traditional and Structuralist approaches

Sapir (1921(2004:60)) defines reduplication as a process that involves "repetition of all or part of the radical element" and which is "generally employed to indicate such concepts as distribution, plurality, repetition, customary activity, increase in size, added intensity, continuance". For Bloomfield (1933a (1984:218), "reduplication is an affix that consists of repeating part of the underlying form" as Tagalog: [ˈga:mit] 'thing of use': [ga:-ˈga:mit] 'one who will use'. According to Nida (1949:69) reduplication consists in the repetition of all or of part of a root or stem. If the entire stem is repeated (e.g. Tojolabal -oc 'to enter' becomes -ococ 'to enter little by little'), the structure is considered as a repetitive compound whereas, "if only a part of the root or the stem is repeated, the repeated portion may be called a reduplicative". For Nida such reduplicatives may occur preposed, interposed, and postposed to the root or stem, and they may consist of just the morphemes of the stem or there may be some added elements as well.

According to Moravcsik (1978:312) "*papa* 'father' is not reduplicative construction since there is no meaningful form *pa* in the language" which means that the form repetition must match the meaning repetition in the interpretable meaning representation of the utterance. Following McCarthy (1979,1981), Marantz (1982:316) describes reduplication as "normal

affixation processes." But in his view, what is unique about reduplication is that instead of some normal affix, a copy of the phonemic melody of the stem (CV skeleton or *binayn*) is attached to the stem itself. For example, in the reduplicated Agta word *taktakki* 'legs' (cited in Marantz) the reduplicant *tak* is copied upon the left edge of the base *takki* 'leg'. Marantz (ibid.) argues that reduplication looks so exotic as compared to other types of affixation only because of "the resemblance of the added material to the stem being reduplicated."

In the South Asian context, Abbi (1992) classifies the patterns of reduplication into two different types: i) Morphological (morpheme iteration only) and ii) Lexical (e.g. word iteration, echo-word, compounds). In morphological reduplication, all or part of a lexical item is iterated or repeated, carrying a semantic modification. According to Abbi (13) "Onomatopoeic constructions, imitatives, certain instances of sound symbolisms, mimic words are all examples of morphological reduplication." Therefore, Abbi would describe *papa* as a reduplicated word because in her view (12), "in spite of the fact that the part which is repeated is neither a lexical item nor a constituent of a lexical item", items like *pa* "acquires this status only after it is being reduplicated."

Lexically reduplicated words fall under two different subtypes for Abbi (ibid.): i) Complete reduplication and ii) Partial reduplication. Completely reduplicated words e.g. [bait^he bait^he] (Hindi) 'while sitting', are constituted of two identical words while partially reduplicated ones are formed with either a) two non-identical lexical words (e.g. *dvanda* compounds such as [k^hana pina] 'eat + drink = standard of living') or b) one lexical and one 'phonological word' (or *echo-words*) as in [k^hana vana] 'food, etc'.

such as [k^hana pina] 'eat + drink = standard of living') or b) one lexical and one 'phonological word' (or *echo-words*) as in [k^hana vana] 'food, etc'.

7.1.2. Modern approaches

7.1.2.1. Optimality theory

Despite Marantz's (1982) concluding conviction that by describing 'reduplication' as a mere 'affixation process' he has demystified it forever, reduplication still remains the *duckbill platypus* i.e. a point of attraction for many linguists especially those adhering to the O(ptimality) T(heory) (cf. Prince & Smolensky 1993, McCarthy & Prince 1995a-b, 1999). Even the recent offshoots of OT, for example, D(irect) O(ptimality) T(heory) by Golston (1996) and others, such as Yip (1999), Struijke (2000), Kirchner (2003) have given themselves the agenda of providing a better explanation of the facts of reduplication.

Classical OT or the Full model (cf. Prince & Smolensky, McCarthy & Prince) treats reduplication with the same faithfulness or identity constraint (such as MAX, DEP, IDENT, etc.) that requires the output to be as similar as possible to the input. The input or the base may be chosen according to the restriction of word minimality or MinWd which means that morphological operations will always apply to word-like entities, either to an actual word or to a 'prosodically-delimited minimal word' within some larger word (cf. McCarthy & Prince 1995b). MAX BR (or maximize base-reduplicant) requires that the base and the reduplicant share the same number of segments (= total reduplication). The requirement of DEP BR is that every segment in the reduplicant must have a corresponding segment in the base. Therefore, no epenthesis would be allowed in the output and no pre-specified or fixed-default material can generally appear in reduplication. IDENT BR guarantees

reduplicant is usually a contiguous substring of the base), ii) Linearity (reduplication preserves the linear order of the segments in the base) and iii. Anchoring of edges (the reduplicant contains an element from at least one edge of the base, typically the left edge in prefixed reduplicants and the right edge in suffixed reduplicants).

The faithfulness between the base and the reduplicant is also constrained by i) over-application (“parallel phonological developments occur in both the base and the copy, even though the regular triggering conditions are found in one or the other”) and ii) under-application (“regular phonological effects may fail to appear in the base or in the copy, when the relevant environment is found in just one of them”) (McCarthy and Prince 1999:219). All such copying constraints are combined into a broadly applicable ‘correspondence theory’ (cf. McCarthy and Prince 1995a) which requires that the output correspond as closely as possible to the input.

7.1.2.2. Neo-OT theories

Some of the inadequacies of the classical OT vis-à-vis the diversity of the reduplication patterns in different human languages compelled a good number of OT linguists (Kirchner 2003, Yip 1999, Golston and Trugood 1999, Struijke 2000) to develop Neo-OT approaches diverging sufficiently from the classical version with their new constraints such as CLASH, O(bligatory) C(ontour) P(rinciple), N(ot) T(oo) S(imilar), Echo and MAX_{word}. CLASH bans adjacent feet. For example, a reduplicated Bengali word such as *[fɔlfɔl] with a base ফল [fɔl] ‘fruit’ is not be allowed in Bengali because two feet are adjacent in this word. On the other hand, the sequence [fɔlafɔl] ফলাফল is allowed because the adjacency of feet is disrupted with the epenthesis. OCP requires that two adjacent syllables have no identical material in identical locations. For example, a reduplicated word *[gangan]

'songs' formed from the base গান [gan] 'song' is not allowed in Bengali, whereas গানটান [gantʌn] 'songs and similar activities' or গানফান [ganfan] 'songs and similar trash' are allowed because in the latter the reduplicant has a different onset.

Echo (cf. Yip 1999) forbids concatenation of similar groups of sounds. For example the Agta sequence (cf. Marantz 1982) **takkitakki* violates Echo because it contains two similar groups of sounds. NTS (cf. Kirchner 2003) is not very different from Echo because it requires the reduplicant not to be similar to the base. For example, NTS is violated in **takkitakki* because the reduplicant *takki* is a perfect copy of the base. On the other hand, *taktakki* is the optimal sequence because the reduplicant *tak* is less similar to the base *takki*. Kirchner (10) argues that "reduplicative morphemes want to be as fully identical as possible, but languages may differ in where they set bounds to the reduplicative morpheme's ambition".

Word faithfulness or MAX_{wd} (cf. Struijke 2000) is satisfied if an input element is recoverable from the output. MAX_{wd} requires every segment in the input to have some correspondent in the output, regardless of their morphological make-up. Struijke (2000) argues that rather than identity between the input and the output, the faithfulness constraint of OT should demand recoverability of input elements from the output.

7.1.2.3. Lexical Prosodic Morphology (LPM)

Kiparsky (2002) takes reduplication to be the affixation or compounding of a base with itself, with or without prosodic modification of the reduplicant and/or the base. According to Kiparsky there are three types of reduplication, depending on the domain the process applies to i) Stem-level (the base is a root or stem and the output is also a stem), ii) Word-level (the base is a stem

or word and the output is also a word) and iii) Post-lexical reduplication (the base is a word or a phrase and the output is a phrase). It is expected that post-lexical reduplication usually expresses adverbial modification of the so-called *amrerirata* types such as [uttaram] 'next' > [uttaram-uttaram] 'successive'.

Kiparsky (397) argues that Base/Reduplicant or Input/Reduplicant correspondence constraints of OT are not necessary because "the size and melody of the base is predictable from the morphology of reduplication". The melody associated with the reduplication is neither the underlying melody nor the output melody of the root or the stem but the melody imposed by the phonology and morphology on the base of reduplication. According to Kiparsky (395) "The reduplicant gets its form from the base" which (397) "determines both how much of the reduplicated word's melody (the root, stem, or the whole word) is accessible to the reduplication process, and what the form of the copied melody is."

7.1.2.4. Morphological doubling theory (MDT)

In this morpho-semantic approach by Inkelas (2005), a reduplicated word is comprised of two daughters: i) reduplicant and ii) base, both generated by the morphology from a mother input recoverable morphologically and semantically from the daughters. According to Inkelas (67) "The key assumption of MDT is that daughters are semantically identical" whereas "phonological identity is not presupposed or required because each of the daughters may be subject to special phonology." Inkelas describes reduplication as 'morphological doubling' rather than 'phonological copying'. MDT makes a distinction between 'phonological duplication' and 'morphological reduplication' and assumes that the same morphological structure is assigned to partial and to total reduplication, which differ solely in whether or not one of the daughters is phonologically truncated.

7.1.2.5. Syntactic approach

For Travis (2001), there are four different types of reduplication: i) phonological (e.g. *bana* 'coyote' > *baabana* 'coyotes'), ii) syntactic (e.g. The butterfly fluttered from *flower to flower*), iii) contrastive (e.g. I want a *SALAD salad* not a tuna salad) and iv) conjunctive (e.g. Kannada *baagil-anni* 'door_{acc}' becomes *baagil-annu-giigilanna* 'door and related things').

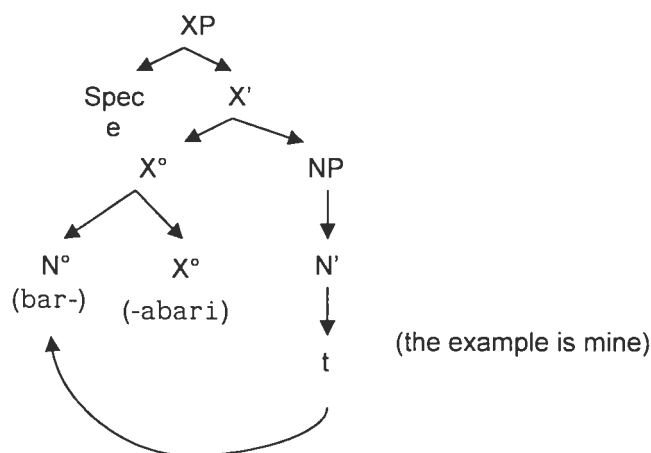


Figure-8: Syntactic reduplication-1

Travis argues that reduplication is always triggered in syntax. As with other types of affixation, reduplication also results from feature checking head movement: the head of the NP moves to adjoin to the head representing a quantity feature which will be realized as the (reduplicational) affix. For example, in the Bengali reduplicated word *বাড়াবাড়ি* [barabari] 'exaggeration', the NP *বাড়* [bar] 'increase' would move to adjoin to the suffix [-abari]. Reduplication is necessarily realized through this quantity feature checking because, as Travis mentions, in many cases reduplication represents a quantity of some sort.

7.1.2.6. WWM

For Singh (2003), the input of the reduplication process must be a word: "Whereas *home home* (as in *This is not home home*) is perhaps an example of reduplication in English, *tomato* is not despite the fact that the non-medial syllables are identical. *Tomato* must be ruled out as an example of reduplication because neither *toma* nor *mato* are words in English." Sequences like খিলখিল [k^hilk^hil] 'onomatopoeic of laughter/' 'giggle' or বর্বর [bɔrbɔr] 'barbarian' should not be considered as reduplicated words because they cannot be related to any word input.

According to Singh (2003) there is a difference between the 'process' of reduplication and the 'pattern' of reduplication. Sequences like [k^hilk^hil] or [bɔrbɔr] have a formal 'pattern' that looks like reduplication but they have not undergone the process of reduplication. On the other hand, a word like বাড়াবাড়ি [barabari] 'exaggeration' can be related either to the word [bar] বাড় 'increase' or to বাড় [bara] 'to increase' and, therefore, [barabari] must have undergone the process of reduplication.

7.2. Morphological theories and Reduplication in Bengali

7.2.1. Traditional and Structuralist approaches

If we define 'reduplication' as a morphological process characterized by some type of 'formal iteration', the 'reduplicant' must be recoverable from the reduplicated output. No such iteration has taken place in *dvanda* compounds such as পিতামাতা [pita-mata] 'father and mother' or চা-কফি [cakɔfi] 'tea and coffee' and it is hard to decide which one of the two elements constituting such words is the reduplicant. Therefore, I assume (*pace* Abbi 1992) that a label such as 'lexical reduplication' can hardly be justified. However, some of

these words could result form a process known as 'semantic reduplication' (cf. section: 7.3.10. and 7.4.2).

The classical concatenative approach does not fit the different reduplication processes in Bengali because the reduplicant is not always a copy of the CV skeleton of the base. In words such as কান্নাকাটি [kannakaṭi] 'crying and similar activities' or ঝগড়াঝাটি [j^hoɡraʒ^haṭi] 'disputes and similar activities' the reduplicant [kaṭi] or [j^haṭi] cannot be a copy of the base কান্না [kanna] 'crying' or ঝগড়া [j^hoɡra] 'dispute'. In words such as রাতবিরাতে [ratbirate] 'in odd times as during the night', the reduplicant [birat] has a longer skeleton compared to the base রাত [rat] 'night'. In words like ছাত্ররাজনীতিটি [c^hatroraʒnitiṭi] 'student politics and similar activities' the reduplicant [ṭi] has a much shorter skeleton compared to the base ছাত্ররাজনীতি [c^hatroraʒniti] 'student politics'.

In some words like খুঁটিনাটি [k^hūṭinaṭi] 'details' or আঁকিবুকি [ākibuki] 'childish drawing' it is difficult to identify the base. In some others, such as ফলাফল [fɔlafɔl] 'result'/'consequence' and কাটাকুটি [kaṭakuṭi] 'cutting etc.', several sequences can be considered as the base and it is difficult to trace the exact contour of the reduplicant. If ফল [fɔl] 'fruit' or কাট [kaṭ] 'cut_{imp}' is chosen as the base of these words, the reduplicant will have a different contour than the one copied on ফলা [fɔla] 'to give fruit' or কাটা [kaṭa] 'to cut'. There cannot be in principle two different bases for the same reduplicated word and therefore, the concatenative approach of reduplication does not propose any criteria about how to select the base among several candidates.

No meaningless sequence can be involved in the process of reduplication. For example, at least three different bases can be imagined for the reduplicated word হাতহাতি [hatahati] 'fighting with hands': i) হাত [hat] 'hand', ii) হাতি [hati] 'elephant' and iii) হাতা [hata] 'sleeve'. But no other sequence except [hat] can be considered as the base because the semantic iteration of 'hand' best matches the formal iteration of the sequence [hat]. Three different candidates also compete for the 'base-hood' in the reduplicated word [barabari] বাড়াবাড়ি 'exaggeration': i) বাড় [bar] 'increase', ii) বাড় [bara] 'to increase' and iii) বাড়ি [bari] 'house'. Both [bara] or [bar] can be considered as the base because their semantic iteration is closer to the meaning of the reduplicated word.

In the word মোটমোট [motmot] 'all in total', the sequence [mot] must be the reduplicant copied upon মোট [mot] 'in total' and not vice-versa because i) left anchoring is rare in Bengali and ii) the meaning of মাঠ [mat] 'field' does not semantically match with the meaning of the reduplicated word. Here again, the base-hood of [mot] is determined according to the semantic criteria. Therefore, the general tendency of reduplication in Bengali is that the reduplicant is copied upon a meaningful base. Apparently, no reduplicated word in Bengali results from the iteration of meaningless segments or clusters and therefore no morphological reduplication *à la Abbi* can take place in Bengali. Moreover, in our view, the idea of 'morphological reduplication' is tautological because reduplication itself is a morphological process and all so-called reduplicated words are necessarily morphological.

There are monosyllabic clusters in Bengali such as [kin] or [gil] that do not undergo the process of reduplication. However, they undergo affixation in order to form words such as কিনি [kini] 'I buy' or গিলি [gili] 'I swallow'. Others, for example [cin] or [gun] undergo both of the processes: চিনচিন [cincin] 'sensation of small pain', চিনি [cini] 'I know', গুনগুন [gungun] 'sound of bees', গুনি [guni] 'I count'. Some others like [k^hil] or [pɛn] undergo only reduplication: খিলখিল [k^hilk^hil] 'giggle', প্যানপ্যান [pɛnpɛn] 'whimpering'. There is no doubt that [cin] or [gun] are used as word-ingredients in Bengali, because the same monosyllabic clusters appear in various other affixal words: চিন্তে [cinto] 'he used to know', গুনি [guni] 'I count'. But [k^hil] or [pɛn] appear only in the hapax [k^hilk^hil] 'giggle' and [pɛnpɛn]. Now, if we accept [k^hilk^hil] and [pɛnpɛn] as reduplicated words, following Abbi (1992), then why would ভাঙা [ɖanda] 'rod', লালা [lala] 'saliva' or শিশির [ʃiʃir] 'dew-drops' not have undergone the same process? As is the case with non-onomatopoeic words such as বর্বর [bɔrbɔr] 'barbarian' or মর্মর [mɔrmɔr] 'marvel', the simple onomatopoeic words such as [k^hilk^hil] and [pɛnpɛn] look like reduplicated words but this resemblance is totally coincidental and have nothing to do with morphology.

The structuralist approach cannot rule out (onomatopoeic) words such as ধবধবে [d^hɔbd^hɔbe] 'modifier of whiteness' (some speakers pronounce [d^hɔbd^hɔbe], some others do not) or words such as বর্বর [bɔrbɔr] 'barbarian' from the list of reduplicated words. If the derivational word বর্ণিত [bɔrnito] 'described' can be described as a concatenation of the affix [ito]

and the base [bɔrn], both lacking meaning, [d^hɔbd^hɔbe] can also be formed of two meaningless constituents, one serving as base and the other as affix, regardless of their contour.

7.2.2. On so-called onomatopoeics

Hockett (1958:298) argues that some words and phrases "*sound* like that which they mean: such a form is onomatopoeic". According to *Oxford English Dictionary* an 'onomatopoeic' is a word formed "from sounds that resemble those associated with the object or action to be named, or that seem naturally suggestive of its qualities associated with what is named (e.g. *cuckoo, sizzle*"). Although onomatopoeic sequences are traditionally called (onomatopoeic) WORD (cf. Chatterji 1945 (1988)) they fail to meet most of the criteria of word-hood. Words belong to syntactic categories like noun, adjective, verb, etc. and their function often depends on their category (for example, nouns are usually used as arguments and adjectives as modifiers). Onomatopoeic sequences do not belong to any word-category and they are entitled to no grammatical function such as subject, complement or modifier.

It is not possible to propose a new word category of 'onomatopoeic' exclusively for Bengali because while proposing a category one has to determine the syntactic function of its members. Bengali onomatopoeic sequences cannot be adjectives because they cannot modify nouns: *[kɔnkɔn bɛt^ha] 'heavy pain'. They are not nouns either, because unlike Bengali nouns, onomatopoeics cannot take any classifier (টেবিলটা /tɛbɪlɪt̪a/ 'the table', বইটা /boɪ̯t̪a/ 'the book' but not *[kɔnkɔnt̪a]). Onomatopoeics like [kɔnkɔn] do not have any meaning in the sense that unless we relate them either to the noun কনকনানি /kɔnkɔnani/ 'the sensation of heavy pain', or to the adjective /kɔnkɔne/ 'extremely painful' or to the phrasal verb কনকন করা

[kɔŋkɔŋ kɔra] 'to pain heavily', it is difficult to explain what they really mean.

Onomatopoeic sequences can be either simple or complex. Some onomatopoeic sequences like [kɔŋkɔŋ] 'X type of heavy pain' or [cɪŋcɪŋ] 'X type of bearable small pain' give the impression that they are iterations of the simple sequence [kɔŋ] and [cɪŋ], but no such simple sequence exists in Bengali. Some other onomatopoeic sequences like মটমট [mɔt̪mɔt̪] 'continuous sounds of breaking down the branches of trees' and হুঁসঠাস [t̪^huʃt̪^haʃ] 'continuous sounds of gunshot', can be described as the iteration of simple onomatopoeic sequences like মট [mɔt̪] 'one single sound of breaking down a branch of a tree' and হুঁস [t̪^huʃ] 'one single sound of gunshot'⁽¹⁾.

If onomatopoeic sequences like [mɔt̪mɔt̪] and [kɔŋkɔŋ] are not words how are we aware of their existence? In my view, the same atomistic habit which makes us aware of the existence of root and affix, also creates the illusion of so-called onomatopoeic sequences. As our atomistic morphological education compels us to recognize [e] or [ano] as derivative affixes and [kɔra] as the pole of some compound verbs, [kɔŋkɔŋ] and [cɪŋcɪŋ] are automatically recognized as simple onomatopoeic 'words' although they fail to satisfy every single criteria of word-hood. This said, there are words in Bengali like কনকনে /kɔŋkɔne/ 'heavily painful', কনকনানো /kɔŋkɔnano/ 'to pain heavily' or কনকনানি /kɔŋkɔnani/ 'the experience of heavy pain' and such words can be mapped onto strategies like the following.

1. (NVSBSF-401): /Xe/adj ↔ /Xano/v 'to feel /Xe/ type pain'

কনকনে /kɔnkɔne/ 'heavy' (used exclusively with pain)' ↔ কনকনানো /kɔnkɔnɔno/ 'to feel /kɔnkɔne/ type of (heavy) pain'

চিনচিনে /cincine/ 'light (used exclusively with pain)' ↔ চিনচিনানো /cincinɔno/ 'to feel /cincine/ type of (light) pain'

2. (NASBSF-335): /Xe/adj ↔ /Xani/n 'the feeling of /Xe/ type of pain'

কনকনে /kɔnkɔne/ 'heavy' (used exclusively with pain)' ↔ কনকনানি /kɔnkɔnɔni/ 'the feeling of /kɔnkɔne/ type of (heavy) pain'

চিনচিনে /cincine/ 'light (used exclusively with pain)' ↔ চিনচিনানি /cincinɔni/ 'the feeling of /cincine/ type of (light) pain'

It is not clear to me why sequences like [kɔnkɔn] and [cincin] are labelled 'onomatopoeic' because a good number of them are not 'suggestive' of anything. One has to know the meaning of /kɔnkɔnɔni/ as he has to know the meaning of the word বই /boj/ 'book' or কলম /kɔlom/ 'pen' and therefore, I do not understand what can be gained by labelling only the former as 'onomatopoeic'. With a sufficient amount of imagination, verbs like কাটা /kaʈa/ 'to cut' or nouns like ডুব /dub/ 'dip' can also be described as 'onomatopoeic', because both of these actions may make sounds like [kaʈ] or [dub].

7.2.3. Classical and Neo-OT theories

Although the instances of complete reduplication (e.g. কাটকাট [kaʈkaʈ] 'sharp, direct' or কাটাকাটা [kaʈakaʈa] 'all cut') do not violate the faithfulness

condition of classical OT, they deliberately violate most of the neo-OT constraints such as CLASH, OCP, ECHO or NTS. On the other hand, all instances of partial reduplication, either with a replacer phoneme (e.g. [kaʈafaʈa]) or with rhyme-modification (e.g. [kaʈakuʈi]) violate the constraint of IDENT BR of the full model.

As the reduplicant is shorter than the base in words such as রাজনীতিটি [rajnitiʈiti] 'politics and similar activities', and longer in words like হাতহাতি [hatahati] 'fighting with hands', the classical OT constraints such as MAX BR and IDENT BR are violated in these words. Another OT constraint, DEP BR, is violated in words like ক্ষতবিক্ষত [kʰɔʈobikkʰɔʈo] 'severely wounded' or ফলাফল [ʈɔlafɔl] 'consequences' in which a syllable [bik] is inserted between the base and the reduplicant or a vowel [a] is epenthesized on the left edge of the reduplicant. As a consequence, the reduplicant ([bikkʰɔʈo], [aʈɔl]) has a longer skeleton (CVCVCV or VCVC) as compared to the base: ক্ষত [kʰɔʈo] (CVCV) 'wound' or ফল [ʈɔl] (CVC): 'result'/'consequence'. With their disrupted or 'non-adjacent' (cf. Shaw, 2005) base-reduplicant sequence, such words also violate the BR contiguity (or adjacency) constraint of classical OT.

Both কাটা [kaʈa] and [kaʈ] 'cut' can be recovered from the reduplicated output কাটাকাটা [kaʈakaʈa] 'all cut' following the constraint MAX_{wd} (Struijke, 2000). But MAX_{wd} does not tell us which one of the two derivations ([kaʈa] → [kaʈkaʈ] or [kaʈ] → [kaʈkaʈ]) should be the optimal analysis. Although *[dʰɔb] or *[fʰur] can be recovered from the onomatopoeic words ধবধবে

[d^hɔbd^hobe] 'modifier of whiteness' or ফুরফুরে [furfure] 'modifier of the fresh wind' and thence the constraint MAX_{wd} is not violated, nothing proves that these words have undergone reduplication.

A word such as দেশেদেশে [deʃedeʃe]_{loc} 'in different countries' could have been formed from two different bases: দেশ [deʃ]_{nom} 'country' or দেশে [deʃe]_{loc} 'in the country' and therefore two different reduplicants ([edeʃe] and [deʃe]) are involved in these words. If [deʃ]_{nom} is chosen as the base following the Min_{wd} restriction, we do not get a faithful reduplicant. On the other hand, if দেশে [deʃe]_{loc} 'in the country' is chosen as the base, the constraint of IDENT BR is not violated, but the criteria of Min_{wd} is no longer respected.

With the exception of linearity, all the constraints of classical OT as well as of Neo OT are violated in Bengali. In almost all the instances of imperfect reduplication, the reduplicant is more or less 'unfaithful to the base' (cf. Singh 2003). In reduplicated words such as /kaʈakaʈi/, the faithfulness constraint is minimally violated and in words such as কান্নাকাটি /kannakaʈi/ 'crying and similar things' or আঁকিবুকি /ākibuki/ 'childish drawing' it is violated maximally. However, all OT constraints are in principle violable and therefore violation of constraints does not really constitute a solid argument against OT. What would be difficult to explain in OT as well as in Neo OT framework is that some Bengali words like পরিকল্পনা [porikɔlpona] 'plan' can be reduplicated either to [porikɔlponaʈona] or to [pɔrikɔlponaʈɔlpona] 'planning and similar activities'. Another similar example would be অঘটনঘটনপটিয়সী [ɔg^hɔʈong^hɔʈonpoʈi^yoʃi] 'a woman expert in doing undoable/

unexpected/impossible things' which is reduplicated to either [ɔg^hɔtɔng^hɔtɔnpoɽi^yoʃiɽoʃi] or to [ɔg^hɔtɔng^hɔtɔnpoɽi^yoʃiɽoɽi-oʃi/] 'a woman expert in doing undoable/unexpected/impossible things or somebody alike'. We can note that in both the cases, two different pieces of prosody are affixed to the base (and consequently, there are two optimal outputs), a fact that OT can hardly allow.

7.2.4. Lexical prosodic morphology

Some reduplicated words in Bengali violate the principal claims of the Lexical prosodic morphology proposed by Kiparsky (2002). For example:

- i. the melody of the reduplicant [paɽ] and [meci] cannot be predicted from the base [luɽ] 'looting' and [cɛca] 'shout_{imp}' in minimally reduplicated words like লুটপাট [luɽpaɽ] 'looting, etc.' or চৈচামেচি [cɛcameci] 'shouting, etc.'. In কান্নাকাটি [kannakaɽi] 'crying and similar activities' neither the prosody nor the melody can be predicted.
- ii. in words like ঝগড়াঝাটি [j^hɔgraj^haɽi] 'disputes and similar activities', the reduplicant [j^haɽi] cannot derive from the base ঝগড়া [j^hɔgra] 'dispute' because little of the base is apparently accessible to the reduplication process;
- iii. it is not always easy to identify the base and the reduplicant in words like ফলাফল [fɔlafɔl] 'consequence'.

7.2.5. Morphological doubling theory

In my view, the problem of this approach is that it is too powerful. Its core rule says: take any form endowed with some meaning and have it repeated. In

partially reduplicated words like লুটপাট [lutpat] 'looting, etc.' or ঝগড়াঝাটি [ʃʰograʃʰaʈi] 'disputes and similar activities', the two sisters can be claimed to be semantically identical but the phonological difference between them can be explained neither by any phonological rule nor by truncation of one of the sisters. Partially reduplicated words like রাজনীতিটি [raʃnitititi] 'politics, etc.' can result from the truncation of one of the sisters but there is no phonological rule in Bengali that can explain the consonant mutation: [t]→ [ʈ].

Morphology must indicate where and how much of one of the sisters is to be truncated. But MDT does not propose any clear-cut truncation rule for partial reduplication. For example, পরিকল্পনা [porikolpona] 'plan' can be reduplicated either to i) .পরিকল্পনাটনা [porikolponaʈona], পরিকল্পনাটল্পনা [pɔrikolponaʈolpona] or to ii) পরিকল্পনাটরিকল্পনা [porikolponaʈorikolpona] 'planning and similar activities', whereas ভিক্ষারী [bʰikʰari] 'beggar' cannot be reduplicated to *[bʰikʰariʈari] 'beggars, etc.'

7.2.6. Syntactic morphology

In Bengali, it is not always a noun head that is reduplicated. Words belonging to all classes, for example, pronouns (e.g. আমরা আমরা [amraamra] 'we without including anybody else'), adjectives (e.g. বড়সড় [bɔroʃɔro] 'big enough'), adverbs (e.g. আস্তে আস্তে [asteaste] 'slowly'), prepositions (e.g. আগে আগে [ageage] 'always before'), verbs (e.g. যাইটাই [jaʃʈaʃ] 'I go and do similar other things'), interjections (e.g. হায় হায় [haʲhaʲ] 'oh! oh!') can be reduplicated. Contrary to the assumptions of Travis (2001), adjectival reduplication in

Bengali such as মোটাসোটা [mot̪aʃot̪a] 'fat enough' or সাদামাটা [ʃadamaʈa] 'very simple', cannot be triggered by quantity feature checking because it is rather the quality feature of the adjective head that is checked in this type of reduplicated word.

Nevertheless, we can assume that all lexical heads are reduplicated and XPs bearing other features can also be accommodated in the X-bar tree-diagram. But the main problem with this weak-lexicalist and rather 'syntactic' morphology is that it cannot make prediction about the form of the reduplicated words. For example, the word ঝগড়া [jʰoɡra] 'dispute' can be reduplicated either as ঝগড়াঝাটি [jʰoɡrajʰaʈi] or as [jʰoɡraʈoɡra] or as [jʰoɡrajʰoɡri] or as [jʰoɡrajʰoɡra], each meaning 'disputes and similar activities', obviously endowed with different semantic nuances. Syntactic morphology of Travis cannot explain such semantic and formal differences in reduplicated words.

Another problem with the syntactic model of morphology is that it cannot make any distinction between the genuine cases of reduplication and onomatopoeic words such as খিলখিল [kʰilkʰil] 'onomatopoeic of laughter' or চনমন [ɕɔnmɔn] 'onomatopoeic of freshness of mind'. If [kʰilkʰil] is a reduplicated word, then it must have derived from a X° but no part of these words represents such a level.

However, /kʰilkʰil/ can be a reduplicated word with zero-affixation or as it is the case in the Minimalist Program (cf, Chomsky 1995), /kʰilkʰil/ can have its quantity feature checked by sending a copy of itself to the Spec of

the quantity feature bearing X° . But in either of the cases, one has to accept [k^hilk^hil] as a reduplicated word which it is assumedly not.

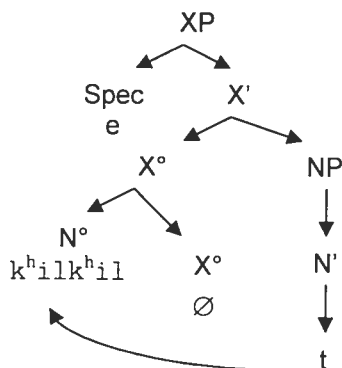


Figure-9: Syntactic reduplication-2

7.2.7. WWM and Reduplication in Bengali

WWM is capable of explaining all the cases of so-called reduplication in Bengali. Although I have already shown the 'reduplicational' strategies in chapter-6, a detailed description of how WWM handles the cases of reduplication will be given in section 7.4. following an exhaustive account of the 'reduplicational' diversity of Bengali in the section 7.3.

7.3. Reduplicational diversity of Bengali

Neither Temiar-like cases (e.g. [kɔɔw] 'call' → [kwkɔɔw] 'call_{continuative}' cited in Kirchner 2003) nor the types of partial reduplication seen in Agta ([takki] 'leg' → [taktakki] 'legs' (cited in Marantz 1982)) have been attested in Bengali. However, all the cases of reduplication that I have considered so far in Bengali fall under one of the two different types: a. Perfect and b. Imperfect.

7.3.1. Perfect reduplication

A perfectly reduplicated word contains nothing but the base and its perfect copy. Such words have a distributive (X and then another X) and/or a plural (more than one X) interpretation.

3a. কাটা [kaṭa] 'cut' → কাটাকাটা [kaṭakaṭa] 'all cut'

3b. বাড়ি [bari] 'house' → বাড়ি বাড়ি [baribari] 'in every house'

7.3.2. Imperfect reduplication

An imperfectly reduplicated word is constituted of the base and its imperfect copy. An imperfect reduplicant is an imperfect copy of the base corrupted by 1. Consonant mutation, 2. Partial copying, 3. Nucleus modification, 4. Epenthesis, 5. Deletion + Epenthesis and 6. Syllable insertion or Disruption. No distributional interpretation is generally attributed to the imperfectly reduplicated words which have usually an 'X et cetera' (cf. Singh 2003) and/or 'X and alike' interpretation.

7.3.3. Full reduplication with consonantal replacement or consonant mutation

In this type of reduplication the onset of the reduplicant is substituted with a consonant called 'replacer' or 'replacer consonant' (cf. Abbi 1992). Apparently, /t/ is the most unmarked replacer in Bengali and it is associated with a rule of semantic interpretation that provides, among others, an *et Cetera* meaning to the reduplicated word. However, if the base begins with /t/, some other replacer phoneme (/m/ or /f/) is used or the nucleus of the reduplicant is modified. The two other most common replacer consonants are [ʃ] and [f]. Reduplicants with [ʃ] in the onset are generally used with adjectives and have an 'enough' or 'sufficiently' type of interpretation.

Reduplicants with a [f] in the onset are generally associated with a derogative or pejorative meaning.

Suffixal reduplication

- 4a. [t]: গান [gan] 'song' → [gant̪an] গানটান 'X and similar activities';
- 4b. [f] গান [gan] 'song' → [ganfan] গানফান 'X and similar trash'
- 4c. [ʃ] বড় [bɔro] 'big' → [bɔroʃɔro] বড়সড় 'big enough'
- 4d. [m] রেগে [rege] 'having been angry' → [regemege] রেগেমেকে 'having been angry, etc.'
- 4e. [h]: ভাব [b^hab] 'mood, intention, mental state' → [habb^hab] হাবভাব 'moods and intentions'
- 4f. [j]: লেখা [lek^ha] 'writings' → [lek^hajoka] লেখাজোকা 'writings and similar things'
- 4g. [j^h]: বকা [bɔka] 'scolding' → [bɔkaj^hɔka] বকাঝকা 'scolding and similar activities'
- 4h. [c]: হাল [hal] 'condition' → [halcal] হালচাল 'conditions, etc.'
- 4i. [b^h]: আগে [age] 'before' → [ageb^hage] আগেভাগে 'well before'
- 4j. [p]: লুট [lut] 'looting' → [lutpat] লুটপাট 'looting, etc.', etc.

7.3.4. Partial reduplication with consonant replacement

In this type of reduplicated words, the reduplicant is i) copied upon the right end or last syllable(s) of the base; ii) (almost always) undergoes consonant mutation in the onset⁽²⁾ and iii) is right-anchored to the stem. We can note below that some simple bi-syllabic or tri-syllabic words, such as বিদ্যুৎ [bidduṭ] 'electricity', ভিক্ষারী [b^hik^hari] 'beggar' or মৃত্তিকা [mrittika] 'soil', cannot be partially reduplicated.

i. Bi-syllabic words

5a. বিদ্যুৎ [bidduṭ] 'electricity' → *[bidduṭt̪ut], [bidduṭt̪idduṭ] 'electricity etc.'

5b. পেন্সিল [pensil] 'pencil' → *[pensilt̪il], [pensilt̪ensil] 'pencil etc.'

5c. মিটিং [mitiŋ] 'meeting' → *[mitiŋtiŋ], [mitiŋtiŋtiŋ] 'meeting and similar activities'

5d. ধার্মিক [d^harmik] 'religious' → *[d^harmikɽik], [d^harmikɽarmik] 'religious and having similar other qualities'

5e. রাজহাঁস [rajhaʃ] 'goose' (literally 'king duck') → [rajhaʃtaʃ], [rajhaʃɽajhaʃ] 'goose, etc.'

5f. ওয়েলফেয়ার [oelfear] 'welfare' → [oelfearɽoelfear], [oelfearɽear], [oelfearɽar] 'welfare, etc.'

ii. Tri-syllabic words

6a. মৃত্তিকা [mrittika] 'soil' → *[mrittikaɽika], [mrittikaɽittika] 'soil, etc.'

6b. ভিক্ষারী [b^hik^hari] 'beggar' → *[b^hik^hariɽari], [b^hik^hariɽikari] 'beggars etc.'

6c. অসুস্থ [oʃust^ho] 'sick' → *[oʃust^hoɽust^ho], [oʃust^hoɽoʃust^ho] 'sick, etc.'

6d. ইতিহাস [itihəʃ] 'history' → [itihəʃtaʃ], [itihəʃɽitihəʃ] 'history, etc.'

6e. রাজনীতি [rajniti] 'politics' → [rajnitiɽiti], [rajnitiɽajniti] 'politics, etc.'

Partial reduplication is allowed in simple and complex quadri-syllabic words like অবলম্বন [ɔbɔlɔmbɔn] 'support' or পরিচ্ছন্ন [pɔricc^hɔnno] 'clean' as well as in complex ones like মুক্তমনা [muktomona] 'open-minded' but with the condition that the reduplicant is constituted of minimum two syllables.

iii. Quadri-syllabic words

7a. অবলম্বন [ɔbɔlɔmbɔn] 'support' → [ɔbɔlɔmbɔnɽɔbɔlɔmbɔn], [ɔbɔlɔmbɔnɽɔn], 'supports, etc.'

7b. পরিচ্ছন্ন [pɔricc^hɔnno] 'clean' → [pɔricc^hɔnnoɽɔnno], [pɔricc^hɔnno-ɽɔricc^hɔnno] *[pɔricc^hɔnnoɽɔ] 'clean and alike'

7c. মুক্তমনা [muktomona] 'open minded' → [muktomonatona], [muktomona-tuktomona], *[muktomonatā] 'open minded and alike'

7d. টেলিভিশন [tɛliviʃon] 'television' → [tɛliviʃontʃiʃon], *[tɛliviʃonton] 'television and similar things'

iv. Words with five syllables

8a. গণবিরোধী [gɔnobirod^hi] 'anti-social' → [gɔnobirod^hiʃirod^hi],
?[gɔnobirod^hiʃɔnobirod^hi] 'anti-social and similar activities'

8b. পরিকল্পনা [porikɔlpona] 'plan' → [porikɔlponatona], [pɔrikɔlponatɔl-pona], [pɔrikɔlponatɔrikɔlpona] 'planning and similar activities'

8c. ছাত্ররাজনীতি [c^hatrorajnitɪ] 'student politics' → [c^hatrorajnitɪʃitɪ]
*[c^hatrorajnitɪʃatrorajnitɪ] 'student politics and similar activities'

8d. কমুনিকেশন [komunikeʃon] 'communication' → কমুনিকেশনটেশন [komuni-keʃontɛʃon], [komunikeʃontɔmunikeʃon] 'communication etc.'

v. Words with six syllables

9a. জনকল্যানমুখী [jɔnokollanmuk^hi] 'social welfare oriented' → [jɔnokollan-muk^hiʃuk^hi], *[jɔnokollanmuk^hiʃɔnokollanmuk^hi]
'social welfare and similar activities'

9b. অভিনন্দনযোগ্য [ob^hinondonjoggo] 'praiseworthy' → [ob^hinondonjoggoʃoggo]
*[ob^hinondonjoggoʃobhinondonjoggo] 'praiseworthy and alike'

vi. Words with seven syllables

10. কিংকর্তব্যবিমূঢ় [kiŋkɔrtɔbbɔbimuro] 'somebody who does not know what to do' → [kiŋkɔrtɔbbɔbimurot̪imuro], *[kiŋkɔrtɔbbɔbimuro-t̪iŋkɔrtɔbbɔbimuro] 'somebody who does not know what to do or of similar type'

ix. Words with nine syllables

11. অঘটনঘটনপটিয়সী [ɔg^hɔtɔng^hɔtɔnɔpɔti^yoʃi] 'a woman expert in doing undoable/unexpected/impossible things' → [ɔg^hɔtɔng^hɔtɔnɔpɔti^yoʃit̪oʃi], [ɔg^hɔtɔng^hɔtɔnɔpɔti^yoʃit̪ot̪ioʃi/], *[ɔg^hɔtɔng^hɔtɔnɔpɔti^yoʃit̪ɔg^hɔtɔng^hɔtɔnɔpɔti^yoʃi] 'a woman expert in doing undoable/unexpected/impossible things and/or alike'

We can note that some complex words like [rajniti] or [rajhaʃ] can be partially reduplicated whereas others such as [d^harmik] or [ɔʃust^ho] cannot. English loan words with a shorter skeleton, such as [pensil] 'pencil' or [mit̪iŋ] 'meeting', cannot be partially reduplicated whereas longer ones like [t̪ɛliviʃɔn] or [komunikeʃɔn] are allowed to be so. Generally, the reduplicant is copied upon the last two syllables of the base. However, in words with a 'very long' skeleton of 7 to 9 syllables, the reduplicant can be copied upon three or four syllables.

Although complex words like [porikɔlpona] or [t̪ɛliviʃɔn] give the impression that the reduplicant is copied upon the 'head' of the word, it is not in fact the case. A word like [kilimanjaro] কিলিমানজারো 'a mountain in Africa' or কেওক্রেডাং [keokredaŋ] (the name of the highest hill in Bangladesh in some tribal language of Chittagong) are reduplicated as কিলিমানজারোটোরো

[kilimanjarotaro] 'Kilimanjaro and similar things' or কেওক্রেডাটেডাং [keokredaŋtedaŋ] 'Keokredang and similar things' although a naive speaker of Bengali has no idea about the position of the head in these words.

It seems that the only generalization one can make regarding partial reduplication in Bengali is the following: the longer the skeleton of the word, the more partial reduplication is preferred. Therefore, partial reduplication is obligatory in words with six or more syllables. This tendency is assumedly naturally motivated (in the sense of Donegan and Stampe, 1979) because compared to completely reduplicated longer words, partially reduplicated longer words are easier to produce.

7.3.5. Nucleus modification

No change in nucleus has so far been noticed in tri-syllabic or longer reduplicants. In reduplicants copied on monosyllabic bases, the nucleus is replaced (usually with [a] but other vowels may also appear as it is the case in [teltul]).

12a. ভুল [b^hul] 'error' → ভুলভাল [b^hulb^hal] 'errors and similar things'

12b. ফিট [fit] 'fit, okay' → ফিটফাট [fiʈfaʈ] 'well dressed'

12c. শো [ʃo] 'coquettish bearing' → শো-শা [ʃoʃa] 'coquettish bearing and similar activities'

12d. গুডুম [gurum] 'sound of gunfire' → গুডুমগাডুম [gurumgarum] 'sounds of gunfire'

12e. ডঙ [d^hoŋ] 'coquettish bearing' → ডঙডাঙ [d^hoŋd^haŋ] 'coquettish bearing and similar activities'

12f. তেল [tel] 'oil' → তেলতুল [teltul] 'oil and similar things'

12g. টাকা [taka] 'money' → টাকাটাকা [takaʈuka] 'money etc'

12h. মালিশ [maliʃ] 'massage' → মালিশমুলিশ [maliʃmuliʃ] 'massage and similar activities'

Regarding reduplicants copied on bi-syllabic bases, we note three different patterns: i) the rhyme is changed either in the first syllable (e.g. [keʈekuʈe]) or ii) in the second syllable (e.g. [kaʈakaʈi]) or iii) in both of the syllables (e.g. [kaʈakuʈi]).

12i. কেটে [keʈe] 'having cut' → কেটেকটে [keʈekuʈe] 'having cut and performed similar activities'

12j. টেবিল [tebil] 'table' → টেবিলটুবিল [tebilʈubil] 'tables and similar other furniture'

12k. কাটা [kaʈa] 'cut' → কাটাকাটি [kaʈakaʈi] 'cutting and similar activities'

12l. কাটা [kaʈa] 'cut' → কাটাকুটি [kaʈakuʈi] 'cutting and similar activities'

12m. ঘোরা [g^hora] 'roam' → ঘোরাঘুরি [g^horag^huri] 'roaming around'

7.3.6. Disrupted reduplication

In this type of reduplication, the base and the reduplicant are separated either by the meaningless syllable /bi/ or by epenthesis.

13a. রাত [rat] 'night' → [ratbirate] রাতবিরাতে 'in odd times, as during the night'

13b. দিক [dik] 'direction' → [digbidike] দিকবিদিকে 'regardless of the direction'

13c. ক্ষত [k^hoto] 'wound' → [k^hotobikk^hoto] ক্ষতবিক্ষত 'severely wounded'

13d. গাল [gal] 'insult' → গালাগাল [galagal] 'insults'

13e. গুণ [gun] 'quality' → গুণাগুণ [gunagun] 'qualities'

13f. ফল [foɽ] 'fruit, result' → ফলাফল [foɽafoɽ] 'consequence'

13g. হাত [hat] 'hand' → হাতাহাতি [hatahati] 'fighting with hands'

13h. পিঠ [pit^h] 'back' → পিঠাপিঠি [pit^hapit^hi] 'immediate' (used exclusively with brothers and sisters)

In some words (e.g. [galagal] or [gunagun]) epenthesis (usually /a/) occurs between the base and the reduplicant. In some other words e.g. [hatahati] or [pit^hapit^hi] both the base and the reduplicant are epenthesized at their end with /a/ and /i/ respectively.

7.3.7. Deletion + Epenthesis (+ vowel mutation)

Both the base and the reduplicant undergo vowel deletion, epenthesis (and vowel mutation):

14a. কামড় [kamor] 'bite' → কামড়াকামড়ি [kamrakamri] 'act of biting each other'

14b. ধমক [d^homok] 'rebuff' → ধমকাদমকি [d^homkad^homki] 'act of rebuffing each other'

7.3.8. Minimal reduplication

Imperfection of the copy is a question of degree. Some reduplicants copy most of the segments of the base (e.g. গানটান [gan^tan] 'songs, etc.') whereas some others copy nothing but the onset of the 1st syllable of the base (e.g. [kannaka^ti]) or the coda of the last syllable of the base (e.g. [lu^tpa^t]).

15a. কান্না [kanna] 'crying' → কান্নাকাটি [kannaka^ti] 'crying and similar things'

15b. ঝগড়া [j^hogra] 'dispute' → ঝগড়াঝাটি [j^hograj^ha^ti] 'disputes and similar activities'

15c. লুট [lut] 'loot' → লুটপাট [lu^tpa^t] 'looting etc.'

15d. চৈঁচ [cēca] 'shout' → চৈঁচমেচি [cēcameci] 'shouting etc.'

15e. ফাঁকি [fāki] 'fraud, eye-wash or unnoticeable negligence in work' → ফাঁকিঝুকি [fākiz^huki] 'X and similar actions'

7.3.9. Prefixal reduplication

Reduplicants can be suffixal or prefixal which means that they can either be left or right-anchored to the base. Most of the reduplicants in Bengali are suffixed to the base although cases of prefixal reduplication have also been noticed.

16a. পাশে [paʃe] 'beside' → আশেপাশে [aʃepaʃe] 'around a certain deictic point'

16b. বাঁকা [bāka] 'curved' → আঁকাবাঁকা [ākabāka] 'curved several times'

16c. ঘুসি [g^huʃi] 'box' → ঘুসাঘুসি [g^huʃag^huʃi] 'boxing'

16d. গলি [goli] 'lane' → অলিগলি [ɔligoli] 'lanes'

7.3.10. Semantic reduplication

Words such as বইপুস্তক [bo^jpustok], 'book, etc.' আল্লাখোদা [allak^hoda] 'God, etc.' গাড়িঘোড়া [garig^hora] 'car+horse = transport' are constituted of two synonymous words of the same origin or of two different origins, mainly Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic, two important sources of lexical borrowing for Bengali. These words are like perfectly reduplicated words with the exception that the reduplicant here is not an exact formal copy of the base but rather a close semantic copy or more precisely, one of its synonyms. Such words have probably undergone a process that can be described as 'semantic reduplication'.

17a. গাড়ি [gari] 'car' → গাড়িঘোড়া [garig^hora] 'transport' (literally, car and/or horse)

17b. বাড়ি [bari] 'house' → বাড়িঘর [barig^hor] 'house, etc.'

Some reduplicated words can be seen either as semantic reduplication or as morphological reduplication. The sequence বিচ্ছিন্ন [bicc^hinno] 'separated' in

the word ছিন্নবিচ্ছিন্ন [c^hinnobicc^hinno] 'cut or separated into several pieces in an extremely irregular way' can be considered either i) as a synonym of ছিন্ন /c^hinno/ 'cut' 'separated' or ii) as an unfaithful copy of the latter corrupted with the left-anchored syllable [bi]. In the same way বনান্ত [bonanto] 'end of the forest' can be considered either as a synonym or as an unfaithful copy of বন [bon] 'forest' corrupted with the right-anchored syllables [anto].

18a. ছিন্ন /c^hinno/ 'cut', 'separated' → ছিন্নবিচ্ছিন্ন /c^hinnobicc^hinno/ 'cut or separated into several pieces in an extremely irregular way'

18b. চূর্ণ /curno/ 'broken', 'grinded' → চূর্ণবিচূর্ণ /curnobicurno/ 'broken into very small pieces'

18c. বন [bon] 'forest' → বনবনান্ত [bonbonanto] 'forest and beyond'

18d. দূর [dur] 'far' → দূরদূরান্ত [durduranto] 'far and beyond'

Reduplicated words in Bengali express reciprocity or mutual action (e.g. মারামারি [maramari] 'beating each other'), repeated action (e.g. কাটাকাটি [katakati] 'correcting again and again'), intense activity or completeness (e.g. মাখামাখি [mak^hamak^hi] 'mixing/mixed extremely'), plurality of action (e.g. কাটাকাটা [katakata] 'cut_{plu}'), action for a long duration (e.g. কান্নাকাটি [kannakati] 'crying'), action having a wide influence on something or someone (e.g. [k^hoṭobikk^hoto] ক্ষতবিক্ষত 'severely wounded'), similarity (e.g. কালোকালো [kalokalo] 'like black' (cf. Chatterji 1945 (1988) and Chatterjee 1962)

We have noted that *et cetera* interpretation of nouns can be either of an i) unmarked 'similar' type: গান [gan] 'song' → গানটান [gantān] 'X and similar activities' or ii) marked with a derogatory connotation: [gan] 'song' → গানফান [ganfan] 'X and similar trash'. Reduplicated adjectives belong either to: i) an iteration type: বড়বড় বাড়ী [boroboro bari] 'big houses' or an ii) *enough* type: বড় [boro] 'big' → বড়সড় [borosoro] or [borotoro] বড়টড় 'big enough'.

Reduplicated verbs either denote i) an iteration or continuity পড়তে পড়তে [porteporte] 'continue to read' or can have ii) a 'X and similar' type meaning: পড়তেটড়তে [portetorte] 'to read and/or to do similar things'. Like verbs, reduplicated prepositions denote either i) continuity (e.g. পাশে পাশে [paʃepaʃe] 'continuously beside') or ii) 'X and similar' type meaning (e.g. পাশেটাশে [paʃetaʃe] or [aʃepaʃe] 'around a certain deictic point'). Apparently, derogative meaning with the replacer consonant [f] is rare in categories other than nouns.

7.4. WWM and Reduplication in Bengali

As we have mentioned before, WWM does not need to consider reduplication as a distinct type of morphology (cf. Singh 2003) because the so-called (perfectly and imperfectly) reduplicated words, such as বড়বড় [boroboro] 'big and alike' or বইটই [boʃtɔʃ] 'books, etc. are mapped onto morphological strategies and are analyzed into variable and constant like any other ordinary word. Both the input and the 'reduplicated' output are words and therefore, they can be formed (or back-formed) from each other (because the bidirectional nature of the strategies allows the speaker-hearer to do so).

19. (AASPRD-967) /X/_{adj, sing} ↔ /XX/_{adj, plu/distr} 'plural of /X/'

বড় /bɔrɔ/ 'big' ↔ বড়বড় /bɔrɔbɔrɔ/ 'big_{plu}'

মোটা /moɽa/ 'fat' ↔ মোটা মোটা /moɽamoɽa/ 'fat_{plu}'

20. (NAADPF-9) /X/_n ↔ /nirX/_{adj} 'without /X/'

দোষ /doʃ/ 'guilt' ↔ নির্দোষ /nirdoʃ/ 'guiltless'

ভুল /b^hul/ 'fault' ↔ নির্ভুল /nirb^hul/ 'faultless'

(repeated from section 5.4.2.)

The mechanism used in (19) is adjunction-deletion (adjoin /X/ with /X/ in order to get [moɽamoɽa] and delete /X/ from /XX/ to get [moɽa]). The difference between (20) and (19) is that in (20) the speaker-hearer adjoins or deletes a constant subcomponent (nir) whereas in (19) he adjoins or deletes the variable itself and this clearly shows that there is nothing special with strategies like (19).

As is the case with other concatenative categories smaller than the word such as *affix* or *stem*, reduplication related categories such as 'reduplicant' or 'base' are of no use in WWM. For WWM, the reduplication is nothing but the repetition of the variable which, if the facts of matter permit (cf. Singh & Neuvel 2005), can be i) totally unspecified (e.g.(19)) or ii) partly specified (e.g. (21) and (22)). The former results in complete or perfect reduplication and the latter in partial reduplication. As far as the morphology is concerned, nothing is gained by putting labels like 'reduplication' (or 'compounding') on particular word formation rules or strategies. In order to form or analyze a word, the only thing the speaker-hearer needs to do is to map an already existing word like বই /bo^j/ 'book' or পরিকল্পনা /pɔrikɔlɔpna/ 'plan' onto

relevant strategies and the latter will automatically output বইটই /bɔʃtɔʃ/ 'books and similar thing' and পরিকল্পনাটল্লনা /pɔrikɔlpɔnətɔlpɔnə/ 'plan, etc.' respectively and nothing more is needed for word formation.

21. ($\alpha\alpha$ SVRD-1216): /CX/ α _(except conj & interj) \leftrightarrow /CXtX/ α _(except conj & interj) /X/ and similar things'

বই /bɔʃ/ 'book' \leftrightarrow বইটই /bɔʃtɔʃ/ 'book and similar things'

পাশে /paʃe/ 'beside' \leftrightarrow পাশেটশে /paʃetəʃe/ 'beside and similar other positions'

22. (NNSVRD-938): /XCV(C) $\sigma_1\sigma_2$ / η \leftrightarrow /XCV(C) $\sigma_1\sigma_2$ tV $\sigma_1\sigma_2$ / η /XCV(C) $\sigma_1\sigma_2$ / and similar feelings.'

অনুশোচনা /onuʃoɔnə/ 'regret' \leftrightarrow অনুশোচনাটোচনা /onuʃoɔnətɔɔnə/ 'regret, etc'

পরিকল্পনা /pɔrikɔlpɔnə/ 'plan' \leftrightarrow পরিকল্পনাটল্লনা /pɔrikɔlpɔnətɔlpɔnə/ 'plan, etc.'⁽³⁾

As I have found no other pair endowed with the same formal difference and semantic relatedness, I cannot reasonably claim that খুঁটিনাটি /k^hũtinaʈi/ 'details' has been formed from খুঁটি /k^hũti/ 'I nibble' or খুঁট /k^hũt/ 'you nibble_{imp}'. (23) and (24) can be at best described either as relics of some dying strategy or as primary foundations laid for some emerging strategy. Many other reduplicated words such as লুটপাট /lutpat/ 'looting etc.', চৈচামেচি /cēcameci/ 'crying etc.' cannot be mapped onto any strategy (for a fuller list of such words see Chatterji 1945 (1988:195)).

23. /CũX/ η \leftrightarrow /CũXnaX/ η , plu

খুঁটি /k^hũti/ 'I nibble' \leftrightarrow খুঁটিনাটি /k^hũtinaʈi/ 'details' or

24. /CũX/ η \leftrightarrow /CũXinaXi/ η , plu

খুঁট /k^hũt/ 'nibble_{imp}' \leftrightarrow খুঁটিনাটি /k^hũtinaʈi/ 'details'

Abbi (1992) would describe sequences like কমসেকম [kɔmsɛkɔm] 'at least' or হয় রে হয় [haʲrehaʲ] 'oh oh' as instances of disrupted reduplicated words formed from the base কম /kɔm/ 'less' or হয় /haʲ/ 'oh'. But there is no strategy in Bengali onto which [kɔmsɛkɔm] can be mapped. Apparently the latter is a loan expression from Hindi/Urdu and represents assumedly a *hapax logomena* in Bengali. Although expressions such as [haʲrehaʲ] can be mapped onto the following pattern, I have doubts whether they can be considered as 'words' in Bengali.

25. $/X/_{interj} \leftrightarrow /XreX/_{interj}$

হয় /haʲ/ 'oh!' \leftrightarrow হয়রে হয় [haʲrehaʲ] 'oh oh!'

দেখ /dɛkʰ/ 'look' \leftrightarrow দেখরে দেখ [dɛkʰredɛkʰ] 'look, look here!'

Certain homophonous sequences like /bɔrbɔr/⁽⁴⁾ is interesting in the sense that they can be described either as complex words or as simple ones depending on their morphology. One of the versions of বর বর /bɔrbɔr/ 'bridegroom like' can be mapped onto a strategy and be thereby analyzed into বর /bɔr/ 'bridegroom'. If only this version is considered, /bɔrbɔr/ is a complex (and also reduplicated) words.

26. (NARD-345) $/X/_{n} \leftrightarrow /XX/_{adj}$ 'like /X/'

বর /bɔr/ 'bridegroom' \leftrightarrow বর বর /bɔrbɔr/ 'bridegroom-like'

মেয়ে /meʲe/ 'girl' \leftrightarrow মেয়েমেয়ে /meʲemeʲe/ 'girl-like'

But another version of the word বর্বর /bɔrbɔr/ 'barbarian' cannot be analyzed back into any word and if this version is considered, /bɔrbɔr/ would be a

simple word. Abbi (1992) would describe both of the versions of such sequences as reduplicated words whereas WWM clearly shows that unlike the first one, the second version has not undergone the process of reduplication but simply shows the pattern of reduplication.

7.5. WWM and Semantic reduplication

The cases of semantic reduplication can be described as the repetition of a variable as it is the case in complete reduplication.

27. (NNSPRD-964): $/X/_{n, \text{sing, loc}} \leftrightarrow /XX/_{n, \text{plu, loc}}$ 'on the multiplicity of $/X/$ '

ডালে $/d\text{a}le/$ 'on a branch' \leftrightarrow ডালে ডালে $/d\text{a}le\text{d}\text{a}le/$ 'on branches'

পাতায় $/pata^y/$ 'on a leaf' \leftrightarrow পাতায় পাতায় $/pata^y\text{pata}^y/$ 'on leaves'

28. (NNSPRD-966) $/X/_{n} \leftrightarrow /XX/_{n, \text{plu}}$ 'X, etc.'

বিয়ে $/bi^ye/$ 'marriage' \leftrightarrow বিয়েসাদি $/bi^ye\text{ɟ}adi/$ 'marriages and similar occasions'

পরীক্ষা $/porikk^ha/$ 'experiment' or 'test' \leftrightarrow পরীক্ষানিরীক্ষা $/porikk^hanirikk^ha/$
'experiments and similar activities'

In order to activate strategies like (28), the speaker-hearer must know the synonyms of the mappable words. WWM imposes no such constraint on the formulation of a strategy. Although কিতাব $/kitab/$, গ্রন্থ $/gr\text{ont}^ho/$, পুস্তক $/pustok/$ and বই $/bo^j/$ 'book' are synonyms, not all of them can appear as reduplicants. The unacceptable sequences such as $*/garihati/$ 'car+elephant', $*/bo^j\text{kitab}/$ 'book-book', $*/allab^ho\text{goban}/$ 'God-God', all meaning 'XX', draw our attention to the idiosyncrasy involved in this type of word which can hardly be incorporated in morphological strategies. It seems that a Bengali speaker-hearer must know the words like as বইপুস্তক $[bo^j\text{pustok}]$, 'book, etc.' or গাড়িঘোড়া $[garig^h\text{ora}]$ 'car+horse = transport'.

Nevertheless, I consider (28) to be part of the morphology of Bengali for two reasons:

i) Even if we accept the fact that unlike (29) a speaker cannot activate (28) for forming plural words, this strategy helps a hearer analyze words like /bo^jpustok/ or even */bo^jkitab/ formed by some speaker on some rare occasion;

29. (NNSPADSF-945): /X/_{n, sing, indef} ↔ /Xgulo/_{n, plu, def} 'plural of /X/'

বই /bo^j/ 'book' ↔ বইগুলো /bo^jgulo/ 'the books'

টেবিল /tebil/ 'table' ↔ টেবিলগুলো /tebilgulo/ 'the tables'

ii) The inexistence of বইকিতাব */bo^jkitab/ in the lexicon does not mean that morphology cannot form this word. Why the lexicon of a certain period prefers বইপুস্তক /bo^jpustok/ to */bo^jkitab/ is an interesting question no doubt, but morphology cannot and need not respond to such questions in order to justify a strategy.

1. I am aware of the fact that some onomatopoeic sequences can be shown to be iteration of some simpler onomatopoeic sequences and can eventually be mapped onto a pattern, as below. But (a-b) are not morphological strategies because no category other than word can be mapped onto a morphological strategy. Phrasal verbs like [ka_j kora] 'to work' can also be formed with strategy-like patterns such as (c) but this does not mean that [ka_j kora] is a word. Although words are formed through a similar pattern, whatever is formed through such patterns is not necessarily a word. Therefore, all morphological strategies are basically patterns but not all patterns are necessarily morphological strategies.

a. /X/ ↔ /XX/

[mɔt] মট 'sound of breaking one single branch' ↔ [mɔt mɔt] মটমট 'sounds of breaking branches'

[t^hɔk] ঠক 'sound of knocking on the door' ⇔ [t^hɔkt^hɔk] ঠকঠক 'sounds of knocking on the door'

b. /CuX/ ⇔ /CuXCaX/

[tuk] টুক 'small sound' ⇔ [tuktak] টুকটাক 'small sounds'

[t^huʃ] হুঁস 'light sound of gunshot' ⇔ [t^huʃt^haʃ] হুঁসঠাস 'light sounds of gunshot'

c. /X/ ⇔ /Xkɔra/

/kaɟ/ কাজ 'work' ⇔ [kaɟ kɔra] কাজ করা 'to work'

/prem/ প্রেম 'love' ⇔ [prem kɔra] প্রেম করা 'to be in love'

2. According to WFC-2 consonant clusters like [tk], [tp], [t^ht] and [ts] are not allowed in onset. In some words deletion is invoked as strategy of repair as is the case in [st^hanɽan] and [skuleɽkule].

স্থান [st^han] 'place' → [st^hanɽan], *[st^hant^han] 'place and similar trashes'

স্কুলে [skule] 'in the school' → [skuleɽule], *[skuleɽkule], [skuleɽiskule] 'in the school and similar other places'

স্পর্শ [spɔrʃo] 'touch' → [spɔrʃotɔrʃo], *[spɔrʃotpɔrʃo], [spɔrʃotɛspɔrʃo] 'touch and similar sensations'

As we can note in reduplicated words like [skuleɽiskule] or [spɔrʃotɛspɔrʃo] the onset phoneme of the base is not deleted and the replacer phoneme is followed by an epenthetic vowel. It seems that in these cases, the base is not [skule] and [spɔrʃo] but their epenthesized version: [iskule] or [ɛspɔrʃo] which are reduplicated like any other word beginning with a vowel. The fact that the epenthetic vowel is /i/ in one case and /e/ in the other can be explained by vowel harmony but why the process of reduplication needs the base starting with /s/ to be epenthesized remains to be explained. What seems to be clear is that although /sk/ in onset does not violate any WFC of Bengali, it is endowed with falling sonority and therefore, is not natural.

Despite the fact that consonant cluster [ʈr] is allowed in onset they are either i) maintained or ii) substituted by a single replacer phoneme.

স্মরণ [g^hran] 'smell' → স্মরণত্রাণ [g^hranʈran] or স্মরণটান [g^hranʈan] 'smell, etc.'

ফ্রেম [frem] 'frame' → ফ্রেমত্রেম [fremʈrem] or ফ্রেমটেম [fremʈem] 'frame etc.'

The reason behind the fact that the replacer phoneme is always a non-aspirated and unvoiced one has to be found in morphology, not in phonology. It depends exclusively on the morphological strategy onto which the relevant words are mapped. As aspirated and/or voiced consonants are allowed in onset, there is no reason why they would not be allowed to appear in the reduplicant as well.

3. The word /kɔlpɔna/ and the subcomponent /kɔlpɔna/ are not reduplicated in the same way. As a word, /kɔlpɔna/ is reduplicated as কল্পনাটল্পনা /kɔlpɔnaʈɔlpɔna/ 'imagination and similar things' and not to /kɔlpɔnaʈɔna/ whereas as a subcomponent, it can be reduplicated either as [kɔlpɔnaʈɔna] or as /kɔlpɔnaʈɔlpɔna/. This again confirms the WWM prediction that words and their subcomponent versions have nothing in common except their phonic resemblance.

4. In some speaker's pronunciation, /bɔntɔn/ বনটন 'woods, etc.' and বন্টন /bɔntɔn/ 'distribution' is another pair of this sort. Note that the semantic difference between the two versions of /bɔrbɔr/: বর বর and বর্বর as well as of /bɔntɔn/ বনটন and বন্টন /bɔntɔn/ is carefully maintained in Bengali orthography.

Chapter-8

On morphological categories and operations in Bengali: some generalizations

"Les divisions traditionnelles de la grammaire peuvent avoir leur utilité pratique, mais ne correspondent pas à des distinctions naturelles et ne sont unies par aucun lien logique. La grammaire ne peut s'édifier que sur un principe différent et supérieur."⁽¹⁾

(Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, 1915 (1988:187))

In this chapter, I will discuss the intra-categorical morphology of nouns and verbs traditionally described as inflectional morphology. I would like to remind the reader that I do not subscribe to the distinction generally made between inflection and derivation and we have seen in chapter-4 that Bengali data do not allow us to maintain such a distinction. I have shown in chapter-6 how all morphologically complex Bengali words are formed with relevant strategies irrespective of whether they are inflectional or derivational. However, inflectional morphology plays a preponderant role in traditional and generative grammar and therefore, I think that it is necessary to show how WWM handles the formation of so-called inflectional words.

8.1. The morphology of Bengali nouns and pronouns

Before we proceed to the morphology of complex nouns in Bengali, we need to know how to spot or characterize nouns in Bengali. As classifier-definitives (e.g. /ʈa/ or /gulo/) are coalesced to nouns in Bengali, it may seem that unlike the West Indian languages like Hindi (cf. Montaud 2004), it would be easier

1. "The traditional divisions of grammar may have some practical utility, but they do not correspond to natural distinction and are not unified by any logical principle. Grammar needs a different basis, and a better one." (Tr. Roy Harris)

to isolate the noun as a functional category in Bengali with this morphological criterion. But the problem is that classifier-definitives are also used with two other syntactic categories: i) adjectives (e.g. সুন্দরটা /ʃundɔɾt̪a/ 'the beautiful one', সুন্দরগুলো /ʃundɔɾgulo/ 'the beautiful ones') and ii) verbs (ঘুমানোটা /gʰumanoɾt̪a/ 'sleeping'). It is not easy to distinguish nouns from adjectives because "given that adjective do not agree with nouns in Bangla, how they are to be identified becomes an open question" (Dasgupta, 2003.:378).

According to (Dasgupta: 366) "The classifier-supported numeral can occur alone with noun ellipsis" and therefore, in sequences like সুন্দরটা /ʃundɔɾt̪a/ 'the beautiful one' and সুন্দরগুলো /ʃundɔɾgulo/ 'the beautiful ones' the classifier-definitive is not adjoined to an adjective but to an empty noun head. As /gʰumano/ can be used as an argument of a verb, it must be a (verbal) noun. Hence, in neither of the cases the classifier-definitive is used with a non-noun.

Dasgupta (378) mentions that degrees of comparison can be used as a diagnostic to distinguish the noun from the adjective because "comparison targets adjectives alone." His diagnostic probably works for most of the nouns but in some cases it does not. As we can see in the following example, the comparison can target the (collective) noun বাঙালী /bāgali/ 'Bengali'.

1. উনি আমার চেয়ে অনেক বেশী বাঙালী।

/uni amar ce^ye ɔnek beʃi bāgali/

(he) (my) (than) (much) (more) (Bengali)

Translation: He is more Bengali-like than me.

A better diagnostic for distinguishing the adjectives from nouns would be to use adjectival modifier (or adverbs) like /k^hub/ খুব 'very'. In my view, they fit better adjectives rather than nouns. In the following examples, adjectives like সুন্দরী /ʃundɔri/ 'pretty' and চলাক /calak/ 'clever') allow adjectival modifier whereas nouns like বাঙালী /bāgali/ 'Bengali' and বুদ্ধিজীবী /budd^hijibi/ 'intellectual do not allow them at all.

2a. উনি খুব বাঙালী
 */uni k^hub bāgali/
 (he) (very) (Bengali)
 Tr: S(h)e is very Bengali.

2b. উনি খুব বুদ্ধিজীবী
 */uni k^hub budd^hijibi/
 (he) (very) (intellectual)
 Tr: S(h)e is very intellectual.

3a. উনি খুব সুন্দরী
 /uni k^hub ʃundɔri/
 (s(he)) (very) (pretty)
 Tr: S(h)e is very pretty.

3a. উনি খুব চলাক
 /uni k^hub calak/
 (s(he)) (very) (cunning)
 Tr: S(h)e is very cunning.

8.1.1. Definiteness

As is the case with most Indic languages, Bengali has no article. But unlike West-Indian languages like Hindi (cf. Montaud, Shukla 2001), Bengali has a small category of classifier-definitive (cf. Dasgupta 1983, 1987, 2003) which are coalesced to nouns. For Ferguson (1964:886) they are "roughly equivalent translationally - at least in some of their uses to the English article *the*. When a noun, adjective, or demonstrative has one of the definitives suffixed to it, it is 'definite', i.e. it is pointed out as having a referent 'presumably identifiable by the hearer' in much the same way as a noun or a adjective in English accompanied by *the*."

Chatterji (1945) calls these elements 'enclitic definitives' or 'articles' but describes them as words and word-parts. They belong to a 'set of morphemes' according to Ferguson and for Dasgupta (2003) they are 'allomorphs' or 'suffixed elements'. Classifier-definitives are not deprived of accent and therefore, we can hardly call them clitics. Nobody has yet described words like বইটা /bɔʝ t̪a/ 'the book' as compounds. Therefore, from an atomistic point of view, classifier-definitives would be better described as a category of suffix.

If we compare the bare noun বই /bɔʝ/ 'book' with the sequence N°Ta, বইটা /bɔʝ t̪a/ 'the book', we can notice that the latter denotes a definite and/or specific book. But the classifier-definitive /t̪a/ cannot be (only) a definiteness/specificity marker (cf. Dasgupta 1983, 87, Bhattacharja forthcoming) because the noun phrase ছয়টা বই /cʰɔʝ t̪a bɔʝ/ 'six books' remains indefinite despite the presence of /t̪a/. According to Dasgupta (2003: 381) "A NumCla complex in prenominal position induces an indefinite reading" but if the noun /bɔʝ/ precedes the complex, the NP becomes definite: বই ছয়টা /bɔʝ cʰɔʝ t̪a/ 'the six books' (cf. Bhattacharja forthcoming-1)

The more or less quirky behaviour of the Bengali classifier-definitive is not the concern of morphology and it can be better treated in syntax (cf. Dasgupta 1983, 1987, 2003, Bhattacharya 1999, Bhattacharja forthcoming-2). From morphological point of view, sequences like বইটা /bɔʝ t̪a/ 'the book' (4) or ছয়টা /cʰɔʝ t̪a/ 'six pieces' (9) can be considered as words and as we can see below, they are mapped onto relevant strategies (in which classifier-definitives represent the constant subcomponent).

4. (DIADSF-1014) /X/_{n,ind, sing/plu} ↔ /Xt̪a/_{n,def,sing} 'the /X/'

বই /bɔ̃ʃ/ 'book' ↔ বইটা /bɔ̃ʃt̪a/ 'the book'

কলম /kɔ̃lɔm/ 'pen' ↔ কলমটা /kɔ̃lɔmt̪a/ 'the pen'

5. (DIADSF -1015) /X/_{n,ind, sing/plu} ↔ /Xt̪i/_{n,def,sing} 'the /X/'

বই /bɔ̃ʃ/ 'book' ↔ বইটি /bɔ̃ʃt̪i/ 'the book'

কলম /kɔ̃lɔm/ 'pen' ↔ কলমটি /kɔ̃lɔmt̪i/ 'the pen'

6. (DIADSF-1016) /X/_{n, ind,sing/plu} ↔ /Xk^han(a/i)/_{n, def,sing} 'the /X/'

বই /bɔ̃ʃ/ 'book' ↔ বইখানা /bɔ̃ʃk^hana/ or বইখানি /bɔ̃ʃk^hani/ 'the book'

শাড়ি /ʃari/ 'sari' ↔ শাড়িখানা /ʃarik^hana/ or শাড়িখানি /ʃarik^hani/ 'the sari'

7. (DIADSF-1017) /X/_{n, uncount, indef} ↔ /Xt̪uku/_{n, uncount, def.} 'the /X/'

দুধ /dud^h/ 'milk' ↔ দুধটুকু /dud^ht̪uku/ 'the milk'

ভাত /b^hat/ 'rice' ↔ ভাতটুকু /b^hat̪uku/ 'the rice'

One may object that বইটা /bɔ̃ʃt̪a/ 'the book' is not a word but a phrase because in sequences like বই ছয়টা /bɔ̃ʃc^hɔ̃ʃt̪a/ 'the six books', বই এইটা /bɔ̃ʃɛ̃ʃt̪a/ 'this book here' or even বই এই সুন্দরটা /bɔ̃ʃɛ̃ʃundɔ̃r̪t̪a/ 'this beautiful book here', the demonstrative এই /ɛ̃ʃ/ 'this' or the numeral ছয় /c^hɔ̃ʃ/ 'six' or the adjective সুন্দর /ʃundɔ̃r/ 'beautiful' would be inserted between the noun head /bɔ̃ʃ/ and the classifier-definitive /t̪a/.

বই ছয়টা	বই এইটা	বই এই সুন্দরটা
[bɔ̃ʃ c ^h ɔ̃ʃt̪a]	[bɔ̃ʃ eɪt̪a]	[bɔ̃ʃ ei ʃundɔ̃r̪t̪a]
(book) (six-Cl)	(book) (this-Cl)	(book) (this) (beautiful-Cl)
Tr.: The six books.	Tr.: This book here.	Tr.: The beautiful book here.

From the morphological point of view, I repeat, বইটা /boʃta/ 'the book' is a word and nothing can be inserted in it. It is only when we compare বইটা /boʃta/ 'the book' and বই এইটা /boʃεʃta/ 'this book here', it seems that the demonstrative /εʃ/ is inserted between the noun বই /boʃ/ 'book' and the classifier /ta/. For me, বই এইটা /boʃεʃta/ 'this book here' is a phrase and it is formed with two words: i) বই /boʃ/ 'book' and ii) এইটা /εʃta/ 'this'. I also consider সুন্দরটা /ʃundɔʃta/ 'the beautiful' (8) and ছয়টা /cʰoʃta/ (9) or ছয়টি /cʰoʃti/ 'six pieces' (10) as words. These words have been adjoined to another word বই /boʃ/ 'book' in order to form the abovementioned noun phrases⁽¹⁾

8. (AProADSF-420) /X/adj/Dem ↔ /Xta/pron 'the /X/ one'

আমার /amar/ 'my' ↔ আমারটা /amarta/ 'mine'

সুন্দর /ʃundɔʃ/ 'sari' ↔ সুন্দরটা /ʃundɔʃta/ 'the beautiful one'd'

এই /εʃ/ 'this' ↔ এইটা /εʃta/ 'this one'

9. (Num/QA/ProAADSF-423): /X/Num/Q ↔ /Xta/adj/pron 'X/ piece/quantity'⁽²⁾

ছয় /cʰoʃ/ 'six' ↔ ছয়টা /cʰoʃta/ 'six pieces'

কয়েক /koʃεk/ 'a few' ↔ কয়েকটা /koʃεkta/ 'a few pieces'

10. (Num/QA/ProAADSF-424): /X/Num/Q ↔ /Xti/adj/pron 'X/-pieces'

ছয় /cʰoʃ/ 'six' ↔ ছয়টি /cʰoʃti/ 'six pieces'

প্রত্যেক /prottek/ 'each' ↔ প্রত্যেকটি /prottekti/ 'each one of the pieces'

Dasgupta (2003) describes /ta/ as neutral classifier, /ti/ as individuating classifier, /jon/ as the human classifier and /kʰana/ as the segmental

classifier. All these so-called classifiers (including /tuku/ which is usually described as the uncountable classifier), are realized as constants of different strategies (4-13). Numerals to be used with human nouns are generally mapped onto (11). Apparently, there is a lexical restriction on using outputs of these strategy with 'non-human' nouns: NP *একজন হাতি /ɛkjon hati/ 'an elephant' is not acceptable whereas একজন মন্ত্রী /ɛkjon montri/ 'a minister' or তিনজন শ্রমিক /tinjon sromik/ 'three workers' are.

11. (Num/QA/ProAADSf-426): /XC/V_{-syllab}/Num/Q ↔ /XC/V_{-syllab}JON/adj/pron

'/XC/V_{-syllab}/ person'

ছয় /c^hɔʔ/ 'six' ↔ ছয়জন /c^hɔʔjon/ 'six persons'

কয়েক /kɔʔɛk/ 'a few' ↔ কয়েকজন /kɔʔɛkjon/ 'a few people'

12. (Num/QAProSVADSf-425): /XC/V_{-syllab}/Num/Q ↔ /XC/V_{-syllab}k^hana/adj/pron⁽³⁾

'/XC/V_{-syllab}/ piece'

ছয় /c^hɔʔ/ 'six' ↔ ছয়খানা /c^hɔʔk^hana/ 'six pieces'

কয়েক /kɔʔɛk/ 'a few' ↔ কয়েকখানা /kɔʔɛkk^hana/ 'a few pieces'

13. (QA/ProADSf-427) /XC/o ↔ /XCtuku/adj/pron 'XC/-quantity'

অনেক /ɔnɛk/ 'many' ↔ অনেকটুকু /ɔnɛktuku/ 'a good quantity'

সব /ʃɔb/ 'all' ↔ সবটুকু /ʃɔbtuku/ 'the whole/entire'

Words designating professions are apparently spread out on a scale and those which remain at the top are less likely to match num-t_a complex at the phrasal level and strategies like (4-5) at the morphological level. As far as ESB is concerned, words expressing professions of high rank such as মন্ত্রী

/montri/ 'minister' are generally mapped onto (14). Therefore, মন্ত্রীটা /montriṭa/ 'the minister' is not generally acceptable whereas চোরটা /corṭa/ 'the thief' is. If a low-ranking noun like চোর /cor/ 'thief' is mapped onto (14), it creates a humorous nuance: ?চোরমহোদয় /cormohodoy/ 'Mr. thief'. On the other hand, if a high-ranking noun like /montri/ is mapped onto (4) and (5), the output মন্ত্রীটা /montriṭa/ or মন্ত্রীটি /montriti/ are acceptable words but refers to a corrupted minister or to the chess-piece 'bishop'.

14. (NNIDADSF-1018):/X/_{n, indef, sing/plu} ↔ /Xmohodoy/_{n, sing, def} 'specific and respectable X'

মন্ত্রী /montri/ 'minister' ↔ মন্ত্রীমহোদয় /montrimohodoy/ 'the minister'

অধ্যাপক /odd^hapok/ 'professor' ↔ অধ্যাপকমহোদয় /odd^hapokmohodoy/ 'the professor'

Things are not so clear-cut with words like শ্রমিক /sromik/ 'worker' or ছাত্র /c^hatro/ 'student'. They represent neither professions of high rank like 'minister' and nor professions of very low rank like 'thief' and we may call such words as 'words expressing professions of mid-rank'. Not all speaker-hearers of ESB nowadays would accept the NP শ্রমিকদুটো /sromik duṭo/ 'the two workers' but many of them would probably accept শ্রমিকটা /sromikṭa/ 'the worker'. The reason behind this seems to be the following: at the phrasal level, speakers have a choice between শ্রমিকদুটো /sromik duṭo/ and শ্রমিক দু'জন /sromik dujon/ 'the two workers' but at the morphological level, they do not have any choice. Unlike in Assamese, one of the sister languages of Bengali, */sromikjon/ is not acceptable in Bengali (cf. Dasgupta).

Words expressing professions of mid-rank do not have access to (14): শ্রমিকমহোদয় */sromikmohodoʝ/ 'the worker' or *ছাত্রমহোদয় /c^hatromohodoʝ/ 'the student' are not generally acceptable. As I have mentioned above, speakers generally map these words onto (4-5). But '+ human' outputs of these strategies always connote some kind of lack of respect *vis à vis* the concerned profession or the person. Speakers who are aware of this semantic nuance and do not have the intention to show such disrespect, map profession words onto (15). Words expressing professions of high-rank can also be mapped onto this 'neutral' strategy.

15. (NNDIID-1019) /X/_{n, sing, indef} ↔ /X/_{n, sing, def} 'the /X/'
 ছাত্র /c^hatro/ 'student' ↔ ছাত্র /c^hatro/ 'the student'
 মন্ত্রী /montri/ 'minister' ↔ মন্ত্রী /montri/ 'the minister'

According to Dasgupta (366) "Numerals and count quantifiers use the same classifiers and treat them in the same way: /ɔnegulo kham/ 'many-Gulo envelope(s)', /kɔyɛkjon mohila/ 'some-Jon wom(e)n". But we can note that some count quantifiers like /kɔ^yɛk/ কয়েক 'a few' can be mapped onto (4-6) and (11) along with the numerals but not all numerals and all count quantifiers have access to the same strategies. For example, অনেক /ɔnek/ 'many' cannot be mapped onto (10) in ESB: /*ɔnekʈi/ (however, in some dialects spoken around Dhaka /ɔnekʈi/ is acceptable). On the other hand, অনেক /ɔnek/ 'many' and the inclusive count/mass quantifier সব /ʃɔb/ 'all' can be mapped onto (13) whereas numerals do not have access to this strategy.⁽⁴⁾

If অনেক /ɔnek/ 'many' is mapped onto (9), the output অনেকটা /ɔnekʈa/ 'a big portion' has rather a 'mass' reading. On the other hand, mass quantifiers like খানিক /kʰanik/ 'some/a small portion', কিছু /kicʰu/ 'a few', etc. have no access to (10): */kʰanikʈi/, */kicʰuʈi/. Uncountable nouns (which usually denote objects that lack structure) like দুধ /dudʰ/ 'milk' and পানি /pani/ 'water' can be mapped onto (4) (e.g. দুধটা /dudʰʈa/ 'milk' and পানিটা /paniʈa/ 'water') but not onto (5) (e.g. *দুধটি /dudʰʈi/ 'the milk' and *পানিটি /paniʈi/ 'the water'). Apparently, uncountable nouns cannot be mapped onto (5) and (10). For Dasgupta, /ʈi/ would be more segmental and 'individuating' compare to /ʈa/ and therefore, it can be claimed that (6) and (10) induce a '+segmental' (cf. Dasgupta) and/or '+structure' (cf. Bhattacharja forthcoming-1) feature to their outputs. This clearly shows that i) /ʈi/ is not a free variation of /ʈa/ and ii) (5) and (10) must be part of Bengali morphology.

According to Dasgupta, count quantifiers like অনেক /ɔnek/ 'many' cannot be used with classifiers like /jon/. But as far as ESB is concerned, words like অনেকজন /ɔnekjon/ 'many people' and কয়েকজন /koʷɛkjon/ 'a few people' are acceptable and this presupposes the existence of (11). Dasgupta (366) further mentions that "only some speakers have /meʷedujon/, /meʷetinjon/ for 'the two/three girls'. Speakers who lack this option are forced to use /meʷeduʈo/ 'girl-two-Ta' and the like, with the default classifier" (The IPA transcription is ours). As far as ESB is concerned, the NP মেয়ে দুজন /meʷedujon/ 'two girls' is rare although অদমহিলা দুজন /bʰɔdromohiladujon/

'two ladies' is quite frequent. On the other hand, */b^hɔdromohiladuʈo/ is less acceptable compare to মেয়ে দুটো /me^yeduʈo/ 'two girls'.

Interrogative pronoun/adjective কটা /kɔʈa/ 'how many', classified numeral দুটো /duʈo/ 'two-To' and the 'true diminutive' (cf. Dasgupta) একটু /ekʈu/ 'a little bit' are words but they cannot be mapped onto any strategy. Count pronoun/adjective অনেক কটা /ɔnekkoʈa/ 'many' and inclusive pronoun/adjective সবকটা /sobkoʈa/ 'all' are not words but phrases. Dasgupta (ibid.) believes that এক /ɛk/ 'one' in the semi-opaque mass quantifier /ɛkʈu/ is not an instance of the singular numeral. He considers /ɛk/ as a homonym of the numeral used as a mass quantifier like /k^hanik/ and /ʈu/ as a classifier-definitive like /ʈuku/. In fact, /ɛkʈu/ could have been derived from an older form */ɛkʈuku/ now obsolete but appears in the following Tagore song. It is not impossible that there was a strategy (/X/num ↔ /Xʈuku/mass Q এক /ɛk/ 'one' ↔ একটুকু /ɛkʈuku/ 'a little bit') in the morphology of Old Bengali.

একটুকু ছোঁয়া লাগে, একটুকু কথা শুনি... (গীতবিতান, প্রকৃতি, বসন্ত, গান-১৯৮)

/ɛktuku chōa lage, ɛktuku koʈha ʃuni/

(a little bit) (touch) (is felt) (a little bit) (speech) (having heard)

Translation: When I hear a little bit of (your) words, it touches me a little bit.

The definiteness as well as the specificity of a word can be determined by its morphology i.e. through its mapping on to a particular strategy. However, we do not deny the fact that a NP can also have the same features through some syntactic device like move α . This said, according to the minimalist point of view (cf. Chomsky 1995) word formation is completed before

merging and at the syntax level, words can check their features either by moving or by sending a copy of themselves to the specific site (specAgrP) in L(ogical F(orm)).

8.1.2. Gender

Except for some rare Sanskrit nouns, adjectives generally do not 'inflectionally agree' with the noun they qualify (cf. Chatterji 1945 (1988), Dasgupta 2003). Therefore, Dasgupta (367) argues that unlike West-Indic languages like Hindi, Bengali "exhibits no grammatical gender phenomena at all". However, I have found 22 strategies for forming words belonging to different gender categories and therefore, I argue that Bengali has grammatical gender but it does not generally exhibit inflectional agreement.

Some of these 'gender-changing' strategies are presented below:

16. (NNMFSBSF-984) /Xa/_{n, masc} ↔ /Xi/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /Xa/'

জ্যেষ্ঠা /jɛt̪ʰa/ 'paternal uncle' ↔ জ্যেষ্ঠী /jɛt̪ʰi/ 'wife of the paternal uncle'

মামা /mama/ 'maternal uncle' ↔ মামী /mami/ 'wife of the maternal uncle'

17. (NNMFSBSF-985) /Xɔk/_{n, masc} ↔ /Xika/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /Xɔk/'

শিক্ষক /ʃikkʰɔk/ 'teacher' ↔ শিক্ষিকা /ʃikkʰika/ 'woman teacher'

অধ্যাপক /oddʰapɔk/ 'professor' ↔ অধ্যাপিকা /oddʰapika/ 'lady professor'

18. (NNMFSVADSF-969) /XC/_{n, masc} ↔ /Xci/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /XC/'

কৃষাণ /kriʃan/ 'farmer' ↔ কৃষাণী /kriʃani/ 'wife of a farmer'

কিশোর /kiʃor/ 'teen-age boy' ↔ কিশোরী /kiʃori/ 'teen-age girl'

19. (NNMFADSJ-974) /X/_{n, masc} ↔ /Xbo^ʈ/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /X/'

মুচি /muci/ 'cobbler' ↔ মুচিবৌ /mucibo^ʈ/ 'wife of a cobbler'

জেলে /jele/ 'fisherman' ↔ জেলেবৌ /jelebo^ʈ/ 'wife of a fisherman'

20. (NNMFADPJ-975) /X/_{n, masc/neu} ↔ /mohilaX/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /X/'

কবি /kobi/ 'poet' ↔ মহিলাকবি /mohilakobi/ 'poetess'

পুলিশ /pulis/ 'policeman' ↔ মহিলা পুলিশ /mohilapulis/ 'policewoman'

21. (NNMFID-991): /X/_{n, masc} ↔ /X/_{n, fem} 'feminine of X'

শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hok/ 'teacher' ↔ শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hok/ 'teacher'

অধ্যাপক /od^hapok/ 'professor' ↔ অধ্যাপক /odd^hapok/ 'professor'

Due to some changes in the socio-linguistic awareness (cf. Dasgupta 2003), words like অধ্যাপিকা /odd^hapika/ 'lady professor' and শিক্ষিকা /ʃikk^hika/ 'woman teacher' have become less popular nowadays. This means that feminine words denoting professions of high rank are mapped onto the strategy (21) rather than (17) and the latter has apparently lost some of its productivity. However, no such 'change in preference' has yet been noticed regarding words expressing profession like মহিলাপুলিশ /mohilpulis/ (20). I am not sure whether the wife of a cobbler would like to be called মুচিবৌ /mucibo^ʈ/ (19) but I have noticed that if somebody uses the word মহিলাকবি /mohilakobi/ (20), the referent usually feels insulted.

22. (NNMFSBSF-986) /Xa/_{n, masc} ↔ /Xri/_{n, fem} 'feminine of /Xa/'

নেতা /meta/ 'leader' ↔ নেত্রী /netri/ 'woman leader'

অভিনেতা /ob^hineta/ 'actor' ↔ অভিনেত্রী /ob^hinetri/ 'actress'

Many 'profession nouns' like মন্ত্রী /montri/ 'minister' or ডাক্তার /daktar/ 'doctor' described as masculine in traditional grammars have in fact become neuter. It is still too early to predict whether all such nouns will be affected by this tendency in the near future because we can also note that some female profession nouns like নেত্রী /netri/ 'woman leader' or অভিনেত্রী /ob^hinetri/ 'actress' are as popular as their masculine counterpart and therefore (22) remains as productive as before.

8.1.3. Number

According to Dasgupta (1985:38) "the number-like category that Bangla nouns manifest is Aggregation, a contrast between individual and collective modes of aggregating or considering entities, not the better studied Number dimension, which contrasts singular, plural, and sometimes dual and other rare Numbers (trial, paucal)" and therefore, "the notion of Number plays no role in Bangla grammar." Dasgupta believes that both কলমটা /kɔlɔmt̪a/ 'the pen' and জলটা /ʃɔlt̪a/ 'the water' manifest 'individual aggregation' whereas 'কলমগুলো /kɔlɔmgulo/ 'the pens' manifest 'collective aggregation' rather than plurality.

23. (NNSPADSF-945): /X/_{n/pron/adj, sing, indef} ↔ /Xgulo/_{n/pron, plu, def} 'plural of /X/'

কলম /kɔlɔm/ 'pen' ↔ কলমগুলো /kɔlɔmgulo/ 'the pens'

ভালো /b^halo/ 'good' ↔ ভালোগুলো /b^halogulo/ 'the good ones'

However, I have found 29 strategies for forming nouns belonging to the categories of singular and plural. Therefore, I argue, following Chatterji (1945 (1988)) and Azad (1983), that Bengali has these two numbers. However, as

is the case with Gender, neither verbs nor adjectives agree with nouns for Number.

24. (NNSPSBSF-961) /Xɔ/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xaboli/_{n, plu} 'plural of /Xɔ/'

দৃশ্য /driʃʃɔ/ 'scene' ↔ দৃশ্যাবলী /driʃʃaboli/ 'collection of scenes/scenery'

পত্র /pɔtrɔ/ 'letter' ↔ পত্রাবলী /pɔtraboli/ 'letters'

25. (NNSPADSJ-956) /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xgucc^ho/_{n, plu} 'aggregate plural of /X/'

পুষ্প /puʃpo/ 'flower' ↔ পুষ্পগুচ্ছ /puʃpogucc^ho/ 'bunch of flowers'

প্রস্তাব /prostab/ 'proposition' ↔ প্রস্তাবগুচ্ছ /prostabgucc^ho/ 'propositions'

26. (NNSPSVADSF-941) /XC/_{n, sing} ↔ /XCera/_{n, plu} 'plural of /XC/'

ডাকাত /ɖakat/ 'robber' ↔ ডাকাতেরা /ɖakatera/ 'robbers'

শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hok/ 'teacher' ↔ শিক্ষকেরা /ʃikk^hokera/ 'teachers'

We agree with Dasgupta that some of the plural outputs of these 'number-changing' strategies e.g. দৃশ্যাবলী /driʃʃaboli/ 'collection of scenes/scenery' in (24) or পুষ্পগুচ্ছ /puʃpogucc^ho/ 'bunch of flowers' in (25) show aggregation rather than plurality but there are others like কলমগুলো /kɔlɔmgulo/ 'the pens' in (23) or শিক্ষকেরা /ʃikk^hokera/ 'teachers' in (26) which show plurality rather than aggregation. Therefore, it can be claimed that aggregate and plural nouns are formed with different strategies in Bengali.

(23) changes both number and definiteness feature of the noun, or to describe the fact à la Dasgupta (2003:367), this strategy "combines the positional definiteness with plurality." Words like কলমগুলো /kɔlɔmgulo/ 'the pens' and টেবিলগুলো /tɛbilgulo/ 'tables' are endowed with '+plural' and

'+definite' features among others and these words can be formed by mapping words like কলম /kɔlɔm/ 'pen' and টেবিল /tɛbil/ 'table' onto (23). The difference between the words mapped onto (23) and (27) is that the former are definite whereas the latter are generally indefinite but can have a definite reading in some contexts.

Some of the number-changing strategies may seem to 'feature-coded' which means that only a certain category of noun can be mapped onto them. For example, only +human nouns have access to (26) and (27) and nouns denoting an honorable profession are generally mapped onto (28). But there is no hard and fast rule in this regard and as far as my competence in ESB is concerned, I map nouns like কলম /kɔlɔm/ 'pen' or যন্ত্র /ɟɔntro/ 'machine' onto (26) and (27) respectively if the referents of these nouns are imagined as living beings.

27. (NNSPSBSF-962) /Xo/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xera/_{n, plu} 'plural of /Xo/'

ছাত্র /c^hatro/ 'student' ↔ ছাত্রেরা /c^hatrera/ 'students'

সৈন্য /ʃo^jnno/ 'soldier' ↔ সৈন্যেরা /ʃo^jnnera/ 'soldiers'

28. (NNSPADSF-943) /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xgon/_{n, plu} 'plural of /X/'

অধ্যাপক /add^hapok/ 'professor' ↔ অধ্যাপকগন /add^hapokgon/ 'professors'

মন্ত্রী /montri/ 'minister' ↔ মন্ত্রীগন /montrigon/ 'ministers'

If we compare (24) and (29) on the hand and (26) and (27) on the other, we can note that all the words ending in /abɔli/ or /era/⁽⁶⁾ cannot be derived through the same process of concatenation as it is often claimed in atomistic descriptions.

29. (NNSPSVADSF-940) /XC/_{n, sing} ↔ /XCaboli/_{n, plu} 'plural of /XC/'

গুণ /gun/ 'quality' ↔ গুণাবলী /gunaboli/ 'qualities'

নিয়ম /ni^yom/ 'rule' ↔ নিয়মাবলী /ni^yomaboli/ 'rules'

A noun like গুণ /gun/ 'quality' or নিয়ম /ni^yom/ 'rule' mapped onto (29) have also access to the default strategy (23) but not all words mappable onto (23) can be mapped onto (24), (25) or (29). It may seem that such strategies are restricted to 'highly coded' Sanskrit words (cf. Ravanam 2002) like পুষ্প /puʃpo/ 'flower' or দৃশ্য /driʃʃo/ 'scene' and it is true that a good number of such words do not have access to (23). Nevertheless, গুণ /gun/ 'quality', নিয়ম /ni^yom/ 'rule, প্রস্তাব /prostab/ 'proposition', etc. are all words of Sanskrit origin and they can be perfectly mapped onto (23). In my view, all words of general use whether they are coded or not have access to the default strategy if they satisfy the formal and semantic criteria.

30. (NNSPID-939): /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /X/_{n, plu} 'plural of /X/'

নৌকা /no^uka/ 'boat' ↔ নৌকা /no^uka/ 'boats'

বই /bo^j/ 'book' ↔ বই /bo^j/ 'books'

As Bengali does not allow quantification and pluralization in the same noun phrase, words formed with (30) are used with quantifiers in phrases like অনেক বই /onek bo^j/ 'many books' (*/onek bo^jguli/).

8.1.4. Case morphology

8.1.4.1. Noun and other categories

'Case' can be defined from semantic, morphological and functional point of view and often these three different point views are mingled with each other in traditional grammars and as a result, 'case' has apparently become an

ambiguous 'term'. Following Paninian ideas as reflected in pedagogical Sanskrit grammars, Bengali grammarians have described 'case' only as a semantic property of the noun. Each case has its *bibhakti* or the (case) marker although the case-hood does not necessarily depend on the formal or morphological marking of the noun.

In Bengali, three cases are marked morphologically: i. locative ii. accusative-dative or 'objective' (cf. Dasgupta 2003) or 'complemental' and iii. genitive. A WWM view would be that like any other morphological marking, words are case-marked through their mapping onto various strategies (31-37).

Accusative

31. (NNCCADSF-992) /X/_{n, nom} ↔ /Xke/_{n, acc/dat} 'X/ used as experiencer or goal'

মেয়ে /me^ye/ 'girl', 'daughter' ↔ মেয়েকে /me^yeke/ 'to the girl'/'girl_{acc}'

ঝক /rik/ 'Rik' ↔ ঝককে /rikke/ 'to Rik'/'Rik_{acc}'

Genitive

32. (NNCCADSVSF-993) /XV/_{n, nom} ↔ /XVr/_{n, gen} 'of /XV/'

জামা /jama/ 'shirt' ↔ জামার /jamar/ 'of the shirt'

কুকুরগুলো /kukurgulo/ 'dogs' ↔ কুকুরগুলোর /kukurgulor/ 'of the dogs'

33. (NNCCADSVSF-994) /XC/_{n, sing, nom} ↔ /Xer/_{n, sing, gen} 'of /XC/'

শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hok/ 'teacher' ↔ শিক্ষকের /ʃikk^hoker/ 'of (the) teacher'

চেয়ার /ce^yar/ 'chair' ↔ চেয়ারের /ce^yarer/ 'of (the) chair'

34. (NNCCADSF-995) /X/_{n/pron, sing, nom} ↔ /Xder/_{n/pron, gen, pl} 'of X'

শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hok/ 'teacher' ↔ শিক্ষকদের /ʃikk^hokder/ 'of (the) teachers'

নিজে /nije/ 'himself' ↔ নিজেদের /nijeder/ 'of themselves'

Locative

35. (NNCCSVADSF-997) /Xa/_{n, nom} ↔ /Xa^y/_{n, loc} 'in /Xa/'

ঢাকা /d^haka/ 'the city of Dhaka' ↔ ঢাকায় /d^haka^y/ 'in the city of Dhaka'

টাকা /taka/ 'money' ↔ টাকায় /taka^y/ 'in money'

36. (NNCCSVADSF-999) /XV/ ↔ /XVte/_{n, nom, loc} 'in /XV/'

বাড়ী /bari/ 'house' ↔ বাড়ীতে /barite/ 'in the house'

ঢাকা /d^haka/ 'the city of Dhaka' ↔ ঢাকাতে /d^hakate/ 'in the city of Dhaka'

37. (NNCCSVADSF-998) /XC/_{n, nom} ↔ /XCe/_{n, loc} 'in /XC/'

বাজার /bajar/ 'market' ↔ বাজারে /bajare/ 'in the market'

সকাল /sokal/ 'morning' ↔ সকালে /sokale/ 'in the morning'

Postpositions, adverbs and Wh-pronouns of time can also be marked with genitive case through their mapping onto the following strategies. However, in the present work, the right-hand output of (38-40) are considered as adjectives.

38. (Pro/AdvADSF-404) /X/_{adv} ↔ /Xkar/_{adj} 'of /X/'

তখন /tok^hon/ 'then' ↔ তখনকার /tok^honkar/ 'of that time'

কবে /kobe/ 'when' ↔ কবেকার /kobe^hkar/ 'of when'

39. (AdvAADSF-405) /Xke/_{adverb} ↔ /Xker/_{adj} 'of X'

আজকে /ajke/ 'today' ↔ আজকের /ajker/ 'of today'

কালকে /kalke/ 'tomorrow' ↔ কালকের /kalker/ 'of tomorrow'

40. (PAADSF-418) /X/_{postposition} ↔ /Xer/_{adj} 'of X'

সঙ্গে /ʃoŋge/ 'with' ↔ সঙ্গের /soŋger/ 'of today'

পিছনে /pic^hone/ 'behind' ↔ পিছনের /pic^honer/ 'of behind'

Two other cases: iv. Ablative and v. Instrumental are syntactically i.e. periphrastically marked with a postposition. There are two types of postpositions in Bengali:

Type-1: The complement of these postpositions does not bear any case marker, e.g. গাছ থেকে /gac^h t^heke/ 'from the tree'; ছুরি দিয়ে /c^huri die/ 'with a knife'

Type-2: The complement of these postpositions bears the case marker of genitive, e.g. বাড়ীর পাশে /barir paʃe/ 'beside the house', বন্ধুর সঙ্গে /bond^hur ʃoŋge/ 'with a friend'

As the postpositions and their complement nouns are separate words, sequences like /gac^h t^heke/ or /bond^hur ʃoŋge/ should be considered as phrase and therefore, should not, in principle, concern morphology.⁽⁷⁾

In most atomistic descriptions, every *case-word* must bear a case-ending. In absence of any visible marker, the noun is described to bear zero-ending or zero-affixation (*shunya bibhakti*). In a WWM description, the words marked with zero affixation are mapped onto strategies that involve the mechanism of identity (e.g. 40-41 and also 45-46) and thus, we can do without the theory internal hypothetical entity of zero.

Identity

41. (NNCCID-1006) /X/_{n, nom} ↔ /X/_{n, acc} 'X/ used as patient'

কাপড় /kapɔr/ 'cloth' ↔ কাপড় /kapɔr/ 'cloth' (used as direct object)

কুকুর /kukur/ 'dog' ↔ কুকুর /kukur/ 'dog' (used as direct object)

42. (NNCCID-1005) /X/_{n, nom} ↔ /X/_{n, loc} 'in X/

বাড়ি /bari/ 'house' ↔ বাড়ি /bari/ 'house'

ঢাকা /d^haka/ 'Dhaka city' ↔ ঢাকা /d^haka/ 'Dhaka city'

Case marking in Bengali is anomalous and some of the examples representing the anomaly would be the following: i) the zero-marker and one of the three markers of locative (Xe) are used in all cases (cf. Chatterji 1945 (1988); ii) the nominative remains usually unmarked, but in some cases, it may bear the marker of genitive, locative and objective case (43a-c) and iii) the case-ending of genitive plural [der] as in মেয়েদের /me^yeder/ 'of girls' can also be used with accusative plural (44a-b).

43a. আমার যেতে হবে।

[amar jete hobe]

(I_{gen}) (have to go)

Tr.: I have to go.

43b. আমায় যেতে হবে

[ama^y jete hobe]

(I_{loc}) (have to go)

Tr.: I have to go.

43c. আমাকে যেতে হবে।

[amake jete hobe]

(I_{acc}) (have to go)

Tr.: I have to go.

44a. মেয়েদের স্কুল

[me^yeder skul]

(girls_{gen}) (school)

Tr.: Girls' school.

43b. মেয়েদের/মেয়েদেরকে ডাকো

[me^yeder]/[me^yederke ɖako]

(girls_{gen}) (girls_{acc}) (call_{imp})

Tr.: Call the girls.

All such problems of anomalous cases can be solved with strategies involving the mechanism of identity. The case-ending [^y] is used in locative and all the other cases except genitive, because the speaker-hearers activate the strategy (45) or (47) when he needs to form words endowed with such cases. The accusative plural words get the ending of genitive when such words are mapped on to (46). Therefore, anomalous case-endings result from the mapping of the words onto strategies that involve the mechanism of identity. Morphology cannot and need not answer to the question why nouns have anomalous case. It can only describe how they get it.

45. (NNCCID-1011) /X/_{n, inani, loc} ↔ /X/_{n, inani, instr/abl/nom/obj} 'the referent of /X/ used as instrument'

ক্ষমতায় /k^hɔmotay/ 'in power' ↔ ক্ষমতায় /k^hɔmotay/ 'with power'

ঔষধে /o^uʃod^he/ 'in medicine' ↔ ঔষধে /o^uʃod^he/ 'with medicine'

46. (NNCCID-1010) /X/_{n, gen, pl (adj poss)} ↔ /X/_{n, dat, plu} /X/ used as receiver or goal'

মেয়েদের /me^yeder/ 'of the girls/daughters' ↔ মেয়েদের /me^yeder/ 'girls/daughters

(used as direct object)'

ছাত্রদের /c^hatroder/ 'of students' ↔ ছাত্রদের /c^hatroder/ 'students (used as direct object)'

47. (ProASBSF-448) /Xar/_{adj (poss)/pron, sing, gen} ↔ /Xa^y/_{pron, sing, acc/dat} 'of the person(s) referred to in /Xa^y/'

আমার /amar/ 'my' ↔ আমায় /ama^y/ 'to me'

তোমার /tomar/ 'your' ↔ তোমায় /toma^y/ 'to me'

Atomistic descriptions can hardly show how the genitive forms like /c^hatrer/ ছাত্রের 'of (the) student' or /ʃo^jnner/ সৈন্যের 'of (the) soldier' could

have derived from the word ছাত্র [c^h atro] 'student' or সৈন্য / \int o j nno/ 'soldier'. According to the rules of *sandhi* in Bengali (cf. Chatterji 1945 (1988)), the concatenation of the stem / c^h atro/ and the suffix [er] cannot result in / c^h atrer/. In our view, (48) explains more satisfactorily the formation of the words like ছাত্রের / c^h atrer/ 'of (the) student' or সৈন্যের / \int o j nner/ 'of (the) soldier'.

48. (NNCCSBSF-1005) /Xo/_{n, sing, nom} ↔ /Xer/_{n, sing, gen} 'of /Xo/'

ছাত্র / c^h atro/ 'student' ↔ ছাত্রের / c^h atrer/ 'of (the) student'

সৈন্য / \int onno/ 'soldier' ↔ সৈন্যের / \int onner/ 'of (the) soldier'

Dasgupta (2003) has mentions that nouns ending in [o], for example, / \int ukro/ শুক্র 'Venus' can show formal irregularities in genitive: / \int ukrer/ শুক্রের but also / \int ukror/ 'of Venus'. We accept / \int ukror/ to be a word in regional variations of Bengali, e.g. Chittagonian or Sylheti, but not in Standard Bengali. However, neither of these forms is irregular, because / \int ukrer/ can be mapped onto (48) and / \int ukror/ onto (32).

49. (NNSVCCADSF-996): /Xder/_{n/pron, plu, gen} ↔ /Xderke/_{n/pron, pl, acc} 'used as experiencer or receiver'

ছাত্রদের / c^h atroder/ 'of (the) students' ↔ ছাত্রদেরকে / c^h atroderke/ 'to (the) students'

নিজেদের /nijeder/ 'of themselves' ↔ নিজেদেরকে /nijederke/ 'to themselves'

If we look at words like ছাত্রদেরকে / c^h atroderke/_{acc, plural} 'to students', we will find two different case-endings: i. [der] (genitive plural) and [ke] (accusative

singular) concatenated to the base noun [c^hatro]. There are three in নিজেদেরকে /nijederke/ i) [e] ii) [der], iii) [ke]. It is clear that /c^hatroderke/ cannot be formed from /c^hatro/ because there is no case ending like *[derke]. In the same way, /nijederke/ cannot be formed with [nij] and [ederke]. Therefore, these words must have been formed from the word ছাত্রদের /c^hatroder/ 'of the students' and নিজেদের /nijeder/ 'of our/them/yourselves' but atomistic case theories can seldom allow such a derivation.

8.1.4.2. Pronouns

Personal pronouns in Bengali are socio-linguistically spread out on a scale of formality (cf. Dasgupta 2003). The three second persons that Dasgupta describes as i) Intimate (/tu^wi/), ii) Neutral ([tumi]) and iii) Formal ([apni]) are labeled in our description as Intimate/Derogative, Informal and Formal respectively. Intimate-derogative /tu^j/ is used in situations of intimacy (between two persons of the same age), affection, disrespect or anger (cf. Chatterji 1945 (1988))⁽⁸⁾.

	Singular	Plural
Intimate/Derogative	[tu ^j]	[tora]
Informal	[tumi]	[tomra]
Formal	[apni]	[apnara]

Following Dasgupta (1992, 2003) we can put the third person pronouns into three different categories in Bengali: i) Proximal এ [e] '(s)he near me', ii)

Distal ও [o] '(s)he far from me' and iii) Sequent স [ʃe] '(s)he who is not present here'. Therefore, Bengali 3rd persons combine two different scales: i) the deictic scale and ii) the scale of formality. As we can see below, all these pronouns have their formal and plural counterparts.

Third Person		Proximal	Distal	Sequent (Non-deictic)
Singular	Informal	[e]	[o]	[ʃe]
	Formal	[ini]	[uni]	[tini]
Plural	Informal	[era]	[ora]	[tara]
	Formal	[ēra] / [enara]	[ōra] / [onara]	[tāra]

Pronouns in Bengali show number and case differences but atomistic descriptions fail to yield the derivation of most of the pronominal paradigms. Words like আমার [amar] 'my' and তাঁদের [tāder] 'their' cannot derive from the concatenation of some stem and the affix [er] and obviously, suppletion remains the only solution. But as we can see below, most of the so called 'suppletive' pronominal paradigms can be mapped onto morphological strategies and thus show a pattern regularity. We can also note that the same pronoun, e.g. আপনারা /apnara/ 'you_{formal}' can be formed with two different strategies (50-51).

Pronominal strategies

50. (NNCCSBSF-441) /Xra/_{pron, plu, nom} ↔ /Xder/_{pron.gen.plu (adj. poss)} 'of /Xra/'

তঁরা /tāra/ 'they_{formal}' ↔ তাঁদের /tāder/ 'their_{formal}'

আপনারা /apnara/ 'you_{formal}' ↔ আপনারা /apnara/ 'you_{formal}'

51. (NNCCSBSF-443) /Xr/_{pron, plu, nom} ↔ /Xder/_{pron, gen, plu (adj. poss)} 'of the person referred to in /Xr/ as well as of some other persons'

তোর /tor/ 'you_{int/derog}' ↔ তোদের /toder/ 'your_{int/derog}'

আপনার /apnar/ 'your_{formal}' ↔ আপনাদের /apnader/ 'your_{formal}'

The so-called 'strong'⁽⁹⁾ stems like তোমাকে [tomake] 'to you_{int/dim}' are mapped onto strategies like (52) that involve relatively fully specified variables along with the mechanism of substitution.

52. (ProProCCSMSB-1013): / $(C_1)V_{+high}C_2i$ /_{pron, sing, nom} ↔ / $(C_1)V_{-high}C_2ake$ /_{pron, sing, acc/dat} '/ $(C_1)V_{+high}C_2i$ ' used as goal, experiencer or patient'

তুমি /tumi/ 'you' ↔ তোমাকে /tomake/ 'you'

উনি /uni/ 'he formal' ↔ ওনাকে /onake/ 'him formal'

Relative pronouns like যিনি [jini] 'who_{nom, formal}' (53), যে [je], 'who_{nom informal}' (54), যেটা [jet̪a] 'which' (57), যেখানে [jek^hane] 'where' (55) and interrogative pronouns like কে [ke] 'who_{nom}' (54), কোনটা [kont̪a] 'which_{nom}' (56), কোথায় [kot^ha^y] 'where' (55), etc.. are mapped onto relevant strategies in order to form different paradigms.

53. (ProACCSBSF-444) /Cini/_{pron, sing, nom} ↔ /Cār/_{pron, gen (adj poss)} 'of /Cini/'

যিনি /jini/ 'you' ↔ য়ার /jār/ 'you_{informal}'

তিনি /tini/ 'he formal' ↔ তাঁর /tār/ 'they_{formal}'

54. (ProProCCSBSF-446) /Ce/_{pron, nom, sing} ↔ /Car/_{pron, gen (adj poss)} 'of /Ce/'

যে /je/ 'who' ↔ যার /jar/ 'of whom'

কে /ke/ 'who' ↔ কার /kar/ 'whose'

55. (AAdv/ProSBSF-407) /XVV_{+syllb/adv} ↔ /XVV_{+syllb}kar/_{adj} 'of /XVV_{+syllb}'

যেখানে /jek^hane/ 'where_{gen}' ↔ যেখানকার /jek^hankar/ 'of where_{gen}'

কোথায় /kot^haʔ/ 'where_{interg}' ↔ কোথাকার /kot^hakar/ 'of where'

56. (AProADSF-420): /X/_{adj/pro} ↔ /Xt̪a/_{pron} 'the /X/ one'

ভালো /b^halo/ 'good' ↔ ভালোটা /b^haloʔa/ 'the good one'

কোন /kon/ 'which' ↔ কোনটা /kont̪a/ 'which one'

As table-XII shows, there are equally three demonstrative pronouns: Proximal এটা [eʔa] 'this', ii) Distal ওটা [oʔa] 'that' and iii) Sequent সেটা [ʃeta] 'that which is not present here'. Demonstrative pronouns can be formed by mapping the personal pronouns or demonstrative adjectives onto strategies like (57) and (23).

	Proximal	Distal	Sequent
Singular	[eʔa]	[oʔa]	[ʃeta]
Plural	[egulo]	[ogulo]	[ʃegulo]

57. DemProSVADSF-421: / (C)V/_{dem/relative pron} ↔ / (C)Vt̪a/_{pron} 'the / (C)V/-one'

সে /ʃe/ 'that' ↔ সেটা /ʃeta/ 'that (sequent) one'

যে /je/ 'who', 'which' ↔ যেটা /oʔa/ 'which'

23. (NNSPADSF-945): /X/_{n/pron/adj, sing, indef} ↔ /Xgulo/_{n/pron, plu, def} 'plural of /X/'

কলম /kɔlom/ 'pen' ↔ কলমগুলো /kɔlomgulo/ 'the pens'

এ /e/ 'this' ↔ এগুলো /egulo/ 'these'

In modern Bengali, তোর /tor/ 'your' cannot be formed from and তুই /tu^j/ 'you' because the strategy that would have related these two words has almost died. We can hardly find two pairs to ensure the survival of the following pattern because of the fact that the pronoun মুই /mu^j/ 'I' is obsolete in standard Bengali although it continues to be used in some of the dialects.

58a. তুই /tu^j/ 'you' ⇔ তোর /tor/ 'your'

58b. মুই ? /mu^j/ 'I' ⇔ মোর /mor/ 'my'

The productivity of the 'pronominal' strategies is lexically restricted because the pronominal paradigms constitute a finite set. According to Singh & Agnihotri (83) it is pointless to formulate such strategies because they "cannot be invoked to create new forms." As far as Bengali is concerned, we presume that despite the presence of the strategies, pronouns have to be learned separately. However, we think that such strategies have to be formulated because i) they can be activated in case of crisis and ii) they are part of the morphology of Bengali like any other strategy.

8.2. The morphology of Bengali verbs

8.2.1. Finite forms:

Finite verbal forms are generally endowed with features like Tense, Aspect, Mood, Person, etc. The essential characteristic of the category of tense is that it relates the time (present, past or future) of the action, event or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance (cf. Lyons 1968). Aspect is essentially a matter of how the speaker views the nature of the event or action: complete, incomplete, continuous or not yet begun (cf. Singh & Agnihotri). Mood generally reflects the 'subjective' involvement of the speaker in the action or event he refers to, e.g. his emphatic certainty, his uncertainty or doubt (cf. Lyons), his volition, etc.

Three canonical tenses: 1. Present, 2. Past and 3. Future interact with three moods in Bengali: 1. the unmarked Indicative (cf. Dasgupta 2003), 2. Imperative and 3. Subjunctive, and four aspects: 1. Simple, 2. Progressive, 3. Perfect and 4. Habitual. This interaction is reflected in the traditional classification of inflected verbs: a. Present (Simple, Progressive or Continuative, Perfect or Completive, Imperative and Subjunctive); b. Past (Simple, Progressive, Perfect and Habitual); c. Future (Simple and Imperative). The verbal morphology of Bengali is opaque *vis-à-vis* Number: the same form expresses Singular and Plural (কিনি [kini]'I/we buy', কিনে [kine]'he/they buy'). Finite verbs agree with the nominative subject for person and formality (cf. Dasgupta). The second and third person (তিনি [tini] 'he') formal ('honorific' according to Sarkar 1976) have the same verbal form in all categories.

Following is a tabular presentation of the verbal paradigms of Bengali. The verbs used in this table are the following: কর [kor]'do', খা [k^ha] 'eat', সাঁতরা [ʃãtra] 'swim', দে [de] 'give' and আন [an] 'bring'.

Table-XIII: Indicative Present tense forms					
Aspect	1st	2nd int/derog	2nd informal	2nd/3rd formal	3rd informal
Simple	kor ⁱ	kor ⁱ ʃ	kor ^o	kor ^{en}	kor ^e
	k ^h a ^j	k ^h a ^ʃ	k ^h a ^w	k ^h a ⁿ	k ^h a ^y
	ʃātra ^j	ʃātra ^ʃ	ʃātra ^w	ʃātra ⁿ	ʃātra ^y
	di ^j	di ^ʃ	da ^w	den	de ^y
Continuative or Progressive	kor ^h i	kor ^h iʃ	kor ^h o	kor ^h en	kor ^h e
	k ^h acc ^h i	k ^h acc ^h iʃ	k ^h acc ^h o	k ^h acc ^h en	k ^h acc ^h e
	ʃātrac ^h i	ʃātrac ^h iʃ	ʃātracc ^h o	ʃātracc ^h en	ʃātracc ^h e
	dicc ^h i	dicc ^h iʃ	dicc ^h o	dicc ^h en	dicc ^h e
Perfect	korec ^h i	korec ^h iʃ	korec ^h o	korec ^h en	korec ^h e
	k ^h e ^y ec ^h i	k ^h e ^y ec ^h iʃ	k ^h e ^y ec ^h o	k ^h e ^y ec ^h en	k ^h e ^y ec ^h e
	ʃātrech ⁱ	ʃātrech ⁱ ʃ	ʃātrech ^o	ʃātrech ^{en}	ʃātrech ^e
	di ^y ec ^h i	di ^y ec ^h iʃ	di ^y ec ^h o	di ^y ec ^h en	di ^y ec ^h e

Table-XIV: Indicative Future tense forms					
	1st	2nd intim/derog	2nd informal	2nd/3rd formal	3rd informal
Future Simple	korbo	korbi	korbe	korben	korbe
	k ^h abo	k ^h abi	k ^h abe	k ^h aben	k ^h aben
	ʃātrabo	ʃātrabi	ʃātrabe	ʃātrabe	ʃātraben
	debo	dibi	debe	debe	deben

Aspect	1st	2nd intim/derog	2nd informal	2nd/3rd formal	3rd informal
Simple	korlam	korli	korle	korlen	korlo
	k ^h elam	k ^h eli	k ^h ele	k ^h elen	k ^h elo
	ʃātralam	ʃātrali	ʃātrale	ʃātralen	ʃātralo
	dilam	dili	dile	dilen	dilo
Continuous or Progressive	korc ^h ilam	korc ^h ili(ʃ)	korc ^h ile	korc ^h ilen	korc ^h ilo
	k ^h acc ^h ilam	k ^h acc ^h ili(ʃ)	k ^h acc ^h ile	k ^h acc ^h ilen	k ^h acc ^h ilo
	ʃātracc ^h ilam	ʃātracc ^h ili(ʃ)	ʃātracc ^h ile	ʃātracc ^h ilen	ʃātracc ^h ilo
	dicchilam	dicchili(ʃ)	dicchile	dicchilen	dicchilo
Perfect	korec ^h ilam	korec ^h ili(ʃ)	korec ^h ile	korec ^h ilen	korec ^h ilo
	k ^h e ^y ec ^h ilam	k ^h e ^y ec ^h ili(ʃ)	k ^h e ^y ec ^h ile	k ^h e ^y ec ^h ilen	k ^h e ^y ec ^h ilo
	ʃātrecc ^h ilam	ʃātrecc ^h ili(ʃ)	ʃātrecc ^h ile	ʃātrecc ^h ilen	ʃātrecc ^h ilo
	di ^y ecchilam	di ^y ecchili(ʃ)	di ^y ecchile	di ^y ecchilen	di ^y ecchilo
Habitual	kortam	kortiʃ	korte	korten	korto
	k ^h etam	k ^h eti(ʃ)	k ^h ete	k ^h eten	k ^h eto
	ʃātratam	ʃātrati(ʃ)	ʃātrate	ʃātraten	ʃātrato
	ditam	diti(ʃ)	dite	diten	dito

Present				
1st	2nd intim/derog	2nd informal	2nd/3rd formal	3rd informal
-	kōr k ^h a ʃātra den an	koro k ^h a ^w ʃātra ^w da ^w ano	kōren/korun k ^h an ʃātran din anen/anun	
Future				
-	koriʃ k ^h aʃ ʃātraʃ diʃ aniʃ	koro k ^h e ^y o ʃātrio di ^y o eno	korben k ^h aben/k ^h e ^y en ʃātraben/ʃātri ^y en deben/?di ^y en anben/?enen	koruk k ^h ak ʃātrak dik anuk

Table-XVII: Subjunctive forms					
Present					
1st	2nd intim/ derog	2nd informal	2nd/3rd formal	3rd formal	3rd informal
	-	-	-	korun k ^h an ṣātran din anun	koruk k ^h ak ṣātrak dik anuk

Although the Bengali verbal system is generally described (cf. Chatterji 1945 (1988), Chatterjee 1960 and Dasgupta 2003) as not having any Subjunctive, I believe that there are at least two verbal forms that can be recognized as Subjunctive in Bengali: কিনুক [kinuk] 'let him (informal) buy' and কিনুন [kinun] 'let him (formal) buy'. Chatterji and Dasgupta have described these forms as imperatives and Chatterjee as imperative/optative, but I feel that they are better labeled as subjunctive for the following reasons:

1. They reflect the volition or wish of the speaker rather than a precise order.
2. Orders or advice are NOT generally given in the third person in ESB.
3. If we put imperatives on a scale of naturalness: 2nd person > 1st person plural > 3rd person, the most natural of the imperatives would be the 2nd person, whereas the 3rd person would be the least. The 1st person plural imperative is more natural as compared to the 3rd person and it is recognized as an imperative form in French. Bengali grammarians do not even consider the 1st person plural as an imperative and, therefore, a 3rd person imperative can hardly be justified in Bengali.

4. As far as ESB is concerned, the formal variation is allowed in the imperative: [kinen]/[kenen]/[kinun] 'buy_{imp} 2nd person formal' but not in the subjunctive: [kinun]_{subj} 3rd person formal and [kinuk]_{subj} 3rd person informal 'let him buy'.

5. Semantically similar forms are labeled as 'subjunctive' in other languages. For example in French, /kinuk/ and /kinun/ would be translated with a subjunctive verbal form: 'qu'il achète' meaning 'let him buy'.

8.2.2. Non-finite forms

There are 5 types of non-finite verbal forms in Bengali. They have been given different names in the literature which will be discussed below, but to start with, let's call them in the following way:

a-verbal ⁽¹⁰⁾	te-verbal	le-verbal	e-verbal	onto-verbal
পড়া	পড়তে	পড়লে	পড়ে	ডুবন্ত
/pora/	/porte/	/porle/	/pore/	/dubonto/
'to read'	'to read	'if (somebody) reads	'having read	'sinking'

Non-finite forms of Bengali verbs do not fit the well-known categories of the European grammatical tradition such as Infinitive, Participle and Gerund: in English and French, i) participles can be used as modifiers of nouns (adjectival function); iii) in French, gerunds can be used as circumstantial complements (adverbial function) whereas in English, gerunds can be used as subject and complement of verbs (argument function); iv) in French present participles cannot be used as subject and complement, only infinitives can.

Verbals	Subject	Complement		Adjectival	Adverbial
		of transitive verb	of modal verb		
Infinitive	√	√	√		
Present participle				√	
Gerund	√	√			√
Past participle				√	√

Bengali verbals ending in [a] can modify a noun (58) and can also be used as the subject or the complement of an inflected verb (60 & 62). However, they cannot be used as the complement of modals (61). Verbals ending in [te] can be used as the complement of modals (61), but cannot be used as the subject in a sentence (60). Verbal forms ending in [ɔnto] (59) are undoubtedly present participles, but they have a very limited use. Two other verbals ending in [le] (63) and [e] (64) can only be used as adverbials.

58. ঝরা/*ঝরতে পাতা ।

[j^hɔra (*j^hɔrte) pata]
(fallen) (leaves)

Tr.: Fallen leaves.

59. ডুবন্ত জাহাজ

[dubɔnto jahaj]
(sinking) (ship)

Tr.: Sinking ship.

60. ব্যায়াম করা/*করতে স্বাস্থ্যের জন্যে ভালো ।

[bɛ^yam kora (*korte) ʃast^her jonne b^halo]
(physical exercise) (to do) (health) (for) (good)

Tr.: Physical exercise is good for a person's health.

61. আমি বাংলা বই *পড়া/পড়তে পারি ।

[ami banla boʃ porte (*pɔra) pari]
(I) (Bengali) (book) (to read) (can)

Tr.: I can read books written in Bengali.

62. আমি বই পড়া/পড়তে পছন্দ করি।

[ami boʃ pora/porte pɔcʰondo kori]

(I) (book) (to read) (preference) (do)

Tr.: I like to read books.

63. বই পড়লে শিখতে পারবে।

[boʃ porle ʃikʰte parbe]

(book) (if read) (to learn) (you can)

Tr.: You can learn if you read books.

64. ও বই পড়ে ফুটবল খেলা শিখেছে।

[o boʃ pore fuʈbol kʰela ʃikʰeche]

(he) (book(s)) (having read) (football) (game) (has learned)

Tr.: He learned how to play football by reading books.

Table-XX: Function-based distribution of non-finite verbals in Bengali					
Verbals	Subject	Complement		Adjectival	Adverbial
		of transitive verb	of modal verb		
a-verbal	√	√	√	√	
te-verbal		√	√		√
le-verbal					√
e-verbal					√
onto-verbal				√	

However, Bengali grammarians have tried their best to accommodate the terms of European grammatical tradition in the description of the infinite verbal forms of Bengali. Chatterji (1926 (1988)) gives different names to the same verbal and also mentions that the same form is used as different verbals. Chatterji (1005) argues that [e] and [le] verbals are conjunctives or absolutes: "there are two indeclinable Conjunctives, or Gerunds, in Bengali, one ending in ইয়া -iya- (>Standard Coll. এ -e- with mutation of preceding vowel), the other in ইলে -ile- (>Standard Coll. লে -le- with accompanying

mutation through influence of the -i-)." Elsewhere Chatterji (1002, 1014) describes the same [e] verbals as Past Passive participle.

Chatterji (1005) mentions that there are two [te] verbals in Bengali: Present participle and Infinitive which are subject to confusion with one another to such an extent that "it is at times difficult to decide which form it really is." When Chatterji (1014) argues that Infinitives are in fact "the verbal noun put in the locative", it becomes clear that he is basically concerned with the diachronic morphology and/or with etymology and not with the morphology of the verbals of Bengali.

Dasgupta (2003), on the other hand, has blended the European terms into *gerciple* (Gerund-Participle) or *infiniciple* (Infinitive-Participle) and has tried to fit Bengali verbals to his chimerical categories. Although Dasgupta's *gerciple* (e.g. /pɔra/ or /j^hɔra/) can be used as argument (ex-1) and also modifier (ex-4), his *infiniciple* ([e.g. /j^hɔrte/) cannot be used as modifier and therefore it has nothing to do with participle. Following Chatterji, Dasgupta labels /kine/ 'having bought' as *conjunctive participle*. In our view, the form is conjunctive, there is no doubt about that, but as Chatterji mentions, there are other conjunctive forms in Bengali like কিনলে /kinle/ 'if bought' and কিনতে /kinte/ 'to buy' and one may ask why the latter cannot be called conjunctive participle as well. I do not understand how কিনে /kine/ 'having bought' and কিনলে /kinle/ 'if bought' can be labeled *participle* because these forms are used neither as modifier nor as argument. Dasgupta's dependent Gerund: /kinbar/ কিনবার 'for buying, to buy' is in my view the genitive form of the argument verbal কেনা

/kena/ 'to buy' which also has a (phonetically) well-behaved free variant: কেনার
/kenar/'for buying, to buy'.

In this work, I have put aside all the preexisting categorical labels as well as their fusions and following Azad (1984) and Bhattacharja (1998), I would like to describe the non-finite forms simply as *verbals*. There are four different types of verbals in Bengali:

Argument verbal	Complement verbal	Conditional verbal	Perfective verbal
/kora/ করা 'to do'	[korte] করতে 'to do'	[korle] করলে 'if done'	[kore] করে 'having done'
/kha ^w a/ খাওয়া 'to eat'	/k ^h ete/ খেতে 'to eat'	/khele/ খেলে 'if eaten'	/khe ^y e/ খেয়ে 'having eaten'
[ʃajano] সাজানো 'to decorate'	[ʃajate] সাজাতে 'to decorate'	[ʃajale] সাজালে 'if decorated'	[ʃajie] সাজিয়ে 'having decorated'

Although [a]-verbals share most of the features of the infinitive of European languages, I do not understand why almost all the grammarians of Bengali (including writers of language manuals) have described [te]-verbals as infinitives. When Ferguson (1945) and Sarkar (1976b) label [a]-verbals as 'verbal noun', we agree with them but infinitives are also described as verbal nouns in European grammars. There is no doubt that [a]-verbals are nouns because they allow classifier-definitive [ɽa] to be 'cliticized' to them: করাটা /kara-ɽa/ 'the doing'. As nouns can have the function of argument and so can [a]-verbals, I call them 'argument verbals'.

Although [te]-verbals share at least one of their features with infinitives and can have different other uses shown below, they cannot be nouns because they do not allow classifier-definitive [ta] to be concatenated to them: *[karte-ta]. They can be used neither as subjects (60) nor as modifiers (58). They are often used as complement of verbs (61 & 62) and therefore, they can reasonably be called 'complement verbal'.

65. আমরা রাত বারোটায় গীটার বাজানোতে/বাজানোয় উনি রেগেছেন।
 [amra rat baro^yta^y gi^htar bajanote/bajano^y uni regec^hen]
 (we) (night) (12o'clock) (guitar) (to play) (he) (become angry)
 Tr.: He became angry because we were playing guitar at mid-night.

66. আমটা খেতে ভালো।
 [am^hta k^hete b^halo]
 (the mango) (to eat) (good)
 Tr.: This mango tastes good.

67. আমি ওকে বাজারে যেতে দেখেছি।
 [ami oke bajare jete d^wk^hec^hi]
 (I) (him) (to the market) (to go) (have seen)
 Tr.: I have seen him going to the market.

However, I do not ignore the fact that argument verbals can also be used as complement of some verbs (62) but that use is perfectly in keeping with the categorical property of the nouns they belong to. Argument verbals can have a locative form ending in [te] or [^y] which is used as adverbial to denote a cause (65). As (66) and (67) show, complement verbals can have an adverbial use as well (cf. Sarkar 1976b).

8.3. Verbal morphology in light of WWM

8.3.1: Verb formation strategies

WWM proposes multiple ways of achieving the same morphological change (cf. Singh and Agnihotri 1997). The complement verbal করতে /korte/ 'to do' can be formed either from the word কর /kor/ 'do', or from করতে /korto/ 'he used to do', or from করি /kori/ 'I do' or even from করতে /korte/ 'you used to do' itself.

Adjunction-Deletion

68. (VVADSMSF-1159): /XV_{-high}C/v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /XV_{+high}Cte/v, habit past, 2nd inform

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen!' ↔ শুনতে /ʃunte/ 'you used to listen'

কর /kor/ 'do' ↔ করতে /korte/ 'you used to do'

কাট /kat/ 'cut' ↔ *kette/ 'you used to cut'

Substitution

69. (VVSBSF) /Xo/v, habit past, 3rd ↔ /Xe/comp verbal

করতো /korto/ 'he used to do' ↔ করতে /korte/ 'to do'

খেতো /k^heto/ 'he used to eat' ↔ খেতে /k^hete/ 'to eat'

নিত /nito/ 'he used to take' ↔ নিতে /nite/ 'to take'

গাইত /ga^jto/ 'he used to sing' ↔ গাইতে /ga^jte/ 'to sing'

70. (VVSBSF): /Xto/v, simp pres, 1st ↔ /Xte/comp verbal⁽¹²⁾

করতো /korto/ 'he_{informal} used to do' ↔ করতে /korte/ 'to do'

বলতো /bolto/ 'he_{informal} used to speak' ↔ বলতে /bolte/ 'to speak'

Identity

71. (VVID-1197) /X/v, habit past, 2nd inform ↔ /X/comp verbal

করতে /korte/ 'you used to do' ↔ করতে /korte/ 'to do'

গাইতে /ga^jte/ 'you used to sing' ↔ গাইতে /ga^jte/ 'to sing'

We can notice that the complement verbals like কাটতে /kaʈte/ 'to cut', খেতে /k^hete/ 'to eat' or নিতে /nite/ 'to take' cannot be mapped onto (68). They can be formed with (72) which involves segmental modification. We also note that although খা /k^ha/ 'eat' and গা /ga/ 'sing' both have a CV skeleton, their complement verbals cannot be formed with the same strategy.

Segmental Modification

72. (VVADSMSF-1088) /CV_{-high}/v, pres, imp, 2nd int/derog ↔ /CV_{+high}te/comp verbal

খা /k^ha/ 'eat' ↔ খেতে /k^hete/ 'to eat'

শো /ʃo/ 'sleep' ↔ শুতে /ʃute/ 'to sleep'

নে /ne/ 'take' ↔ নিতে /nite/ 'to take'

গা /ga/ 'sing' ↔ *গেতে /gate/ 'to sing'

73. (VVADSVSF-1086) /X^j/v, simp pres, 1st ↔ /X^jte/comp verbal

গাই /ga^j/ 'I sing' ↔ গাইতে /ga^jte/ 'to sing'

সই /ʃo^j/ ↔ 'I tolerate' সহিতে /ʃo^jte/ 'to tolerate'

খাই /k^ha^j/ 'I eat' ↔ *খাইতে /k^ha^jte/ 'to eat'

74. (VVADSF-1089): /X/ v, pres imp, 2nd intim/derog ↔ /Xte/comp verbal

কাট /kaʈ/ 'cut' ↔ কাটতে /kaʈte/ 'you used to cut'

সাঁতরা /ʃãtra/ 'swim!' ↔ সাঁতরাতে /ʃãtrate/ 'you used to swim'

Unlike phonological and syntactic rules, morphological patterns are restricted to special groups of words. For example, in order to get the plural of the noun *tooth*, an English speaker does not map this word onto the strategy /X/_{n, sing} ↔ /Xs/_{n, plu} (which gives him **tooths*) but to the ('dormant'/'unproductive') strategy of English /CuC/_{n, sing} ↔ /CiC/_{n, plu} (the two pairs would be the

following: *tooth/teeth* and *goose/geese*) which gives him the right word *teeth*. In the same way, if the speaker-hearer maps গা /ga/ 'sing' onto (72) and (74), he gets unacceptable sequences: */gɛte/ and */gate/ respectively. Therefore, he must try (73) in order to get the right word.

As we can see in table-VI (section: 4.4.1), all the past perfect forms like করেছিলাম /korec^hilam/ 'I had done' or the causative করিয়েছিলি /koriec^hili/ 'you had it done by somebody', etc.) can be formed with the 1st person Present Perfect করেছি /korechi/ 'I have done' and করিয়েছি /koriec^hi/ 'I have had it done by somebody' respectively. Past Continuous forms like করছিলাম /korc^hilam/, 'I was doing', করাচ্ছিল /koracc^hilo/ 'he was having it done', etc. can be formed with the 1st person Present Continuous (করছি /korc^hi/, 'I am doing' and করাচ্ছি /koracc^hi/ 'I am having it done'). One can form করবেন /korben/ 'you (formal) will do', করছেন /korc^hen/ 'he (formal) is doing' or করতেন /korten/ 'you (formal) used to do' from করবে /korbe/ 'you (informal) will do', করছে /korc^he/ 'he (informal) is doing' and করতে /korte/ 'you (informal) used to do' respectively with (75) and (76).

75. (VVADSF-1108) /X/_{v, pres/fut, 3rd inform} ↔ /Xn/_{v, pres/fut, 2nd/3rd form}

করছে /korc^he/ 'he is doing' ↔ করছেন /korc^hen/ 'he is doing' / 'you are doing'

করবে /korbe/ 'he will do' ↔ করবেন /korben/ 'you will do' / 'he will do'

76. (VVADSF-1156) /X/_{v, past/fut, 2nd inform} ↔ /Xn/_{v, past/fut, 2nd/3rd form}

করতে /korte/ 'you used to do' ↔ করতেন /korten/ 'he/you used to do'

করবে /korbe/ 'you will do' ↔ করবেন /korben/ 'he/you will do'

But this does not mean that verbs cannot be formed out of elements that the atomistic traditions would refer to as *roots* or *stems*. As long as the latter is recognized as a word in Bengali and can be mapped onto some strategy, the so-called roots or stems such as কর /kɔr/ 'you (intimate/derogatory) do' or /নে /ne/ 'take' can participate as inputs in the process of verb formation (e.g. (68) and (72)).

77. (VVADSMSF) /XV_{-high}C/_{v, simp pres, 2nd intim/derog} ↔ / X_{+high}Cben/_{v, fut, 2nd form}

কর /kɔr/ 'do' ↔ করবেন /korben/ 'you (formal) will do'

শোন /ʃon/ 'listen' ↔ শুনবেন /ʃunben/ 'you will listen'

From an atomistic point of view, (77) would seem to be a more economic account of the verbal derivation because it has the smallest permanent 'part' (*root* or *stem*) whereas WWM considers (75) or (76) to be more economic because it has the simplest constant. This said, the simplicity of the so-called word-parts must not be confused with the simplicity of word subcomponents. The maximum size of the word-parts like root or suffix is fixed: a root in Bengali can be either CV or CVC or CVCCV, etc. and a sequence of segments such as CCCVCC will not be considered a root. The size of the subcomponents depends on the mappable pairs and any phonic element, regardless of its size, can become the constant in a strategy.

However, in some cases, strategies like (77) suffer from descriptive redundancy because their constant subcomponent appears to be much 'heavier' than is necessary. If we compare strategies like (75) and (76) with (77), we must admit the fact that from a descriptive point of view, the former would be more acceptable because it has a simpler constant. For WWM, (77) can only exist if the speaker-hearer does not know input words mapped onto (75) and (76). As soon as he comes to know these words as well as those

mapped onto (77), he will recalculate the formal difference and (77) will disappear from his morphology.

8.4. So-called Compound verbs

According to Sarkar 1976b:293) "Traditionally any kind of two-part verbs would have been called compound verbs". Therefore, complex verbs are two part constructions in which one constituent is a flexional verb (known as 'vector') and the other constituent (known as 'pole') is either a noun, an adjective, a verbal or a so-called onomatopoeic. (cf. Sarkar)

- 78a. লাভ করে [lab^h kore] (profit + does) 'he makes profit'
 78b. মনে রাখে [mone rak^he] (in mind + puts) 'he remembers'
 78c. করে চলেছে [kore colec^he] (having done + he is walking) 'he continues to do'
 78d. করতে থাকবে [korte t^hakbe] (doing + he will remain) 'he will continue to do'
 78e. চিনচিন করে [cincin kore] (onomatopoeic representing the sensation of a certain degree of itching pain + does) 'I have a particular type of itching pain'

Some of the vectors are used to form the periphrastic⁽¹³⁾ tenses like the ones shown in table XXII. In cases of tense formation, poles represent a verbal (e.g. [kore] 'having done' or [korte] 'to do') and the vector is chosen among the following verbs: থাক [t^hak] 'stay', নে [ne] 'take', দে [de] 'give', আস [aʃ] 'come', বস [boʃ] 'sit', ফেল [fel] 'drop', চল [col] 'walk', যা [ja] 'go', রাখ [rak^h] 'keep' and উঠ [uʈ^h] 'go up' and similar other verbs. According to Dasgupta (1977) there are about twenty verb stems which function as vector.

Future Perfect	Future (Perfect) Continuous	Immediate Future	Present Continuous	Recent past
kore t ^h akbo	kore colbo	korte jacc ^h i	kore jacc ^h i	kore aʃlam
koro nebo	kore jabo	'I am going to do'	kore colc ^h i	kore rak ^h lam
kore debo	korte t ^h akbo		kore nicc ^h i	kore dilam
kore aʃbo	'I will be doing'		kore dicc ^h i	kore nilam
kore boʃbo			kore rak ^h c ^h i	kore fellam
kore felbo			'I will be doing'	kore ut ^h lam
'I will have done'				'I have just done'

According to Dasgupta (1977:75) most compound verbs denote one single idea and exhibit functional unity like any other simple verb and in most of the cases, the "vector is 'semantically heteronymous'" which means that it has no verb-meaning independent of its pole partner. As we can see in (79-80), many of the compound verb can be interrupted with appropriate adverbs (cf. Dasgupta) as well as with other words, and therefore, these constructions show more affinities with phrases than with words.

79. লাভ তুই অন্তত একদিন কর!
 [lab tu^j ontoto ekdin kor]
 (profit) (you_{intim/derog}) (at least) (one day) (do)
 Tr.: You make profit at least one day!

80. বসিয়ে আমলারা সবসময়েই রাখে।
 [boʃi^{ye} amlara ʃobʃomo^{yj} rak^{he}]
 (having made seated) (bureaucrats) (always_{emphatic}) (keep)
 Tr.: Bureaucrats always make (visitors) waiting.

Compound or Phrasal verbs can be formed through morphological strategies which would look like (81) but they do not in principle concern morphology because such sequences are not words. Formerly, there have been attempts to explain word-structure according to syntactic principles (cf. Selkirk 1982, Baker, 1988). Whether morphological strategies can be used to analyze phrase or clause-level constructions is an interesting question no doubt, but such questions fall beyond the scope of morphology itself.

81. $/X/_{n} \Leftrightarrow /Xk\text{or}/_{v, \text{simp pr, 3rd int/derog}}$

লাভ $/lab/$ 'profit' \Leftrightarrow লাভ কর $/lab\ kor/$ 'make profit'

বসিয়ে $/bo\text{ʃi}^ye/$ 'having made seated' \Leftrightarrow বসিয়ে রাখ $/bo\text{ʃi}^ye\ rak/$ 'keep (somebody) seated/waiting!'

1. Although WWM allows only words to be mapped onto the strategies, it is conceivable that a whole phrase can be mapped onto a 'phrase-formation' strategy (cf. Dasgupta, Ford & Singh, 2000) and can thereby acquire the features like definiteness and specificity. Another possibility is that whenever a phrase contains a 'definite' word, it becomes automatically definite. For example, আমার সুন্দর বইটা $/amar\text{ʃundor}\epsilon^j\text{bo}^j\text{ta}/$ 'the beautiful book of mine' is definite because it contains the definite noun $/bo^j\text{ta}/$ formed with (1). Words like Dem(onstrative) are intrinsically definite and a phrase can become definite by incorporating such a word (e.g. আমার সুন্দর এই বই $/amar\epsilon^j\text{ʃundorbo}^j/$ 'this beautiful book of mine'). However, we clearly state that such extensions of WWM have nothing to do with morphology.

$/X/_{\alpha} \Leftrightarrow /X\text{ta}/_{\alpha, \text{def}}$

আমার সুন্দর বই $/amar\text{ʃundorbo}^j/$ 'my beautiful book(s)' \Leftrightarrow আমার সুন্দর বইটা $/amar\text{ʃundorbo}^j\text{ta}/$ 'the beautiful book of mine'

গতকাল দুপুর বারোটায় কেনা $/gotokal\ dupur\ baro\text{ta}^y\ kena/$ 'bought yesterday at 12 o' clock' \Leftrightarrow

গতকাল দুপুর বারোটায় কেনাটা $/gotokal\ dupur\ baro\text{ta}^y\ kena\text{ta}/$ 'the one bought yesterday at 12 o' clock'

2. Words like তিনটে /tin̩tɛ/ 'three-Ta' and চারটে /cartɛ/ 'four-Ta' are not generally used in ESB. If some ESB speaker at all uses these two words, he may have a separate strategy only for these two numerals: three and four.

(NumA/PADSF): /X/num ↔ /Xtɛ/adj/pron

তিন /tin/ 'three' ↔ তিনটে /tin̩tɛ/ 'three pieces'

চার /car/ 'four' ↔ চারটে /cartɛ/ 'four pieces'

3. We have not proposed a different strategy for words ending in /k^hani/ for two reasons: i) nouns ending in /k^hani/ are free 'diminutivized' (cf. Dasgupta, 2003) variants of the nouns ending in /k^hana/ and ii) ESB speakers seldom map nouns onto (a) which is probably a productive strategy in WSB. The strategy (b) belongs to the regional variants of Bengali spoken around Dhaka. Speakers who acquired one of these variants as their mother tongue may also activate (b) while they are using ESB.

a. (NNIDADSF) /X/n_{ind sing/plu} ↔ /Xk^hana/n_{def.sing} 'the /X/

বই /bɔɪ/ 'book' ↔ বইখানি /bɔɪk^hani/ 'the book'

শাড়ি /ʃari/ 'sari' ↔ শাড়িখানি /ʃarik^hani/ 'the sari'

b. (NNIDADSF): /X/n_{ind sing/plu} ↔ /Xk^han/n_{def.sing} 'the /X/

বই /bɔɪ/ 'book' ↔ বইখান /bɔɪk^han/ 'the book'

শাড়ি /ʃari/ 'sari' ↔ শাড়িখান /ʃarik^han/ 'the sari'

4. We may also propose separate strategies with the same formal difference for mapping mass and count quantifiers. The following table describes different possible combinations of Classifier-Definitives, Quantifiers and Numerals in Bengali.

Table-XXIII: Combinations of classifier-definitives, quantifiers and numerals in Bengali											
Classifier-definitives and quantifiers											
	/ʈa/	/ʈi/	/tu/	/te/	/ʈuku/	/goʈa/	/kʰana/	/kʰani/	/jon/	/gulo/	/ra/
/ʃob/	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-
/kicʰu/	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
/ɔnek/	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
/kɔtɔk/	+	+/-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
/koyek/	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
/kʰanik/	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
/ɔtɔ/	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
/kɔtɔ/	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
/prɔttek/	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+/-	+	-	-
Classifier-definitives and numerals											
/ek/	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
/tin/	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+/-	+	-	-
/car/	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
/pāc/ and above	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-

(Adapted from Ferguson, 1964)

5. Although Dasgupta (2003:367) describes /gulo/ as "the non-human plural classifier" it is used with words like ছেলে /c^hele/ 'boy' and মেয়ে /me^ye/ 'girl'. Chatterji (1945 (1988:211)) rightly mentions that /gulo/ is used with both animate and inanimate nouns. In an atomistic description, /gulo/ would be described as a *portmanteau* morph because it is responsible for both classification and pluralization. Such labels are of no use in a WWM description and a WWM view in this respect would be that /gulo/ does not even exist.

6. According to Chatterji (1945 (1988:210)) /era/ cannot be used with inanimate nouns (e.g. *গাছেরা /gac^hera/ 'trees'). However, he also mentions that this rule does not apply to "an

inanimate nouns which is imagined to be a living entity" as we can see in the following Bengali song by Atulprashad Sen:

মেঘেরা দল বেঁধে যায় কোন দেশে, ও আকাশ বল আমারে...

/meg^hera dɔl bēd^he ja^y kon deshe o akaʃ bɔl amare/

(clouds) (group) (after forming) (go) (which) (country) (O) (sky) (tell) (me)

Translation: O sky, tell me where do the clouds go in group?

7. In most of the ESB dialects, the postpositions like থেকে [t^heke] 'from' and দিয়ে [di^yɛ] 'with' have lost their word-hood and are used as constants in case-marking strategies:

Chittagonian

a. /X/_{n, nom} ↔ /Xɔtt^hun/_{n, abl}

গাছ /gac^h/ 'tree' ↔ গাছথুন /gac^hɔtt^hun/ 'from the tree'

শহর /ʃɔ:r/ 'town, city' ↔ শহরথুন /ʃɔ:rɔtt^hun/ 'from the town'

b. /X/_{n, nom} ↔ /Xtt^hun/_{n, abl}

ছুরি /c^huri/ 'knife' ↔ ছুরিদি /c^huridi/ 'with the knife'

সাবান /ʃaban/ 'soap' ↔ সাবানদি /ʃabandi/ 'with the soap'

8. As far as ESB is concerned there is a remarkable change in the connotation of these pronouns. About twenty to thirty years ago, parents or other adult relatives used তুই /tu^j/ 'you' with a younger person and in some families children used আপনি /apni/ 'you_{formal}' with their parents, especially with the father. Nowadays, /tu^j/ is rather confined to relations of intimacy: parents towards children, between child/boyhood friends or between brothers and sisters (cf. Chatterji 1945). It seems that /tu^j/ contrasts with /apni/ and /tumi/ in different ways. Between two 'non-familiar' persons, /tu^j/ will mean either disrespect or insult and has to be replaced by /apni/. In such situations, তুমি /tumi/ 'you_{informal}' will be tolerable and even acceptable if the difference of age and social status between the speaker and the hearer is considerably high. On the other hand, where /tumi/ is appropriate, use of /apni/ will mean a

volitional lack of intimacy and affection as well whereas /tu^ʃ/ will be connoted with disrespect and insult.

9. Labels like 'strong' and 'weak' are used in the tradition of atomistic morphology and even there, as their non-use in French grammars shows, not always. In traditional English grammars, a verb is called 'weak' if its past or past participle is formed through the concatenation of two word parts (stem/root and the suffix). If a nominal/verbal form is obtained through a vocalic alternation in the root itself and no adjunction is required, the form is referred to as 'strong'. In WWM, verbs are formed with different strategies the execution of which can be said to involve operations that can be seen as logically different.

10. Some verbals of this type also end in [ʷa] খাওয়া /k^hawa/ 'to eat' and some others in [ano] সাজানো /ʃa^ʃano/ 'to decorate'

11. The Perfective verbal must share its subject with the finite verb of the sentence whereas the Conditional verbal must have its own subject. Complement verbals share the subject with the modal verb (for example, in the sequence [k^hete ca^ʃ] খেতে চাই 'I want to eat' the verbal [k^hete] 'to eat' and the finite verb [ca^ʃ] 'I want' share the same subject) but in other uses (ex-65-67), it has its own subject. However, these (sub)categorical details do not directly concern morphology.

12. (69), (70) and (77) are secondary strategies and therefore do not appear in the list of strategies (Chapter-6). I would like to remind my reader that only primary strategies are included in this list.

13. Not in Chatterji's (1926)'s sense. He considers tenses like করছে [kor^hche] 'he is doing' as periphrastic.

Chapter-9 Morphological Profile of Bengali

"Some of these grammatical processes, like suffixing, are exceedingly wide-spread; others, like vocalic change, are less common but far from rare; still others, like accent and consonantal change, are somewhat exceptional as functional processes."

(Sapir *Language*, 1921 (2004:45))

The 1215 strategies of our list have been classified into different categories according to their operation type and their mechanism type. The classification has been concretized in the following tables and figures.

9.1. Number of strategies according to operation type

9.1.1. Intra-categorical strategies

Table-XXIV: Noun-Noun					
(excluding subcategories traditionally called 'inflectional' ⁽¹⁾)					
Type of Mechanism		Number of Strategies			
Adjunction-Deletion	Subjunction	185			
	Suffixation	106			
		Sub-total	291		
	Prejunction	73			
	Prefixation	89			
	Prefixation + Segmental Mod	01			
		Sub-total	163		
	Circumfixation		02		
			Sub-total	456	
Substitution	Suffixation		21		
	Prefixation		05		
			Sub-total	26	
Reduplication				7	
Total					489

Table-XXV: Indefinite-Definite	
Type of Mechanism	Number of Strategies
Adjunction-Deletion (Suffixation)	05
Identity	01
Total	06

Table-XXVI: Masculine-Feminine			
Type of Mechanism	Number of Strategies		
Adjunction-Deletion	Prejunction	06	
	Suffixation	04	
	Suffixation + Segmental Modification	01	
	Subjunction	01	
		Sub-total	12
Substitution	Suffixation	07	
	Suffixation+ Segmental Modification	02	
		Sub-total	09
		Sub-total	21
Identity			02
Total			23

Table-XXVII: Case-Case		
Type of Mechanism	Number of Strategies	
Adjunction-Deletion	Suffixation	12
Substitution	Suffixation	02
Identity		06
Total		20

Table-XXVIII: Singular-Plural			
Type of Mechanism	Number of Strategies		
Adjunction-Deletion	Suffixation	16	
	Subjunction	04	
	Sub-total		20
Substitution	Suffixation		03
Reduplication			05
Identity			01
Total			29

Table-XXIX: Verb-Verb				
Type of Mechanism	Number of Strategies			
Adjunction-Deletion	Suffixation	75		
	Segmental Mod + Suffixation	43		
	Sub-total		11	
			8	
Identity			12	
Substitution	Suffixation	03		
	Segmental Mod + Suffixation	01		
	Sub-total		04	
Reduplication			02	
Segmental Modification			01	
Total				137

Table-XXX: Adjective-Adjective				
Type of Mechanism		Number of Strategies		
Adjunction-Deletion	Prefixation	23		
	Suffixation	19		
	Subjunction	02		
	Sub-total		44	
Substitution	Prefixation		01	
Reduplication			06	
Total				51

9.1.2. Inter-categorical strategies

Type of Mechanism		Number of Strategies	
Adjunction-Deletion	Suffixation	01	
	Subjunction	01	
		Sub-total	02
Reduplication			02
Total			04

Type of Mechanism		Number of Strategies		
Adjunction-Deletion	Suffixation	202		
	Suffixation + Segmental Modification	23		
		Sub-total	225	
	Subjunction		46	
	Prefixation	15		
	Prefixation + Segmental Modification	03		
		Sub-total	18	
	Circumfixation	05		
	Circumfixation + Segmental Modification	03		
		Sub-total	8	
	Prejunction	05		
	Prejunction + Segmental Modification	01		
		Sub-total	06	
			Sub-total	303
Substitution	Suffixation	33		
	Segmental Modification + Suffixation	05		
	Circumfixation	03		
		Sub-total		41
Identity				01
Reduplication				01
Total				346

Table-XXXIII: Adjective-Adverb			
Type of Mechanism		Number of Strategies	
Adjunction-Deletion	Suffixation	06	
	Subjunction	03	
		Sub-total	09
Substitution	Suffixation	01	
	Segmental Modification + Suffixation	01	
		Sub-total	02
Reduplication			01
Total			12

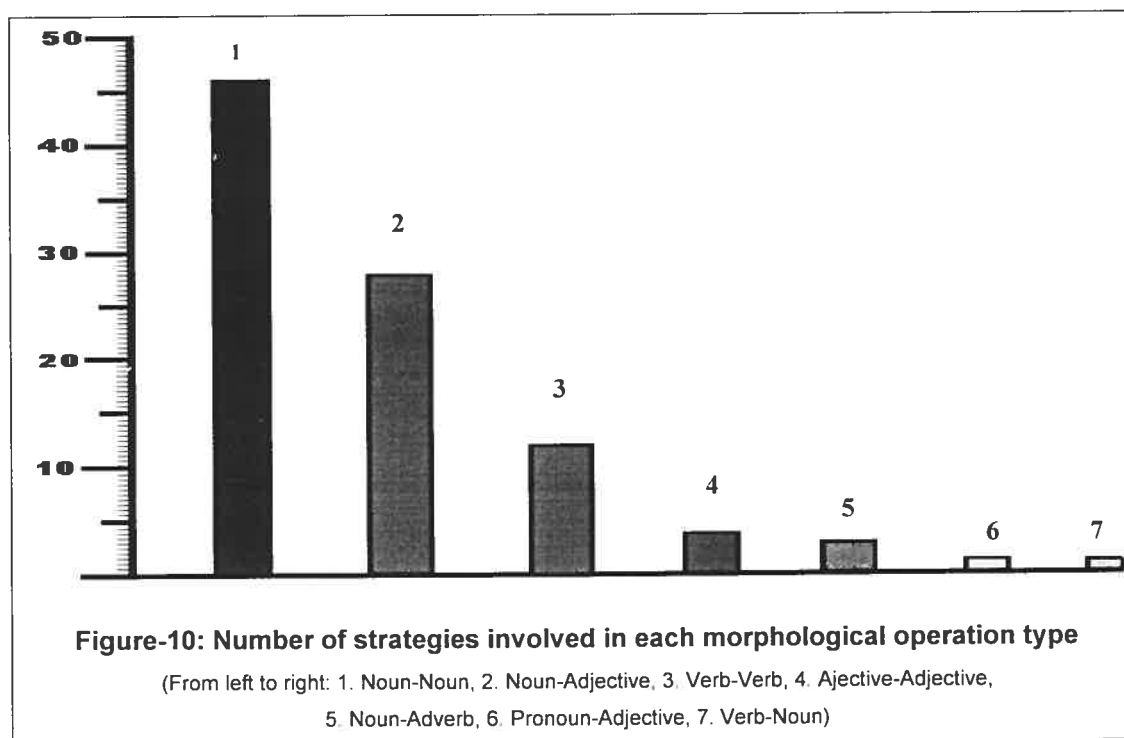
Table-XXXIV: Noun-Adverb				
Type of Mechanism		Number of Strategies		
Adjunction-Deletion	Suffixation	25		
	Segmental Modification + Suffixation	02		
		Sub-total	27	
	Prefixation		02	
	Circumfixation		03	
	Subjunction		01	
			Sub-total	33
Substitution	Suffixation		02	
	Segmental Modification + Circumfixation		01	
Total			36	

Table-XXXV: Verb-Adjective			
Type of Mechanism	Number of Strategies		
Adjunction-Deletion	Suffixation	04	
	Segmental Modification + Suffixation	01	
	Prefixation	01	
		Sub-total	06
Identity			01
Substitution	Suffixation		01
Total			08

Table-XXXVI: Pronoun-Adjective			
Type of Mechanism		Number of Strategies	
Adjunction-Deletion	Suffixation		05
Substitution	Suffixation	09	
	Segmental Modification + Suffixation	02	
		Sub-total	11
Total			16

Table-XXXVII: Verb-Noun			
Type of Mechanism		Number of Strategies	
Adjunction-Deletion	Suffixation	05	
	Segmental Modification + Suffixation	04	
		Sub-total	09
Reduplication			04
Total			13

Table-XXXVIII: Number of Strategies involved in each operation type			
Nature of Operation	Number of Strategies		
Intracategorical			
Noun-Noun	489		
Singular-Plural	29		
Masc-Fem	23		
Case-Case	20		
Definite-Indefinite	06		
	Sub-total	567	
Verb-Verb	137		
Adjective-Adjective	51		
NonEmphatic-Emphatic	02		
Pronoun-Pronoun	03		
NonInclusive-Inclusive	02		
Adverb-Adverb	02		
Numeral-Numeral	01		
	Sub-total	198	
		Sub-total	765
Intercategorical			
Noun-Adjective	346		
Noun-Adverb	36		
Pronoun-Adjective	16		
Verb-Noun	13		
Adjective-Adverb	12		
Verb-Adjective	08		
Numeral/Quantifier-Pronoun/Adjective	05		
Verb-Adverb	04		
Numeral-Date Word	03		
Measure Word-Adjective	02		
Noun-Postposition	01		
Adverb-Postposition	01		
Adjective-Postposition	01		
Interjection-Noun	01		
Ordinal-adjective	01		
	Sub-total		450
Total			1215



9.2. Number of strategies according to Mechanism type

Table-XXXIX: Adjunction-Deletion	
Noun-Noun	456
Noun-Adjective	302
Verb-Verb	118
Adjective-Adjective	44
Noun-Adverb	35
Verb-Noun	09
Adjective-Adverb	09
Verb-Adjective	06
Pronoun-Adjective	05
NonEmphatic-Emphatic	02
Pronoun-Pronoun	03
NonInclusive-Inclusive	02
Adverb-Adverb	02
Verb-Adverb	02
Total	995

Table-XL: Prefixation	
Noun-Noun	89
Adjective-Adjective	24
Noun-Adjective	15
Noun-Adverb	02
Verb-Adjective	01
Total	131

Table-XLI: Suffixation	
Noun-Adjective	202
Noun-Noun	143
Verb-Verb	75
Noun-Adverb	25
Adjective-Adjective	19
Verb-Noun	05
Adjective-Adverb	06
Verb-Adjective	04
Pronoun-Adjective	05
Numeral/Quantifier-Pronoun/Adjective	05
NonEmphatic-Emphatic	02
NonInclusive-Inclusive	02
Numeral-Date Word	03
Measure Word-Adjective	02
Verb-Adverb	01
Interjection-Noun	01
Ordinal-Adjective	01
Total	501

Table-XLII: Prejunction	
Noun-Noun	79
Noun-Adjective	06
Total	85

Table-XLIII: Subjunction	
Noun-Noun	189
Noun-Adjective	46
Adjective-Adverb	03
Adjective-Adjective	02
Noun-Adverb	01
Verb-Adverb	01
Total	242

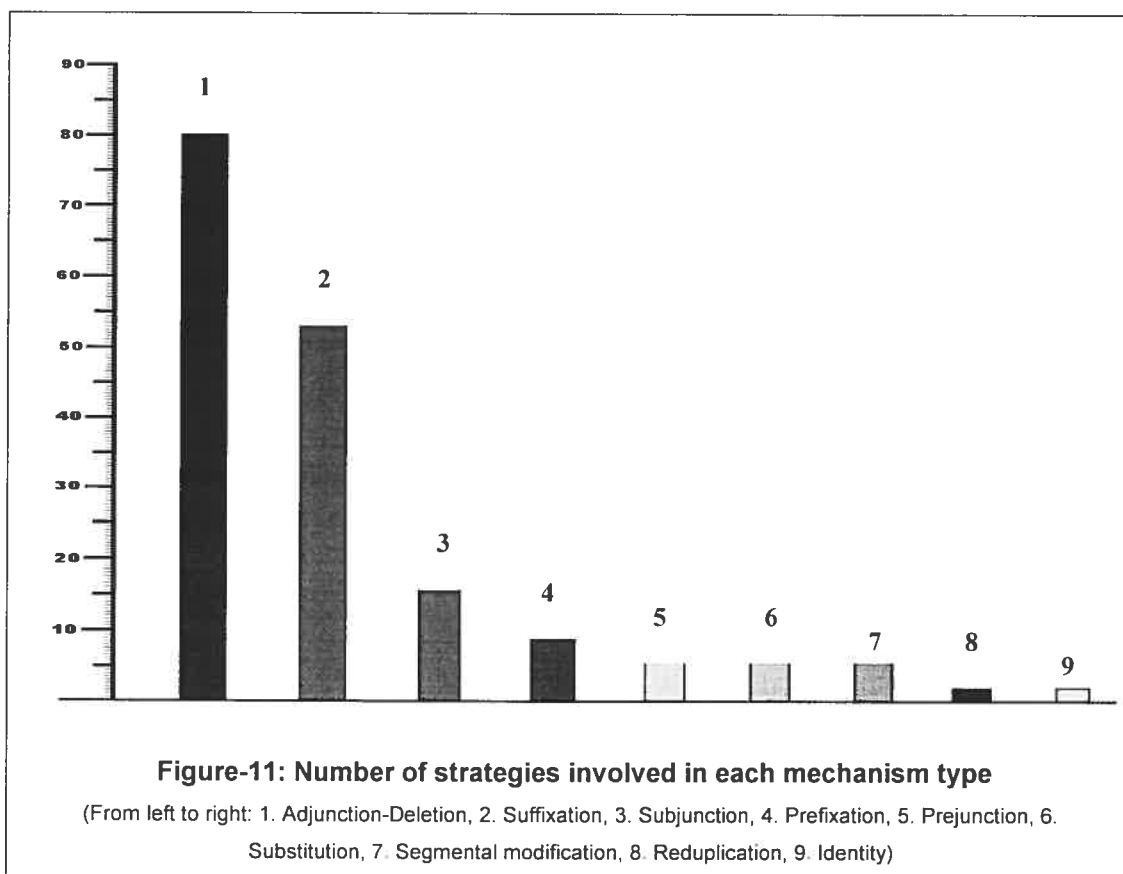
Noun-Noun	40
Noun-Adjective	41
Pronoun-Adjective	11
Verb-Verb	04
Noun-Adverb	03
Adjective-Adverb	02
Adjective-Adjective	01
Verb-Adjective	01
Total	103

	Adjuction-Deletion	Substitution
Verb-Verb	43	01
Noun-Adjective	30	05
Noun-Noun	02	02
Noun-Verb	04	-
Noun-Adverb	02	01
Adjective-Adverb	-	01
Verb-Adjective	01	
Pronoun-Adjective	-	02
Total	82	12

Noun-Noun	12
Adjective-Adjective	07
Noun-Verb	04
Verb-Verb	02
Verb-Adverb	02
αα	03
Adjective-Adverb	01
Noun-Adjective	01
Total	32

Verb-Verb	12
Noun-Noun	10
Verb-Adjective	01
Noun-Adjective	01
Total	24

Table-XLVIII: Number of Strategies involved in each mechanism type					
Type of Mechanism		Number of Strategies			
Adjunction-Deletion	Subjunction	242			
	Suffixation	501			
		Sub-total	743		
	Prefixation	131			
	Prejunction	85			
		Sub-total	216		
	Circumfixation		10		
			Sub-total	969	
Segmental Modification	+ Suffixation	74			
	+ Circumfixation	03			
	+ Prefixation	04			
	+ Prejunction	01			
				Sub-total	82
				Sub-total	1051
Substitution	Suffixation	83			
	Segmental mod + Suffixation	15			
	Prefixation	06			
	Circumfixation	03			
	Segmental mod + Circumfixation	01			
			Sub-total			108
Reduplication					32
Identity					24
Total					1215



9.3. Morphology of Bengali: an overview

A comparative and analytical study of the above mentioned tables reveals the following characteristics of Bengali morphology which, together, would constitute the morphological profile of Bengali.

- a. There are more strategies involved in intra-categorical operations (63%) as compared to inter-categorical ones (37%).
- b. Not all the operation types are equally rich in strategy. The richest of the inter-categorical operation types is Noun-Adjective (28%) and among the intra-categorical ones, Noun-Noun is the richest (46%).

c. More strategies involve the mechanism of adjunction-deletion (87%) compare to substitution (8%).

d. Prejunction and subjunction have been found only in adjunction-deletion category. Substitution does not involve at all these two sub-type of mechanisms. About 27% of the total strategies involve subjunction and prejunction (20% of the total strategies involve subjunction and 7% involve prejunction). Intracategorical strategies involve more subjunction and prejunction (35%) than intercategory ones (12%).

e. 54% of the total number of strategies involves suffixation and the total number of strategies involving suffixation and subjunction is 75%. Only 11% of the total number of strategies involve prefixation and prejunction is 18%. Apparently, suffixation is the dominant morphological mechanism in Bengali Word Formation Network.

f. The number of strategies that involve *prejuncts* is about one third of the *subjuncts*. All the words mapped onto these strategies are the so-called compounds. If we presume that these subjuncts and prejuncts will become suffix and prefixes in the long run, it can be predicted that suffixation will remain the dominant morphological mechanism in Bengali for long time. However, the process of grammaticalization is comparatively more active in Prefixation than in Suffixation because the number of strategies that involves subjunction is less than half of the total number of strategies that involve suffixation whereas the number of strategies that involve prejunction is more than half of the number of strategies involve prefixation.

g. Reduplication and identity involves each about 2% of the total number of strategies.

h. About 90 strategies involve segmental modification or so-called morpho-phonological change, which means that Less than 8% of the total number of morphological strategies involves this mechanism.

i. Segmental modification does not occur as an independent mechanism in Bengali. In most of the cases, it is accompanied by adjunction-deletion. However, in a few mechanisms, segmental modification also combines with substitution. Two-third of the strategies involving segmental change belongs to the inter-categorical group.

j. A few strategies involve the mechanism of supra-segmental modification but I did not include them in this present description because the involvement of prosodic phonology in these strategies has not yet been determined.

k. Phonological modification has been noticed in less than ten strategies.

l. As is the case in Hindi (cf. Singh and Agnihotri 1997), a greater part of the Bengali morphology is centered around noun formation. Over 73% of the total intra- and over 76% of the total inter-categorical strategies are involved in the formation of different types of nouns and about 79% of the total number of strategies is concerned with nouns. Among the other categories, it is with the adjectives that most of the nouns are formed: 87% of the total number of inter-categorical noun-formation strategies fall into Noun-Adjective category.

m. About 49% of the strategies concerned with nouns involve suffixation. Above 33% of the total Noun formation strategies involve subjunction and prejunction. More than 99% of these 'junctional' strategies are concerned with nouns. As the words mapped onto these strategies are all 'so-called compounds' (cf. Dasgupta & Singh 1999), it can be said that compounding is an active mechanism involved in noun formation.

n. Not all the strategies are equally rich in word-pairs. For many strategies, it is hard to find more than two pairs. For example, no other pair licensing NASVADSF-75 has been found and the strategy can be described as a dormant one. On the other hand, many pairs are mapped onto NASVADSF-95 which seems to be a comparatively more productive strategy.

NASVADSF-75: $/XC/_{n} \leftrightarrow /XC\epsilon la/_{adj}$ 'rich in X'

সুর $/\int ur/$ 'music' \leftrightarrow সুরেলা $/\int ur\epsilon la/$ 'musical'

রোদ $/rod/$ 'sunlight' \leftrightarrow রোদেলা $/rod\epsilon la/$ 'sunny'

NAADSF-96: $/X/_{n} \leftrightarrow /Xg\omicron to/_{adj}$ 'something concerning exclusively X'

ব্যক্তি $/b\epsilon kti/$ 'person' \leftrightarrow ব্যক্তিগত $/b\epsilon ktig\omicron to/$ 'personal'

স্বাস্থ্য $/\int ast^h o/$ 'health' \leftrightarrow স্বাস্থ্যগত $/\int ast^h o g\omicron to/$ 'health-related'

o. 66% of the strategies belonging to 'adjunction-deletion' category and 53% of the total number of strategies involve specified variable. Unlike in 'Suffixation/Subjunction' category, the variable in most of the 'Prefixation/Prejunction' strategies is a specified one. Specified variable is also very common in so-called reduplicational strategies.

1. Chart-1 includes strategies that are activated for the morphological operation traditionally described as *inflection* and chart-2-5 include strategies that are activated for the morphological operation traditionally called *inflection*. As I have mentioned earlier in the present work, I do not subscribe to the traditional distinction of inflection and derivation. However, following the general practice in traditional grammar, I have subdivided Noun-Noun category into *inflectional* subcategories in order to show the number of strategies involved in these morphological operations. I am aware of the fact that although *inflectional* subcategories like *number* and *gender* have been used in traditional grammars since at least Panini, many *derivational* subcategories should equally be possible which, for some unknown reason, have hardly been traced out.

Chapter-10

Some problematic cases and a general conclusion

"All grammars leak."

(Sapir, *Language* 1921 (2004: 29))

"The rule-schema $/X/_{\alpha} \leftrightarrow /X'/_{\beta}$ where $[X]$ and $[X']$ are words, $'$ is the formal difference between X and X' and $_{\alpha}$ and $_{\beta}$ are categories. This formulation, it should be obvious, provides a metalanguage for morphology that largely eliminates the need to have exceptions"

(Singh and Agnihotri, *Hindi Morphology*, 1997:79)

10.1. Some problematic cases

In Indian mythology, an invincible hero often tells his favourite opponents how one can kill him, whereas a villain or a demon seldom discloses the secret. In the same way, a scientific theory must indicate the ways to falsify itself, because otherwise, the theory may sound *ex cathedra*. According to Singh (2005), WWM can be falsified if one can find counterexamples to the following assumptions:

- i. No strategy should allow more than one variable. However, a strategy may require its variable to be repeated.
- ii. In no strategy, subcomponents should be allowed to commute which means that 'morphological metathesis' is strictly prohibited. As the contour as well as the position of the subcomponents is determined by the strategy, it would not be possible to distribute them in variable and constant(s) if they are allowed to interchange their positions.

In this section, we will present some strategies which contain two variables and some others which seem to allow morphological metathesis. We will see

whether they can be accepted as counterexamples to the abovementioned WWM assumptions.

10.1.1. Strategies with two variables

If the adjectives like পাঁচহাতি /pāchat̪i/ 'measuring five hands' or দশগজি /d̪oʃgoʒi/ 'measuring ten yards' are mapped onto (1), they can be analyzed back into the constant [i] and two variables: X (represented by the measure words: হাত /hat/ 'hand' and গজ /goʒ/ 'yard') and Y (represented by numerals: পাঁচ /pāc/ 'five' and নয় [noʲ] 'nine'). Equally, (2) shows that the adjective পাঁচবছরমেয়াদী /pācb̪oʃor̪meadi/ 'five year long' is constituted of the constant [meadi] and its two variables chosen among measure words (বছর /b̪oʃoʃr/ 'year' and সপ্তাহ /ʃoptah/ 'week') and numerals (পাঁচ /pāc/ 'five' and তিন /tin/ 'three') respectively.

1. (NumASVADSF-433): /XC*N*₋syllab/Num ↔ /XC*N*₋syllabCYC*i*/adj ' /XC*N*₋syllabCYC/-long'

পাঁচ /pāc/ 'five' ↔ পাঁচহাতি /pāchat̪i/ 'measuring five hands'

নয় /noʲ/ 'nine' ↔ নয়গজি /noʲgoʒi/ 'measuring nine yards'

2. (MWASVADSF-436): /CX*C*/MW ↔ /Y*C**N*₋syllabCXmeadi/adj ' /Y*C**N*₋syllabCX/-long'

বছর /b̪oʃoʃr/ 'year' ↔ পাঁচবছরমেয়াদী /pācb̪oʃor̪meadi/ 'five year long'

সপ্তাহ /ʃoptah/ 'week' ↔ নয়সপ্তাহমেয়াদী /noʲʃoptahomeʲadi/ 'nine week long'

10.1.2. Strategies allowing morphological metathesis

The following strategies apparently involve two variables and allow their transposition (metathesis):

3. $/XYI_n \leftrightarrow /YXI_n$ 'Y/ paid for using /X/ ' or 'X/ to be used in exchange of /Y/

বাড়িভাড়া /barib^hara/ 'house rent' \leftrightarrow ভাড়াবাড়ি /b^harabari/ 'rented house'

গাড়িভাড়া /garib^hara/ 'fair for using a vehicle' \leftrightarrow ভাড়াগাড়ি /b^haragari/ 'a rented vehicle'

4. $/XYI_n \leftrightarrow /YXI_n$ 'Y/ used for doing /X/ ' or 'X/ done with /Y/

জপমালা /jɔpmala/ 'chaplet for silent prayer' \leftrightarrow মালাজপ /malajɔp/ 'praying silently with chaplet'

জপমন্ত্র /jɔpmontro/ 'esoteric words for silent prayer' \leftrightarrow মন্ত্রজপ /montrojɔp/ 'praying silently by repeating esoteric words'

5. $/XYI_n \leftrightarrow /YXI_n$ 'Y/ of /X/ ' or 'Y/ given by /X/

বৃক্ষছায়া /brikk^hoc^ha^ya/ 'shade of a tree' \leftrightarrow ছায়াবৃক্ষ /c^ha^yabrikk^ho/ 'a big tree that gives shade'

তরুছায়া /toruc^ha^ya/ 'shade of a tree' \leftrightarrow ছায়াতরু /c^ha^yatoru/ 'a big tree that gives shade'

(3-5) are secondary strategies because the words mapped onto them can be derived through some primary strategies like (3a) and (3b). Therefore, the apparent commutation of subcomponents in (3-5) can be seen as a coincidence and one can claim that words like বাড়িভাড়া /barib^hara/ 'house-rent' and ভাড়াগাড়ি /b^haragari/ 'a rented vehicle' are in fact formed or

remembered through primary strategies like (3a-b) rather than the secondary ones (3-5).

3a. $/X/_{n} \leftrightarrow /Xb^{h}ara/_{n}$ 'rent paid for using $/X/$ '

বাড়ি $/bari/$ 'house' \leftrightarrow বাড়িভাড়া $/barib^{h}ara/$ 'house-rent'

গাড়ি $/gari/$ 'vehicle' \leftrightarrow গাড়িভাড়া $/b^{h}aragari/$ 'rent of a vehicle'

3b. $/XY/_{n} \leftrightarrow /b^{h}araX/_{n}$ 'rented $/X/$ '

বাড়ি $/bari/$ 'house' \leftrightarrow ভাড়াবাড়ি $/b^{h}arabari/$ 'rented house'

গাড়ি $/gari/$ 'vehicle' \leftrightarrow ভাড়াগাড়ি $/b^{h}aragari/$ 'a rented vehicle'

Meta-strategies like (6-7) also contain two variables but we do not consider them as counterexamples to the theoretical assumptions of WWM because, they are, as we have shown earlier, in chapter-5, analyzable into different simple strategies.

6. (MetaNAADSJ-294): $/X/_{n} \leftrightarrow /XY/_{adj}$ ' $/Y/-ed /X/$ '

চেন $/cen/$ 'zipper' \leftrightarrow চেনখোলা $/cen^{h}ola/$ 'with zipper unfastened'

ঝালর $/j^{h}alor/$ 'valance' \leftrightarrow ঝালরকাটা $/j^{h}alorka\tau a/$ 'with valance'

7. (MetaNAADSJ-295): $/X/_{n} \leftrightarrow /XY/_{adj}$ 'used to do $/Y/$ to $/X/$ '

মাংস $/ma\eta\int o/$ 'meat' \leftrightarrow মাংসকাটা $/ma\eta\int oka\tau a/$ 'used for cutting meat'

বাঘ $/bag^{h}/$ 'tiger' \leftrightarrow বাঘমারা $/bagmara/$ 'used for killing a tiger'

Neither meta-strategies nor secondary ones are apparently indispensable. However, as Neuvel (2003) points out clearly, meta-strategies are part of morphology of a language and can be exploited by its speaker-hearers. As I

have mentioned earlier in the present work, the distinction between primary and secondary strategies is not pertinent for WWM and secondary strategies can well be part of the morphological module.

(1-2) are neither secondary strategies nor meta-strategies. In my view, they represent clear counterexamples to the WWM axiom that no word can be constituted of more than one variable. Although we presume that such strategies are rare, they constitute a serious problem for the theory because if morphology allows two different variables in any word, it will necessarily imply that not all words are 'seamless wholes'. I leave this problem unresolved in the present work with the hope to handle it in future research.

10.2. General conclusions

A linguistic theory is a system of hypotheses about the nature of human language in general. The description of a particular language is above all a means of testing these hypotheses on an ever-increasing range of data that allows the primary hypotheses to be revised or to devise new hypotheses. I got involved in the present work with the objectives of presenting a morphological description of Bengali and eventually to show whether WWM is an adequate model for such descriptions.

A typical WWM view would be that a good number of words of some lexicon are formally and/or categorically different and semantically related to each other. Strategies emerge on the basis of the generalization of some complex combination of such differences as well as semantic relatedness (cf. Singh 1992), and the rule schema $/X/_{\alpha} \leftrightarrow /X'/_{\beta}$ based on these generalizations is what morphology is all about.

Therefore, the morphological description of a language would simply represent a list of the total number of its strategies. I have tried to compile in this present work an exhaustive number of primary strategies of Bengali although it is not unlikely that I have missed a good number of them. However, I am convinced that the morphological profile sketched in my work is based on a requisite number of strategies and even if some more strategies are added to my list, the profile as such will not change significantly.

WWM claims that words do not have any internal hierarchical structure. Implicitly, units smaller than word cannot exist and there is no need for multiple morphology like compounding, derivation, inflection or reduplication. I have shown that almost all morphologically complex words of the lexicon of a particular Bengali speaker-hearer can be analyzed or formed with the rule

schema $/X/_{\alpha} \leftrightarrow /X'/_{\beta}$. Unlike previous descriptions of Bengali, mine does not include any list of atomistic units smaller than word, units labeled as *morpheme*, *stem*, *root*, *prefix*, *suffix*, *infix*, etc. I have not been able to make the list because I did not find any such category in Bengali.

However, if one cannot imagine morphology without affixes, he can consider the constants of my strategies listed in chapter-6⁽¹⁾. One should be happy, because there are about one thousand of them and no Bengali grammar, to the best of my knowledge, has proposed so many affixes. If someone makes a list of these constants it will include all the established affixes of atomistic descriptions and show many other 'affixes in process'. This said, it should be clearly borne in the mind that from a WWM point of view, there is no *affix*, *stem* or *root* in Bengali but if there must be some, there will be too many of them, extremely diverse in nature, enigmatic and totally unclassifiable. If Paninians have the intention to put them into different categories, I wish them good luck and to start with, they can consider our *prejuncts* and *subjuncts* as 'compounding affixes'.

I have shown in this present work that i) WWM can be used as an adequate model for the morphological description of Bengali; and ii) that it can bring a solution to most of the problems of Bengali morphology left unresolved in previous works on Bengali morphology. I conclude with the hope that the present work will be able to convince the readers to consider it as an authentic picture of Bengali morphology which, however, remains to be revised and improved with future research.

1. One can also find a good number of the so-called affixes in the patterns listed in appendix-2.

Part-IV

Appendices

Appendix-1

Bengali phonology: a description

"La phonologie d'une langue se réduit à son alphabet phonologique (quelque soit la façon dont on le représente) et à ses conditions de bonne formation."⁽¹⁾

(Rajendra Singh (1990) *Vers une théorie phonotactique générative*, Revue québécoise de linguistique 19:130-156)

A. Theoretical assumptions

A-1. Phonological units: Syllable and Word

It has been widely accepted that in order to describe the phonological organization of a language one has to accept two universally understood but theoretically ill-defined notions: i) 'word' (cf. Mohanan 1995) and ii) 'syllable' (cf. Blevins 1995). Words result from an organization of syllables. These syllables can be viewed as structural units formed with phonological segments,

Table-XLIX: Hierarchy of sonority

s o n o r i t y	Oral vowels: /a/, /ɔ/, /ɛ/, /o/, /e/, /u/, /i/
	Nasal vowels: /ā/, /ō/, /ē/, /ē̄/, /ō̄/, /ū/, /ī/
	Semi-vowels: /ʷ/, /ʲ/, /ʷ/, /ʲ/
	Liquids: /l/, /r/
	Nasals: /m/, /n/, /ŋ/
	Fricatives: /v/, /z/, /ʒ/, /f/, /s/, /ʃ/
	Affricates: /tʃ/, /c/
	Stops: /b/, /d/, /g/, /p/, /t/, /k/

1. "The phonology of a language reduces to its phonetic alphabet (no matter how it is represented) and its Well-formedness conditions." (Tr. is mine)

which are inherently spread out on a universal scale of sonority (cf. Kiparsky, 1979) with vowels at the top and plosives at the bottom. Syllables are generally endowed with a rising and falling sequence of sonority in which the sonority peak represents the nucleus of a single syllable (cf. Blevins). Following Piggott and Singh (1985) and Blevins I assume that syllable (σ) template has a binary structure with two obligatory constituents: the onset (O) and the rime (R). The rime is again made up of an obligatory constituent, the nucleus (N) and an optional one, the coda (C). According to Kiparsky (432) the internal structure of the syllable is organized "in accordance with the universal core rule "which assigns a metrical structure to strings of segments" and "requires an optimal matching of the syllable template to the well-known *sonority hierarchy*." The onset-nucleus sequence is therefore expected to be endowed with a rising sonority and the nucleus-coda with a declining or falling one. A consonant with weak sonority would normally precede a relatively strong one (e.g. [ps], [kl], [tn], etc.) in the onset, and in the coda just the opposite is expected is: ([sp], [lk], [nt], etc.). The nucleus can be constituted of at best two segments (cf. Piggott and Singh).

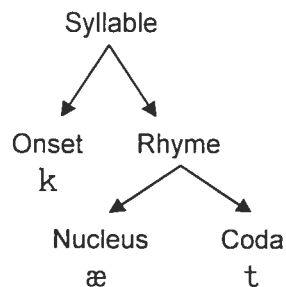


Figure-12: Syllable structure

The matching of the syllable template and the scale of sonority is expected but as Kiparsky himself argues, their matching is 'optional' and phonemic clusters not complying with the hierarchy of sonority are not rare in human

languages. It seems that there are universal and language-specific constraints on which segments may be associated with which the terminal constituents of the syllable as well as on the complexity of their branching structures (cf. Kiparsky, Piggott and Singh). Apart from the syllable level constraints, there are also constraints that concern the word as a whole.

A-2. Wellformedness Conditions (WFC)

Singh (1984:273) assumes that i) "all truly phonological alternations are governed by WFCs" and that ii) phonology needs only two levels of representation: an underlying one (the input) and a surface one (the output). The input or the underlying form of a sequence may or may not be pronounceable in a language, but according to the theory of Generative Phonotactic (GP) no output can violate any WFC (cf. Singh 1990). If an underlying structure or a loan word happens to violate a WFC, the phonology of the language must repair or alter the sequences with four universal strategies of repair: 1. Substitution/Assimilation 2. Epenthesis 3. Deletion and 4. Inversion or Metathesis.⁽¹⁾ According to Singh (1984:274) a universal principle says that "violations of WFCs must be repaired and that they are preferably repaired (= removed or alleviated) by finding a phonotactically acceptable substitute from the same class as the degenerate boundary segment (rather than, say, changing the prosodic structure of the string under consideration)". Therefore, as soon as a sequence violates the relevant WFC, the most adequate strategy of repair is triggered automatically and without exception.

Strategies of repair are spread out on a universal and/or language specific scale of preference based on a criterion of simplicity (cf. Desrochers 1994) consisting in the principles: i) Structure preservation (the strategy must preserve most of the phonological identity of the input sequence) and ii) Minimum modification (the strategy must involve the least of the

modifications (a) in the existing feature values and (b) in the structure of the constituents). Therefore, according to Singh (1984:276) "epenthesis is not to be even tried if assimilation would do" because "bringing in a new segment costs more than dealing with already existing segments in the underlying representation." And if substitution suffices, phonology will not prescribe the strategy of deletion because the latter is less structure preserving as compared to the former. However, in the worst possible situation, each grammar would have to dictate its own preference (cf. Singh, 1984) and may prescribe any strategy of repair depending on the nature and position of the incompatible segment (cf. Singh 1990) on the one hand and the cost of the modification on the other.

Singh (1984) argues that phonological alternations par excellence are global, automatic and exceptionless and are governed by clearly storable WFCs. The so-called 'morpho-phonological' alterations such as velar softening in English, /k/ → /s/ in /ɪlektɹɪk/ → /ɪlektɹɪsətɪ/ are not automatic (because we also have /æntɪ:k/ → /æntɪkwɪtɪ/) and according to GP they have nothing to do with phonology but rather fall under the scope of morphology of English.

A list of the WFCs on the one hand and the strategies of repair on the other in addition to the *phonological alphabet* (cf. Singh 1990) (an inventory of the phonemes of the language) represent the essentials of a phonological description according to GP. The present phonological description starts with a phonemic inventory of Bengali in accordance with the aforementioned requirements as well as the well-established tradition of phonology that describes utterances as concatenation of 'phoneme' and 'allophone'.⁽²⁾

B. Phonological inventory of Bengali

The phonological description presented here is that of the Eastern standard of Bengali (ESB), a common dialect or lingua franca generally used by the educated people in Bangladesh (cf. Dan 1992). The inventory I propose here is based on the works of Chatterji (1926 (1988)), Fergusson (1945), Ferguson and Chowdhury (1960), Chatterjee (1962), Hai (1964), Klaiman (1987) and Dasgupta (2003)⁽³⁾. My inventory contains 46 phonemes: 14 vowels (7 oral and 7 nasal), 28 consonants and 4 semi-vowels.

	Front		Back
Closed	i ī ^j		u ū ^u
	e ē		o ō ^w
	ɛ ē		ɔ ɔ̃ ^y
Open		a ā	

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b b ^h		t d t ^h d ^h	ʈ ʈ ^h ɖ ɖ ^h			k k ^h g g ^h	
Affricate					ʧ ʧ ʧ ^h ʧ ^h			
Nasal	m			n			ŋ	
Trill					r			
Fricative		f		s ʃ				h
Lateral Approximant				l				

The aforementioned phonemes are justified with the following minimal pairs:

i	e	ɛ	a	ɔ	o	u
/biʃ/ বিশ 'twenty'	/beʃ/ বেশ 'dress up'/'ok'	/beʃ/ ব্যাস 'diameter'	/kaɪ/ কাল 'time'	/kɔɪ/ কল 'machine'	/koɪ/ কোল 'lap'	/kuɪ/ কুল 'jujube'
j				y	w	ɥ
/boʃ/ বই 'book'				/boʃ/ বয় 'He bears'	/boʃ/ বও 'You bear'	/boʃ/ বউ 'bridegroom'

ĩ	ē	ē	ā	ō	ō	ū
/bĩdʰi/ বিধি 'I pierce'	/ēr/ ঐর 'of him formal'	/t̄ɛk/ ট্যক 'fold of cloth at waist'	/bāʃ/ বাঁশ 'bamboo'	/ʃōron/ স্মরণ 'remembrance'	/ʃō/ শৌ 'sound of the wind'	/ʃūʰ/ সুই 'niddle'
/bidʰi/ বিধি 'God'	/er/ এর 'his informal'	/t̄ɛk/ টেক 'endure'	/baʃ/ বাস 'dwelling place'	/ʃoron/ শরণ 'refuge'	/ʃo/ শো 'You sleep'	/ʃuʰ/ ভুই 'I sleep'

k	k ^h	g	g ^h	c	c ^h	ʃ	ʃ ^h
/kor/ কর 'do'	/k ^h ɔ/ খড় 'hey'	/gor/ গড় 'average'	/g ^h ɔr/ ঘর 'house'	/cor/ চর 'emerged land'	/c ^h ɔr/ ছড় 'bow of a violin'	/ʃor/ জ্বর 'fever'	/ʃ ^h ɔr/ ঝড় 'storm'
/tik/ টিক 'light sound of a clock'	/t ^h ik/ ঠিক 'right'	/ɔak/ ডাল 'branch'	/ɔ ^h ak/ ঢাল 'shield'	/tan/ তান 'melody'	/t ^h an/ থান 'sheet of cloth'	/dan/ দান 'donation'	/d ^h an/ ধান 'rice'
b	b ^h	p	f	s	ʃ		h
/baʃa/ বাটা 'to distribute'	/b ^h aʃa/ ভাটা 'ebb-tide'	/paʃa/ পাটা 'grinding stone'	/faʃa/ ফাটা 'torn'	/sil/ সিল 'seal'	/ʃil/ শীল 'barber' ⁽⁴⁾	/ʃal/ সাল 'year'	/hal/ হাল 'condition'
r	l		m	n		ŋ	
/raga/ রাগা 'to be angry'	/laga/ লাগা 'to need'		/ma/ মা 'mother'	/na/ না 'no'	/ron/ রণ 'battle'	/ron/ রণ 'colour'	

C. Stress and Vowel length

Authors (Chatterji and Dasgupta among others) generally agree in stating that vowel length as well as stress are phonologically non-significant in Bengali. However, I have found some rare minimal pairs based on these supra-segmental features.

Vowel length

/kaɫo/ 'black'

/ɫaɫ/ 'red'

/kaɫoː/ 'extremely black?'

/ɫaːɫ/ 'extremely red'

Accent

/kumar/ 'unmarried man, prince'

/jeɫe/ 'fisherman'

/kuˈmar/ 'potter'

/jeˈɫe/ 'in the prison'

D. Phonological inventory: Modifications and Justifications

Most of the existing phonological descriptions of Bengali reflect mainly the Western Standard of Bengali (WSB) and generally present the latter as the only standard dialect of Bengali. My inventory of ESB differ from the previous phonological descriptions in the following respects:

D-1:[+ front, - open] vowel(s): [e], [æ] and /ɛ/

According to Chatterji (268) [ɛ] "is not a characteristic sound of the Standard Colloquial". He describe it as a "half-open front vowel, intermediate between [e] and [æ] of standard Bengali" which is "occasionally present in West Bengali as a final sound" (ibid.) but "found in the East Bengali dialects as well as in the Bengali of the extreme West". Chatterji (142) also mentions that "the open এ [ɛ] figures as ঞা [æ] in Rādha but in Varêndra, North Bengal and Vaᅅga it is found as a slightly higher sound [ɛ]; and the close [e] of West Bengal frequently becomes open [ɛ] in Vaᅅga: e.g. Bengali তেল *oil*, এক *one*, দেশ *country*, কেন *why* are found as [teːɫ/, leːk/, /deːʃ/, /keːno/ in West

Bengali, but as /tɛ:l/, /ɛ:k/, /dɛ:ʃ/, /kɛ:no/ in typical East Bengali.” (IPA transcriptions are mine).

I am reluctant to give phonemic status to /æ/ because no minimal pair is apparently available to distinguish it from /ɛ/ as far as ESB is concerned. On the basis of Chatterji's aforementioned opinions, /æ/ would be best described as a free variant of /ɛ/ in ESB. Now the question is whether both /e/ and /ē/ should be included in the phonemic inventory of ESB or not. The minimal pairs that have so far been furnished in different phonological descriptions in order to establish /e/ and /æ/ (and also /ē/ and /ǣ/) as different phonemes and three other susceptible pairs that I have found, may justify the phonemic status of /e/ in a received version of the standard ESB or in the ESB spoken by those who consider the following or comparable pairs distinctive enough.

/gɛlo/ গেলো 'he has gone'	/bɛg/ বেগ 'speed'	/bɛʃ/ বেশ 'dress up'	/kɛno/ কেনো 'buy'	/k ^h ɛl/ খেল 'game'
/gɛlo/ গেলো 'swallow' (Following Dasgupta)	/bɛg/ ব্যাগ 'bag'	/bɛʃ/ ব্যাস 'diameter'	/kɛno/ কেন 'why'	/k ^h ɛl/ খেল 'play' (Following Ferguson and Chowdhury)

As far as my personal competence in Bengali is concerned, the abovementioned pairs are not distinctive. However, in absence of a detailed phonetic description of ESB proper, I have decided not to decline the phonemic status to /e/. I hope that future research will shed light on this

problem and the question whether /e/ and /ē/ should be described as a free variants of /ɛ/ and /ē/ for the sake of economy (cf. Hockett 1925).

d-2: /o/ and /ɔ/

Dan (1992) states that i) the contrast between /o/ and /ɔ/ is neutralized into /o/ and that ii) these two phonemes are in complementary distribution in word-medial syllables. Though /o/ can substitute /ɔ/ in word final and inter-vocalic positions in many words, we can note that these two phonemes contrast in all positions and the contrast is maintained in bi-syllabic words as well.

Table-LIV: Minimal pairs justifying the contrast of /o/ and /ɔ/

	Word-initial	Word-final	Inter-consonantal/bi-syllabic	
/o/	/opore/ ওপরে 'up'	/ʃo/ শো 'sleep'	/jor/ জোর 'strength'	/gola/ গোলা 'canon-ball'
/ɔ/	/ɔpore/ অপরে 'others, nom'	/ʃɔ/ শ 'hundred'	/jɔr/ জুর 'fever'	/gɔla/ গলা 'throat'

We are aware of the fact that the ESB speakers who tend to pronounce /ʃo/ 'hundred', may not find the unique pair ʃo/ʃɔ distinctive enough. Until another distinctive pair is found, Dan's assumption concerning the neutralization of o/ɔ contrast may seem to be well-founded as far as word-final position is concerned. However, although /ɛkʃo/ 'one hundred' is often heard, */ʃoeʃoe/ 'in hundreds' or */ʃok^hanek/ 'about hundred' are unusual. These words are usually realized with /ɔ/: শ'য়ে শ'য়ে /ʃɔeʃɔe/ and শ' খানেক /ʃɔk^hanek/. We can also note that English loan words like *saw* /sɔ/ and *raw* /rɔ/ in words like স-মিল saw-mill /sɔ:mil/ and র-চা /rɔ:ca/ 'tea without milk'

and the name of the Indian secret police RAW /rɔ/ are not pronounced with /o/ in Bengali. Therefore, it seems that the neutralization of the contrast between /o/ and /ɔ/ cannot be claimed to be part of Bengali phonology.

D-3. Semi-vowels and Diphthongs

	w	y	j	ɸ
i			/di ^j / দিই 'I give'	
ɛ/e	/nɛ ^w / নেও 'take'	/nɛ ^y / নেয় 'takes'	/e ^j / এই 'this'	/ke ^ɸ / কেউ 'somebody'
a	/ja ^w / যাও 'go'	/ja ^y / যায় 'goes'	/ja ^j / যাই 'I go'	/ja ^ɸ / জাউ 'gruel'
u			/du ^j / দুই 'two'	
o	/ʃo ^w / শোও 'go'	/ʃo ^y / শোয় 'sleeps'	/ʃoɽo ^j / ষোলোই '16th'	
ɔ	/ho ^w / হও 'be'	/ho ^y / হয় 'becomes'	/bo ^j / বই 'book'	/bo ^ɸ / বউ 'bride'
ũ			/c ^h ũ ^j / ছুই 'I touch'	
õ	/c ^h õ ^w / ছোও 'touch'	/c ^h õ ^y / ছোয় 'touches'		
ã	/gã ^w / গাঁও 'village'	/gã ^y / গায় 'in the village'	/ʃã ^j / সাঁই 'Guru'	/hã ^ɸ / হাঁউ 'sound of Demons'

I have so far noticed 24 diphthongs in Bengali and none of them is apparently 'heavy diphthong' (V+V) (cf. Piggott & Singh 1985). However,

multi-vowel sequences are possible in which two diphthongs represent the nucleus of two different syllables (cf. Chatterjee 1962). In Bengali no other sounds except vowels bear the [+syllabic] feature capable of representing the peak of a syllable (cf. Dan). Semi-vowels generally appear as the second member of the diphthongs (cf. Sarker 1985-86, cited in Dan, *ibid.*).

For Sarkar (1985-86 cited in Dan) and Dasgupta semi-vowels are all non-syllabic and none of them can be claimed to be a true on-glide (^XV). However, most of the words in the following chart as well as the diphthong clusters such as *মায়ায়* /ma^ya^y/ 'in the affection' or *গাওয়ায়* /ga^wa^y/ 'he_i makes him_j sing' as well as the 'diphthong + vowel' clusters such as *মায়ায়ই* /ma^ya^yi/ 'only in the affection' or *গাওয়ায়ও* /ga^wa^yo/ 'he_i makes him_j sing too' leave us with much doubt whether the semi-vowel they contain should be considered as an on- or off-glide.

Table-LVI: Semi-vowels followed by a consonant

^j	/gā ^j t/ গাঁইট 'bale'	/ba ^j c/ বাইচ 'boat-race'	/a ^j l/ আইল 'ridge of earth'	/a ^j n/ আইন 'law'	/a ^j ŋ/ বাইং 'a kind of cat-fish'	/a ^j r/ আইড় 'a kind of fish'	/o ^j s/ রইস 'aristocrat'
^ʰ	/tā ^ʰ t/ টাইট 'disrespectful angry young man'	/ba ^ʰ l/ বাইল 'village bard'	/ca ^ʰ r/ চাইর 'spread'	/e ^ʰ l/ দেইল 'temple'			
^w	/k ^h a ^w n/ খাওন 'food'	/ha ^w r/ হাওড় 'marsh'					

According to Sarkar (1985-86 cited in Dan, 1992) whenever a diphthong is followed by a final single consonant, the diphthong becomes longer in Bengali and tends to be disyllabic i.e. it does not remain a diphthong any

more. If we compare the sequence বাউল /ba^ul/ 'village bard' with বাউলা /ba^ula/ 'bard-like' we cannot but agree with him that the glide is shorter in the second sequence. This said, I do not know whether he means that the glide becomes the nuclei of the following syllable. However, all the words in the above chart can be seen either as monosyllabic ones with a diphthong in the nuclei or following Chatterjee we can also consider them as bi-syllabic words where the semi-vowel stands for the nucleus of the second syllable.

Table-LVII: Vowels and their diphthong counterparts							
a/a ^y	a/a ^u	a/a ^w	a/a ^ɔ	a/a ^j	ā/ā ^j	o/o ^w	ō/ō ^w
/k ^h a/	/ja/	/k ^h a ^w n/	/ca ^ɔ r/	/a ^j n/	/gā ^j t/	/ʃo/	/c ^h ō/
খা 'eat'	যা 'go'	খাওন 'food'	চাউর 'spread'	আইন 'law'	গাঁইট 'bale'	শো 'sleep!'	ছো 'touch!'
/k ^h a ^y /	/ja ^u /	/k ^h an/	/car/	/an/	/gā ^t /	/ʃo ^w /	/c ^h o ^w /
খায় 'he eats'	জাউ 'gruel'	খান 'he eats'	চার 'four'	আন 'bring'	গাঁট 'pocket'	শোও 'sleep!'	ছোও 'touch!'
e/e ^u	e/e ^j	e/e ^y	o/o ^j	o/o ^y	o/o ^u	e/e ^u	e/e ^j
/ke/	/e/	/ne/	/ho/	/ho/	/bo/	/ke/	/e/
কে 'who'	এ 'he'	নে 'take'	হ 'be'	হ 'be'	ব 'bear'	কে 'who'	এ 'he'
/ke ^u /	/e ^j /	/e ^y /	/o ^j /	/o ^y /	/bo ^u /	/ke ^u /	/e ^j /
কেউ 'some body'	এই 'this'	নেয় 'he takes'	হই 'I am'	হয় 'he becomes'	বউ 'bride'	কেউ 'some body'	এই 'this'

For Chatterjee (26) semi-vowels are non-phonemic because, whether they are syllabic or not, they always "occur in known environment and are, therefore, predictable". It is true that semi-vowels cannot appear elsewhere than after a vowel, and, generally, they are realized as an off-glide in diphthongs. It is for this reason that Ferguson was somehow right to consider them as allophones of the corresponding vowels ($u >^u$, $i >^j$, $o >^w$, $\varepsilon / \circ >^y$) in non-syllabic positions. But there is at least one phoneme in Bengali (/ŋ/) which is never realized word initially and contrasts with the alveolar nasal /n/

only in coda. Similarly all the semi-vowels except /^ɥ/ (cf. Chatterji, Ferguson & Chowdhury) contrast with their corresponding vowels in coda and, therefore, are not always as predictable as Chatterjee presumes.

If we consider semi-vowels as non-phonemic, we have to consider diphthongs as phonemes because, as we can see above, most of them contrast with the corresponding vowels. But there are 24 diphthongs in Bengali and we should not let all of them enter its phonemic inventory for the sake of economy, as Hockett (9) points out, "if several different analyses equally satisfy the other requirements, that which establishes the smallest number of phonemes is the one to be preferred." This said, one is always free to consider the 24 diphthongs of Bengali as members of its phonemic inventory and in that case, Bengali will have 42 vowel phonemes in total.

Following Ferguson & Chowdhury I would like to argue that semi-vowels are better described as phonemes although, as the chart below shows, the absence of contrast between /u/ and /^ɥ/ remains a serious problem to solve. However, /^ɥ/ can be considered as a phoneme for the benefit of pattern congruity following Hockett, (ibid.) who argues that "two contrasting segments which occur in similar phonetic environments are to be analyzed as having similar structures".

^ɥ /ɛ	^ɥ /i	^ɥ /o	^ɥ /ɔ	^ɥ /u
/da ^ɥ / দায় 'obligation'	/da ^ɥ / দাই 'mid-wife'	/ja ^ɥ / যাও 'go'	/de ^ɥ / দেয় 'gives'	
/daɛ/ দায়ে 'because of the crime of'	/dai/ দায়ী 'responsible'	/jao/ জাও 'sister-in-law too'	/de ^ɥ / দেয় 'due'	

D-4: Semi-vowels / $\underset{\sim}{e}$ / versus [y]

Unlike Fergusson and Fergusson and Chowdhury, I have not considered / $\underset{\sim}{e}$ / as a phoneme of Bengali because all of its possible instances, for example in চায় /ca $\underset{\sim}{e}$ / 'he wants' (example cited from Fergusson and Chowdhury, *ibid.*) or in দেয় /dɛ $\underset{\sim}{e}$ / 'he gives' can be replaced by the off-glide / $\underset{\sim}{y}$ /: /ca $\underset{\sim}{y}$ /, /dɛ $\underset{\sim}{y}$ /. On the other hand, / $\underset{\sim}{e}$ / cannot represent, in my view the 'y-type glide' (cf. Dasgupta) [y]: ময়ূর [mɔ $\underset{\sim}{y}$ ur] 'peacock' but not */mɔ $\underset{\sim}{e}$ ur/; ময়না /mɔ $\underset{\sim}{y}$ na/ 'maina' but not */mɔ $\underset{\sim}{e}$ na/.

I consider (pace Ferguson & Chowdhuri) / $\underset{\sim}{y}$ / as the semivowel counterpart of /ɔ/. I have been reluctant to propose both / $\underset{\sim}{e}$ / and [y] as different phonemes or / $\underset{\sim}{e}$ / as a free variation of / $\underset{\sim}{y}$ / for the sake of economy (cf. Hockett) of description. I believe that if there is some difference between / $\underset{\sim}{e}$ / and / $\underset{\sim}{y}$ / in Bengali, it would, rather, be a *phantom* (difference) (cf. Sapir 1925), not a real one.

D-5: /p^h/ versus /f/

Chatterji (269, 511) describes the fricative /f/ as the sound of Bengali which is "commonly substituted for the aspirate /p^h/ of careful speakers". However, he (270) again mentions elsewhere (270) that /p^h/ would be quite normal as compared to /f/ which is not used by all speakers. For Ferguson, /p^h/ occurs only as a rare free variant of a voice-less bilabial fricative /ɸ/. The same position is maintained in Ferguson and Chowdhury (30) when they state that "labials are all bilabial. The aspirated /p^h/ and /b^h/ are articulated either as

aspirates, i.e. stop followed by aspirated release, or as spirants. The spirant pronunciation of / ϕ / of / p^h / seems more frequent in occurrence in all positions than the aspirate / p' /. For Hai (1967) / p^h / is a plosive but depending on the region, it can become labio-dental fricative.

Table-LIX (a-d): Distribution of / p^h / and / f / in different positions

a. Onset			
/ $p^h\phi kir$ /	*/ $p^ha^y da$ /	*/ $p^h\phi r p^h\phi r$ /	/ $p^h\phi\} p^h\phi\}$ /
/ ϕkir /	/ $fa^y da$ /	/ $\phi r \phi r$ /	/ $\phi\} \phi\}$ /
ফকির 'saint'	ফায়দা 'profit'	ফরফর 'onomatopoeic of blowing wind'	ফোসফোস 'hiss of snake'
/ $p^h\acute{a}ka$ /	*/ $p^hit p^hat$ /	*/ p^hita /	/ p^hul /
/ $f\acute{a}ka$ /	/ $fit^h fat$ /	/ $fita$ /	/ ful /
ফাঁকা 'empty'	ফিটফাট 'well-dressed'	ফিতা 'ribbon'	ফুল 'flower'

b. Coda		
*/ map^h /	*/ rap^h /	*/ $g\phi p^h$ /
/ maf /	/ raf /	/ $g\phi f$ /
মাফ 'excuse'	রাফ 'draft'	গোফ 'moustache'

c. Onset clusters with / p^h / and / f /				
/ p^h /	?/ $sp^h\phi tik$ /	/ $\} p^h\phi\}$ /	/ $\phi\} p^h\phi\}$ /	?/ $\} \phi\} sp^h\phi r\phi\}$ /
/ f /	/ $sf\phi tik$ /	/ $\} f\phi\}$ /	/ $\phi\} f\phi\}$ /	/ $\} \phi\} sfur\phi\}$ /
	স্ফটিক 'cristal'	ফ্লুট 'bloomed'	অস্ফুট 'unbloomed'	স্বতস্ফুট 'spontaneous'

d. Intervocalic Consonant clusters with / p^h / and / f /			
?/ $\} \phi p^h\phi\}$ /	?/ $p r p^h\phi\}$ /	*/ $\phi p^h i\}$ /	*/ $s\phi p^h\phi r$ /
/ $\} \phi f\phi\}$ /	/ $p r \phi f\phi\}$ /	/ $\phi f i\}$ /	/ $s\phi f\phi r$ /
সফল 'successful'	প্রফুল্ল 'happy'	অফিস 'office'	সফর 'voyage'

Dasgupta describes the aspirated /p^h/ as an 'unstable phoneme' which has an allophone /f/ often realized 'under socio-linguistic and phonotactic conditions not yet examined.' But the above charts show that none of these phones is restricted to any specific phonotactic and/or or prosodic context and can freely be substituted for each other depending on the idiolect or the speech register. Therefore, the allophonic status of /f/ can hardly be justified, and, as far as ESB is concerned, I consider /f/ to be the phoneme and /ϕ/ or /p^h/ as its stylistic and/or free variations.

D-6: Sibilants

According to Chatterji (546) "Bengali has only one sibilant phoneme, the palato-alveolar /ʃ/ which normally becomes the dental or alveolar /s/ when occurring before /t/, /d/, /n/, /r/, /l/". Hai (1967) on the other hand, describes /ʃ/ as a post-dental sound. However, the common view is that /s/ would be an allophone of /ʃ/, not a phoneme. Ferguson holds the same view and so does Hai. However, Ferguson and Chowdhury (34) were apparently ready to reconsider Ferguson's previous decision when they state that "the phonological status of the sibilants is fairly complex" and that "the source of the difficulty lies in the degree of predictability of /s/ and /ʃ/ sounds". They again mention that in material native to Bengali (i.e. excluding all loan words used by multilingual speakers), /s/ occurs only before /t/, /r/, /l/, /n/ with some exceptions. However, they recognize the phonemic contrast between /s/ and /ʃ/ at least for some multilingual speakers (Fergusson and Chowdhury:35).

According to Dasgupta (360) "Bangla has two sibilants, alveolar /s/ and

palato-alveolar /ʃ/ contrasting in pairs like /aste/ 'slowly' vs /aʃte/ 'to come'. However, he later reminds the readers that the contrast is phonemically weak because "the sibilants can contrast only between a vowel and a /t, n, r, l/". For Dasgupta (ibid.) "syllable initially only /sk, st, sn, sm/ clusters are possible and elsewhere basically only /ʃ/ is possible, with some lexical exceptions: /bas/ 'bus' contrasting with /baʃ/ 'residence'." It seems that both Ferguson and Dasgupta have many doubts about the phonemic status of /s/ in standard Bengali in general but the following charts show that /s/ contrasts with /ʃ/ in almost all the positions.

Table-LX: Distribution of /s/ and /ʃ/ in different syllabic positions

a. Onset						
s	/sinema/ সিনেমা 'cinema'	/sent/ সেন্ট 'parfume'	/sar/ স্যার 'sir'	/sup/ সুপ 'soup'	/sol/ সোল 'the under- surface of the shoe'	/so ^y lab/ ছয়লাব 'over- flooded'
ʃ	/ʃik/ শিক 'metal rod'	/ʃe/ সে 'he/she'	/ʃak/ শাক 'spinach'	/ʃuk ^h / সুখ 'happiness'	/ʃok/ শোক 'grief'	/ʃo/ শ 'hundred'

b. Coda				
s	/kismis/ কিসমিস 'raisin'	/bes/ বাস্ 'enough'	/bas/ বাস্ 'bus'	/ʃust ^h o/ সুস্থ 'in good health'
ʃ	/biʃ/ বিষ 'poison'	/beʃ/ বেশ 'okay'/'dress up'	/baʃ/ বাস 'dwelling place'	/g ^h uʃ/ ঘুষ 'bribe'

c. Intervocalic position									
s	/asa/	/ase/	/asu/	/aso/	/asi/ হাসিনা 'a first name'	/ɛsɛ/ এসে 'essay'	/ɛso/	/osi/ অছি 'trustee'	/osi/ ওসি 'Police officer'
ʃ	/aʃa/ আশা 'hope'	/aʃe/ আসে 'he comes'	/aʃu/ আশু 'soon'	/aʃo/ আসো 'come'	/aʃi/ আসি 'I come'	/eʃe/ এসে 'having arrived'	/eʃo/ এসো 'come'	/oʃi/ অসি 'sword'	/doʃi/ দোষী 'guilty'

d. Consonant clusters in onset					
s	/spɔrʃo/ স্পর্শ 'touch'	/stɔn/ স্তন 'breast'	/skɔndʰa/ ক্কন্ধ 'shoulders'	/stɑːl/ স্টাইল 'style'	/sfito/ ফীত 'swollen'
ʃ	/ʃp/	/ʃt/	/ʃk/	/ʃtɑːl/ স্টাইল 'style'	/ʃf/
s	/stʰan/ স্থান 'place'	/snan/ স্নান 'bathe'	/slok/ শ্লোক 'couplet'	/srom/ শ্রম 'labour'	
ʃ	/ʃtʰ/	/ʃn/	/ʃlok/ শ্লোক 'couplet'	/ʃr/	

e. Intervocalic clusters				
s	/aspɔrdʰa/ আস্পর্দা 'audacity'	/ɔsfuɔ/ অস্ফুট 'unbloomed'	/mastɑr/ মাস্টার 'teacher'	/mosto/ মস্ত 'very big'
ʃ	/baʃpo বাপ 'vapour'	/aʃfalɔ/ আস্ফালন 'brandishing'	/maʃtɑr/ মাস্টার 'teacher'	/aʃto/ আসতো 'used to come'
s	/ʃk/	/ɔslil/ অস্লীল 'couplet'	/asrom/ আশ্রম	/ɔsnantɔ/ অস্নাত 'unbathed'
ʃ	/foʃka/ ফোকা 'vesicle'	/aʃlo/ আসলো 'he has come'	/fuʃrɔt/ ফুসরত 'off-time'	/aʃnaːj/ আশনাই 'love'

We can note in the above chart that /ʃ/ does not normally appear in syllable initial consonant clusters and it is hard to find /s/ in intervocalic positions except in words of English origin. Therefore, we can at best state that their distinction is neutralized to /ʃ/ in inter-vocalic position. But among the 28 consonant phonemes of Bengali, only 19 (/p/, /t/, /k/, /b/, /d/, /g/, /j/, /t̪/, /d̪/, /f/, /bʰ/, /dʰ/, /kʰ/, /gʰ/, /tʰ/, /h/, /m/, /n/ and /s/) can appear in syllable initial consonant clusters, and there is at least one phoneme /dʰ/ that does not appear in intervocalic position. We can also note that both /s/ and /ʃ/ can appear in onset as well as in coda along with all the oral vowels. Therefore, it is difficult to justify the complementary distribution of /s/ and /ʃ/ in Bengali. The following minimal pairs also show that the contrast between the two segments is strong enough and the phonemic status of /s/ can be justified thereby.

Onset	Coda	Intervocalic
/saɽ/ স্যার 'sir'	/bɛs/ ব্যাস্ 'diameter'	/mesɛ/ মেসে 'in the hostel'
/ʃaɽ/ সার 'fertilizer'	/beʃ/ বেশ 'dress-up'	/meʃɛ/ মেশে 'it mixes up'

D-7: Trills: r and ɽ

To the best of my knowledge, no minimal pair allows us to distinguish the retroflex /ɽ/ from the alveolar (cf. Chatterji) or advanced alveolar (cf. Dasgupta) or dental (cf. Ferguson and Chowdhury) /r/ in ESB. Dasgupta claims that in all Eastern varieties, /ɽ/ becomes /r/ unconditionally and, even

in the West, /ɽ/ tends to approach /r/ in some words such as আঁচড়ানো /ãɽano/ 'to comb', হাতড়ানো /hatɽano/ 'to grope' or in ট্রাক /tɽak/ 'truck', a word taken from English.

Table-LXII: Minimal pairs justifying the phonemic status of /r/ and /ɽ/

/mara/ মরা 'make him beaten!'	/har/ হার 'defeat' 'necklace'	/kar/ কার 'whose?'	/garo/ গারো 'a tribal race'	/tara/ তারা 'they'
/maɽa/ মাড়া 'grind!' or 'stamp!'	/haɽ/ হাড় 'bone'	/kaɽ/ কাড় 'take by force'	/gaɽo/ গাড়ো 'drive in!'	/taɽa/ তাড়া 'hurry', 'act of chasing'
(Cf. Ferguson and Chowdhury)	(Mina Dan, pers. communication)		(cf. Hai)	(Mina Dan, pers. communication)

The above pairs while appearing susceptible to justify the phonemic status of /ɽ/ are not in my view sufficiently distinctive as far as ESB is concerned. *Pace Hai* (1967), I think that the difference between the two /garo/ does not depend on the quality of the thrill they contain but on their initial stress. Therefore /ɽ/ would be better described either as a free variant or, in some idiolect as an allophone of /r/ occurring immediately before or after retroflex stops, for example in ধারটা /d^haɽt̪a/ 'the loan' or in ট্রাক /tɽrak/ 'truck'.⁽⁵⁾

D-8. [z] and /j/

Due to perpetual influence of eastern mother tongues (e.g. Chittagonian) that lack the affricate pair (c/j) but instead have the fricative one (s/z), the voiced strident /z/ could have entered the phonetic inventory of ESB (acquired much later with schooling and/or with electronic media). But unlike /f/ and /s/, the phonemic status of /z/ cannot yet be determined for lack of at least one minimal pair.

	Coda	Onset	Intervocalic
Standard Words	?/kaz/, /kaɟ] 'work'	*/zɔr/, /jɔr] 'fever'	*/ʃaza/, /ʃaja] 'punishment'
So-called onomatopoeic words	?/mɛjmej/, /mɛzmɛz] 'Onomatopoeia to denote the physical condition of not feeling well'	*/zɔbzɔbe/ /jɔbjɔbe/ 'Onomatopoeia to denote the state of something wet'	?/hizibizi/ /hijibiji/ 'Onomatopoeia to denote the illegibility of a written document'
Words of Perso-Arabic origin	/hɔz/, /hɔj/ 'Islamic pilgrimage in Mecca'	*/zan/, /jan/ 'life'	?/gazi/, /gaji/ 'hero'
Words of English origin	/sa ^j z/ ?/sa ^j j/ 'size'	*/zebra/, /jebra/ 'zebra' /ziro/, /jiro/ 'zero'	/izi/, */iji/ 'easy'

Dasgupta argues that /z/ is a routine substitute of /j/ in case of the words of Perso-Arabic origin and has dominance over these words in the Eastern speech region. As far as ESB is concerned, we can note that such a substitution is randomly allowed in coda but seldom in onset and/or in intervocalic positions. This general tendency applies to all words including the onomatopoeic sequences as well as the loan words of English and Perso-Arabic origin. The chart below shows that /z/ cannot be considered as an allophone of /j/ and that we can at best describe it as a free variant of the latter in the coda of some particular words such as হজ্জ /hɔz/ 'Islamic pilgrimage in Mecca', সাইজ /sa^jz/ 'size' or in কাজ /kaz/ 'work'.

D-9. Aspirated sonorants

For Ferguson & Chowdhury (46) "many educated speakers of Bengali have in their speech instances of aspirated sonorants in contrast with unaspirated /m, n, l, r, ɽ/ as in ব্রহ্ম /bromho/ 'God', চিহ্ন /cinho/ 'sign', আহ্লাদ /alhad/ 'joy',

হৃদয় /rhidoʝ/ 'heart', গাঢ় /gaɽho/ 'deep'" (IPA is ours)⁽⁶⁾. Hai also holds the same view and describes [mh], [nh], etc. as 'aspirated consonant sounds'. Sengupta (1980:127) adds /ŋ/ to the above list because it can also have an aspirated counterpart as in সিংহ [ʃiŋho] 'lion'.

In my view, none of the above mentioned sonorants can be said to have an aspirated counterpart because lack of minimal pairs, the existence of the latter cannot be justified. Therefore /mh/, /nh/, etc. would represent a sequence of phonemes. Sengupta believes that only the lexicon of educated speakers contains such sequences and the educated and uneducated variety of Bengali "differ from each other in terms of phonetic shapes of a handful of words". In his view, educated speakers' lexicon have 'paired entries' for these words: /bromho/ and /brommo/ and that of uneducated ones contains a single entry:/brommo/.

I would like to propose a single underlying structure for these words which contains an unacceptable [+EG][+sonorant] cluster, e.g. *[hn], *[hm], etc. In a received pronunciation, /brohmo/ is repaired with methathesis: /bromho/ and in an ordinary one, with assimilation: /brommo/. This solution could be preferred for the following reasons:

- i) it proposes a single lexical entry;
- ii) attempt to reproduce [+EG][+sonorant] sequences like /brohmo/ and [ʃahnama] 'tale of ancient Persian kings' are not unheard of in Bengali;

iii) as far as ESB is concerned, the use of /bromho/ belongs to a very special register used by educated speakers involved in cultural activities like singing certain songs or reciting a text; and

iv) both educated and uneducated speakers' lexicon have a single entry for सिंह [siŋho] 'lion'.

D-10: Concluding remarks regarding the phonemic inventory of Bengali

As far as the ESB is concerned, in many contexts /p^h/, /e/ and /ɽ/ seem to be prescribed and/or stylistic variations of the phonemes /f/, /ɛ/ and /r/ respectively. The latter are realized, I would say, in some type of 'very careful received pronunciation'. Under the 'socio-linguistic' (cf. Dasgupta) influence of WSB, /f/ and /z/ are considered as *ashuddha* (impure) or *bhul* (incorrect), and the distinctions between /ɛ/ and /e/ on the one hand and between /r/ and /ɽ/ on the other are prescribed in specific contexts such as in the recitation of poems or the singing of certain types of songs. However, this prescription is not unconditional and assumedly depends on a certain register. For example, /f/, /z/ and /ɛ/ are expected and even appreciated in folk songs, whereas, in songs written by famous Bengali poets such as Rabindranath Tagore and/or Kazi Nazrul Islam and in *adhunik gan* (which means 'modern songs' but in fact refers to a special type of songs composed since the sixties), the singer is rather expected to avoid these phones.

As we have mentioned earlier, most of the phonological descriptions of Bengali represent the phonological structure of the dialect spoken by the educated people of Calcutta in the sixties i.e. the then WSB. The socio-linguistic condition (cf. Dasgupta) of the WSB area has significantly changed

due to massive immigration of East Bengalis to West Bengal since 1947 (cf. Dan, Singh (U.N.) 2004) and it is possible that the phonological inventory of WSB has undergone some significant changes. Therefore, it is not unlikely that the bilabial aspirate /p^h/ and the close-mid vowel /e/ are about to be replaced by the labio-dental fricative /f/ and open-mid /ɛ/ respectively, and it is time to reconsider whether the phonemic status of the former can be reasonably maintained in the WSB and/or in standard Bengali in general.

E. Phonotactic constraints: syllabic constraints

E-1a. Consonant clusters in coda

According to Sarkar (1986 cited in Dan, 1992) Bengali phonology tends to avoid more than one consonant word finally, although there are a few exceptions in the case of borrowed items. For Ferguson & Chowdhury (47) such clusters are almost nonexistent in Standard Bengali, "though occasional examples occur, of course, in foreign words (such as names and technical terms) used in Bengali utterances by multilinguals." Chatterjee assumes that Bengali does not allow consonant clusters syllable finally. However, we can note that in English loan words (e.g. বেল্ট /bɛlt/ 'belt'), consonant clusters are generally maintained word finally and/or in coda.

/kt/	/kd/	/rk/	/rd/	/k ^h t/
/oakt/	/akd/	/park/	/gard/	/tokt/
ওয়াক্ত	আক্দ	পার্ক	গার্ড	তখ্ত
'time for Islamic prayer'	'agreement of Islamic marriage'	'parc'	'gard'	'throne of an (Islamic) kingdom'
/lt/	/ld/	/ts/	/rl/	/st/
/bɛlt/	/gold/	/jotsna/	/parl/	/behest/
বেল্ট	গোল্ড	জোৎস্না	পার্ল	বেহেস্তু
'belt'	'gold'	'moonlight'	'pearl'	Islamic heaven

We have found only one polysyllabic word which may be pronounced with a heavy coda with a rising sonority: জেৎস্না /jɔtsna/ 'moon-light'. Therefore, it can be claimed that heavy codas are seldom allowed in polysyllabic words. The clusters endowed with a rising sonority are repaired with epenthesis in order to comply with the phonological constraint that prohibits a heavy coda. English loan words such as /bɒtl/ 'bottle' and /kɛtl/ 'kettle' become বোতল /botɔl/ and কেটলি /kɛtli/; Persian loan word /ʃɛhr/ 'town' and Hindi-Urdu loan word /ʃɔrm/ 'shyness' are repaired to শহর [ʃɔhor] and শরম /ʃɔrom/ respectively. Sanskrit words such as /ɔstr/ 'arm' and /d^hɔrm/ 'religion' are realized as অস্ত্র /ɔs(t)rɔ/ and ধর্ম /d^hɔrmo/ respectively.

Consonant clusters allowed in coda are generally well-behaved i.e. they do not violate the hierarchy of sonority. However, there are exceptions like /sk/ and /st/. These clusters have falling sonority and therefore should be allowed in coda rather than in onset. But for some unknown reason, Bengali allows the opposite. This has nothing to do with loan words from English because Sanskrit words ending in /st/ (e.g. /ʃust^h/ 'in good health') and /sk/ (e.g. /^hask/ 'name of a saint') also undergo repair and become সুস্থ /ʃust^hɔ/ and যাস্ক /jaskɔ/.

E-1b. Consonant clusters in onset

According to Ferguson & Chowdhury (47) "initial consonant clusters are infrequent but they do occur in ordinary SCB words". They put such clusters into three different categories: i) stop+/r/ or /l/, e.g. /dr/ and /kl/; ii) /s/ plus stop or dental liquid /l/ and /r/, e.g. /st/ and /sr/; and iii) nasal plus

dental liquid /r/ and /l/ e.g. /ml/ and /nr/. I have found 34 initial clusters and they can be put into 4 different categories:

Table-LXV: Consonant clusters in onset				
Group-1:	/s/ + other consonants	a.	/s/ + plosive	/sp/, /st/, /st ^h /, /st̪/, /sk/, /sk ^h /,
		b.	/s/ + dental liquid	/sl/, /sr/
		c.	/s/ + nasals	/sn/, /sm/
		d.	/s/ + labial fricative	/sf/
Group-2:	Stop + coronal liquid	/pl/, /pr/, /tr/, /kl/, /kr/, /k ^h r/, /bl/, /br/, /b ^h r/, /dr/, /d ^h r/, /gl/, /gr/, /g ^h r/, /t̪r/, /d̪r/, /j̪r/		
Group-3:	Nasal + coronal liquid	/ml/, /mr/, /nr/		
Group-4:	Fricative + coronal liquid	/fr/, /fl/, /hr/		

Table-LXVI: Examples justifying consonant clusters in onset	
Group-1	
1. স্পর্শ /ʃpɔrʃo/ 'touch', 2. স্তর /stor/ 'layer', 3. স্থান /ʃt ^h an/ 'place', 4. স্টাইল /st̪a ^h l/ 'style', 5. শ্ৰদ্ধ /skɔnd ^h o/ 'shoulder', 6. স্থলন /sk ^h ɔlon/ 'fall', 7. শ্লথ /slo ^h t ^h / 'slow', 8. শ্রম /srɔm/ 'labour', 9. স্ফটিক /sfo ^h tik/ 'crystal', 10. স্মার্ট /smart̪/ 'smart', 11. স্নান /snan/ 'bath';	
Group-2	
12. প্লাবন /plabon/ 'flood', 13. প্রাণ /pran/ 'life', 14. প্রাণ /tran/ 'helf', 15. ক্লান্ত /klanto/ 'tired', 16. ক্রয় /kro ^y / 'purchase', 17. খ্রীস্টাব্দ /k ^h ristabdo/ 'Christian era', 18. ব্লেড /bled/ 'blade', 19. ব্রত /bro ^t o/ 'religious vow', 20. ভ্রম /b ^h rom/ 'error', 21. দ্রবণ /dro ^b on/ 'liquid', 22. ধ্রুব /d ^h rubo/ 'eternal', 23. গ্লানি /glani/ 'smart', 24. গ্রাম /gram/ 'village', 25. ঘ্রাণ /g ^h ran/ 'smell', 26. ট্রাম /t̪ram/ 'tram', 27. ড্রাম /d̪ram/ 'drum', 28. জ্বড়ণ /jrimb ^h on/ 'act of yawning' (cf. Hai 1967);	
Group-3	
29. ম্লান /mlan/ 'pale', 30. মৃত /mrito/ 'dead', 31. নৃপতি /nripot̪i/ 'king'	
Group-4	
32. ফ্লাইট /fla ^j t̪/ 'flight', 33. ফ্রেম /frem/ 'frame', 34. হৃদয় /hrido ^y / 'heart'	

We can make the following generalization regarding consonant clusters in Onset:

- i) obstruents are not allowed to precede any other consonant except non nasal sonorants (trill & lateral): /r/ and /l/;
- ii) no consonant except the alveolar non-voiced strident /s/ is allowed to precede any other obstruent or nasal;
- iii) some of the clusters (/sp/, /st/, etc.) are endowed with a declining sonority in violation of the universal law proclaimed in Kiparsky;
- iv) no other consonant clusters except /st/ is allowed both in onset (স্তর /stor/ 'layer') and in coda (বেহেস্ত /behest/ 'Islamic heaven') which means that clusters that are allowed in coda are not generally allowed to appear in onset.

Ferguson and Chowdhury rightly mentions that Bengali dictionaries list hundreds, perhaps thousands of words with initial clusters. Some of these words are either i) purely orthographic, (e.g. /dar/ 'door' written as দ্বার /dvar/ or /k^hɔn/ 'moment' written as ক্ষণ /kʃɔn/) or ii) according to Ferguson and Chowdhury (47) "imaginary in the sense that the words are Sanskrit forms which do not actually occur in SCB.". The word জ্ব্বণ /jrib^hɔn/ 'yawning' (cf. Hai 1967) would be in my view a good example of the latter.

E-1c: Aspiration in coda

Hai (144, 197) believes that aspiration can be fully maintained in onset but completely lost in coda. According to Ferguson and Chowdhury (45) "In final (postjunctural) position there is a greatly reduced contrast between unaspirated and aspirated stops" and "it is only in very careful speaking

styles or in dialectally coloured pronunciations that any contrast at all is made." As far as ESB is concerned, Ferguson & Chowdhury's observations are still relevant because most of the following pairs are not generally distinctive in ESB.

মাগ /mag/ 'beg'	পৌচ /poc/ 'coating'
মাঘ /mag ^h / or /mag/ 'second month of winter'	পৌছ /pōc ^h / or /pōc/ 'mop'
নিব /nib/ 'nib'	আঁক /ak/ 'draw'
নিভ /nib ^h / or /nib/ 'extinct'	আঁখ /āk/ 'sugar-cane'
বেদ /bed/ 'the holy book of Veda'	ব্যগ্র /bεgro/ 'eager'
বেধ /bed ^h / or /bed/ 'radius of circle'	ব্যগ্র ^h ro/ *bεgro/ 'tiger'
রোধ /rod ^h / 'obstruction'	মাজে /maJe/ 'he/she/they clean(s)'
রোদ /rod/ 'sunlight'	মাঝে /maJ ^h e/ 'in the middle'
আখড়া /ak ^h ra/ 'centre'	
আক্রা /akra/ 'scarce'	

If we compare the word বাঘ /bag^h/ 'tiger' and মাঠ /mat^h/ with their genitive form বাঘের /bag^her/ 'tiger's' and মাঠের /mat^her/ 'of the field', we note that the aspiration is not maintained in the monosyllabic words, whereas, in the bisyllabic ones, it is. As is the case with the devoicing of the final obstruents (in German /tag/ → /tak/ for example), de-aspiration in coda is assumedly a natural process (cf. Donegan and Stampe 1979) which applies to Bengali. Among the two possible syllabifications i) /bag^h+er/ and ii) /ba+g^her/, the

second one is more 'natural' because none of the syllables in this case contains an aspirated coda.

Aspiration in Bengali is not generally maintained in coda except in some rare Sanskrit originated bi-syllabic words such as: শুভ্র /ʃubʰrɔ/ 'white', অত্র /abʰrɔ/ 'cloud' and ব্যগ্র /bɛgʰrɔ/ 'tiger' and in a very careful and/or very unusual received type of pronunciation. According to Ferguson & Chowdhury (ibid.) "The only exception of any importance is a set of interjections ending in *h*." However, as long as the interjections like /oh/ ওহ্ 'oh', /ah/ আহ্ 'oh' and /bah/ বাহ্ 'bravo' are realized with more or less aspiration, it cannot be unanimously established that aspiration is not at all allowed in coda.

E-2. Word-level constraints

Chatterjee (1962) does not consider the sequences of two phonemes as clusters unless they belong to the same syllable. I agree with Sengupta (125) that "in Bangla every segment or cluster that occurs syllable initially invariably occur word initially." Venneman (1974:355) on the other hand, assumes "as the most basic level for the formulation of phonological constraints not the syllable, but the word." As far as Bengali phonology is concerned, not all phonemic sequences are allowed at word boundary and not all the restrictions on their co-occurrence comply with the aforementioned syllabic constraints. Therefore, the following word-level constraints have to be included in the grammar of Bengali along with the syllable-level constraints.

- a. Voiced plosives can precede the non-voiced ones as in: ভাগচাষী /bʰagcaʃi/ 'share-cropper' or রাজপুত্র /rajputra/ 'prince' but as the following chart shows, non-voiced plosives are not allowed to precede voiced ones⁽⁷⁾. Fricatives are not affected by this constraint because we

have words like আফগান /afgan/ 'Afgan', খোশবু /k^hoʃbu/ 'good smell', মশগুল /moʃgul/ 'absorbed', দেশজোড়া /deʃjora/ 'all over the country', মাসডাল /maʃdaɪ/ 'a kind of lentil'.

Table-LXVII: Inter-vocalic sequences of [-voiced][+voiced] segments				
/pbi/→/bbi/	/pdi/→/bdi/	/pgi/→/bgi/	/pji/→/bji/	/pb ^h i/→/bb ^h i/
/kābbe/ কাঁপবে 'will tremble'	/golabdani/ গোলাপদানী 'rose-stand'	/golabgac ^h / গোলাপগাছ 'rosebush'	/golabjɔɪ/ গোলাপজল 'rosewater'	/pabb ^h ar/ পাপভার 'load of sin'
/tbi/→/dbi/	/tdi/→/ddi/	/tgi/→/dgi/	/tji/→/dji/	/td ^h i/→/dd ^h i/
/madbɔr/ মাতবর 'leader'	/do ^y addani/ দোয়াতদানী 'inkpot-stand'	/sadguru/ সদগুরু 'perfect guru'	/hadjora/ হাতজোড়া 'handy occupied'	/hadd ^h o ^y a/ হাতধোয়া 'washing hands'
/tg ^h i/→/dg ^h i/	/kji/→/gji/	/kdj/→/gdj/	/kd/→/gd/	/kg ^h i/→/gg ^h i/
/hadg ^h ori/ হাতঘড়ি 'wrist-watch'	/b ^h alugjɔr/ ভালুকজ্বর 'light fever'	/kagɔaka/ কাকডাকা 'crow-cawing'	/dagda ^w / ডাক দাও 'call'	/dagg ^h ɔr/ ডাকঘর 'post-office'
/kbi/→/gbi/	/tbi/→/ɔbi/	/t ^h b ^h i/→/ɔb ^h i/	/tgi/→/dgi/	/cb ^h i/→/jb ^h i/
/dagbo/ ডাকবো 'I/we will call'	/fudbɔɪ/ ফুটবল 'football'	/madb ^h ɔra/ মাঠভরা 'field full of something'	/kadgɔra/ কাঠগড়া 'small wooden enclosure in the courts'	/kajb ^h ɔra/ কাচভরা 'full of broken glasses'
/cdi/→/jdi/	/cbi/→/jbi/	/cgi/→/jgi/	/cji/→/cji/	
/elajdana/ এলাচদানা 'cardamom'	/najbar/ নাচবার 'to dance'	/najgan/ নাচগান 'dancing and singing'	/kucjugɔɪ/ কুচযুগল 'both of the breasts of a woman'	

As we can note in the chart above, the underlying sequences such as গোলাপজল */golapjɔɪ/ 'rose-water' or ডাকবো */dakbo/ 'I will call' are automatically repaired to /golabjɔɪ/ and ডাকবো /dagbo/ in the surface representation⁽⁷⁾. But what proves that the words like /golabjɔɪ/ or /dagbo/ are not the underlying structure themselves? They are not because most of these words

except /fud̪bɔl/ are complex words and can be analyzed back to simple words like গোলাপ /golap/ 'rose' or ডাক /dak/ 'call_{pres, imp, 3rd person intim/derog}' which end in an unvoiced obstruent. Therefore, it is more likely that the underlying structure of these words contains an unvoiced obstruent which is repaired to a voiced one in the surface structure.

b. No word starts with a semi-vowel.

c. Nasal vowels do not form clusters. No cluster such as /āā/ or /āē/ is allowed in Bengali.

d. No word starts with /ŋ/ (cf. Ferguson and Chowdhury, Hai). I have to consider (d) as a word-level constraint only because I am not sure whether /ŋ/ can appear in onset or not. Some words such as রঙিন /roŋin/ 'coloured' may be syllabified in some idiolect as the concatenation of [rɔ] and [ŋin], but in no idiolect can a word begin with /ŋ/.

e. The nasal dental [n] become homorganic when it precede a coronal plosive (/t/, /d/, /c/, /j/, /t̪/ and /d̪/).

Examples: অন্তর /ɔntɔr/ 'heart', অন্তর /ɔndɔr/ 'interior', অঞ্চল /ɔncɔl/ 'region', গঞ্জনা /gɔnɔna/ 'painful criticism', বন্টন /bɔnt̪ɔn/ 'distribution', গুন্ডা /gund̪a/ 'hooligan'. English loan words like পেন্ট /pɛnt/ 'trousers', সেন্ট /sɛnt/ 'perfume' or Hindi-Urdu loan words like বন্ড /bɔnd/ 'strike' also fall under the scope of this constraint and are repaired accordingly. However, velar and labial obstruents remain heterorganic: বনগাঁ /bɔngā/ 'place name', আনবার /anbar/ 'to bring'

f. Only diphthongs with an /a/ in their nucleus (e.g. মায়ায় /ma^ya^y/ 'affection locative', গাওয়াও /ga^wa^w/ 'sing causative, 2nd' or ছোওয়াই /cō^wa^j/ 'I make touch') have been noticed to follow another diphthong.

This constraint concerns neither the glide nor the vowel (in the nuclei) but the diphthong as a whole because most of the vowels can follow other diphthongs and all the semivowels can appear as off-glide with most of the vowels.

g. No aspirated consonant is allowed to precede another aspirated consonant. However, the aspirated glottal fricative /h/ can precede itself in interjections like: [ahha] or [ohho].

According to Ferguson and Chowdhury (46) "in medial position, the contrast between unaspirated and aspirated stops is somewhat reduced" and "there is no intervocalic aspirated stops in Bengali, not morpheme-initial". I have noticed no such constraint in ESB. Words such as বাঘের /bag^her/ 'of the tiger' মাঠের /mat^her/ 'of the field' and এখানে /ek^hane/ 'here' cannot be realized without aspiration: */bager/, */mat^her/ and */ekane/ in ESB.

Underlying structures such as আধখোলা */ad^hk^hola/ 'half-open' or শিখবার */sik^hbar/ cannot be realized as such and are repaired to /adk^hola/ and /sikbar/ in ESB. Therefore, we can formulate a word-level constraint that will allow no aspirated consonant to precede any other consonant. However, this constraint will be redundant because there is already a syllabic constraint that blocks aspiration in coda. An aspirated consonant can only appear in

onset and we can have clusters like শিক্ষক /ʃikk^hok/ 'teacher', অভ্যাস /obb^haʃ/ 'habit' or শুদ্ধ /ʃudd^ho/ 'correct'.

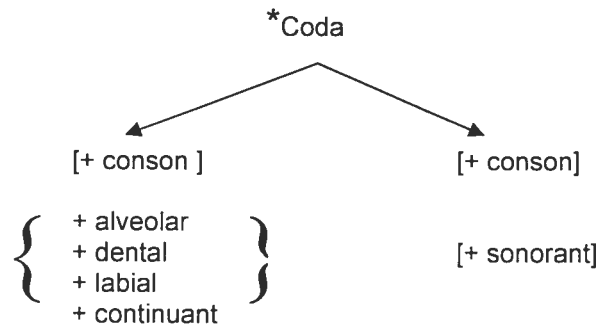
Generally 'gemination' means a sequence of two identical tautosyllabic consonants. In my view, there is no case of gemination in Bengali because all C_iC_i sequences are heterosyllabic. However, Ferguson and Chowdhury use the term 'gemination' in a different sense and for them almost all consonants geminate; the only exceptions are /ŋŋ/, /hh/, /ʃʃ/ and probably /rr/. I have noticed that the sequence /rr/ appears in words such as ছররা /chorra/ 'small bullet' or দোররা /dorra/ 'whip' and /hh/ in আহহা /ahha/ 'oh'. However, a large number of phonemes do not follow itself in an intervocalic sequence. No aspirated consonant is allowed to follow itself (or any other aspirated consonant). Among the non-aspirated ones, labial-dental fricative /f/ and the sibilant /s/ have not been attested to appear in an intervocalic C_iC_i sequence. However, intervocalic /ss/ sequence can be noticed in Arabic originated Islamic salutation: আস্সালমোআলাইকুম /assalamoala^jkum/ 'let there be peace on you' frequently used by the majority of ESB speakers.

According to Ferguson and Chowdhury (44), "a sequence of vowels is either all nasal or all oral; there are no /v̄v̄/ or /v̄v/ sequences." This does not seem to be true because in the reduplicated words আঁকাআঁকি /ākaāki/ 'drawing' an oral vowel precedes a nasal one. Words like গাঁয়ে /gāe/ 'in the village' or ধোঁয়া /d^hōa/ 'smoke' show that nasal vowels can also precede oral ones. Diphthongs can also follow nasal vowels, e.g. গৌঁয় /gēo^y/ 'uncultured and/or villager_{nom}', ধোঁয় /d^hōa^y/ 'in the smoke, but the contrary is not attested.

F. Well-formedness conditions (WFC) in Bengali

The afore-mentioned constraints can be embodied into the following WFCs:

WFC-1



(Figure-1)

As WFC-1 should allow all the coda clusters in the following words, the question must arise why these words have undergone repair. In my view, these words have been 'nativized' in different periods of time and by different classes of Bengali speaker and may be by speakers of different dialects of Bengali. The phonology of all these dialects as well as the phonology of Bengali during these different periods cannot be the same. I agree with Mina Dan (personal communication) who rightly points out that বক্টু /boɭtu/ 'bolt' and দোস্তু /dosto/ 'friend' could not be 'nativized' by the same class of speakers. Be that as it may. What seems to be clear is that all these words were nativized in a period when no consonant cluster was allowed in coda. Apparently, the phonology of standard Bengali has deviated considerably from the phonology of the Bengali of that period.

Strategies of repair ⁽⁸⁾

1. **Epenthesis:** /ʃort/ (Sanskrit) → শর্ত /ʃorto/ 'condition'; /ʔakt/ (Arabic) → ওয়াক্ত /oakt/ 'time'; /dord/ (Persian) → দরদ /doro/ 'affection'; /boks/ (English)

→ বাক্স /bakʃo/ 'box'; /dost/ (Hindi-Urdu) → দোস্ত /dosto/ 'friend'; /boɪt/ (English)

→ বল্টু /boɪtʃu/ 'bolt'

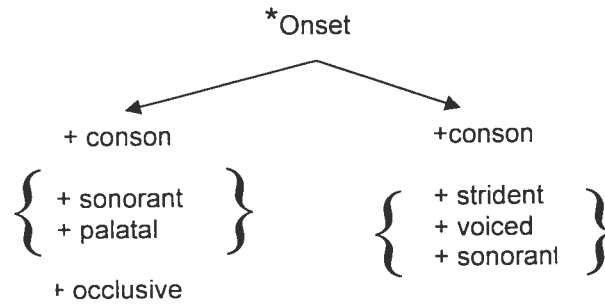
2. **Assimilation:** /jotsna/ (Sanskrit) → জোছনা /josna/ 'moon-light'

3. **Deletion:** /gost/ (Hindi-Urdu) → গোস /gos/ 'meat'/'beef'

Some possible clusters that could not be verified yet:

[gt], [rg], [rʃ], [rs], [lt], [lg], [lj], [ld], etc.

WFC-2 ⁽⁹⁾:



(Figure-2)

Strategy of repair

Epenthesis: [mbutu] (some African language) → মবতু [mɔbutu] 'an African name'

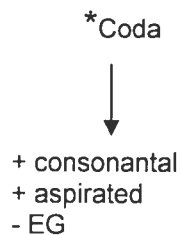
/nkumo/ (some African language) → নকুমো /nɔkumo/ 'an African name'

/ŋguen/ (Vietnamian) → নগুয়েন /nɔguen/ 'a Vietnamese name'

But /fnak/ (French) → /fnak/ 'name of a bookshop in France'

Some possible clusters that could not be verified yet:

[sb], [st^h], [k^hl], [g^hl], [t^hl], [t^hl], [t^hl], [t^hl], [b^hl], etc.

WFC-3:**(Figure-3)****Strategies of repair**

1. **Substitution** (with the corresponding non-aspirated consonant):

/bag^h/ → বাঘ /bag/ 'tiger', /mat^h/ → মাঠ /mat/ 'field'

2. **Resyllabification** accompanied with the movement of the aspirated segment:

/bag^her/ → বাঘের /ba_{σ1}g^her_{σ2}/ 'of the tiger', /mat^her/ → মাঠের /ma_{σ1}t^her_{σ2}/ 'of the field'

WFC-4:

*	C ₁		C ₂
[	- voiced - continuant	][	+ voiced]

(Figure-4)**Strategies of repair**

1. **Substitution** (with the corresponding voiced consonant):

/kāpbe/ → কাঁপবে /kābbe/ 'will tremble'; /ʃotguru/ → সদগুরু /ʃodguru/ 'perfect guru' ⁽¹⁰⁾

/kakḍaka/ → কাকডাকা /kagḍaka/ 'very early in the morning when crows start to caw'

WFC-5:

*		C ₁		C ₂	
	[	+ continuant + EG	][	- EG]

(Figure-5)

Strategies of repair

1. **Assimilation** with the following consonant: /ahlad/ → আহ্লাদ /allad/ 'desire'
2. **Substitution** with /ʷ/: /ahban/ → আহ্বান /aʷban/ 'appeal'
3. **Substitution** with the neighboring segment: /brahmon/ → ব্রাহ্মণ /brammon/ 'Hindu priest'; /ahnik/ → আহ্নিক /annik/ 'Hindu prayer'
5. **Deletion**: /hridoʷ/ → হৃদয় /ridoʷ/ 'heart'
6. **Epenthesis**: /rohman/ → রহমান /rohoman/ 'a Muslim name'

WFC-6:

*		[+ vocalic - nasal][{	+ vocalic + consonantal ----- - nasal	}]
---	--	---	----------------------	----	---	--	---	---

(Figure-6)

Strategies of repair

Assimilation: the vowel preceding a nasal consonant becomes nasalized.

/ancol/ → অঞ্চল /ōncol/ 'region'; /bontɔn/ → বন্টণ /bōntɔn/ 'region'

WFC-7:

*	C ₁		C ₂	
[	+ nasal + coronal	][	+ occlusive ⁽¹¹⁾ + coronal]

(Figure-7)

Repair strategy: The CC sequence becomes homorganic.

/ancɔl/ → অঞ্চল /ɔ̃ncɔl/ 'region'; /bɔntɔn/ → বন্টন /bɔ̃ntɔn/ 'region'

I do not claim that Bengali phonology consists of only seven WFCs that have been presented above. There must be others and the list of the WFCs of Bengali remains to be completed in future research.

G. Different types of gaps

No language utilizes all logically possible combinations of phonemes in its repertoire and obviously, there are gaps in the phonotactic chart of any language. Some of these combinations clearly violate the hierarchy of sonority and should be considered as **unexpected gaps**. Among the 784 (28X28) logically possible onset consonant clusters in Bengali at least 191 (fricatives-plosive: 4 x 19 = 76 + sonorant-plosive: 5x19 = 95 + sonorant-fricative: 4x5 = 20) lack rising sonority and are not expected to be filled up.

Clusters in keeping with the hierarchy of sonority but not attested in the language can be considered as **expected gaps**. For example, plosive-fricative clusters (such as /pʃ/ and /ks/) are endowed with rising sonority and are

therefore universally expected onset clusters. But none of these expected 76 clusters (19x4) are realized in Bengali. Among the 95 universally expected plosive-sonorant (19x5) clusters only 15 are attested in Bengali. Among these /pɫ/, /pr/, /tr/, /br/, /kr/, /kɫ/, /gɫ/, /gr/, /dr/, /b^hr/, /d^hr/, /g^hr/ appear normally in Sanskrit originated words and /bɫ/, /ɽr/, /ɖr/ in English loan words. Among the 20 fricative-sonorant expected clusters only three (/sn/, /sɫ/ and /sr/) are attested in Sanskrit originated words and three others (/sm/, /fɫ/ and /fr/) in English loan words. The glottal fricative-trill cluster /hr/ appears in prescribed pronunciations such as হৃদয় /hriɖɔ^y/ 'mind' or হৃদপিণ্ড /hriɖpiɳɖɔ/ 'heart', but usually this cluster is substituted by /r/.

For some reason or another, unexpected clusters are also attested in human languages. Sibilant-plosive clusters appear in many Indo-European languages and at least six of such onset clusters (/sp/, /st/, /stʃ/, /sk/, /sk^h/ and /st^h/) are attested in Bengali. Unattested and unexpected clusters (e.g. /mb/, /rt/ or /lp/ in onset) are generally considered as **systematic gaps**, whereas unattested but possible clusters (such as /ks/, /ts/ or /tn/) are considered as **accidental gaps**. Due to the optional matching of sonority hierarchy and the melodic structure (cf. Kiparsky 1979), the aforementioned four categories of clusters intersect and overlap. For example, if the phonology of Bengali allows /st/, it should also allow /ʃt/. But as long as the latter is not attested, it represents an unexpected, systematic and accidental gap.

A good number of such gaps can be predictably discarded by the WFCs of the language. For example, the word-level WFC-2 will not normally let onset

gaps such as /sb/ , /sd/, /sg/ and /sd/ on the one hand and /ʃb/, /ʃd/, /ʃg/ and /ʃd/ on the other to be filled up in Bengali although in some other Indo-European languages such clusters may well be attested. On the other hand, the fact that the onset cluster /st/ is allowed in English loan words such as স্টেশন /stɛʃən/ 'station' or স্ট্যাম্প /stɛp/ 'stamp' could have been predicted before English becomes an adstrat of Bengali because such clusters which were until then unattested in the onset, were nevertheless realized in inter-vocalic positions (e.g. কষ্ট /kɔʃtɔ/ 'pain').

Unless and until the phonology has a chance to handle a particular cluster, it is difficult to ascertain whether this cluster would be allowed in the language or not. For example, it is not easy to decide whether the absence of labio-dental fricative-nasal clusters such as [fm] and [fn] should be considered as accidental onset gaps in Bengali because:

- i) WFC-5 does not allow /h/ to immediately precede any other consonant and therefore, the glottal fricative-nasal cluster /hn/ is not allowed;
- ii) Dental fricative-nasal cluster /sn/ is allowed although the cluster violates the hierarchy of sonority;
- iii) I have noticed that Bengali speakers living in Paris pronounce the cluster /fn/ in FNAC (name of a chain store) without any problem.

H. Loan word and Phonology

Ohala (1983) treats Sanskrit words as loans in Hindi and makes a distinction between native and loan clusters. For Chatterji (1945 (1988)) on the other

hand, words of Sanskrit origin should not be considered as loans in Bengali though he treats Persian, Arabic and English words as such. I think that synchronically no word should be considered as foreign or as loan because the speakers are not aware of such features of a word when they use it. As Singh & Lele (1996:75) states “no ordinary working-class American, for example, would ever pronounce Bach as /ba:x/” which would be “really abnormal if not pathological”. Therefore, words can be borrowed but not their phonology (cf. Singh 2001).

Following an old grammatical tradition of Indian subcontinent, previous Bengali grammars (Chatterji, *ibid.*) distinguish between four types of words: *tatsama* (‘as it is in Sanskrit’), *tadbhaba* (‘originated from Sanskrit’), *deshi* (‘indigenous’) and *bideshi* (‘foreign’). However mentions that *tatsama* words have also undergone changes and many of them have retained only the Sanskrit spelling. In principle, no word can remain *tatsama* or phonologically unchanged in the host language. As long as a word is in common use, it must have been licensed by the phonology of the goal language which means that it does not violate any WFC of the language.

All words are naturalized to some degree and eventually some of them may seem less nativized (Pandharipande, 1981) than others depending on the relevant WFC, the period of their entrance in the lexicon or on some other factors. For example, both *tatsama* চন্দ্র /cōḍro/ and *tadbhaba* চাঁদ /cāḍ/ ‘moon’ are Sanskrit originated words and the difference of their form depends i) on their period of entrance as well as on ii) the WFCs belonging to the different stages of the host dialects of Bengali.

Repaired or naturalized words, as well as the syllable types of comparatively less naturalized words can often shed light on the characteristics and the

limits of the phonology of the host language which can remain unknown until foreign words enter the lexicon and phonology needs to naturalize them. For example, although Bengali phonology allows consonant clusters in the onset as well as in coda it can well be argued that such clusters do not represent the natural syllabic patterns of Bengali for they seldom appear in 'native' or 'nativized' words and are repaired at the earliest opportunity. We can note below that a good number of *tatsama* words have a *tadbhaba* (i.e. repaired or naturalized) form in Bengali.

স্পর্শ /spɔrʃo/ 'touch' > /pɔroʃ/ পরশ	স্কন্ধ /skɔndʰɔ/ 'shoulders' > কাঁধ /kādʰ/
স্ফটিক /sfoʈik/ 'crystal' > ফটিক /foʈik/	স্থান /stʰan/ 'place' > থান /than/
স্নান /snan/ 'bath' > সিনান /ʃinan/	ঘৃণা /grina/ 'hatred' > ঘেন্না /gʰenna/
স্নান /snan/ 'bath' > চান /can/	প্রাণ /pran/ 'life' > পরাণ /pɔran/
স্পর্ধা /spɔrdʰa/ 'audacity' > আস্পর্ধা /aspɔrdʰa/	

Dan reports that Sarkar (1979, 1986) established the following canonical syllable patterns in Bengali arranged in descending order of frequency.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
CV	CVC	V	VC	VV	CVV	CCV	CCVC
/ki/ কি what	/dan/ দান donation	/o/ ও he	/ar/ আর and	/ei/ এই this	/daʃ/ দাই mid-wife	/ʃri/ শ্রী beauty	/pran/ প্রাণ life
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CVVC	CCVV	CCVVC	CVCC	CCCV	CCCVC	VVC	CCCW
/baʃl/ বাউল bard	/praʃ/ প্রায় almost	/ʃreʃo/ শ্রেয় better	/belt/ বেল্ট belt	/stri/ স্ত্রী wife	/ʃostrik/ সম্প্রীক with wife	/aʃn/ আইন law	/stroʃno/ সৈত্রণ uxorious

According to Sarkar (1986 cited in Dan:8) "Among these 16 patterns of syllables in Bengali, CV has the maximum number of exponents, approximately 54% of the language." I do not know what is the frequency of CC clusters in onset, but the above chart correctly shows that there are more words with CC clusters in onset than there are with such clusters in coda.

In the *Samsad Bengali-English dictionary*, I have noticed about 120 words with CCVC type of syllables, and all of them are of Sanskrit origin with the exception of a few English loan words like স্কুল /skul/ 'school', স্টীম /stim/ 'steam', etc. Most of the Sanskrit and English *tatsama* (i.e. 'un-repaired') words are learnt with schooling or with electronic media, and, unless a ESB speaker is either trained and/or is corrected several times, words such as স্পর্শ /sporʃo/ 'touch' or স্ফটিক /sfoʈik/ 'crystal' are frequently repaired with a pre-cluster epenthesis: /esporʃo/ or /esfoʈik/.

It is possible that socio-linguistic conditions of the language community can have some impact on the phonology. For example, educated speakers maintain the clustered codas in words like /bɔks/ or /isk/ under some socio-linguistic pressure (cf. Dasgupta) of pronouncing English loan words with a so-called 'original' pronunciation. Probably under the same pressure many naturalized Perso-Arabic loan-words such as ওয়াক্ত /oakt/ 'time' or দোস্ত /dosto/ 'friend' have already recovered back their word-final consonant clusters and /oakt/ or /dost/ have become free variants of the former at least in some idiolects of ESB. As I have mentioned earlier, among the two possible repairs of the unacceptable clusters */hn/ or */hm/, metathesis (/mh/ and /nh/) is preferred: আহ্নিক /anhik/ 'prayer', ব্রাহ্মণ /bramhon/ 'priest' in received pronunciation rather than the assimilation (/nn/ in /annik/ and /mm/

in /brammon/) which belongs to the normal register. If social prestige wins over the number of speakers, assimilation may become obsolete as strategy of repair as far as these clusters are concerned.

Note:

1. Singh (1984:276) does not consider metathesis as a regular strategy of repair. For him metathesis "seems to be sporadic and morphological".

2. I am well aware of the fact that speech is a continuum and its analysis in terms of segments does obviously involve some analytic assumptions and therefore, it is not unlikely that some tensions between the description and/or the analysis on the one hand and the data on the other may arise from time to time.

3. I regret the fact that I could not consult the following works by Chatterji (1921, 1928), Mallik (1960), Mallik et al. (1998).

4. শৌন /ʃi:l/ is the common family name used by the people belonging to the cast of barber in Bengal. However, barbers may have other family names too.

5. Mina Dan (personal communication), a WSB speaker has noticed that most of /ɽ/s are replaced with /r/ in the speech of her 7 year old son whereas in the speech of her grand mother, most of them are maintained.

6. Fergusson does not recognize aspirated consonants as different phonemes but rather describes them as clusters of an obstruent preceding a glottal fricative /h/ (for example, /p^h/ was /p+/h/ and /d^h/ was /d+/h/ etc.). But Ferguson and Chowdhury manifestly abandon this position. Hai also describes them as single phoneme because he believes that they are delivered with one single chest impulse. However, it seems that there is some truth in Ferguson's first assumption because aspirated consonants can be compared with consonant clusters in which an obstruent precedes a fricative (e.g. /ps/ or /kf/), and such clusters are not allowed in coda. However, their decision to consider the aspirated consonants not as clusters but as distinct phonemes is equally justified because i) /h/ is allowed in coda in

interjections like: আহ্ /ah/, 'oh!' ওহ্ /oh/ 'oh!' and ii) plosive-fricative clusters are not allowed in onset whereas aspirated consonants frequently appear in that position: /haʰ/ হয় 'oh!', /hota/ হত 'dead', /hat/ হাত 'hand'.

7. Hai (203) describes this phenomenon as 'regressive voicing'.

8. For some unknown reason some ESB speakers including myself pronounce words like ফ্লাস্ক /flask/ 'flask' and রিস্ক [risk] 'risk' as /flaks/ and /riks/ respectively. The apparent metathesis of /s/ and /k/ is not triggered by any repair strategy because the average Bengali speaker is capable of pronouncing clusters like /sk/ or /ʃk/ in the coda. I can hardly imagine any Bengali speaker who would pronounce the Hindi word [ɪʃk] 'love' as [ɪkʃ]. This shows that metathesis is not a regular phenomenon in Bengali. Moreover, the sequence /sk/ is more pronounceable compare to /ks/ because unlike the latter, /sk/ is endowed with a falling sonority and therefore does not violate the sonority hierarchy in coda.

9. This WFC is justified by some partly reduplicated words in which the onset of the first syllable of the reduplicant is replaced by a particular 'replacer' (cf. Abbi 1992) phoneme. The default replacer phoneme in Bengali is /t/ but obviously not all consonants are allowed to make cluster with the /t/ in the onset. For example, the reduplicant of ক্লান্ত /klanto/ 'tired' is not /tʌlanto/ but rather /tʌnto/ because [tʌ] is not allowed in the onset. On the other hand, the reduplicant of the base ঘ্রাণ /gʰran/ 'smell' can be [tran] because [tr] is allowed in the onset. However, in case of acceptable clusters, the deletion is also allowed and [tan] can be considered as a free variant of [tran].

ক্লান্ত /klanto/ 'tired' → /klantoʌnto/ ক্লান্তটান্ত 'tired, etc.'

ঘ্রাণ /gʰran/ 'smell' → আণ্ট্রান /gʰranʌtran/ or আণ্ট্রান [gʰranʌtan] 'smell, etc.'

But the reduplicants of the base স্কুল /skul/ 'school' or স্টেশন /steʃɔn/ 'station' are neither *[tkul] or *[tʃeʃɔn] nor they can be repaired, with the deletion of the cluster-mate in the onset, to *[tul] or *[teʃɔn]. Unacceptable clusters like *[tk] and *[tt] could have been

repaired with the deletion of the second member of the cluster but this is not allowed in this particular case. Apparently, the main problem with the reduplicant of the words beginning with /s/ is that they do not let the replacer phoneme to do its job i.e. to replace the first member of their onset. Now the question is how and why /s/ is maintained in the onset of the reduplicant of these words?

স্কুল /skul/ 'school' → স্কুলটিস্কুল /skultiskul/ 'school and similar institutions'

স্টেশন /steʃon/ 'station' → স্টেশনটেস্টেশন /steʃontesteʃon/ 'station and similar places.'

[sC_{+occ}] are endowed with a falling sonority and therefore violate the hierarchy of sonority in onset. Although Bengali speaker try their best to pronounce such words without epenthesis, it seems that the unnatural onset is automatically repaired with epenthesis in the underlying structure of the word. I assume that the underlying phonological structure of the word /skul/ is /iskul/ and this explains why its reduplicant is [tiskul].

10. Some repairs e.g. সৎগুরু /sɔdguru/ 'perfect guru' are reflected in the orthography, whereas, some others such as গোলাপজল /golapɔl/ 'rose water' are not.

11. This distinctive feature is suggested by Sommerstein (1977:103). It represents a complete blockage of the airstreams within the mouth. Plosives, affricates and nasals are thus [+ occlusive]. According to Trask (1996:246) the motivation behind the suggestion "is to clarify the ambiguity over whether nasals, laterals, taps, flaps and trills should be regarded as [+cont] or [-cont]"

Table-LXXI: Attested syllable-initial CV sequences																	
	i	e	ɛ	a	u	o	ɔ	ã	ĩ	õ	ẽ	ũ	õ	j	y	ç	w
p	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√					
t	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√			√	√				
k	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√					
b	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√					
d	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√			√				
g	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√					
c	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√						
j	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√					
t̪	√	√	√	√	√	√	√			√	√	√					
d̪	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√							
f	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√					
s	√	√	√	√	√	√	√										
ʃ	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√				
h	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√					
m	√	√	√	√	√	√	√										
n	√	√	√	√	√	√	√										
ɲ																	
r	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√						
l	√	√	√	√	√	√	√										
t ^h	√	√	√	√	√	√	√										
k ^h	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√							
b ^h	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√		√				
d ^h	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√							
g ^h	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√						
c ^h	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√					
j ^h	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√							
t̪ ^h	√	√	√	√	√	√	√						√				
d̪ ^h	√	√	√	√	√	√	√			√							

4a. Attested syllable final VC sequences

	p	t	k	b	d	g	c	ɟ	t̪	d̪	t ^h	k ^h	b ^h	d _h	g _h	c ^h	j ^h	t ^h	
i	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√										
e	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√									
ɛ	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√									
a	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√									
u	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√									
o	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√									
ɔ	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√									
ī							√		√										
ē		√	√	√			√	√	√										
ā	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√										
ū		√	√		√		√	√	√										
ō	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√										
ō̄					√		√												
j							√		√										
w																			
ɥ					√				√										
y																			

	m	n	ŋ	f	s	ʃ	l	r	h
i	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	
e	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
ɛ	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
a	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
u	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
o	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
ɔ	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	
ī								√	
ē						√		√	
ā						√		√	
ū						√		√	
ō				√		√		√	
ō̄									
j		√	√	√	√		√	√	
y									
ɥ						√	√	√	
w		√						√	

Table-LXXIII: Attested VV sequences

	i	e	ε	a	u	o	ɔ	ī	ē	ē	ā	ū	ō	ō	w	y	j	ɥ
i		√	√	√	√	√	√							√		√	√	
e	√	√	√	√		√									√	√	√	√
ε	√	√	√	√		√									√	√	√	√
a	√	√	√	√										√	√	√	√	√
u	√	√	√	√	√	√											√	
o	√	√	√	√											√	√	√	√
ɔ		√	√	√			√							√	√	√	√	√
ī																		
ē						√	√											
ē																		
ā	√	√	√															
ū	√	√	√	√														
ō	√	√	√	√		√												
ō																		
w		√	√	√		√	√				√			√				
y	√	√	√	√		√	√				√			√				
j	√	√	√	√	√	√	√				√	√						
ɥ		√	√	√		√	√				√							

	i	e	ε	a	u	o	ɔ	ī	ē	ā	ū	ō	ō̄
i ^j	√	√				√							
e ^j	√					√							
ε ^y	√			√		√	√						
a ^j	√	√		√		√	√						
a ^y	√		√	√	√	√	√						
a ^w	√		√	√		√							
a ^u	√		√			√							
u ^j	√	√				√							
ɔ ^j	√	√				√							
ɔ ^w	√					√							
ɔ ^y	√			√	√	√	√						
e ^u	√					√							
ε ^u						√							
ɔ ^u	√		√	√		√							
ε ^w	√			√		√							
o ^w													

5c. Attested VVVV sequences (Diphthong + Diphthong)

	a ^y	a ^w	a ^u	e ^w	ε ^u	ɔ ^y	ɔ ^w	o ^w	ō ^w
a ^y	√	√	√	√	√ ⁱ	√	√ ⁱ	√	√ ⁱ
a ^w	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
a ^j	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√

	a ^y a ^y	a ^u a ^y	a ^w a ^y	a ^w a ^j	ɔ ^y a ^y	ɔ ^w a ^y	ɔ ^w a ^j	ɔ ^w a ^w	a ^w a ^w
i	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
o	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
	ε ^w a ^y	ε ^w a ^j	ε ^w a ^w	e ^u a ^y	e ^u a ^j	e ^u a ^w			
i	√	√	√	√	√	√			
o	√	√	√	√	√	√			
	o ^w a ^y	o ^w a ^j	o ^w a ^w	ō ^w a ^y	ō ^w a ^w	ō ^w a ^j			
i	√	√	√	√	√	√			
o	√	√	√	√	√	√			

Table-LXXVII: Attested Inter-syllabic CC sequences

	p	t	k	b	d	g	c	J	t	d	t ^h	k ^h	b ^h	d ^h	c ^h	J ^h	t ^h	d ^h	g ^h	
p	√	√	√				√		√				√		√				√	
t	√	√	√				√		√			√	√	√						√
k	√	√	√				√		√			√	√	√	√		√			√
b		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√					√
d		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√					
g	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√					
c	√	√	√				√		√			√	√		√					√
J	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√			√	√	√	√					√
t	√	√	√				√		√			√			√		√			√
d			√	√			√		√	√		√	√	√						√
t ^h																				
k ^h																				
b ^h																				
d ^h																				
g ^h																				
c ^h																				
J ^h																				
t ^h																				
d ^h																				
f	√	√	√			√			√			√								
s	√	√	√						√		√									
ʃ	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√		√			
h									√			√	√	√	√	√				
m	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√				√
n	√	√	√	√		√					√	√	√	√	√	√				√
ŋ	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√				√
r	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√					√
l	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√				√	√

Table-LXXVII: Attested Inter-syllabic CC sequences (contd)									
	m	n	ŋ	f	s	ʃ	l	r	h
p	√	√				√	√	√	√
t	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	
k	√	√			√	√	√	√	
b		√				√	√	√	
d	√	√				√	√	√	√
g	√	√		√		√	√	√	
c	√	√				√	√	√	
ɟ	√	√				√	√	√	√
t	√	√		√		√	√	√	
ɖ							√		
f					√	√	√	√	
s	√	√			√		√	√	
ʃ	√	√		√		√	√	√	√
h					√				√
m	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
n	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
ŋ	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
r	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√
l	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√
t ^h									
k ^h									
b ^h								√	
d ^h									
g ^h									
c ^h									
ɟ ^h									
t ^h									
ɖ ^h									

Table- LXXVIII: Attested Inter-syllabic CCC sequences				
/rdr/	/ktr/	/str/	/skr/	/tsn/

Appendix-2

Patterns of potential strategies or relics of dead strategies

Patterns that cannot be justified with two pairs are not strategies and do not need to be included in a morphological description. However, I have made available a list of such patterns in appendix-2 for two reasons:

- i. although I have not been able to find a second pair now, such a pair may exist in some other ESB speaker's lexicon or I may remember a second pair for some of these patterns at some other time. If this is in fact the case, the pattern will be considered as a strategy and should be included in the list of strategies.
- ii. these patterns represent either the strategies in process or relics of dead strategies and therefore they may put some light on the ongoing morphological change in Bengali.

A. Inter-categorical patterns

1. NASVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /antoCX/_{adj} 'within the area of /CX/' ⁽¹⁾
জিলা /jila/ 'district' ↔ আন্তজিলা /antojila/ 'inter-district'
2. NASVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /duṣCX/_{adj} 'who has a bad /CX/'
চরিত্র /coritro/ 'character' ↔ দুশ্চরিত্র /duṣcoritro/ 'characterless'
3. NASVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /durCX/_{adj} 'difficult to attain /CX/ with somebody or something'
জয় /jɔʎ/ 'victory' ↔ দুর্জয় /durjɔʎ/ 'difficult to conquer'
4. NASVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /durCX/_{adj} '/CX/-less'
বল /bol/ 'force' ↔ দুর্বল /durbol/ 'weak'
5. NASVADPF: /CX/_n ↔ /niCX/_{adj} 'without /CX/'
রব /rob/ 'sound' ↔ নীরব /nirob/ 'silent'

6. NASVADPF: /CX/_n ⇔ /bitoCX/_{adj} 'who has overcome his /CX/'
শোক /ʃok/ 'grief' ⇔ বীতশোক /bitoʃok/ 'who has overcome his grief'
7. NASVADPF: /CX/_n ⇔ /ʃoCX/_{adj} 'which has the characteristics of /CX/'
জীব /jib/ 'living being' ⇔ সজীব /ʃojib/ 'which has the characteristics of a living being'
8. NASMADPF: /aCa/_n ⇔ /hotaC/_{adj} 'without /aCa/'
আশা /aʃa/ 'hope' ⇔ হতাশ /hotaʃ/ 'without hope'
9. NASVADSF: /Xa/_n ⇔ /Xaponno/_{adj} 'with a good economic/financial /Xa/'
অবস্থা /obost^ha/ '(economic) condition' ⇔ অবস্থাপন্ন /obost^haponno/ 'who/which has a good economic condition'
10. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCabrito/_{adj} 'covered with /XC/'
অন্ধকার /ond^hokar/ 'darkness' ⇔ অন্ধকারাবৃত /ond^hokarabrito/ 'covered with darkness'
11. NASVADSF: /Xa/_n ⇔ /Xabrito/_{adj} 'covered with /Xa/'
তমসা /tomoʃa/ 'darkness' ⇔ তমসাবৃত /tomoʃabrito/ 'covered with darkness'
12. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCali/_{adj} '/XC/-like'
পুরুষ /puruʃ/ 'man' ⇔ পুরুষালী /puruʃali/ 'manly'
13. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCa^yotto/_{adj} 'in /XC/'
কর /kor/ 'hand' ⇔ করায়ত্ত /kora^yotto/ 'in hand'
14. NASVADSF: /XC/_n 'election' ⇔ /XCi/_{adj} 'concerning /XC/'
নির্বাচন /nirbacon/ 'election' ⇔ নির্বাচনী /nirbaconi/ 'electoral'
15. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCi/_{adj} 'done by /XC/'
পুলিশ /puliʃ/ 'police' ⇔ পুলিশী /puliʃi/ 'of police'
16. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCi/_{adj} 'supported by /XC/'
আইন /a^jn/ 'law' ⇔ আইনী /a^jni/ 'legal'
17. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCi/_{adj} 'who does /XC/'
বিনাশ /binaʃ/ 'destruction' ⇔ বিনাশী /binaʃi/ 'destructive'
18. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCik/_{adj} '/XC/-ly'
মাস /maʃ/ 'month' ⇔ মাসিক /maʃik/ 'monthly'

19. NASVADSF: /XC/n ⇔ /XCikrito/adj 'arranged in /XC/'
 স্তুপ /stup/ 'pile' ⇔ স্তুপীকৃত /stupikrito/ 'piled up'
20. NASVADSF: /XV_{-high}C/n ⇔ /XV_{+high}Cin/adj '/XV_{-high}C/ed'
 রঙ /roŋ/ 'colour' ⇔ রঙিন /roŋin/ 'colourful'
21. NASVADSF: /XC/n ⇔ /XCin/adj 'of /XC/'
 গ্রাম /gram/ 'village' ⇔ গ্রামীণ /gramin/ 'of village'
22. NASVADSF: /XC/n ⇔ /XCure/adj '/XC/-ly'
 ভূত /b^hut/ 'ghost' ⇔ ভূতুরে /b^huture/ 'ghostly', 'haunted'
23. NASVADSF: /XC/n ⇔ /XCottor/adj 'after achieving the certificate of /XC/'
 স্নাতক /snatok/ 'graduate' ⇔ স্নাতকোত্তর /snatokottor/ 'postgraduate'
24. NASVADSF: /XC/n ⇔ /XCogommo/adj 'which falls within the reach of /XC/'
 বোধ /bod^h/ 'cognition' ⇔ বোধগম্য /bod^hogommo/ 'intelligible'
25. NASMADSF: /XV_{-high}C/n ⇔ /XV_{+high}Co/adj 'who has /XV_{-high}C/'
 গৌফ /gōf/ 'moustache' ⇔ গুঁফো /gūfo/ 'a person who has moustache'
26. NASMADSF: /CoCi/n ⇔ /Co⁴Co/adj 'related to CoCi/'
 যোনি /joni/ 'vagina' ⇔ যৌন /jo⁴no/ 'sexual', 'vaginal'
27. NASVADSF: /Xi/n ⇔ /Xio/adj '/Xi/-al'
 জাতি /jati/ 'nation' ⇔ জাতীয় /jati^yo/ 'national'
28. NASVADSF: /Xo/n ⇔ /Xob^hedi/adj 'which pierces something following its /Xo/'
 শব্দ /ʃobdo/ 'sound' ⇔ শব্দভেদী /ʃobdob^hedi/ 'which pierces something following its sound'
29. NASVADSF: /XC/n ⇔ /XCla/adj 'full of /XC/'
 মেঘ /meg^h/ 'cloud' ⇔ মেঘলা /meg^hla/ 'cloudy'
30. NASVADSF: /XC/n ⇔ /XCannito/adj '/XC/-ed'
 প্রভাব /prob^hab/ 'influence' ⇔ প্রভাবান্বিত /prob^habannito/ 'influenced'
31. NAADSMSF: /C₁iC₂/n ⇔ /C₁o^jC₂ik/adj 'of /C₁iC₂/'
 চীন /cin/ 'China' ⇔ চৈনিক /co^jnik/ 'Chinese'

32. NAADSMSF: /C₁iC₂/_n ⇔ /C₁ɔ^jC₂ik/_{adj} 'C₁iC₂-ly'
দিন /din/ 'day' ⇔ দৈনিক /dɔ^jnik/ 'daily'
33. NASVADSF: /Xa/_n ⇔ /Xardro/_{adj} 'softened with /Xa/'
দয়া /dɔ^ya/ 'kindness' ⇔ দয়র্দ্র /dɔ^yadro/ 'softened with kindness'
34. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCadro/_{adj} 'softened with /XC/'
প্রেম /prem/ 'love' ⇔ প্রেমর্দ্র /premadro/ 'softened by love'
35. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCpor/_{adj} 'who is doing /XC/'
পলায়ন /pɔla^yɔn/ 'escape' ⇔ পলায়নপর /pɔla^yɔnpor/ 'escaping'
36. NASVADSF: /Xo/_n ⇔ /Xpor/_{adj} 'who only thinks about his own /Xo/'
স্বার্থ /ʃart^ho/ 'self-interest' ⇔ স্বার্থপর /ʃart^hopɔr/ 'selfish'
37. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCɔni^yo/_{adj} 'something that deserves /XC/'
আদর /adɔr/ 'love'/'cordial reception' ⇔ আদরণীয় /adɔrɔni^yo/ 'worthy of being loved'
38. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCɔni^yo/_{adj} 'which has /XC/'
দোষ /doʃ/ 'fault'/'guilt' ⇔ দোষণীয় /doʃɔni^yo/ 'faulty'
39. NASVADSF: /Xo/_n ⇔ /Xoddipok/_{adj} 'something that creates /Xo/'
আগ্রহ /agrohɔ/ 'eagerness' ⇔ আগ্রহোদ্দীপক /agrohoddipok/ 'inspiring eagerness'
40. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCbɔnto/_{adj} 'full of /XC/'
প্রাণ /pran/ 'life' ⇔ প্রাণবন্ত /pranbɔnto/ 'lively'
41. ANSMADSF: /XɔC/_{adj} ⇔ /Xabɔna/_n '/XɔC/-ity'
সম্ভব /ʃɔmb^hɔb/ 'possible' ⇔ সম্ভাবনা /ʃɔmb^habɔna/ 'possibility'
42. NASVADSF: /Xa/_n ⇔ /Xantrar/_{adj} 'act of transferring a text from one /Xa/
to another'
ভাষা /b^haʃa/ 'language' ⇔ ভাষান্তর /b^haʃantrar/ 'translation'
43. NASVADSF: /Xa/_n ⇔ /Xate/_{adj} 'which has the colour of /Xa/'
তামা /tama/ 'copper' ⇔ তামাতে /tamate/ 'copper-like'
44. NASVADSF: /Xa/_n ⇔ /Xate/_{adj} 'full of /Xa/'
ধোঁয়া /dhōa/ 'smoke' ⇔ ধোঁয়াটে /dhōate/ 'full of smoke'

45. NASVADSF: /Xa/_n ⇔ /XVabōho/_{adj} 'who follows /Xa/'
 আজ্ঞা /aggā/ 'order' ⇔ আজ্ঞাবহ /aggābōho/ 'who follows the orders'
46. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCkōnt^{hi}/_{adj} 'a woman who has a pleasant voice like /XC/'
 কোকিল /kokil/ 'cuckoo' ⇔ কোকিলকণ্ঠী /kokilkōnt^{hi}/ 'a woman who has a pleasant voice comparable (for some) with that of a cuckoo'
47. NASVADSF: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVkōnt^{hi}/_{adj} 'a woman who has a voice as pleasant as /XV/'
 মধু /mōd^{hu}/ 'honey' ⇔ মধুকণ্ঠী /mōd^{hu}kōnt^{hi}/ 'a woman who has a voice as sweet as honey'
48. NASVADSF: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVbagiṣ/_{adj} 'who makes a parade of /XV/'
 নীতি /niti/ 'morality' ⇔ নীতিবাগীশ /nitibagiṣ/ 'who makes a parade of morality'
49. NASVADSF: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVbagiṣ/_{adj} 'who uses a lot of /XV/ but does nothing'
 বাক্য /bakkō/ 'sentence' ⇔ বাক্যবাগীশ /bakkōbagiṣ/ 'someone who talks a lot but does not work much'
50. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCōpōm/_{adj} 'like /XC/'
 দেব /deb/ 'god' ⇔ দেবোপম /debōpōm/ 'godly'
51. NASVADSF: /Xo/_n ⇔ /Xōpōm/_{adj} 'like /Xo/'
 স্বর্গ /ṣōrgō/ 'heaven' ⇔ স্বর্গোপম /ṣōrgōpōm/ 'heavenly'
52. NASVADSF: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVd^hōr/_{adj} 'somebody who has /XV/ in his hand/body'
 শক্তি /ṣōkti/ 'vigour' ⇔ শক্তিদর /ṣōktid^hōr/ 'vigorous'
53. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCib^huto/_{adj} 'transformed into /XC/'
 প্রস্তর /prōstōr/ 'stone' ⇔ প্রস্তরীভূত /prōstōrib^huto/ 'petrified'
54. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCōgrahi/_{adj} 'who appreciates one's /XC/'
 গুণ /gun/ 'quality' ⇔ গুণগ্রাহী /gunōgrahi/ 'who appreciates one's qualities'
55. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCōgrahi/_{adj} 'somebody who takes /XC/'
 ঋণ /rin/ 'loan' ⇔ ঋণগ্রাহী /rinōgrahi/ 'who takes a loan'
56. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCa/_{adj} 'suffering from /XC/ or giving impression of suffering from /XC/'
 রোগ /rog/ 'disease' ⇔ রোগা /roga/ 'sickly'

57. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCa/_{adj} 'having much of /XC/'
 জল /ʒɔl/ 'water' ↔ জলা /ʒɔla/ 'full of water'
58. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCattok/_{adj} '/XC/-ing'
 আক্রমণ /akromon/ 'attack' ↔ আক্রমণাত্মক /akromonattok/ 'attacking'
59. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCuk/_{adj} 'who shows /XC/'
 লাজ /laʒ/ 'shyness' ↔ লাজুক /laʒuk/ 'shy'
60. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCuk/_{adj} 'who has the obsession to fill up his /XC/'
 পেট /pet/ 'belly' ↔ পেটুক /petuk/ 'who is always eager to eat'
61. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCe/_{adj} 'capable of doing /XC/'
 খুন /k^hun/ 'murder' ↔ খুনে /k^hune/ 'capable of murdering'
62. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCog^hno/_{adj} 'something vulnerable to /XC/'
 কীট /kit/ 'insect' ↔ কীটঘ্ন /kitog^hno/ 'insecticide'
63. NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVug^hno/_{adj} 'something vulnerable to /XV/'
 শত্রু /ʃotr/ 'enemy' ↔ শত্রুঘ্ন /ʃotrug^hno/ 'who kills enemies'
64. NASVADSF: /XV/_n ↔ /XVmoti/_{adj,fem} 'a woman who has /XV/'
 বুদ্ধি /budd^hi/ 'intelligence' ↔ বুদ্ধিমতী /budd^himoti/ 'intelligent woman'
65. NASVADSF: /XC/_{adj} ↔ /XCmoti/_{adj} 'who has an /XC/ type of mind'
 চঞ্চল /concol/ 'restless','agitated' ↔ চঞ্চলমতী /concolmoti/ 'who has an agitated or restless type of character'
66. NASVADSF: /XC/_n ↔ /XCmoti/_{adj} 'who has /XC/ in mind'
 পাপ /pap/ 'sin' ↔ পাপমতি /papmoti/ 'evil-minded'
67. NASVADSF: /Xa/_n ↔ /Xamodi/_{adj} 'who gets a lot of pleasure from /Xa/'
 ক্রীড়া /kriɾa/ 'sports' ↔ ক্রীড়ামোদী /kriɾamodi/ 'who gets a lot of pleasure from sports'
68. NASVADSF: /Xa/_n ↔ /Xalo/_{adj} 'full of /Xa/'
 আঠা /at^ha/ 'glue' ↔ আঠালো /at^halo/ 'gluey'

69. NAADSMSF: / $(C)\text{ɔ}X/_{n} \leftrightarrow / $(C)\text{a}Xik/_{adj}$ 'having the very nature or features of / $(C)\text{ɔ}X/$ '
 অন্তর / $\text{ɔ}ntɔr/$ 'heart' \leftrightarrow আন্তরিক / $\text{a}ntɔrik/$ 'hearty', 'sincere'$
70. NASMADPF: / $Xa/_{n} \leftrightarrow / $\int\text{o}X/_{adj}$ 'with / $Xa/$ '
 সীমা / $\int\text{ima}/$ 'limit' \leftrightarrow সসীম / $\int\text{o}\int\text{im}/$ 'limited, with limit'$
71. NASMADSF: / $C\text{ɔ}XC/_{n} \leftrightarrow / $C\text{a}XCik/_{adj}$ 'related to / $C\text{ɔ}XC/$ '
 সম্মান / $\int\text{omman}/$ 'honour' \leftrightarrow সাম্মানিক / $\int\text{ammanik}/$ 'honorary'$
72. NASMADSF: / $XVC/_{n} \leftrightarrow / $XCe/_{adj}$ 'who has the habit of doing / $XVC/$ '
 খরচ / $k^h\text{ɔ}rɔc/$ 'expense' \leftrightarrow খরচে / $k^h\text{ɔ}rce/$ 'who has the habit of expending a lot'$
73. NASMADSF: / $XC_{-asp}C_{+asp}\text{ɔ}/_{n} \leftrightarrow / $XC_{+asp}i/_{adj}$ '/ $XC_{-aspiration}C_{+asp}\text{ɔ}/-ed$ '
 দুঃখ / $\text{dukk}^h\text{o}/$ 'distress' \leftrightarrow দুঃখী / $\text{duk}^h\text{i}/$ 'distressed'$
74. NASVADCF: / $CXVC/_{n} \leftrightarrow / $ekCXCa/_{adj}$ 'which gives only one / $CXVC/$ '
 ফসল / $f\text{ɔ}\int\text{ɔ}l/$ 'harvest', 'crop' \leftrightarrow একফসলা / $ekf\text{ɔ}\int\text{la}/$ 'land which gives only one harvest'$
75. NASVADCF: / $CXVC/_{n} \leftrightarrow / $doCXCa/_{adj}$ 'which gives two / $CXVC/$ '
 ফসল / $f\text{ɔ}\int\text{ɔ}l/$ 'harvest', 'crop' \leftrightarrow দোফসলা / $dof\text{ɔ}\int\text{la}/$ 'land which gives two harvests'$
76. NASMADCF: / $Xa/_{n} \leftrightarrow / $\text{ɔ}X/_{adj}$ 'not possible to do / $Xa/$ '
 গণনা / $g\text{ɔ}n\text{ɔ}n\text{a}/$ 'counting' \leftrightarrow অগণন / $\text{ɔ}g\text{ɔ}n\text{ɔ}n/$ 'uncountable'$
77. NASMADCF: / $Xa/_{n} \leftrightarrow / $\text{ɔ}X\text{o}k/_{adj}$ 'without / $Xa/$ '
 রাজা / $r\text{a}j\text{a}/$ 'king' \leftrightarrow অরাজক / $\text{ɔ}r\text{a}j\text{o}k/$ 'without king', 'ungoverned'$
78. NASMADCF: / $CuX/_{n} \leftrightarrow / $\text{ɔ}C\text{ɔ}^hXeo/_{adj}$ 'not / $CuX/$ -like
 পুরুষ / $p\text{u}r\text{u}\int/$ 'man' \leftrightarrow অপৌরুষেয় / $\text{ɔ}p\text{ɔ}^h\text{ru}\int\text{eo}/$ 'unmanly', 'Godly'$
79. NASMADCF: / $Xa/_{n} \leftrightarrow / $\text{ɔ}X\text{ɔ}n\text{i}\text{o}/_{adj}$ 'beyond the grasp of / $Xa/$ '
 চিন্তা / $\text{c}\text{i}n\text{t}\text{a}/$ 'thought' \leftrightarrow অচিন্তনীয় / $\text{ɔ}c\text{i}n\text{t}\text{ɔ}n\text{i}\text{o}/$ 'unthinkable'$
80. NASVADCF: / $Xi/_{n} \leftrightarrow / $\text{a}nt\text{ɔ}rXik/_{adj}$ 'including all the / Xi/s '
 জাতি / $j\text{a}t\text{i}/$ 'nation' \leftrightarrow আন্তর্জাতিক / $\text{a}nt\text{ɔ}rj\text{a}t\text{i}k/$ 'international'$

81. NASVADCF: /XC/_n ⇔ /doXCa/_{adj} 'which gives two /XC/'
ফসল /fɔʃol/ 'crop' ⇔ দোফসলা /dofɔʃla/ '(a land) that gives two harvests'
82. NASMADCF: /Xa/_n ⇔ /nirXɔ/_{adj} 'who lacks /Xa/'
লজ্জা /loʃja/ 'shame' ⇔ নিৰ্লজ্জা /nirloʃjo/ 'shameless'
83. NASMADPJ: /CXa/_n ⇔ /hɔtoCX/_{adj} 'who has lost /CXa/'
চেতনা /cetna/ 'sense' ⇔ হতচেতন /hotocetn/ 'sense-less'
84. NASMADPJ: /Xa/_n ⇔ /bigɔtoXɔ/_{adj} 'somebody who has lost /Xa/'
স্পৃহা /spriha/ 'desire' ⇔ বিগতস্পৃহা /bigɔtosprihɔ/ 'who has lost all his desires'
85. NASVADSJ: /Xa/_n ⇔ /Xagoriʃtʰo/_{adj} 'something in a bigger /Xa/'
সংখ্যা /ʃonkʰa/ 'number' ⇔ সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ /ʃonkʰagoriʃtʰo/ 'majority'
86. NASVADSJ: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVruddʰo/_{adj} 'blocked with /XV/'
অশ্রু /osru/ 'tears' ⇔ অশ্রুৰুদ্ধ /osruruddʰo/ 'not capable of talking because of tears'
87. NASVADSJ: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCakranto/_{adj} 'who has /XC/'
রোগ /rog/ 'disease' ⇔ রোগাক্রান্ত /rogakranto/ 'sick', 'diseased'
88. NASVADSJ: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCahɔto/_{adj} 'struck with /XC/'
শোক /ʃok/ 'grief' ⇔ শোকাহত /ʃokahɔto/ 'stricken by grief'
89. NASVADSJ: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCJurano/_{adj} 'capable of giving pleasure by filling one's /XC/'
কোল /kol/ 'lap' ⇔ কোলজুড়ানো /koljurano/ 'capable of giving pleasure to somebody by filling his/her lap'
90. NASVADSJ: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCJurano/_{adj} 'capable of giving pleasure to /XC/'
প্রাণ /pran/ 'heart' ⇔ প্রাণজুড়ানো /pranjurano/ 'with a satisfied heart'
91. NASVADSJ: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVboddʰo/_{adj} 'who must fulfil or keep his /XV/'
প্রতিজ্ঞা /protiggā/ 'promise' ⇔ প্রতিজ্ঞাবদ্ধ /protiggāboddʰo/ 'who must fulfil or keep his promise'
92. NASVADSJ: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVjʰɔra/_{adj} 'full of /XV/'
রক্ত /rɔkto/ 'blood' ⇔ রক্তঝরা /rɔktojʰɔra/ 'full of bloodshed'

93. NASVADSJ: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVbodd^ho/_{adj} 'united with /XV/'
 একতা /ɛkota/ 'unity' ⇔ একতাবদ্ধ /ɛkotabodd^ho/ 'united'
94. NASBPF: /oX/_n ⇔ /ʃaX/_{adj} 'with /oX/'
 অনুনয় /onuno^y/ 'request' ⇔ সানুনয় /ʃanuno^y/ 'with request'
95. NASBSF: /Xo/_n ⇔ /Xa^yotto/_{adj} 'within the limit of /Xo/'
 সাধ্য /ʃadd^ho/ 'capacity' ⇔ সাধ্যায়ত্ত্ব /ʃadd^ha^yotto/ 'which the capacity'
96. NASBSF: /Xo/_n ⇔ /Xa^yatto/_{adj} 'controlled by /Xo/'
 রাষ্ট্র /raʃt̪ro/ 'state' ⇔ রাষ্ট্রীয়ত্ত্ব /raʃtra^yatto/ 'nationalized'
97. NASBSF: /Xo^y/_n ⇔ /Xitu/_{adj} 'who has /Xo^y/'
 ভয় /b^ho^y/ 'fear' ⇔ ভীত্ব /b^hitu/ 'afraid'
98. NASBSF: /Xa/_n ⇔ /Xil/_{adj} 'full of /Xa/'
 ফেনা /fena/ 'foam', 'froth' ⇔ ফেনিল /fenil/ 'foaming', 'frothy'
99. NASBSF: /Xo/_n ⇔ /Xikrito/_{adj} '/Xo/-ed'
 শূন্য /ʃunno/ 'empty' ⇔ শূন্যীকৃত /ʃunnikrito/
100. NASBSF: /Xor/_n ⇔ /Xure/_{adj} 'full of /Xor/'
 পাথর /pat^hor/ 'stone' ⇔ পাথুরে /pat^hure/ 'full of stones'
101. NASBSF: /Xor/_n ⇔ /Xure/_{adj} 'who has the nature of /Xor/'
 বাঁদর /bādor/ 'monkey' ⇔ বাঁদুরে /bādure/ 'who has the nature of a monkey'
102. NASBSF: /Xor/_n ⇔ /Xure/_{adj} 'who has /Xor/ of somebody'
 আদর /ad̪or/ 'affection' ⇔ আদুরে /adure/ 'who has the affection of somebody'
103. NASBSF: /Xo/_{adj} ⇔ /Xa^j/_n 'the fact that someone /Xo/ talks about himself
 which necessarily belittles others'
 বড় /b̪oro/ 'big' ⇔ বড়াই /b̪ora^j/ 'the act of behaving in such a prideful way which
 necessarily belittles others'
104. NASBSF: /Xor/_n ⇔ /Xure/_{adj} 'of /Xor/'
 উত্তর /ut̪tor/ 'north' ⇔ উত্তুরে /utture/ 'of north'

105.NASBSF: /Xo/n ⇔ /Xacc^ho_{nno}/adj 'severely affected with /Xo/'
মোহ /moho/ 'illusion' ⇔ মোহাচ্ছন্ন /mohacc^ho_{nno}/ 'severely affected with illusion'

106.NASBSF: /Xo/n ⇔ /Xardro/adj 'softened with /Xo/'
স্নেহ /sneho/ 'affection' ⇔ স্নেহর্দ /snehardro/ 'softened with affection'

107.NASBSF: /Xo/n ⇔ /Xabrito/adj 'covered with /Xo/'
বস্ত্র /bɔs(t)ro/ ⇔ বস্ত্রাবৃত্ত /bɔs(t)rabitro/ 'covered with clothes'

108.NASBSF: /Xo/n ⇔ /Xand^ho/adj '/Xo/-blind'
বর্ণ /bɔrno/ 'colour' ⇔ বর্ণন্ধ /bɔrnan^ho/ 'colour-blind'

109.NASBSF: /Xo/n ⇔ /Xand^ho/adj 'blind since /Xo/'
জন্ম /jɔnmo/ 'birth' ⇔ জন্মান্দ /jɔnman^ho/ 'blind by birth'

110.NASBSF: /Xo/n ⇔ /Xart^hi/adj 'who wants /Xo/'
পূন্না /punnno/ 'virtue' ⇔ পূন্নার্থী /punnart^hi/ 'who wants virtue'

111.NASBSF: /Xo/n ⇔ /Xa^yotto/adj 'attainable with /Xo/'
সাধ্য /ʃadd^ho/ 'capacity' ⇔ সাধ্যায়ত্ত /ʃadd^ha^yotto/ 'within the capacity'

112.NASBSF: /Xa/n ⇔ /Xuk/adj 'who does or has /Xa/'
ইচ্ছা /icc^ha/ 'desire' ⇔ ইচ্ছুক /icc^huk/ 'desirous'

113.NASBSF: /Xo/n ⇔ /Xibhuto/adj 'act of being brought towards /Xo/'
কেন্দ্র /kendro/ 'centre' ⇔ কেন্দ্রীভূত /kendrib^huto/ 'brought to the centre'

114.NASBSF: /Xi/n ⇔ /Xo/adj 'which has been given the form of /Xi/'
উক্তি /ukti/ 'saying', 'speech' ⇔ উক্ত /ukto/ 'said'

115.NASBSF: /Xi/n ⇔ /Xo/adj 'who has /Xi/'
ভক্তি /b^hokti/ 'devotion' ⇔ ভক্ত /b^hokto/ 'devotee'

116.NASBSF: /Xi/n ⇔ /Xo/adj 'who has been given /Xi/'
মুক্তি /mukti/ 'liberation' ⇔ মুক্ত /mukto/ 'free, liberated'

117.NASBSF: /Xi/n ⇔ /Xo/adj 'something for which /Xi/ has been given'
প্রতিশ্রুতি /protisruti/ 'a promise' ⇔ প্রতিশ্রুত /protisruto/ 'promised'

118.NASBSF: /Xo_{sto}/adj ⇔ /Xa_ʃ/n 'who has been object of /Xa_ʃ/'
বিশ্বস্ত /bi_ʃo_{sto}/ 'reliance' ⇔ বিশ্বাস /bi_ʃa_ʃ/ 'reliable'

119.NASBSF: /Xo/n ⇔ /Xatit/adj 'without /Xo/'
সন্দেহ /ʃo_{nde}ho/ 'doubt' ⇔ সন্দেহাতীত /ʃo_{nde}hatit/ 'without doubt'

120.NASBSF: /Xo/n ⇔ /Xattok/adj 'capable to doing /Xo/'
ধ্বংস /d^ho_ŋʃo/ 'destruction' ⇔ ধ্বংসাত্মক /d^ho_ŋattok/ 'destructive'

121.NASBSF: /Xo_n/n ⇔ /Xito/adj '/Xo_n-ed'
বিতরণ /bitoron/ 'distribution' ⇔ বিতরিত /bitorito/ 'distributed'

122.NASBSF: /XV_{+front, -high}/n ⇔ /XV_{+front, +high}O/adj 'of /XV_{+front, -high}/'
গাঁ /gã/ 'village' ⇔ গৈয়ো /gē^yo/ 'rural', 'rustic', 'vulgar'

123.NASBSF: /XV_{+front, -high}/n ⇔ /XV_{+front, +high}O/adj 'who has /XV_{+front, -high}/'
ঘা /g^ha/ 'wound', 'ulcer' ⇔ ঘেরো /g^heo/ 'ulcerated'

124.NASBSF: /Xop/n ⇔ /Xupto/adj '/XoC/-ed'
লোপ /lop/ 'elision', 'extinction' ⇔ লুপ্ত /lupto/ 'elided', 'extinct'

125.NASBSF: /Xog/n ⇔ /Xukto/adj '/XoC/-ed'
ভোগ /b^hog/ 'consumption' ⇔ ভুক্ত /b^hukto/ 'consumed'

126.NASBSF: /XaC/n ⇔ /XoCto/adj 'affected by /XaC/'
উত্তাপ /uttap/ 'heat' ⇔ উত্তপ্ত /uttopto/ 'heated'

127.NASBSF: /Xo/n ⇔ /Xi^yo/adj '/Xo/-al', 'which belongs to /Xo/'
রাষ্ট্র /ra_ʃtro/ 'state' ⇔ রাষ্ট্রীয় /ra_ʃtri^yo/ 'of the state'

128.NASMSBSF: /CoXi/n ⇔ /CaXo/adj 'devotee of /CoXi/'
শক্তি /ʃokti/ 'energy, goddess Kali or Durga' ⇔ শাক্ত /ʃakto/ 'follower of the sect
which considers goddess Kali or Durga as its principal deity'

129.NASBSMSF: /XoC_n/n ⇔ /XCrito/adj 'under /XoC_n/'
আবরণ /aboron/ 'cover' ⇔ আবৃত /abrito/ 'covered'

130.NASBCF: /XCna/n ⇔ /oXConio/adj 'beyond /XCna/'
ভাবনা /b^habna/ 'imagination' ⇔ অভাবনীয় /ob^habonio/ 'unimaginable'

131.NASBCF: /Xa/n ↔ /oXɔniɔ/adj 'un-/Xa/-able'

চিন্তা /cinta/ 'oblivion' ↔ অচিন্তনীয় /ocintoni^yo/ 'unforgettable'

132.NASBCF: /Xa/n ↔ /ʃɔ^yoŋXo/adj 'capable of doing /Xa/ by itself'

ক্রিয়া /kri^ya/ 'action' ↔ স্বয়ংক্রিয় /ʃɔ^yoŋkri^yo/ 'automatic'

133.NASMSBCF: /CV_{-high}Xɔ/n ↔ /biCV_{+high}Xi/adj 'somebody of different /Xɔ/'

ধর্ম /d^hɔrmo/ 'religion' ↔ বিধর্মী /bid^hormi/ 'somebody of different religion'

134.NASBCF: /XV/n ↔ /ʃɔmoXi/adj 'willing to share /XV/'

ব্যথা /bɛt^ha/ 'pain' ↔ সমব্যথী /ʃɔmobɛthi/ 'sympathetic'

135.NASBCF: /CXo/n ↔ /k^hɔnoCXa/adj 'whose /CX/ is a rare occasion'

জন্ম /jɔnmo/ 'birth' ↔ ক্ষণজন্মা /k^hɔnojɔnma/ 'whose birth is a rare occasion'

136.NASMSBCF: /Xa/n ↔ /hɔtoX/adj 'who has lost /Xa/'

শ্রদ্ধা /srodd^ha/ 'respect' ↔ হতশ্রদ্ধ /hɔtosrodd^ho/ 'who has lost respect for something or somebody'

137.NASBPJ: /CXa/n ↔ /(bi)gɔtoCX/adj 'somebody who has lost /CXa/'

চেতনা /cetona/ 'sensation' ↔ (বি)গতচেতন /bigɔtoceton/ 'senseless'

138.NASBSJ: /Xo/n ↔ /Xakranto/adj 'who has /Xo/'

সন্দেহ /ʃɔndeho/ 'suspicion' ↔ সন্দেহাক্রান্ত /ʃɔndehakranto/ 'sceptical'

139.NASMSBCJ: /Xā/n ↔ /driroXō/adj 'with a firm /Xā/'

প্রতিজ্ঞা /protiggā/ 'promise' ↔ দৃঢ়প্রতিজ্ঞ /driroprotiggō/ 'determined', 'who will never break his promise'

140.NASBCJ: /Xa/n ↔ /bohuXi/adj 'speaking many /Xa/'

ভাষা /b^haʃa/ 'language' ↔ বহুভাষী /bohuh^haʃi/ 'who speaks a lot of languages'

141. NASMSBCJ: /Xɔn/n ↔ /dirg^hoXi/adj 'with a long /Xɔn/'

জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ↔ দীর্ঘজীবী /dirg^hojibi/ 'who has a long life'

142.V/AASVADSF: /Xa/vadj ↔ /Xat_ɹ/adj 'thoroughly /Xa/'

ভরা /b^hɔra/ 'filled up/ 'fill up' ↔ ভরাট /b^hɔrat_ɹ/ 'thoroughly filled up'

143. AdvSVAADSF: /Xɔ/adv ⇔ /Xɔgami/adj 'which goes /Xɔ/-ly'
 দ্রুত /druto/ 'rapid' ⇔ দ্রুতগামী /drutogami/ 'which goes rapidly'
144. NAdvSVADSF: /Xi/n ⇔ /Xite/postposition 'depending on /Xi/'
 ভিত্তি /b^hitti/ 'base', 'basis' ⇔ ভিত্তিতে /b^hittite/ 'on the basis of'
145. NAdvSVADPF: /CX/n ⇔ /aCX/adv 'till /CX/'
 মৃত্যু /mrittu/ 'death' ⇔ আমৃত্যু /amrittu/ 'till death'
146. NAdvSVADPF: /CX/n ⇔ /aCX/adv 'during whole /CX/'
 জীবন /jibon/ 'life' ⇔ আজীবন /ajibon/ 'during the whole life'
147. NAdvSVADSF: /Xo/n ⇔ /Xoto/adv 'according to /Xo/'
 ধর্ম /d^hormo/ 'religion' ⇔ ধর্মত /d^hormoto/ 'according to the religion'
148. NAdvSVADSF: /XV/n ⇔ /XVto/adv '/XV/-ly'
 অংশ /oŋʃo/ 'part' ⇔ অংশত /oŋʃoto/ 'partly'
149. NAdvSVADSF: /XC/n ⇔ /XC^{anukome}/adv 'according to /XC/'
 আদেশ /adeʃ/ 'order' ⇔ আদেশানুক্রমে /adeʃ^{anukome}/ 'according to the order'
150. NAdvSVADSF: /XV^{-high}/n ⇔ /XV^{-high}nukome/adv 'according to /XV^{-high}/'
 আজ্ঞা /aggā/ 'order' ⇔ আজ্ঞানুক্রমে /aggā^{nukome}/ 'according to the order'
151. NAdvSVADSF: /X^y/adv ⇔ /Xɔ^yota/n '/X^y/-ity'
 নিশ্চয় /niʃco^y/ 'certainly' ⇔ নিশ্চয়তা /niʃcho^yota/ 'certainty'
152. NAdvSVADSF: /XV/adv ⇔ /XVta/n '/XV/-ness'
 দ্রুত /druto/ 'fast' ⇔ দ্রুততা /drutota/ 'fastness'
153. NAdvSMSBCF: /ɔXo^j/adv ⇔ /aXikota/n 'the quiddity of /ɔXo^j/'
 অবশ্যই /oboʃɔ^j/ 'compulsorily' ⇔ আবশ্যিকতা /aboʃʃikota/ 'compulsoriness'
154. NAdvSVADPJ: /CX/n ⇔ /ɔdurCXe/adv 'in near /CX/'
 ভবিষ্যৎ /b^hobiʃʃot/ 'future' ⇔ অদূরভবিষ্যতে /ɔdurb^hobiʃʃote/ 'nm near future'
155. NAdvSVADSJ: /XC/n ⇔ /XCjore/adv 'due to /XC/'
 কপাল /kopal/ 'luck' ⇔ কপালজোরে /kopaljore/ 'due to good luck'

156.NAdvSVADR: /C₁oC₂/_n ⇔ /C₁oC₂aC₁uC₂i/_{adv} 'C₁oC₂/-wise'
কোণ /kon/ 'angle' ⇔ কোণাকুণি /konakuni/ 'diagonally'

157.NVSVADSF: /XC/_{v, imp, 2nd intim/derog} ⇔ /XCuni/_n 'woman who does the action asked for in /XC/'
রান্না /rād^h/ 'cook' ⇔ রান্নানি /rād^huni/ 'female cook'

158.NVSMADSF: /XVC/_n ⇔ /XCa/_{v, simp pres, imp, 2nd intim/derog} 'beat with /XVC/'
চাবুক /cabuk/ 'whip' ⇔ চাবকা /cabka/ 'whip'

159.NVSVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCa/_{v, simp pres, imp, 2nd intim/derog} 'do a particular action by using /XC/'
বেত /bet/ 'cane', 'baton' ⇔ বেতা /beta/ 'beat with a cane or with a baton'

160.NVSVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCa/_{v, simp pres, imp, 2nd intim/derog} 'do a particular action discretely by using /XC/ with a bad intention'
হাত /hat/ 'hand' ⇔ হাতা /hata/ 'take something discretely by using your hand(s) with a bad intention'

161.VASVADSF: /XC/_{adj} ⇔ /XCa/_v 'to become /XC/'
কম /kom/ 'less' ⇔ কমা /koma/ 'diminish'

162.VASVADPF: /CX/_{v, imp, 2nd inform} ⇔ /duʃCX/_{adj} 'difficult to do what is asked for in /CX/'
সহ /ʃoh/ 'tolerate' ⇔ দুঃসহ /duʃʃoh/ 'intolerable'

163.VASVADPF: /CX/_{v, imp, 2nd int/derog} ⇔ /duʃCX/_{adj} 'difficult to do what is asked for in /CX/'
কর /kor/ 'do' ⇔ দুঃকর /duʃkor/ 'difficult to do'

164.VVSVADPF: /CX/_{v, imp, 2nd inform} ⇔ /durCX/_{adj} 'difficult to do what is asked for in /CX/'
বহ /boh/ 'bear' ⇔ দুর্বহ /durboh/ 'difficult to bear'

165.VASVADSF: /CX/_{v, imp, 2nd int/derog} ⇔ /niʃCX/_{adj} 'incapable of doing the action referred to in /Xi/'
চল /col/ 'go', 'move' ⇔ নিশ্চল /niʃcol/ 'immobile'

166.VASVADSF: /Xi/_{v, simp pres, 1st} ⇔ /Xiʃnu/_{adj} 'who does the action referred to in /Xi/'
চলি /coli/ 'I move' ⇔ চলিষ্ণু /coliʃnu/ 'moving'

167. InterjAdjSVADSF: /XC/interj/adj ⇔ /XCe/adv 'in /XC/-way'
 সাবধান /ʃabdʰan/ 'be careful!' ⇔ সাবধানে /ʃabdʰane/ 'carefully'

168. InterjAdjSVADSF: /XC/interj/adj ⇔ /XCe/adv 'in /XC/-way'
 সাবধান /ʃabdʰan/ 'be careful!' ⇔ সাবধানে /ʃabdʰane/ 'carefully'

169. InterjNSVADSF: /XC/interj ⇔ /XCota/n 'XC/-ness'
 সাবধান /ʃabdʰan/ 'be careful!' ⇔ সাবধানতা /ʃabdʰanota/ 'carefulness', 'precautions'

170. InterjASBSF: /Xo/interj ⇔ /Xannito/adj '/Xo/-ed'
 আশ্চর্য /aʃcorjo/ 'surprised' ⇔ আশ্চর্যস্থিত /aʃcorjannito/ 'surprised'

B. Intra-categorical patterns

171. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ⇔ /ɔnaCX/_n 'absence of /CX/'
 বৃষ্টি /briʃt̪i/ 'rain' ⇔ অনাবৃষ্টি /ɔnabriʃt̪i/ 'drought'
172. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ⇔ /ɔgroCX/_n '/CX/ towards the front'
 গতি /goti/ 'speed' ⇔ অগ্রগতি /agrogoti/ 'development'
173. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ⇔ /ɔgroCX/_n '/CX/ towards the front'
 দূত /dut/ 'messenger, ambassador' ⇔ অগ্রদূত /ɔgroɔdut/ 'pioneer, precursor'
174. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ⇔ /uroCX/_n '/CX/ that flies'
 জাহাজ /jahaj/ 'ship' ⇔ উড়োজাহাজ /urojahaj/ 'aircraft'
175. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ⇔ /gɔndɔCX/_n 'big /CX/'
 মূর্খ /murk^hɔ/ 'ignorant', 'illiterate' ⇔ গণ্ডমূর্খ /gandɔmurk^hɔ/ 'ignorant or illiterate to the extreme'
176. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ⇔ /gɔndɔCX/_n 'undevelopped /CX/'
 গ্রাম /gram/ 'village' ⇔ গণ্ডগ্রাম /gɔndɔgram/ 'a big village'
177. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ⇔ /teCX/_n 'furniture having three /CX/s'
 পায়া /pa^ya/ 'foot' ⇔ তেপায়া /tepa^ya/ 'a furniture that has three feet'
178. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ⇔ /teCX/_n 'with three /CX/'
 তলা /tɔla/ 'floor' ⇔ তেতলা /tetɔla/ 'a building of three floors'
179. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ⇔ /proCX/_n '/CX/ onward'
 গতি /goti/ 'speed' ⇔ অগ্রগতি /progoti/ 'progress'
180. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ⇔ /proCX/_n 'a kind of /CX/'
 জাতি /jati/ 'race' ⇔ প্রজাতি /projati/ 'specis'
181. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ⇔ /protiCX/_n 'a synonyme of /CX/'
 মূর্তি /murti/ 'idol' ⇔ প্রতিমূর্তি /protimurti/ 'image'
182. NNSVADPF: /CX/_n ⇔ /bɔrgoCX/_n 'square /CX/'
 ক্ষেত্র /k^hetro/ 'area' ⇔ বর্গক্ষেত্র /bɔrgok^hetro/ 'square area'

183. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /bɔrgoCX/ₙ 'CX/ of a square number'
মূল /mul/ 'root' ↔ বর্গমূল /bɔrgomul/ 'square root'
184. NNSVADPF: /VX/ₙ ↔ /mɔhVX/ₙ 'greater /VX/'
আকাশ /akaʃ/ 'sea' ↔ মহাকাশ /mɔhakaʃ/ 'ocean'
185. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /od^hiCX/ₙ 'a kind of /CX/'
গ্রহণ /grɔhon/ 'act of taking' ↔ অধিগ্রহণ /od^higrɔhon/ 'A kind of taking'
186. NNSVADPF: /VX/ₙ ↔ /prottVX/ₙ 'a kind of /VX/'
আদেশ /adeʃ/ 'order' ↔ প্রত্যাদেশ /prottadeʃ/ 'ordinance'
187. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /ɔd^hoCX/ₙ 'CX/ towards the bottom'
পতন /pɔton/ 'fall' ↔ অধঃপতন /ad^hoɔton/ 'fall towards the bottom'
188. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /onuCX/ₙ 'a kind of /CX/'
শ্রেরণা /prerona/ 'inspiration' ↔ অনুশ্রেরণা /anuprerona/ 'inspiration'
189. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /onuCX/ₙ 'a kind of /CX/'
সন্ধান /sɔnd^han/ 'quest', 'trace' ↔ অনুসন্ধান /onusɔnd^han/ 'quest', 'investigation'
190. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /biCX/ₙ 'a kind of /CX/'
জয় /jɔ^y/ 'victory' ↔ বিজয় /bi.jɔ^y/ 'victory'
191. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /biCX/ₙ 'a kind of /CX/'
তর্ক /tɔrko/ 'debate' ↔ বিতর্ক /bitɔrko/ 'debate'
192. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /jɔloCX/ₙ 'CX/ made with the force of water'
বিদ্যুৎ /biddu/ 'electricity' ↔ জলবিদ্যুৎ /jɔlobiddu/ 'hydro-electricity'
193. NNSVADPF: /CX/ₙ ↔ /jɔloCX/ₙ 'CX/ of water'
পথ /pɔth/ 'way' ↔ জলপথ /jɔloɔth/ 'water-way', 'outlet for water'
194. NNSVADSF: /XC/ₙ ↔ /XCɔkoʃ/ₙ 'cell of a /XC/'
জীব /jib/ 'animal' ↔ জীবকোষ /jibɔkoʃ/ 'animal cell'
195. NNSVADSF: /XC/ₙ ↔ /Xɔna/ₙ 'activities of /XC/'
উন্মাদ /unmad/ 'mad' ↔ উন্মাদনা /unmadɔna/ 'mad-like activities'

196. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XC_onto/_n 'end of /XC/'
 দিক /dik/ 'one of the ten quarters of the globe' ⇔ দিগন্ত /dig_onto/ 'end of a particular quarter of the globe'
197. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XC_okk^hep/_n 'onward movement of /XC/'
 পদ /p_od/ 'foot' ⇔ পদক্ষেপ /p_od_okk^hep/ 'step'
198. NNSVADSF: /XV_{+syllab}/_n ⇔ /XV_{+syllab}_odd^ho_ni/ 'sounds to express happiness and to give the news of /XV_{+syllab}/'
 জয় /j_oy/ 'victory' ⇔ জয়ধ্বনি /j_oy_odd^ho_ni/ 'sound to express the happiness and to give the news of victory'
199. NNSVADSF: /X_o/_n ⇔ /X_odd^ho_ni/ 'sounds to express /X_o/'
 হর্ষ /h_or_oʃ_o/ 'joy' ⇔ হর্ষধ্বনি /h_or_oʃ_odd^ho_ni/ 'sound to express one's joy'
200. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XC_on/ 'act of giving /XC/'
 আবাস /aba_oʃ/ 'habitation', 'dwelling-place' ⇔ আবাসন /aba_oʃ_on/ 'act of providing houses'
201. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XC_ana/ 'quiddity of /XC/'
 মালিক /malik/ 'owner' ⇔ মালিকানা /malikana/ 'ownership'
202. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XC_a^y_on/ 'act of putting somebody in /XC/'
 পদ /p_od/ 'rank, official position' ⇔ পদায়ন /p_oda^y_on/ 'act of putting an employee in a particular post'
203. NNSVADSF: /Xa/_n ⇔ /Xa^y_on/ 'act of giving /Xa/ to somebody'
 ক্ষমতা /k^h_omo_ota/ 'power' ⇔ ক্ষমতায়ন /k^h_omo_ota_yo_n/
204. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XC_i/ 'who does /XC/'
 চাষ /ca_oʃ/ 'agriculture, farming' ⇔ চাষী /ca_oʃ_i/ 'farmer'
205. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XC_i/ 'act of killing with /XC/'
 ফাঁস /fā_oʃ/ (a slip knot) ⇔ ফাঁসী /fā_oʃ_i/ (death or killing by hanging)
206. NNSVADSF: /XC/_n ⇔ /XC_i/ 'who makes /XC/'
 তেল /tel/ 'oil' ⇔ তেলী /teli/ 'manufacturer of oil', 'a Hindu caste involved in such occupation'

207. NNSVADSF: /XC/n ⇔ /XCika/n 'a thing or a practice by /XC/'
 যবন /jɔbɔn/ 'Greek, foreigner, Muslim' ⇔ যবনিকা /jɔbɔnika/ 'scene-drop in a theatre-show'
208. NNSVADSF: /XC/n ⇔ /XCika/n 'a token of /XC/'
 স্মরণ /ʃōron/ 'remembrance' ⇔ স্মরনিকা /ʃōronika/ 'collection of writing published in remembrance of some occasion or some person'
209. NNSVADSF: /XC/n ⇔ /XCika/n 'something put on /XC/'
 দেয়াল /de^yal/ 'wall' ⇔ দেয়ালিকা /de^yalika/ 'a handwritten journal put on a wall'
210. NNSVADSF: /Xi/n ⇔ /Xial/n 'who fights with /Xi/'
 লাঠি /laṭ^hi/ 'stick' ⇔ লাঠিয়াল /laṭ^hial/ 'who fights with stick'
211. NNSVADSF: /XC/n ⇔ /XCure/n 'who goes or comes back from /XC/'
 হাট /haṭ/ 'village market' ⇔ হাটুরে /haṭure/ 'who is going or coming from a village market'
212. NNSVADSF: /Xa/n ⇔ /Xaru/n 'who does /Xa/'
 নেশা /neʃa/ 'addiction' ⇔ নেশারু /neʃaru/ 'addicted'
213. NNSVADSF: /Xa/n ⇔ /Xaru/n '/Xa/-addicted'
 গাঁজা /gāja/ 'hashish' ⇔ গাঁজারু /gājaru/ 'hashish-addicted'
214. NNSVADSF: /XC/n ⇔ /XCi/n 'money given as a sign of /XC/'
 প্রণাম /pronam/ 'Hindu way of showing respect' ⇔ প্রণামী /pronami/ 'a present or money given as a token of respect'
215. NNSVADSF: /XC/n ⇔ /XCikəron/n 'act of transforming something into /XC/'
 তরল /torol/ 'liquid' ⇔ তরলীকরণ /torolikəron/ 'liquidification'
216. NNSVADSF: /XC/n ⇔ /XCib^hɔbɔn/n 'act of creating /XC/ in something'
 স্তর /stor/ 'layer, stratum' ⇔ স্তরীভবন /storib^hɔbɔn/ 'stratification'
217. NNSVADSF: /XC/n ⇔ /XCi^ya/n 'who does /XC/'
 কীর্তন /kirton/ 'a special kind of religious song' ⇔ কীর্তনীয়া /kirtoni^ya/ 'kirtan singer'
218. NNSMADSF: /CāCa/n ⇔ /CēCεl/n 'who consumes /CāCa/'
 গাঁজা /gāja/ 'hashish' ⇔ গাঁজেল /gējεl/ 'consumer of hashish'

219. NNSMADSF: /C₁aC₂i/n ↔ /C₁εC₂εl/n 'who fights with /C₁aC₂i/'
লাঠি /lat̪^hi/ 'stick' ↔ লেঠেল /let̪^hel/ '
220. NNSVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVkoron/n 'act of bringing everything to /XV/'
মেরু /meru/ 'pole' ↔ মেরুকরণ /merukoron/ 'polarization'
221. NNSVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVkoron/n 'act of transforming something into /XV/'
মরু /mɔru/ 'desert' ↔ মরুকরণ /mɔrukoron/ 'desertification'
222. NNSPSVADSF: /XV/n_{sing} ↔ /XVkolap/n_{plu} '/XV/ and similar things'
কার্য /karjɔ/ 'activity' ↔ কার্যকলাপ /karjokolap/ 'activities'
223. NNSVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVkar/n 'who does /XV/'
কলা /kola/ 'art' ↔ কলাকার /kolakar/ 'artist'
224. NNSVADSF: /XV/n ↔ /XVkar/n 'who works with /XV/'
স্বর্ণ /ʃɔrno/ 'gold' ↔ স্বর্ণকার /ʃɔrnokar/ 'goldsmith'
225. NNSVADSJ: /Xɔ/n ↔ /Xɔkk^hɔ^y/n 'decay of /Xɔ/'
রক্ত /rɔkto/ 'blood' ↔ রক্তক্ষয় /rɔkto^hɔ^y/ 'bloodshed'
226. NNSVADSF: /Xʃ/n ↔ /Xʃta/n 'who gives /Xʃ/'
উপদেশ /upodeʃ/ 'advice' ↔ উপদেষ্টা /upodeʃta/ 'adviser'
227. NNSVADPJ: /CX/n ↔ /icc^haCX/n '/CX/ according to one's will'
মৃত্যু /mrittu/ 'death' ↔ ইচ্ছামৃত্যু /icc^hamrittu/ 'death at will'
228. NNSVADPJ: /CX/n ↔ /caronCX/n '/CX/ that roams around'
কবি /kɔbi/ 'poet' ↔ চারণকবি /caronkɔbi/ 'a bard'
229. NNSVADPJ: /CX/n ↔ /tɔ^jlɔCX/n '/CX/ done with oilpaint'
চিত্র /citro/ 'painting' ↔ তৈলচিত্র /tɔ^jlɔcitro/ 'oil painting'
230. NNSVADPJ: /VX/n ↔ /pretVX/n '/VX/ of a dead person'
আত্মা /attā/ 'soul' ↔ প্রেতাআ /pretattā/ 'spirit or ghost of a dead man'

231. NNSVADPJ: /CX/_n ⇔ /margɔCX/_n 'classical /CX/'
সঙ্গীত /sɔŋgit/ 'music' ⇔ মার্গসঙ্গীত /margɔsɔŋgit/ 'classical music'
232. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCabaʃ/_n 'living place of /XC/'
দূত /dut/ 'ambassador, messenger' ⇔ দূতাবাস /dutabaʃ/ 'Embassy'
233. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCarohi/_n 'who climbs /XC/'
পর্বত /pɔrbɔt/ 'mounain' ⇔ পর্বতারোহী /pɔrbɔtarohi/ 'mountaineer'
234. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVkot^ha/_n 'description of /XV/'
স্মৃতি /sr̥iti/ 'memory' ⇔ স্মৃতিকথা /sr̥itikot^ha/ 'memoir'
235. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCkit/_n 'insect that makes /XC/'
রেশম /reʃɔm/ 'silk' ⇔ রেশমকীট /reʃɔmkit/ 'silk-worm'
236. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCtɔntro/_n 'political system run by the members of a particular /XC/'
পরিবার /pɔribar/ 'family' ⇔ পরিবারতন্ত্র /pɔribartɔntro/ 'political system run by the members of a particular family'
237. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVdɔʃa/_n 'a deplorable condition caused by of /XV/'
দৈন্য /dɔʃnno/ 'poverty' ⇔ দৈন্যদশা /dɔʃnnoɔʃa/ 'state of poverty'
238. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCdɔʃa/_n 'a deplorable condition that looks like /XC/'
মরণ /mɔron/ 'death' ⇔ মরণদশা /mɔrɔndɔʃa/ 'conditions of death, an fatal accident'
239. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVdroho/_n 'activity against /XV/'
রাষ্ট্র /raʃt̥ro/ 'state' ⇔ রাষ্ট্রদ্রোহ /raʃt̥rodroho/ 'revolution against the state'
240. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCɔdroho/_n 'activities against /XC/'
দেশ /deʃ/ 'country' ⇔ দেশদ্রোহ /deʃɔdroha/ 'revolution against the country'
241. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVbirɔti/_n 'not using /XV/ for some time'
অস্ত্র /ɔs(t)ro/ 'arms' ⇔ অস্ত্রবিরতি /ɔs(t)robirɔti/ 'act of not using /X/ for some time', 'cease-fire'
242. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVbic^hed/_n 'separation between two (or more) /XV/s'
বন্ধু /bond^hu/ 'friend' ⇔ বন্ধুবিচ্ছেদ /bond^hubic^hed/ 'separation between friends'

243. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVbritti/_n 'profession of /XV/'
 ভিক্ষা /b^hikka/ 'alms','begging' ⇔ ভিক্ষাবৃত্তি /b^hikkabritti/ 'profession of begging'
244. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVb^humi/_n 'land known in the name of /XV/'
 বঙ্গ /boŋgo/ 'Bengal' ⇔ বঙ্গভূমি /boŋgob^humi/ 'land of Bengal'
245. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVd^honi/_n 'sound made to express /XV/'
 আনন্দ /anoŋdo/ 'pleasure' ⇔ আনন্দধ্বনি /anoŋdod^honi/ 'sound made to express pleasure'
246. NNSVADSJ: /X^y/_n ⇔ /X^ymullo/_n 'price to be paid for /X^y/ or something'
 বিনিময় /binimo^y/ 'exchange' ⇔ বিনিময়মূল্য /binimo^ymullo/ 'value of exchange'
247. NNSVADSJ: /XC/_n ⇔ /XCbondor/_n 'place from where /XC/s fly'
 বিমান /biman/ 'aeroplane' ⇔ বিমানবন্দর /bimanbondor/ 'airport'
248. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVmorjada/_n 'dignity of /XV/'
 বংশ /boŋjo/ 'family' ⇔ বংশমর্যাদা /boŋjomorjada/ 'dignity of one's family'
249. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVlok/_n 'the realm of /XV/'
 বিষ্ণু /biŋnu/ 'the god Vishnu' ⇔ বিষ্ণুলোক /biŋnulok/ 'the realm of the god Vishnu'
250. NNSVADSJ: /XV/_n ⇔ /XVjoŋjom/_n 'control of /XV/'
 ইন্দ্রিয় /indri^yo/ 'sense-organ' ⇔ ইন্দ্রিয়সংযম /indri^yojoŋjom/ 'control of sense-organ'
251. NNSBPF: /oX/_n ⇔ /ob^ho^yaX/_n '/oX/ where it is prohibited to kill animals'
 অরণ্য /orɔŋno/ 'forest' ⇔ অভয়ারণ্য /ob^{hy}arɔŋno/ 'protected forest, safari park'
252. NNSBPF: /upoX/_n ⇔ /opɔX/_n 'contrary of /upoX/'
 উপকার /upokar/ 'good turn' ⇔ অপকার /apokar/ 'disservice', 'bad turn'
253. NNSBPF: /upoX/_n ⇔ /opɔX/_n 'contrary of /upoX/'
 উপন্যাস /uponnaʃ/ 'novel' ⇔ অপন্যাস /aponnaʃ/ 'bad novel'
254. NNSBPF: /Xa/_n ⇔ /nirX/_n 'absence of /Xa/'
 আশা /aʃa/ 'hope' ⇔ নিরাশা /niraʃa/ 'despair, loss of hope'

255. NNSBPF: /uX/_n ⇔ /mohox/_n 'very big /uX/'
 উৎসব /utʃob/ 'festival' ⇔ মহোৎসব /mohotʃob/ 'very big festival'
256. NNSBSF: /Xo^y/_n ⇔ /Xa^yon/_n 'act of giving /Xo^y/'
 আশ্রয় /asroy/ ⇔ আশ্রয়ণ /asrayon/
257. NNSBSF: /Xa/_{v, imp, 2nd intim/derog} ⇔ /Xuni/_n 'act of performing /Xano/'
 পিটানো /pitā/ 'beat' ⇔ পিটুনি /pituni/
258. NNSBSF: /Xo/_n ⇔ /Xabaʃ/_n 'living place of /Xo/'
 ছাত্র /c^hatro/ 'student' ⇔ ছাত্রাবাস /c^hatrabaʃ/ 'students' hostel'
259. NNSBSF: /Xo/_n ⇔ /Xarohi/_n 'passenger of /Xo/'
 অশ্ব /oʃʃo/ 'horse' ⇔ অশ্বরোহী /oʃʃarohi/ 'horseman', 'equestrian'
260. NNSBSF: /Xa/_n ⇔ /Xci/_n 'who plays on /Xa/'
 তবলা /tobola/ 'small drum, music instr' ⇔ তবলচী /tobolci/ 'musician of tabla'
261. NNSBSF: /Xo/_n ⇔ /Xa^yon/_n 'act of allowing /Xo/s to control everything'
 দুর্ভৃত্ত /durbritto/ 'wicked person' ⇔ দুর্ভৃত্তায়ণ /durbritta^yon/ 'act of putting
 everything under the control of wicked persons'
262. NNSBSF: /Xo/_n ⇔ /Xanʃo/_n '/Xo/ portion of something'
 অর্ধ /ord^ho/ 'half' ⇔ অর্ধাংশ /ord^hanʃo/ 'half portion'
263. NNSBSF: /Xo/_n ⇔ /Xahuti/_n 'burning/destruction of /Xo/'
 ঘৃত /g^hrito/ 'butter' ⇔ ঘৃতাহুতি /g^hritahuti/ 'put butter in sacred fire'
264. NNSBSF: /Xa/_n ⇔ /Xahuti/_n 'burning/destruction of /Xa/ for good reasons'
 আত্মা /attā/ 'soul' ⇔ আত্মাহুতি /attāhuti/ 'sacrifice of one's life for some great reason'
265. NNSBSF: /Xan/_n ⇔ /Xata/_n 'who does or makes /Xan/'
 প্রতিষ্ঠান /protiʃt^han/ 'institution' ⇔ প্রতিষ্ঠাতা /protiʃt^hata/ 'founder'
266. NNSBSF: /Xan/_n ⇔ /Xiti/_n 'quiddity/style of /Xan/'
 নির্মাণ /nirman/ 'act of construction' ⇔ নির্মিতি /nirmiti/ 'style of construction'
267. NNSBSF: /Xo/_n ⇔ /Xikoron/_n 'act of changing something into /Xo/'
 বাষ্প /baʃpo/ 'vapour' ⇔ বাষ্পীকরণ /baʃpikoron/ 'vaporization'

268. NNSBSF: /Xɔ/n ⇔ /Xib^hɔbɔn/n 'the changing of something into /Xɔ/
বাপ /baʃpo/ 'vapour' ⇔ বাষ্পীভবন /baʃpib^hɔban/ 'evaporation'
269. NNSBSF: /Xɔ/n ⇔ /Xa^yɔn/n 'act of expanding /Xɔ/ in a certain area'
শিল্প /ʃilpɔ/ 'industry' ⇔ শিল্পায়ন /ʃilpa^yɔn/ 'industrialization'
270. NNSBSF: /XCa/n ⇔ /XCCɔ/n 'object of /XCa/'
জিজ্ঞাসা /ʃiggāʃa/ 'question' ⇔ জিজ্ঞাস্য /ʃiggāʃɔ/ 'which is to be asked'
271. NNSBSF: /Xɔ/n ⇔ /Xi/n 'somebody who does /Xɔ/'
ষড়যন্ত্র /ʃɔɔɔntɔ/ 'conspiracy' ⇔ ষড়যন্ত্রী /ʃɔɔɔntri/ 'conspirator'
272. NNSBSF: /Xa/n ⇔ /Xuk/n 'who says /Xa/'
মিথ্যা /mitt^ha/ 'lie' ⇔ মিথ্যুক /mitt^huk/ 'liar'
273. NNSBSF: /Xɔ/n ⇔ /Xaŋɔ/n 'part of /Xɔ/'
যন্ত্র /ɔntɔ/ ⇔ যন্ত্রাংশ /ɔntraŋɔ/ 'spare parts'
274. NNSBSF: /Xi/n ⇔ /Xɔ/n 'who has /Xi/'
ভক্তি /b^hɔkti/ 'devotion' ⇔ ভক্ত /b^hɔktɔ/ 'devotee'
275. NNMFSMSBSF: /C₁V_{-high}C₂a/n, masc ⇔ /C₁V_{-high}C₂ri/n, fem 'feminine of /C₁V_{-high}C₂a/'
কর্তা /kɔta/ 'master of a house' ⇔ কর্ত্রী /kɔtri/ 'house lady'
276. NNSMSBCF: /XCa/n ⇔ /nɔ^jrXCɔ/n 'absence of /XCa/'
আশা /aʃa/ 'hope' ⇔ নৈরাশ্য /nɔiraʃɔ/ 'despair', 'absence of hope'
277. NNSMSBCF: /XCa/n ⇔ /nɔ^jXCɔ/n 'absence of /XCa/'
রাজা /raja/ 'king' ⇔ নৈরাজ্য /nɔ^jraɔ/ 'anarchy', 'when there is no king'
278. NNADSMSF: /CɔXɔC/n ⇔ /CɔXɔ/n 'something that is worth of
or has undergone /CɔXɔC/'
বর্জন /borɔn/ 'abandonment' ⇔ বর্জ্য /borɔ/ 'garbage'
279. NNSVRD: /C₁V_{-high}Xɔ/n ⇔ /C₁V_{-high}XaC₁V_{+high}Xi/n 'C₁V_{-high}Xɔ/-shed'
রক্ত /rɔktɔ/ 'blood' ⇔ রক্তরক্তি /rɔktarɔkti/ 'mutual blood-shed', 'profuse
hemorrhage',

280. NNSVRD: /k^hX/_n ⇔ /k^hXdX/_n 'k^hX/ and similar activities'
খাওয়া /k^ha^wa/ 'eating' ⇔ খাওয়াদাওয়া /k^ha^wada^wa/ 'eating and similar activities'
281. AASVADPF: /CX/_{adj} ⇔ /ʃoCX/_{adj} 'very /CX/'
ঠিক /t^hik/ 'true' ⇔ সঠিক /ʃot^hik/ 'true'
282. AASVADSF: /XC/_{adj} ⇔ /XCgami/_{adj} 'something who has /XC/ speed'
ধীর /d^hir/ 'slow' ⇔ ধীরগামী /d^hir(ɔ)gami/ 'which/who goes slow'
283. AASVADSF: /XC/_{adj} ⇔ /XCceta/_{adj} 'somebody who has /XC/ mentality'
স্বাধীন /ʃad^hin/ 'free' ⇔ স্বাধীনচেতা /ʃad^hinceta/ 'free minded'
284. AASVADPF: /CX/_{adj} ⇔ /nirCX/_{adj} 'something /CX/ that come out of some constricted passage'
গলিত /golito/ 'melted' ⇔ নির্গলিত /nirgolito/ 'melted and overflowing'
285. AASVADPF: /CX/_{adj} ⇔ /ʃotoCX/_{adj} '/CX/ by itself'
প্রবৃত্ত /probitto/ 'willing' ⇔ স্বতপ্রবৃত্ত /ʃotoprobitto/ 'willing to do something by himself (without being asked by any body)'
286. AASVADPF: /CX/_{adj} ⇔ /durCX/_{adj} 'not /CX/'
বিনীত /binito/ 'polite' ⇔ দুর্বিনীত /durbinito/ 'impolite'
287. AASVADPF: /VX/_{adj} ⇔ /nirVX/_{adj} 'not /VX/'
আমিশাষী /amiʃaʃi/ 'non vegetarian' ⇔ নিরামিশাষী /niramiʃaʃi/ 'vegetarian'
288. AASVADCF: /CX/_{adj} ⇔ /nirCXi/_{adj} 'who never does /CX/'
বিবাদ /bibad/ 'dispute' ⇔ নির্বিবাদী /nirbibadi/ 'who never disputes'
289. AASVADPF: /CX/_{adj} ⇔ /biCCX/_{adj} 'a kind of /CX/'
ক্ষুব্ধ /k^hubd^ho/ 'perturbed', 'offended' ⇔ বিক্ষুব্ধ /bikk^hubd^ho/ 'movement provoked by discontent'
290. AASVADPJ: /CX/_{adj} ⇔ /ʃorboCCX/_{adj} 'perfect /CX/'
ত্যাগী /te(a)gi/ 'self-denying', 'who renounces his interest or pleasure' ⇔ সর্বত্যাগী /ʃorbote(a)gi/ 'who has renounced all of his interest or pleasure'
291. AASVADPJ: /X/_{adj} ⇔ /bodX/_{adj} 'very /X/'
রাগী /ragi/ 'short-tempered' ⇔ বদরাগী /bodragi/ 'very short-tempered'

292. AASMADSF: /CV_{-high}C**ɔ**b/adj ⇔ /CV_{+high}X**ab**bo/adj 'synonym of /CV_{-high}C**ɔ**b/'
সম্ভব /ʃ**ɔ**mb^h**ɔ**b/ 'possible', 'probable' ⇔ সম্ভাব্য /ʃ**ɔ**mb^h**ab**bo/ 'possible', 'probable'
293. AASBSF: /X**it**o/adj ⇔ /X**om**a/adj 'which is being /X**it**o/'
নিমজ্জিত /nim**ɔ**jj**it**o/ 'summerged' ⇔ নিমজ্জমান /nim**ɔ**jj**om**a/ 'submerging'
294. AASBSF: /X**it**o/adj ⇔ /X**io**m/a/adj 'which is being /X**it**o/'
অপসৃত /**ɔ**p**ɔ**srit**o**/ 'removed' ⇔ অপসৃতমান /**ɔ**p**ɔ**sri**om**a/ 'which is being removed'
295. AASBSF: /X**o**/adj ⇔ /X**art**^h**i**/adj 'who wants /X**o**/ of some other person'
শুভ /ʃ**ub**^h**o**/ 'well-being' ⇔ শুভার্থী /ʃ**ub**^h**art**^h**i**/ 'who wants the well-being of some other person'
296. AASBPF: /CX/adj ⇔ /bi**CC**X/adj 'a kind of /CX/'
ছিন্ন /c^h**in**no/ 'seperated', 'torn' ⇔ বিচিছিন্ন /bic**cc**^h**in**no/ 'thoroughly separated,' 'torn in several pieces'
297. AdvAdvSVADPF: /VX/adv ⇔ /nir**V**X/adv 'very /VX/'
অতিশয় /**ɔ**ti**ʃ****ɔ**^y/ 'very' ⇔ নিরতিশয় /nir**ɔ**ti**ʃ****ɔ**^y/ 'extremely'

1. The patterns involving the mechanism of adjunction-deletion have all a specified 'would be' variable. This must be the case because patterns are based on an unique pair. Once a pattern becomes a strategy, the specification of the variable may change or become irrelevant depending on the formal difference in the second pair.

Appendix-3

What is a *word*? : some unfinished reflections

"The easiest of all the problems is to refute a definition while the most difficult is to establish one"

(Aristotle *Les Topiques* (book-VII) Tr. by J. Tricot (1939:149))

"De même que le jeu d'échecs est tout entier dans la combinaison des différentes pièces, de même la langue a le caractère d'un système basé complètement sur l'opposition de ses unités concrètes. On ne peut ni se dispenser de les connaître, ni faire un pas sans recourir à elles; et pourtant leur délimitation est un problème si délicat qu'on se demande si elles sont réellement données." ⁽¹⁾

(Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale* (1915 (1988:149)))

Word is the unit per excellence of modern grammatical theory. It is the principal unit of lexicography (i.e. dictionary entries) as well as the basis of the distinction which is frequently drawn between morphology and syntax: morphology deals with 'the internal structure of words' (or according to the holistic view: how words are formed) and syntax with the rules governing the combination of words in a sentence. The very terms like morphology and syntax and the way in which they are applied imply the primacy of the notion 'word'.

A. Traditional and atomistic definitions

Much controversy and disagreement prevails among linguists regarding the acceptance of *word* as a basic linguistic unit as well as regarding a functional definition of the term. The definition of *word* given in the Concise Oxford Dictionary (sixth edition, 1975) can be accepted as a traditional one:

1. "But just as the chess is based entirely on the combinations afforded by the various pieces, so too a language has the character of a system dispense with identifying them, nor move a step without having recourse to them. And yet delimiting them is such a tricky problem that one is led to ask whether they are really there." (Tr. Roy Harris).

Any sound or combination of sounds (or its written or printed symbol, customarily shown with a space on either side of it but none within it) forming a meaningful element of speech, conveying an idea or alternative ideas, and capable of serving as a member of, the whole of, or a substitute for, a sentence.

According to this definition, a word would be an independent linguistic sign (which means that it has an independent signifier and an independent signified) used in order to form broader structures like phrase, clause or sentence. It is quite a fair definition but far from being exhaustive because on the one hand we have English contractions, such as *can't*, *didn't*, etc. which have neither an independent signifier nor an independent signified and English definite article *the* which does not mean anything unless it is used with a noun. On the other hand, there are words of the so-called polysynthetic languages in which far more ideas (so no more independence of idea or form) are squeezed into a single word than does English or Bengali. A single word in West-Greenlandic may look like the following: [ilulioqilluatuṅimigutpukkitsumikillennooqṭtoq] (cited in Neuvel, 2003:124) and it means: 'an iceberg having a low shelf one of its sides'. Clearly a 'sentence word' (cf. Humboldt 1836 cited in Neuvel 2003) or *holophrasis* (cf. Neuvel *ibid.*) of this size on the one hand and monosyllabic words in Chinese or Vietnamese on the other can not be covered with the same traditional definition of word.

Nevertheless, the existence of word is supported by the realities belonging to other linguistic levels, such as phonology and prosody. Although Bloomfield (1933 (1984:181)) argues that "word is not primarily a phonetic unit", he recognized nevertheless that "in various ways, however, different languages give phonetic recognition to the word-unit: some like French, very little, and others, like English, very much". In some languages, every word is accented (this may be a matter of stress or pitch, or both) and the accent may be i).

Free (as in English or Russian), ii) Restricted (as in both Classical and Modern Greek, where the accent should fall on one of the last three syllables of a word), or iii) Fixed (as in Czech, where it falls on the initial syllable of the word or in Turkish where the accent generally occurs on the last syllable). Vowel harmony can also be mentioned as evidence for the existence of *word*. In Turkish and Hungarian, vowel harmony operates throughout the word but never beyond the word. In Bengali, there are phonological constraints or Well-formedness conditions (cf. Singh 1984) that concern only words.

It has been suggested that *word* should be defined as any segment of a sentence bounded by successive points at which pause is possible. This idea is also reflected in the traditional definition cited above which says that 'a word is a sequence of letters between two spaces'. It is true that we have to put spaces before and after words while we write them (hence this definition concerns only the written language) and native speakers are able to actualize the potential pauses in their utterances when they wish to, but the fact is that they do not normally pause between the segments that could be considered as words.

As is the case with words of most languages, English words are often described as being constructed from minimal meaningful units called *morphemes*: *go-ing*, *walk-ed*, *boy-s*, *mean-ing-ful*, *re-fresh-ing-ly*, etc. Although no unanimously accepted definition exists for the *morpheme* (cf. Neuvel 2003) and authors like Martinet (1991:16) mention that the use of this ambiguous term should be avoided: "*il vaut mieux éviter le terme ambigu 'morphème'*", it is considered to be the minimum unit of grammatical analysis in the atomistic tradition of morphology. However, no one assumes that a sentence is just a block of morphemes though in some cases a single morpheme can stand for a word (e.g. the conjunction [o] in Bengali as in

কলমও /kɔlomo/ 'pen too'). Atomistic linguists unanimously agree that morphemes are crystallized in bigger units and these units enter in cohesion with some other units equally composed of morphemes.

Therefore, we have to define units intermediate in rank between the morpheme and the sentence and one of those units will correspond fairly closely (in most languages, we suppose) with our intuitive ideas of what a *word* is. But to give a fully consistent definition of a word is such a difficult task that some linguists have occasionally doubted whether such a linguistic entity is worth determining for the grammatical analysis of a language. Some others have asked if *word* is a real unit of language at least from an analytical point of view. In Structural linguistics the notion of *word* is often avoided, because of the vagueness prevailing in the notion. In the Generative tradition (since Chomsky 1965), there is apparently no sign of discontent regarding the traditional definition of the word. We can read in Chomsky (1965:28): "Each language will contain terms that designate persons or lexical items referring to certain specific kinds of objects, feeling, behavior and so on." Since, we hardly notice any effort to determine the basic unit of linguistic structure, the word or whatever it may be.

A well known definition of *word* that runs among the linguists was given by Antoine Meillet (1921:30): *Un mot résulte de l'association d'un sens donné à un ensemble de sons donnés susceptible d'un emploi grammatical donné* (a word results from the union of a particular meaning with a particular complex of sound capable of a particular grammatical use). This definition makes it a necessary condition that *word* should be simultaneously a semantic, a phonological and a grammatical unit. The similarity with Saussure's (1915 (1988:99)) definition of *sign* is obvious here but what is new is that Meillet confines *word* to a syntactic context which takes the form of *syntactic* in Mel'cuk (1993).

It may well be true that all the units which we wish to regard as words in the description of a given language satisfy these three conditions. But they are certainly not the only units to satisfy them. Entire phrases (like *the new book*), clauses, even sentences have a definite meaning, a definite phonological shape and a grammatical use. Bloomfield's (1933) definition can help to make up for the shortcomings of the Meillet's definition. According to Bloomfield (1933) a word is "a free form which does not consist entirely of (two or more) lesser free forms; in brief, a *word* is a minimum free form."

In order to be minimal, words must be separable from the rest of the sequences of a sentence but it must not be separable in itself. We note the same idea of minimality in Saussure's (1915 (1988:146)) definition (which he considers as the only possible definition of *word*): *une tranche de sonorité qui est, à l'exclusion de ce qui précède et de ce qui suit dans la chaîne parlée, le signifiant d'un certain concept* (a segment of sound, excluding what precedes and what follows, in the spoken sequence, is the signifier of a certain concept) (Tr. Roy Harris).

Hjelmslev (1943) on the other hand, makes autonomy a second indispensable feature of *word* when he argues (cited in Torgue 1949 (2004:9) that "les mots pourront tout simplement être définis comme les signes minima dont l'expression, et de même le contenu, sont réciproquement permutable" (words can be simply defined as minimal signs having a form, as well as a meaning, that are reciprocally permutable) (Tr. mine). Both of these basic characteristics of *word*: i) elementariness (= minimality) and ii) autonomy, are reflected in Winograd's (1983) definition in an interestingly different way when he says that a word-form should have an "external mobility and internal stability" (cited in Mel'cuk 1993:169). Mel'cuk

believes that these two characteristics should be reflected in any definition of *word-form*.

B. Word-forms and lexemes

We also find an abstract usage of the term *word* in traditional grammar, where it is considered that *sings, singing*, etc. are but different forms of the same abstract word: SING. This cannot but remind us Panini who makes a distinction between two types of words: *shabda* (uninflected, dictionary words, words of the lexicon) and *pada* (inflected words, used in the sentence). Bloomfield (178) criticizes this usage when he says that the school tradition is inaccurate in referring to units like *book, books*, or *do, does, did, done*, as different forms of the same word "since there are differences of form and meaning between members of these sets." Lyons (1968) on the other hand accuses Bloomfield on being wrong and finds it unfortunate that modern linguistics has ignored this traditional practice of defining the *word* as an abstract unit.

It was probably Lyons (1968:197) who introduced the term *lexeme* to denote this more abstract unit (e.g. SING), a terminology used later by Matthews (1974) and Mel'cuk (1993)⁽¹⁾: "We shall introduce another term, lexeme, to denote the more 'abstract' units which occur in different inflexional forms according to the syntactic rules involved in the generation of sentences." So the same *lexeme* occurs in different inflectional forms (words) according to the syntactic rules involved in the generation of sentences. Lyons proposed to distinguish lexemes from words by writing them in Capital. Thus the French lexeme MANGER will have inflexional forms for all the persons and numbers: *mange, mangeons, mangent* etc. Lyons (1991) gives us the impression that *lexeme* and *word* are the realities of two different levels. Lexemes would belong to the *deep structure* and the inflexional forms to the *surface structure*. Lyons did determine clearly the different features of his

deep structure but stated that it lay somewhere between the deep structure of Chomsky (1965) and his disciples and the deep structure proposed by others like Halliday (1966), Lamb (1964) and Shaumjan (1965)⁽²⁾.

The linguistic sign *word* has thus become a polysemous one in denoting i) the lexical unit in the traditional sense, ii) the abstract word or *lexeme* and iii) the phonetic word or the inflexional forms of the lexeme. Mel'cuk (1993:99) not only rejects the first meaning of *word* but he literally banishes the term in his system of analysis. He believes that the term *word* is *ambiguous* (because it is homonymous, as we have seen) and *vague* (because it does not denote anything precisely). In Mel'cuk's terminology, the traditional term *word* will either be a *lexeme* (*HAVE*) or its inflexional forms which Mel'cuk calls *word-forms* (*have, has* etc.)

C. Strong and weak autonomy

The idea of autonomy, i.e. external mobility of a word in a greater structure, apparently makes the definition of *word* ambiguous. If by *mobility* or *freedom of occurrence*, we mean the capacity of movement of an element, then we should say that it is the phrases rather than the words that can move in a sentence structure. On the other hand, there are words like English articles or Bengali classifier-definitives that cannot move at all. Mel'cuk (1993) supplies a more detailed and better definition of autonomy through distinguishing two types of autonomy *strong* and *weak*. A segment X will be considered to have a strong autonomy if it can substitute alone an utterance (*énoncé* in French). For example, we can respond to the following question in Bengali: তোমার বাবা কি করেন? [tomar baba ki koren] "what is your father?" with only one segment: অধ্যাপক [odd^hapok] 'professor' and therefore, [odd^hapok] is strongly autonomous.

Mel'cuk thinks that the concept of strong and weak autonomy can be generalized. As [ɔdd^hapɔk] is a common noun, we can generalize that the strong autonomy is an intrinsic feature of all the common nouns of Bengali. Likewise, if an element X has weak autonomy, all the members of the category it belongs to will be taken to have weak autonomy as well. This concept of generalized strong autonomy is a powerful one because, as Mel'cuk argues, it allows us to establish a set of autonomous signs without verifying each one of them through putting them in a particular context. In order to determine a word-form Mel'cuk (190) proceeds in the following way: *"Nous visons avant tout à définir le mot-forme PROTOTYPIQUE - pour ainsi dire, le mot-forme par excellence. Puis nous généralisons les propriétés des mots-formes prototypiques pour les mot-formes moins évidents, qui posent plus de problèmes et soulèvent plus de doutes. Cette généralisation est faite sous le contrôle de la RESSEMBLANCE : des mot-formes suspects doivent être suffisamment semblables à des mots-formes évident."* ("Our goal, first of all, is to define the prototypical word-form, the word-form *par excellence*. Then we generalize the properties of the prototypical word-forms for the word-forms which are less obviously claimed to be word-forms and which creates more problems and raises more doubts. This generalization is done through resemblance: the suspected word-forms should look sufficiently like the word-forms *par excellence*") (Tr. is mine).

One of the weak points of this method is that it may turn out to be circular in nature. We have to know the category of a segment before deciding whether the segment has strong autonomy or not (or before deciding whether it is a *word* or not). An object is not necessarily a member of a category just because it bears some degree of similarity to prototypical members (cf. Lakoff 1982). Therefore, the autonomy of a particular sign does not necessarily depend on the category it belongs to and linguistics should be

able to determine the intrinsic features of the category *word* in a more reliable and deductive way, through fixing some universal premises.

Mel'cuk's method turns out to be too powerful because it does not make any distinction between noun and nominal (noun phrase). If an autonomous proper or common noun phrase or a proper or common noun happens to consist of more than one element (e.g. *tin-opener*, *book-mark*), then will it be considered to have strong autonomy and thus be recognized as a word-form?

Mel'cuk proposes three criteria for determining weak autonomy: i) separability, ii) distributional variability and iii) transmutability. These three criteria do not belong to the same level and they should be applicable to a segment following a certain hierarchy (separability first, then variability and then transmutability) to determine that the segment has some kind of the autonomy. Separability is a way of verifying minimality in two ways: i) a segment should be separable from other segments (external mobility) and ii) it should not be further segmentable (internal stability). In the sentence *The professor reads a book*, the two proper nouns, *professor* and *book* are separable from other elements of the sentence because we can insert segments between them: *the professor [who is waiting for you] reads a [red] book*. So both of these two elements, *professor* and *book* are strongly autonomous, which is not the case of the flexional verb *reads*.

The flexional verbal form *reads* is separable from other elements of the sentence (through using an adverb for example). So it has a certain autonomy, weak autonomy in Mel'cuk's words. But *reads* does not respect the criteria of minimality in the sense that *reads* is a combination of two different elements: the radical *read* and the inflexion *-s*. But *read* and *-s* are not separable because it cannot be interrupted by other forms (cf. Bloomfield). For Mel'cuk, word-form as a lexical unit cannot be further

analyzed into smaller parts and if we do so, we will enter into a different reality which surpasses the lexical one. The dissected word-form *reads* will give us *read* and *-s* which are not themselves word-forms but parts of some word-form.

If we fail to establish the weak autonomy of a word-form through the criterion of separability, Mel'cuk proposes to test it with the criterion of variability. Variability means that a word-form should be used in a variety of syntactic contexts. English definite and indefinite articles are minimal but not variable because they can only be used as a specifier in a noun phrase. Once variability fails, Mel'cuk proposes to try with the criterion of transmutability. In English, we can say *my books* but we can say as well *books that belong to me*. So *my* and *me* can replace one another and hence can be said to be transmutable. Both of them are word-forms and they belong to the same lexeme: 1. This criteria of transmutability looks a lot like the criteria of parallelism proposed by Bloomfield (179): "The form *the*, though rarely spoken alone, plays much the same part in our language as the forms *this* and *that*, which freely occur as sentences; this parallelism leads us to class *the* as a word." In Mel'cuk's analysis too, *the* and *a* are transmutable with *this* and as the latter is a word-form, *the* and *a* are equally considered as word-forms.

For Bloomfield (180), separability "holds almost universally" as a criteria for *word-hood*. Mel'cuk, too, considers separability as the most important criteria for establishing the autonomy of a sign. It is this criteria which distinguishes the English articles as more word-like than the Rumanian definitive *ul* (*lup-ul* = the wolf) or Bengali classifier-definitive *ta* (for example, [*nekreṭa*] নেকড়েটা 'the wolf') because the English article has a comparatively greater external mobility. However, separability cannot help in determining whether the genitive inflexion *-s* is a word or not. This element conforms to all the criteria

of *word-hood*: i) external mobility or separability (the king of England's), ii) variability (because it can be used with any noun of English) and also iii) transmutability (of the king of England). But Mel'cuk does not consider -s as a word-form because it does not look like any other word-form of English. Bloomfield (178-179) on the other hand, considers 'the man I saw yesterday's' as a 'single long word' in which the genitive -s is "in construction with the entire preceding phrase". Regarding such sequences, Togeby (1949:10) also thinks that [-s] "*est manifestement lié à un groupe nominal de mots* (is clearly adjoined to a noun phrase) (Tr. mine). Mel'cuk would probably consider such sequences as a *collection* of word-forms because according to him, no non-minimal segment can be considered as a word-form.

Mel'cuk reminds us that all these criteria for determining the weakness or strength of autonomy: separability, variability and transmutability have different grades of application, which means that a sign is more or less autonomous, more or less separable, has more or less variability, and so on. Moreover, these criteria are language specific i.e. they vary from language to language. For example, an inflectional verb in English does not have strong autonomy because it cannot be substituted for an utterance (Example: *What does he do? *reads*). But the inflectional verbal forms can have a greater autonomy in other languages like Italian (*leggiamo* 'we read'), Spanish (*leímos* 'we read') or Bengali (পড়ছি /porc^hi/= 'we/I read').

The atomistic definition of *word* or *word-form* is challenged by the facts of language change. In the course of time, independent words transform themselves into non-autonomous affixes or become glued together. English contractions, such as *can't*, *didn't* etc. may show the first stage of the squeezing of two independent words. In some languages, three or more words can be squeezed into one as is the case in the Bengali word [Jacc^heta^j]_{n/adj} যাচ্ছেতাই 'whatever one pleases/utterly bad, ugly or worthless'

< [ja] যা 'what/whatever' [icc^he] ইচ্ছে 'desire/wish' [ta^j] তাই 'only that'. It can take centuries for words to lose their autonomy completely and throughout these centuries, we should expect to find segments that no longer act like fully independent words. The example of the French segment *du* which results from a contraction between the preposition *de* and the definite article *le* seems worth mentioning in this respect.

D. A holistic definition of word and Bengali

WWM (cf. Ford et al. 1997, Singh & Ford 2000) defines words as expressions possessing three 'necessary but probably insufficient' properties i) a phonological structure, ii) a syntactic category and iii) a semantic use. Although phrases can also have a phonological structure and a semantic use, only words can be intrinsically endowed with a syntactic category and the syntactic category of a phrase always depends on the syntactic category of its head word. All lexical units other than words have phonological structure but their structure is constituted of the phonological structure of words they are formed of.

Ford and al. (ibid.) have not introduced the constraint of minimality in their definition because in their view, words lack any internal structure and therefore, they must be minimal. So-called compounds (cf. Dasgupta and Singh 1999) like *blueberry*, *love-letter*, *postman*, etc. represent one word and not three: i. *post*, ii. *man* and ii. *postman* as would be described in some atomistic analysis. The question does not arise whether such words can be interrupted or not; if *blueberry* is a word, it just cannot be interrupted. Contractions like English *can't* or French *du* (*de* + *le* meaning 'of the') are words that belong to the syntactic category of verb and (contracted) article (or preposition) respectively. A sequence like 'the man I saw yesterday's' is not a word because it has an internal structure. The genitive case-marker [s] is not a word because it does not belong to any syntactic category. However,

*/yesterday's/*_{noun.gen} is a word because it belongs to a particular syntactic category of genitive adverb. Therefore, neither the trio-criteria of separability, variability or transmutability, nor the terms like word-form or lexeme are pertinent for WWM.

Although the WWM definition is comparatively more adequate and can be universally applied to human languages, holophrastic words of languages like West Icelandic (cf. Neuvel 2003) can challenge its legitimacy because they have internal structure and therefore, are not minimal. If such expressions must be considered as *words* and not as *phrases*, they challenge not only any possible definition of word but also the very existence of *word* itself as the lexical unit. It was probably this type of word that forced Ford and al. (1997) to add the nuance of insufficiency to their definition of word.

As far as Bengali is concerned, it is only the classifier-definitives like [t̪a] or [kʰana] that may be troublesome for any definition of word. We find these elements glued to the noun as in [boʃt̪a] বইটা 'the book', but they can also remain separated as in [boʃtin̪t̪a] বই তিনটা 'the three books'. As a separable, variable and transmutable entity, [t̪a] should be called a word. If one decides to consider entities like *the* and *this* as members of the syntactic category 'definitive/determiners', [t̪a] can also belong to that category. But, in that case, we have to consider the sequence [boʃt̪a] as a compound or a combination of two independent words which is hardly acceptable.

I do not call [t̪a] a word because I think that it does not have any independent meaning. For me [boʃt̪a] has a meaning and so does [tin̪t̪a] and therefore both of these sequences are words. From a strictly

morphological point of view, the numeral [tin] is not inserted between the noun [bo^j] and [ta] but [bo^jtin̩ta] is a noun phrase constituted of the word [bo^j] and the word [tin̩ta]. I am convinced that WWM definition can handle the problem of classifier-definitive more or less satisfactorily and therefore, I presume that this definition is sufficient for Bengali.

E. Word: Notion or Concept

Ilyenkov (1982) draws our attention to the distinction that exists between notions and concepts, notions being 'the simple material of social consciousness', and concepts, 'a higher order of knowledge'. Words like *race*, *nation*, etc. are good examples of ill-defined notions deprived of any scientific basis. The progression from notion to concept represents an advance from an immediate impressionistic experience of the world or simple observation to a higher stage of logical assimilation and understanding of the world (cf. Ilyenkov) and the highest level of analysis that a concept can attain is that of the scientific concept.

Though concepts are often characterized as mere abstractions, they are rather a reduction to essentials. Scientific abstractions reflect nature more concretely than any living contemplation or notion. The development of a concept is neither a steady progression from simple label or name to scientific concept nor a simple progression from concrete to abstract. In day to day interaction, human beings move from notion to concept and back again. It is in practice that we test our notions and arrive at concepts which enable us to transform the world. Practical considerations determine the nature of a concept at every stage ⁽³⁾.

In the light of the above discussion, we may ask whether *word* is a notion or a concept. *Word* may be seen as a notion because naive speakers of any

language always accept that such a category exists (which is probably not the case with *morphemes* or *lexemes*). The notion of *word* is also supported by research that has taken place in fields other than grammatical ones, such as Psycholinguistics, Anthropology, Child language acquisition, etc. Children start to communicate with others with something like words, as Beaken (1996:37) points out, "Human beings accompany their own activity with words, a child for example, while helping herself to climb, says *Up!*"

The claim that some linguists hold that there is nothing like *word*, can also be justified at a notional level at least for some languages. But, as the existence of this category is more or less confirmed by various factors from different languages, *word* can be claimed to constitute a primary concept rather than a mere *notion*. *Word* is a conceptual category of lexical segments endowed with certain features. Like any other concept, *word* involves abstractions and has to be constantly verified and established with more recent data from all human languages.

F. Word as a tool

There is a long tradition of attempts to explain language as one of the products of human labour (cf. Beaken 1996), a tradition that pre-dates Marx and Engels and appears in Vygotsky (1962) and Voloshinov (1973). According to this idea, words evolved as signs in parallel with tool making as the outcome of a slow evolution of cooperation between hominids. Words can be comparable to 'concepts of ideality' introduced first by Hegel and developed by Marx and more recently by Ilyenkov (1982) in their analysis of money (cf. Beaken). As money can be said to be concrete (pieces of metal, paper or plastic) and abstract (the expression of a relationship) at the same time, words too have a concrete (phonetic) form and an abstract (semantic) one. But it is the binary relation (cf. Mel'cuk) between these two objects (which can be very different in nature) which establishes *word* as a linguistic sign.

Ilyenkov (1982) sees the ideality of money as a characteristic case of ideality in general. Words, like the value of the dollar, have no material existence outside social consciousness and social activity. Their form is ideal, but their effects are entirely concrete as organizers of human life. Like other ideal forms, words are beyond our power to alter and, hence, appear more powerful than the individuals on whose consciousness they depend for their continued existence.

From its earliest stages, words have organized socially-based work serving as forms of interaction between the members of the group, a means to communicate practical ideas and to put them into effect. Or, it may have happened the other way round. A primitive form of words (i.e. a certain type of proto-words) could have evolved through socially based work. Hence, primitive words or signs would have started to appear at a certain stage of human cooperation and then quickly become the most important aspect of the complex (cf. Beaken 1996), as have become the other ideals like money.

G. Conclusion

We do agree that in a scientific analysis, any type of polysemy or homonymy should be avoided and for each signifier, there should be one and only one signified. From this point of view, Mel'cuk (1993) was right to use the term *word-form* to signify the phonetic word and *lexeme* to denote the abstract one. But we think that there is no harm in using the traditional signifier *word* to signify the phonetic word and *lexeme* to denote the abstract one if the latter is at all necessary. In that case, *words* will be the phonetic realizations of abstract *lexemes*. This terminology conforms to the implicit idea that prevailed in traditional grammars (cf. Lyons 1968) and does not seriously contradict anybody. But with this terminology we get rid of the unnecessarily longer term *word-form* and we continue to work with our more economic and traditional term, *word*.

We have seen above that there are always lexical elements in human languages which are capable of challenging any definition of word. Perhaps we should not expect to find a single definition of *word* that works for all languages and under all circumstances (cf. Burling 1992). Mel'cuk (1993), too, clearly concluded that his definition of word-form, on the one hand, is of a flexible type rather than a fixed one and on the other hand, it is language specific. It follows from these facts that what we call *word* in one language may be units of a different kind compared to the words of another. The main problem with definitions is that they usually define the signifier or the name and not the thing itself or the referent (for example, while defining the 'act of writing' I will hardly think of the keyboard I am using at this very moment!). The signified of *word* is a huge number of entities which incessantly undergo various types of lexical, morphological and phonological changes whereas the signifier stays the same unless some linguist is tempted to change it.

We have started our discussion with a citation from Saussure's (1915 (1988:149)) concluding remarks on word-hood. Let's conclude with the rest of it: *"la langue présente donc ce caractère étrange et frappant de ne pas offrir d'entités perceptible de prime abord, sans qu'on puisse douter cependant qu'elle existent et que c'est leur jeu qui la constitue. C'est là sans doute un trait qui la distingue de toutes les autres institutions sémiologiques"* ("A language has thus this curious and striking feature that has no immediately perceptible entities. And yet, one cannot doubt that they exist, or that the interplay of these units is what constitutes linguistic structure. That is undoubtedly a characteristic which distinguishes language from all other semiological institutions")(Tr. Roy Harris).

1. Mel'cuk (1993:104) mentions that an analogous use of the term *lexeme* can be found in Zaliznjak Anderj (1967) *Ruskoe imennoe slovoizmenenie* (Nominal inflexion in Russian), Nauka, Moscow published, as we can see, a year before Lyons (1968). Mel'cuk also informs us about many other different uses of the term *lexeme* in Pottier (1974), Martinet (1991) and

Pergnier (1986). Authors used the term to denote the radical morpheme of a verb (e.g. *walk* in the inflexional verbal form: *walked*) or, as sometimes, the significance of the radical. For Martinet (ibid.), *lexeme* would be *moneme* of the lexicon.

2. Though the Generative school was the first to elaborate the idea of deep and surface structures, Lyons (1991) thinks that it has long been implicit in traditional grammatical theory. During the sixties, many types of deep structures (e.g. abstract generator by Shaumjan, 1965) had been proposed by the generativists and by others as well. Both lexical and grammatical categories were present in the deep structure proposed by Chomsky (1965), whereas others thought that in the deep structure we can find only a network of features (cf. Halliday 1966) or *sememe* (cf. Lamb 1964).

3. Many concepts of the past aver to be false from today's point of view. But not because a concept is falsified that it is automatically demoted to notion. For example, the astronomical system, still in practice on the Indian subcontinent, is based on the concept of nine planets including among others the sun, the moon, the comet and also an imaginary planet *Rahu* symbolized with the image of a decapitated demon which swallows the sun and the moon and the swallowing results is their eclipse. Though false from our modern point of view and should be considered as a mere notion, for ancient Indians it was a concept, because they had been verifying it during thousands of years with the data available to them. This erroneous concept does not prevent them from making quite accurate predictions about the position of the planets and stars, about the time of high and low tides or about the eventual eclipses of the sun and the moon.

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