ASSAMESE,
ITS FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT

A scientific treatise on the history and philology of the Assamese language, being a thesis approved for the Ph.D. Degree of the Calcutta University in 1935.

By

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GAUHATI, ASSAM.


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“Language, like the rocks, is strewn with the fossilised wrecks of former conditions of society.”
—A. H. Sayce.
TO

Dr. John Richard Cunningham,
C.I.E., M.A., L.L.D., I.E.S. (Retd.)

Director of Public Instruction, Assam,
1912-1931,

with veneration.

Gauhati, Assam,
March 15, 1941.

B. K.
PUBLISHERS’ NOTE

The publication of Dr. Banikanta Kakati’s Assamese, Its Formation and Development is in consonance with the aims and objects of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam, as the book marks a distinct achievement in the history of Assamese scholarship. It deals, as the title indicates, with the growth of the Assamese language, and the treatment of the subject has been carried out throughout on approved scientific lines; and as such the book will be helpful to the study of the development of other allied Indian languages. Besides, Assamese has been subjected to various misrepresentations especially regarding its status as a distinct language, as it had hitherto been mainly handled by inexpert writers who possess neither critical acumen nor the required knowledge of Assamese and its affinities. Dr. Kakati establishes for the first time the individuality of Assamese, placing it in the proper perspective of its sister languages. Dr. Kakati has analysed the different sources from which Assamese has derived its vocabulary, and formulated the changes which the original words have undergone in their Assamese forms. The traces left behind in Assamese words of different influences exhibit the variety of the contact of the Assamese speakers with different races and cultures. The Aryan, the non-Aryan and the Austric have freely contributed to the richness of the Assamese vocabulary, which has been found adequate for the purpose of expounding abstract truths as well as for describing realistic scenes.

Dr. Kakati breaks an entirely a new ground, and we only hope that the dialects and sub-dialects spoken in the tribal areas of Assam will be subjected to similar scrutiny, and for this we shall require a continuous band of well-equipped scholars, and decades of philological investigation on scientific lines. It can be predicted that the present publication will serve, for many long years to come, as a model, guide and stimulus to such investigation. As far as the Department
of Historical and Antiquarian Studies is concerned it will always consider it a part of its duty if it can in any way inspire the compilation or be instrumental in the publication of scholarly and scientific treatises like the present one of Dr. Kakati.

It can be added that Dr. Kakati's book was approved for the Ph.D. Degree of the University of Calcutta in 1935, the examiners being Dr. J. Bloch of Paris University, Dr. S. K. Chatterji of Calcutta University, and the late Dr. A. C. Woolner of the Punjab University.

Assam Secretariat, Shillong, March 17, 1941.

S. K. Bhuyan, Honorary Provincial Director of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam.
PREFACE

The following pages, representing an effort at drawing up a preliminary sketch of the principal sounds and forms of the Assamese language, were accepted as a thesis for the Ph.D. degree of the Calcutta University, 1935.

Assamese has been very little studied abroad. It has not even been mentioned in the existing comparative grammars of the N.I.A. languages. In a work on pure linguistics, it was for the first time noticed in Dr. S. K. Chatterji’s The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, 1926. But that great work being mainly devoted to the examination of the growth and structure of the Bengali language, Assamese forms have been brought in here and there for the sake of comparison or amplification of some points. Assamese forms have also been similarly treated in Grierson’s Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars (Supplement. Indian Antiquary, 1931-1933).

Even by itself Assamese has been very insufficiently examined. The first grammatical notice of Assamese was taken by Rev. N. Brown, in his Grammatical Notes on Assamese Language, 1848. These notes were primarily meant for the American Baptist Missionaries, and were accordingly short. Prof. Nicholl summarised the main features of spoken Assamese in his work Manual of the Bengali language including Assamese Grammar, in 1894. Two native grammarians, Hem Chandra Barua and Satyanatha Bara, wrote two grammars in Assamese; but good as these vernacular grammars are in their own way, they are elementary and meant for school boys, and are scarcely of any use to advanced students of historical grammar. In 1936, as these pages were being made ready for the press, was published Mr. Kaliram Medhi’s Asamiya Vyākaraṇa āru Bhäusera, written in Assamese. It is an ambitious work and is supposed to be written on historical principles. But though it contains a mass of early Assamese forms, the mode of approach to the subject is far from scientific and it does not place this publication under any obligation.

A.—b
PREFACE

Though modern Assamese has been largely overshadowed by its more powerful and prosperous western neighbour, Bengali, yet it occupies an important place in the group of N.I.A. languages. In point of antiquity, it had the honour of being noted by Huen Ts'ang when he visited Kāmarūpa in the 7th century. He perhaps referred to some individuality of the Kāmarūpa (early Assamese) language when he spoke of it as "slightly differing" from that of Mid-India. From the fourteenth century onwards, Assamese developed a rich and varied popular literature in poetry, prose and drama. In the latter two items, prose and drama, early Assamese seems to have been ahead of other contemporary vernaculars.

Assamese has thus preserved in earlier records sufficient materials for a historical study of the easternmost N.I.A. vernacular. Its lexical wealth is also vast and varied. Up till now three comprehensive dictionaries have been published. The first was the Assamese-English Dictionary of M. Bronson, 1867; the second was that of Hem Chandra Barua, the grammarian, published, 1900; the third is a comprehensive Assamese-English Dictionary published under the auspices of Assam Sāhitya Sabha, 1932. The outstanding feature of all the Assamese lexicons is the sedulous care with which all homely words and indigenous words have been faultlessly registered. Learned Sanskrit words that constitute the bulk of the entries in current Bengali dictionaries have as a rule been avoided. Sanskrit words are recorded only when they have been fully Assamicised. The existing Assamese lexicons thus present a faithful picture of the language that lives on the lips of the people. But they are very poor in etymological materials. The derivations wherever suggested are more often than not fanciful. And at the present state of knowledge about Assamese such inaccuracies in lexicographers are inevitable.

From an Assamese point of view, therefore, this publication, though a record of humble works, embodies all that has ever been seriously attempted in the direction of grouping linguistic materials under different grammatical and historical categories. The materials collected here may thus be looked upon as an effort at furnishing the comparative grammarians
with systematised informations about the formation of the Assamese language.

In respect of collection of materials from early Assamese sources also, the present work may be said to be breaking fresh grounds. The printed early Assamese religious texts meant primarily for popular consumption are careless transcripts of the manuscripts without notes or glossarial indexes. In compiling early Assamese forms, whole books had not only to be read through and marked, but also to be collated with the original manuscripts now in the custody of the Kāmrūp Anusandhan Samiti at Guwahati. None of the manuscripts seems to be older than 150 years.

In the absence of any previous historical study of the language by any scholar and in the absence also of any personal help in the matter of collection and sifting of materials, the following pages embody the results of unaided efforts on my part. The list of books separately appended shows the extent of my indebtedness for theoretical materials to the great masters of N.I.A. linguistics. But amongst them frequent references have been made to the works of Bloch, Chatterji, Grierson, and Turner as the immediate sources of information.

So far as the method of treatment is concerned I have tried to follow the foot-marks of these eminent teachers.

The incentive to undertake this work came from Dr. S. K. Chatterji, M.A., Lit.D. (London), Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics, Calcutta University. He has all through helped me with valuable suggestions in every conceivable shape and form. My indebtedness to him is beyond measure.

The first draft of the manuscript was presented to Dr. S. K. Chatterji for kind revision. He very patiently read through the entire manuscript and marked out certain faults of omission and commission. The revised manuscript prepared under his guidance and supervision was then sent over under his direction to Dr. J. Bloch (Paris), for such further suggestions and illumination as he only could give. Dr. Bloch
took infinite pains to read through the entire hand-written
script and mark certain points that he considered doubtful or
uncertain. He condescended also to offer various suggestions.
Certain sections have accordingly been rewritten and others
newly added under his inspiration. His suggestions on speci-
fic points have been duly acknowledged. For the rest and
also for the generosity with which he responded to the sup-
plication of an unknown worker, I cherish the abiding grati-
tude of a humble learner towards the great teacher that he is.

I am, however, personally responsible for all possible
shortcomings in the book in its present form. Faults wherever
found must surely be due to my failure to fully appraise
the suggestions received.

The title Assamese, Its Formation and Development has
been suggested by Dr. S. K. Chatterji. Though the present
book is not a full-fledged formation and development, the
suggested title seems appropriate to me as it is reminiscent to
me of the two great works, La Formation de la Langue
Marathe and The Origin and Development of the Bengali
Language from which light and direction have been constantly
sought.

In respect of derivation of the *thh. elements the existing
terminologies, O.I.A., M.I.A. and N.I.A. have been adopted.
Since it has been assumed that Assamese is derived from a
Sanskrit-like language, under O.I.A. have been included words
that appear in a Sanskritised garb in Sanskrit dictionaries
whatever their probable origin may be. *Thus, for example,
Assamese *kñārī, a knife, has been affiliated to Skt. *kapārīka,
rather than to kapatāri, though kapatāri has been Sanskritised
from a Prakritic source. In this respect I have followed
Dr. Turner’s example in his Nepali Dictionary where he
derives *kaṭārī from Skt. *kattārīka, though in his Index
he has placed *kaṭārī, under Prakrit heading. In these
pages Assamese words have been as far as possible derived
from the neuest Sanskritised forms without any attempt at
tracing the possible sources of the corresponding Sanskrit
vocabularies except of course where the formations are of palpable
dēśya origin.
PREFACE

Under section on non-Aryan Correspondence parallelisms have been shewn between Assamese and non-Aryan forms. But in the body of the text, Assamese words have been equated to Sanskrit formations wherever available rather than to non-Aryan parallels. Classification of Sanskrit vocabulary is a vast issue, and that has been regarded as beyond the immediate scope of this publication.

In the body of the text references to authorities have been indicated by the names of the authors followed by section marks, and not by the names of their publications which have been separately listed under a different heading. The letters T. and P. after derivations refer to the authorities of Turner and Pischel. The name of Dr. Bloch without section marks following refers to his communicated views and that with section marks following to his work, La Formation de la Langue Marathé.

Though the manuscript was made ready for the press in the summer of 1936, publication could not be arranged for, for want of funds. A grant towards publication was sanctioned by the Government of Assam with the Hon’ble Mr. G. N. Bordoloi, M.A., B.L., as Premier and Education Minister, 1939. The task of publication was entrusted to the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Government of Assam, Gauhati. The manuscript was accordingly made over to the press in the summer of 1939. But war broke out immediately after, and necessary matrixes for the Linotype could not be imported from abroad at a reasonable cost, and the Government grant lapsed; but in the mean time the Hon’ble Mr. R. K. Choudhury, B.L., became Education Minister, and he generously restored the grant. My respectful thanks are due to both the Education Ministers.

It took a long time for the press to prepare locally some of the most necessary matrixes (there was not time enough to prepare all of them) and the printing could not be begun till late in the summer of 1940.

The proprietor (Mr. C. Srinivasachari, B.A.) and the printers of the G. S. Press deserve special thanks. The
manuscript was prepared primarily for loose set-up. In the linotype set-up certain handicaps were felt in the matter of free corrections of proofs. But the press authorities ungrudgingly gave me as much freedom as I would like to exercise in correcting irregularities, and Mr. G. Srinivasachari himself volunteered personal attention to the proofs. Prompt attention was given to all corrections by the printing authorities. Any printing irregularity, therefore, wherever detected, should be attributed to oversight on my part rather than to the negligence of the printers.

I have to thank several friends and well wishers from whom I received help and encouragement towards completion and publication of this book. The foremost amongst them are Dr. D. Thomson, M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D., Principal, Cotton College, (1826-1833) ; Mr. S. C. Roy, M.A. (Lond.), Principal, Cotton College, (1933-1940) ; Prof. A. T. Chatterji, M.A., (now retired) ; Prof. P. C. Roy, M.A., (now retired) ; Prof. B. M. Sen, M.A. ; Prof. M. N. Goswami, M.A., B.L. ; Mr. O. K. Das, B.A., M.L.A., Mr. H. C. Barua, B.L. ; the Hon’ble Rai Bahadur Mr. H. P. Barua, M.A., B.L. ; Mr. N. K. Dutta, M.L.A.

My thanks are due also to the authorities of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies : Rai Bahadur Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Ph.D (Lond.), Honorary Provin- cial Director ; Mr. S. K. Dutta, B.Sc. (Lond.), Bar-at-Law, Honorary Deputy Director ; Mr. B. K. Barua, M.A., B.L., Honorary Assistant Director, for making all necessary arrange- ments for the publication of the book.

The Honorary Assistant Director Mr. B. K. Barua, also Lecturer of Assamese, Cotton College, prepared the Word- Index with the help of Mr. Upendra Chandra Lekharu, M.A., B.L., Assistant Lecturer of Assamese, Cotton College, and Mr. Atul Chandra Barua, B.A., an ex-student of the College. My thanks are due to all these friends for the help proffered.

Cotton College,
Gauhati, Assam,
March 15, 1941.

RANIKANTA KAKATI.
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ABBREVIATIONS

As. : Assamese.
Austr. : Austrie.
Bih. : Bihārī.
Bd. : Boṣo.
Bg. : Bengali.
Bhoj. : Bhōjpuri.
Br. : Brajabhākhā.
D. : Desī.
E. As. : Early Assamese.
E. Bg. : Early Bengali.
G. : Gōrīṭi.
H. C. : Hema Chandra.
Hon. : Honorifice.
Inf. : Inferior.
K. A. S. : Kāmrūp Anusāndhān Samiti.
Kmpī. : Kāmrūpī.
Khas. : Khāṣī.
L. S. I. : Linguistic Survey of India.
L. W. : Loan Word.
M. : Mārāṭhi.
Mag. : Magahi.
Maith. : Majhīthī.
M. I. A. : Middle Indo-Aryan.
Mid. As. : Middle Assamese.
Mid. Bg. : Middle Bengali.
Mod. As. : Modern Assamese.
Mod. Bg. : Modern Bengali.
Md. : Mundārī.
Mw. : Mārwārī.
O. : Oriyā.
ABBREVIATIONS

P. : Pāṇjābī.
P. A. P. D. : Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India.
Pl. : Plural.
S. : Sindhi.
Sg. : Singular.
St. Coll. : Standard Colloquial.
Sts. : Semi-tatsama.
T. : Thāi.
Tbh. : Tadbhava.
Ts. : Tatsama.

Other localised abbreviations like pres. indic. for present indicative; imp. for imperative, etc., will be clearly understood from the context and are not separately explained.
SIGNS

> means gives, leads to, is changed to, etc.

< means comes from, is derived from, etc.

* before a word or affix indicates a hypothetical form not preserved in literature but reconstructed.

? before a word or form indicates doubt as to the form proposed or to the form being the source of the word or connected with the word under discussion.

√ means root.

+ joins up the component parts which are the basis of a Modern Indo-Aryan or other word.

- the hyphen: used to analyse words into their roots and affixes. When a word is given with a hyphen at the end, it indicates merely the base form to which the other additions or suffixes or inflexions were made. Prefixes have a hyphen after them, and suffixes and inflexions before them.

/ divides a word into syllables; when it stands between two vowels as in o i, it means "when o in one syllable is followed by i in a succeeding syllable."
TRANSLITERATION

The mode of transliteration of Skt. and Pkt. words is the same as in Pischel’s Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen. The Skt. diphthongs āi, āu have been written as āi, āu, and the long vowels ē, ō, written as e, o. In Pkt. words the short quantity has been used only to illustrate phonetic variations. In other places it has been dropped. Skt. words with both b, v : s, š, have been indifferently spelt as the phonetic values of (b, v). (s, š) are the same in As.

The phonetic symbols wherever used are an approximation to those employed by the International Phonetic Association. As the phonetic symbols had to be locally prepared to fit into Linotype machine, they could not often be properly shaped: thus (ŋ) stands for the guttural nasal; (ɨ) stands for the nasalised (e); ɔ stands for the neutral vowel: glottal h has been shown as ʡ.

In Assamese words, final -a has been dropped in transliteration as it remains quiescent in pronunciation. Whenever its presence to the eye has to be noted, it has been shown as -ə. It has been transliterated as -a, wherever its distinct sound has been preserved; e.g. bhok; manə; pārə. The letter a’ shews the elision of a following mutating vowel i and has the sound of ə; e.g., ca’t (cōt).

In nasalised ~v, ~y, ~w. the nasalising sign has to be placed at the side instead of at the top, to accommodate the press; nasalised a has been written as ā in the table of vowels.

Initial Skt. y-, in ts. and str. Assamese words has been transliterated as j- as that is its sound value in Assamese words. In other places it has been retained. Glide sounds have been denoted by -ũ-, -ũ-.

The guttural spirant value in Assamese of Skt. sibilants s, š, ś has been shewn by -x-.
INTRODUCTION.

I. A RAPID SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE.

(A) "Assam" and "Assamese".

1. Assamese is the easternmost New Indo-Aryan language spoken in the Assam valley districts with Lakhimpur in the extreme east and Gosālpāra in the extreme west. It meets Bengali in the west and is surrounded on all sides by speeches belonging to altogether different families of which the principal are the Tibeto-Burman and the Khāsi (of the Mon-Khmer family). In the area in which it is spoken it is not the only vernacular. It is a language of the plains. Everywhere its home as a vernacular is bounded by the hills lying on the north and on the south between which the river Brahmaputra takes its westerly course.

2. The word Assamese is an English one, built on the same principle as Cingalese, Canarese, etc. It is based on the English word Assam by which the tract consisting of the Brahmaputra valley is known. But the people themselves call their country Asām and their language Asāmiyā. (L.S.I. Vol. I. p. 393).

The word Assam was connected with the Shan invaders of the Brahmaputra Valley. Since 1228 the easternmost part of the valley came under the domination of a section of the great Thāi (Tái) or Shan ract which spreads eastwards from the border of Assam over nearly the whole of further India and far into the interior of China. It seems curious that while the Shan invaders called themselves Tāi (Gait: p. 245) they came to be referred to as Asām, Asām, Asām and Acām by the natives of the province. In Darrang Rāj Vamsabali, a chronicle of the Koch kings by Sūrīya Khari Daibajña, composed in the sixteenth century, the word Asām has all through been employed as a term of reference to the conquer-
ING SHANS. IN SANKAR CARIT, BY DAITYARI THAKUR OF THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, THE SHANS HAVE BEEN VARIOUSLY DESIGNAT-
ED AS ASAM, ASAM, ASAM. IN KAMRUPAR BURANJ, OF A MUCH
LATER DATE, OCCURS THE FORM ACAM ALSO.

NO SATISFACTORY EXPLANATION HAS YET BEEN OFFERED BY HIS-
TORIANS AS TO HOW THE TERM ASAM WITH VARIANTS CAME TO BE
APPLIED TO THE TRIBE. GRIESEN NOTES THAT THE WORD SHAN IS A
BURMESE CORRUPTION OF THE ORIGINAL WORD SHAM. (L.S.I.,
VOL. II. P. 59). DR. P. C. BAGCHI EQUATES SHAN WITH SIEN-SYAM
(SYAM OF THE KHMER INSCRIPTIONS AND SIEN OF THE CHINESE
SOURCES) AND TRACES AHOM, THE MODERN ASSAMESE DESIGNATION
OF THE TAI PEOPLE, TO SIEN-SYAM (P. C. BAGCHI: FOREWORD TO
THE INDIAN COLONY OF SIAM BY P. N. BOSE P. VII).

3. THE MODERN ASSAMESE WORD AHOM, BY WHICH THE TAI
PEOPLE ARE KNOWN EVIDENTLY GOES BACK TO EARLY ASSAMESE
ASAM; ASAM > ASAM > AHAM. AHOM. THE LAST SYLLABLE OF
ASAM MIGHT VERY WELL BE CONNECTED WITH SHAM BUT THE INITIAL
VOWEL Â-. WOULD REMAIN UNEXPLAINED. Â-. AS A PREFIX HAVING A
PRIVATIVE OR DEROGATORY SIGNIFICANCE. FOLLOWING THE TRADITION
OF THE AHOMS THEMSELVES, SIR EDWARD GAIT SUGGESTS THAT THE
TERM ASAM IN THE SENSE OF "UNEQUALLED" OR "PEERLESS" WAS
APPLIED TO THE SHANS BY THE LOCAL TRIBES IN TOKEN OF THEIR
ADMIRATION OF THE WAY IN WHICH THE SHANS FIRST CONQUERED AND
THEN CONCILIATED THEM. THOUGH THE RUDGE MONGOLIAN TRIBES
COULD NOT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED TO BE ACQUAINTED WITH A LEARNED
SANSKRIT DERIVATIVE LIKE ASAM, YET SIR EDWARD CONSIDERS IT
VERY PROBABLE THAT THIS DERIVATION IS AFTER ALL THE RIGHT ONE,—
IN WHATEVER WAY THE WORD MIGHT HAVE COME INTO USE (HISTORY
OF ASSAM, P. 246). IN SLIGHT AMPLIFICATION OF SIR EDWARD'S CON-
CLUSION IT MAY BE ADDED THAT ASAMA, PEERLESS, MAY BE A LATTER-
DAY SANSKRITISATION OF SOME EARLIER FORM LIKE ACHAM. IN TAI
(AHOM), \CHAM, MEANS "TO BE DEFEATED". WITH THE PRIVATIVE
ASSAMESE PREFIX Â-. THE WHOLE FORMATION ASAM WOULD MEAN
"UNDEFEATED," "CONQUERORS," BEING THUS A HYBRID EQUIVALENT
OF THE WORD THAI (TAI) MEANING "FREE" AS OPPOSED TO CAMUWĀ
(*CAMUWĀ<*CHAMUWĀ), AN AHOM SUBJECT OF A RESPECTABLE

*PROF. (NOW DR.) S. K. BHUYAN NOTES IN HIS INTRODUCTION TO
TUNGKHUNGLA BURANJ (PP. XXIX, XXX) THAT THE ADULT POPU-
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status.* The presence of forms like Asām, Acām in early Assamese seems to lend support to this view. Skt. Asāma could have given a st's. form like Asam but hardly Asām.

4. The Shans built their kingdom and consolidated their power in Eastern Assam with the modern town of Śibsāgara as their capital and brought the whole tract down to the border of the modern district of Kāmrūp permanently under their sway. It was towards the close of their reign that modern Kāmrūp came within the compass of the Shan rule, but even then the Shan domination in Kāmrūp was fitful and it was often challenged by contending powers.

The word Asam was first applied to the Shans and subsequently to the country they conquered, viz. the regions east of the present district of Kāmrūp. Its use was afterwards expanded and it included the whole of the Brahmaputra valley when the province was constituted by the British in 1874. It should be noted, however, as a phonetic vagary that the name of the country still remains Asam (pron. axām), but the conquerors' name undergoes further phonetic modifications and becomes Ahām, Āham, Āhōm. In modern Assamese the Shans are invariably designated as Ahōms. As Shan is a wide term, they will in the following pages be referred to as Āhōms.

(B) The Affinities of Assamese.

5. Assamese is very little known abroad. The province of Assam being cut off from the rest of Northern India by its

ation of Assam was divided into Khets or groups having to render specific service to the state such as arrow-making, boat-building etc. The Chamūwās or higher ranks of subjects were exempted from personal service. He further defines the position of a Chamūwā as an Ahom subject of a higher status than the Kāri Pāiks, the arrow-making subjects. The Chamūwās were holders of offices or were employed as goldsmiths and artisans and were ordinarily exempted from manual service. They were also called Apāikān Chamūwās (Ibid. Glossary, p. 237) evidently as different from other Chamūwās or subjects who had to render specific services as Pāiks. (An adult male was called a Pāik).
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powerful neighbour Bengal, the Assamese language is commonly believed to be an off-shoot or sub-dialect of Bengali. This misunderstanding is largely due to the territorial redistribution under the British rule. The whole of North Bengal including Koch-Bihar, Rangpur, Jalpaiguri and also perhaps Dinajpur, should have been included with Assam and the modern district of Sylhet which forms a part of political Assam should have been joined to Bengal. If the territorial readjustment were to be made on the basis of linguistic homogeneity. Such territorial distribution would have given a proper perspective to the formation and development of the Assamese language.

6. The province was differently called in different historical periods. Its most ancient name was Prāg-jyotiṣapura. By this name it is referred to in the two great epics—the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata and in the main Purāṇas,—the Hariścandra, the Viṣṇupurāṇa and the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa. In classical literature both Prāg-jyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa occur as alternative names of the country. Kāhāsā refers to it by both the designations (Raghavemśa: Canto 4: Slokas, 81, 83). In epigraphic records the name Kāmarūpa was first mentioned in the Allahabad Inscription of Samudra Gupta in the fifth century. (Fleet: Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, p. 8).

When Hiuen Ts'ang visited the country in 643 A.D. he knew it as Ka-mo-lu-p'o (Kāmarūpa). Its western boundary was the river Karatoyā in North Bengal. "The pilgrim crossed a large river and came to Ka-mo-lu-p'o". "The river Ka-lo-tu (Karatoyā) may be the large river of the present passage" (Watters: Vol. II, pp. 186, 187). According to the authority of Sanskrit Kashikāpurāṇa (supposedly of the 10th century) and of Yogini Tantra (supposedly of the 16th century)—both mainly devoted to giving geographical accounts of the land, the name of the region east of the river Karatoyā in North Bengal to the river Dikkara (Dikrāi) in Eastern Assam, was Kāmarūpa and its permanent western boundary had been the river Karatoyā since the times of Narakāsura and Bhagadatta of Kurukṣetra fame.
7. Whatever be the backward time limit of the river Karatoyā having formed the western boundary of ancient Prāg-jyotisā or Kāmarūpa, it is certain that in Huien Ts'ang's time it marked the westernmost frontier of the Kāmarūpa kingdom. It was of the language of the people of this kingdom when he said that "their speech differed a little from that of Mid-India. (Watters: Vol. II. p. 186). It was under the patronage of kings outside the western limit of modern Assam,—under the patronage of the kings of Kamarāpur, fourteen miles to the south west of Coch-Bihar, that the earliest Assamese books were written. Even now the spoken language of North Bengal and western Assam (districts of Kāmarū and Gaulpārā) is substantially the same and seems to form one dialect group. The points of difference between this western Assamese dialect and the standard colloquial of eastern Assam have been noted below (§§. 33 ff.).

8. The great author of The Linguistic Survey did not leave unnoticed the linguistic unity of North Bengal and Assam and he pointed to Māgadhī as the common source of all the eastern dialects. "Māgadhī was the principal dialect which corresponded to the old Eastern Prakṛti. East of Māgadha lay the Gauḍa or Prācyā Apabhraṃśa the head quarter of which was at Gauḍ in the present district of Malda. It spread to the South and South-East and here became the parent of modern Bengali. Besides spreading southwards Gauḍa Apabhraṃśa also spread to the east keeping north of the Ganges and is there represented at the present day by Northern Bengali and in the valley of Assam by Assamese. North Bengal and Assam did not get their language from Bengal proper but directly from the west. Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, in fact, may be considered as spreading out eastwards and southwards in three directions. To the North-East it developed into Northern Bengali and Assamese, to the south into Oriya and between the two into Bengali. Each of these three descendents is equally directly connected with the common immediate parent and hence we find North Bengali agreeing in some respects rather with Oriya, spoken far away to the south
than with the Bengali of Bengal proper of which it is usually classed as a sub-dialect” (L.S.I. Vol. I, Part I, pp. 125-126).

9. Dr. S. K. Chatterji basing his conclusions on the materials accumulated in L.S.I., Part I, and other monographs on the Bengali dialects, divides Eastern Mag. Pkt. and Ap. into four dialect groups. (1) Rāḍha dialects which comprehend Western Bengali which gives standard Bengali colloquial and Orijā in the South West. (2) Varendra dialects of North Central Bengal. (3) Kāmarūpa dialects which comprehend Assamese and the dialects of North Bengal. (4) Vaṅga dialects which comprehend the dialects of East Bengal. (O.D.B.L., Vol. I, p. 140). It would thus appear that there is no question of one dialect group having sprung out of another. They are all related to one another as having emanated from one centre of radiation and yet following their own lines of development.

10. The question was once hotly discussed in the press whether Assamese was or was not a sub-dialect of Bengali. Sir G. A. Grierson dismissed it by his now proverbial comparison of a hill and a mountain.

In describing, however, the formation of the Assamese language, its exact relationship to its powerful neighbour Bengali cannot be left undefined. The comparative obscurity of Assamese and the spread of a powerful Bengali literature almost all over the globe gives an impression to foreigners that Assamese is a patois of Bengali.

11. Skeat’s conception of a dialect may be accepted as a good working hypothesis. “When we talk of speakers of dialect, we imply that they employ a provincial method of speech to which the man who has been educated to use the language of books is unaccustomed. Such a man finds that the dialect speaker frequently uses words or modes of expression which he does not understand or which are at any rate strange to him; and he is sure to notice that such words as seem to be familiar to him are, for the most part strangely pronounced. Such differences are especially noticeable in the use of vowels and diphthongs and in the mode of intonation (Skeat: English Dialects, pp. 1, 2).
12. Judged by this standard, Assamese will not betray any characteristics that may be regarded as dialectal aberrations of Bengali. On the other hand, it will be found that they started on parallel lines with peculiar dialectical predispositions and often developed sharply contradictory idiosyncrasies.

13. For convenience of discussion, the main points of agreement and difference between Bengali and Assamese are grouped below:

(i) Assamese words for fire and water are from the earliest period zai and pāni, as opposed to Bg. āgun and jal. Assamese pāni for water is common to all the dialects of Bihāri and Eastern Hindi, but zai for fire has parallels only in joy and jee of the Bhatri dialect of Oriyā and in the Bhulia dialect of Eastern Hindi respectively, both south of the Vindhayas.

(ii) Assamese and Bengali have contrasting systems of accentuation. Assamese follows the pan-Indian system of penultimate stress and Bengali has an initial stress (§158). Even in that respect Bengali differs from the Kāmrūpi dialect which also has an initial stress. In this regard the most common word for 'court-yard' (corresponding to Skt. caṭrāña) in St. Assamese, St Bengali and Kāmrūpi may be compared; e.g. St. As. cāṭāl; St. Bg. cāṭāl, Kāmrūpi: cāṭāl. In St. As. the stress on the penult shortens the previous -a-: in Kāmrūpi, the initial stress shortens the following -ā-; and in Bg. there is an anticipatory lengthening of initial a- in a position of stress.

(iii) The genitive case affix is Bg. -er: As. -ar: but -er-survives in As. instrumental case affix -er-e. Conversely also, in early As. -er-e was the pleonastic conjunctive affix as opposed to early Bg. -rā with the same function. (§§ 826, 828)

(iv) The loc. affix in As. is -t from the earliest times. Bg. has e, -te (-tā + -e).

(v) Present part in As. is -ōt- (-anta). Bengali has -it-.

(vi) The past conditional in As. is expressed by the post-position hēten (earlier hāte, hante) after a fully conjugated
verbal root in the past. Bengali expresses the past conditional with the pres. part. base in -it- with personal conjugational affixes (§§. 787, ff.).

(vii) The infinitive sense is conveyed in As. by forms in -ib-; in Bg. by forms in -it- (§§. 809-813).

(viii) Assamese has a complete set of negative conjugation with the negative particle na- placed before the verb root. Oriyā has a negative conjugation with the verb substantive only. Bengali has no negative conjugation (§. 847).

(ix) The plural suffixes in Assamese are entirely different from those of Bengali. Some As. Pl. suffixes have affinities in the western languages (§§. 620, ff.).

(x) As. pronominal derivatives of time and place seem to have no parallel formations in Bengali (§§. 698, ff.; 711, ff.).

(xi) The type of vowel-harmony (noticed under §§. 273 ff.) where an anterior -ā- is shortened under the influence of a following -ā- in a succeeding syllable is absent in Bengali, while As. has it in common with Oriyā and in a modified form with Bihari. This often makes Assamese formations unintelligible to Bengali speaking people.

There are other types of vowel-harmony which have affinities in the west but not in Bengali. They have been noticed in proper places (§§. 261, ff.).

(xii) Assamese devised from earliest times a symbol (راحة) for the ū- glide. Bg. has no distinct symbol; it has only a spelling device to denote the glide-sound.

These are some of the most outstanding features that differentiate Assamese from Bengali. Other points of divergence and contact have been noticed in the body of the text.

14. Dr. S. K. Chatterji has often referred to forms and idioms in the Baudhā Gāṅ O Dohā as sources of corresponding forms and idioms in modern Bengali though he characterises the language of Baudhā Gāṅ O Dohā, as a kind of Western Apabhṛṣṭha from its -u- nominatives, its aha- genitives, its -ijja- passives and its general agreement with forms with the
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literary Western Apabhranśa. (O.D.B.L., Vol. I., p. 112). Dr. Bloch characterising the language of the Dohās says,—“We may call it oriental because it is found in Eastern texts and because there are some Eastern influences, but it is not so if we wish to find in it the base of the modern Eastern languages.” (Quoted from Dr. P. C. Bagchi’s article: The Sibilants in the Buddhist dohās: Indian Linguistics: Vol. V parts I-VI p. 356).

It has been pointed out by Dr. G. Tucci on the authority of some Tibetan manuscripts that Minanāth, one of the poets of the Bauddha dohās, was a fisherman from Kāmarūpa (J.A.S.B. New Series. Vol. XXVI. No. I, pp. 133, 134). All these great authorities agree about the presence of Eastern forms and influences in the language of the dohās. Dr. Bagchi places the date of the composition of these texts sometime between the 8th and the 10th centuries A.D. (ibid).

15. Certain phonological and morphological peculiarities registered in the Bauddha dohās have come down in an unbroken continuity through early to modern Assamese. Reference has already been made to the shortening of an anterior -ā- before a following -ā- in the next or a succeeding syllable (§ 13. xi). So far as Eastern languages are concerned, this peculiarity appears for the first time in the language of the dohās: e.g. pakhā; As. pakhā; Bg. pākhā. (pakṣa-). cakā; As. caka; Bg. cākā (cakra-). bāpā: E. As. bāpā (Mod. As. bōpā): Bg. bāpā. bhaṇḍāra: As. bhaṇḍāl (Earlier, bhaṇḍār) Bg. bhāyār, etc.

Assamese and the dohās share in common certain morphological characteristics also: viz., dative case-ending in -lai (As. -lái), e.g., kula-lai: meru śikhara-lai: Loc. ending in -ta (As. -tā), e.g., saṃkamata: bāṭata: hārita. Gen. ending in -ra (As. -ra): e.g. sasara; abidara. The Pres. Part. in -antar- (E. As. -antar-; Mod. As. -āntar-): e.g., parantar, jaantar, buṛantar, etc. Conjunctives in -i- -ile (As. -i- -ile): e.g. suni; dekhi; bujhihile; carile etc.

16. All this proves only that Assamese is not an off-shoot or patois of Bengali but an independent speech related to Bengali, both occupying the position of dialects with reference A._-2
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to some standard Magadhan Apabhraśa. Modern Assamese in certain respects shows a closer approximation to the forms and idioms preserved in the dohās.

17. The language of Kṛṣṇa Kīrtan which Dr. Chatterji has quoted all through as having preserved early Bengali formations tells a similar story. The Kṛṣṇa Kīrtan presents a mixture of dialects which have not yet started on courses of independent development but the beginnings of which seem to have been well laid down. If it be allowed to represent the Pre-Bengali and Pre-Assamese dialect groups by the unknown quantity X, then it may be said that Kṛṣṇa Kīrtan preserves specimens of latter-day X-dialects which in later times developed into distinctive Bengali and Assamese languages. There are often double sets of forms which are not dialectal aberrations of one another and which in distinctive Bengali and Assamese periods became distinguishing features of Bengali or Assamese; e.g., the 1st. personal affixes of the Pres. Indic. verbs are -i, -ō. (Cf. cāhī, cāhō, I seek: kārī, karo, I do). Modern St. Bg. has -i and modern St. As. has -ō as 1st personal affixes in the present indicative. By origin -i represents M.I.A. passive in -lai and is preserved only in certain relics in E. As. and modern As. (§§. 752, ff.). The distinctive As. personal suffix is -ō (§ 760). Thus in the usages of Kṛṣṇa Kīrtan, kari is the characteristic of one dialect and karo that of another. A distinctive idiom was not fully evolved and the author sometimes uses one form and sometimes another for the sake of euphony.

18. Kṛṣṇa Kīrtan places the negative particle na before the conjugated verbal root as in Assamese (§§. 275, 847) and it is assimilated to the initial vowel of the conjugated root (Cf. nahō, I am not; nājānō, I do not know). Assamese has kept up the idiom but Mod. Bg. places the negative particle after the conjugated root.

19. Of the two formations hāte (hante) and hāte used as post-positions to express the ablative sense, the latter (hāte)
is a living form in Bengali, and *hante* (hāte), a feature in E. As. has now dropped out of use in Mod. As.

20. So also both *-it-* and *-ib-* infinitives are found in E. Bg. and E. As. but in more distinctive periods *-it-* emerged as the infinitive in Bg. and *-ib-* as that in Assamese.

21. Thus it may be concluded that in a pre-Bengali and pre-Assamese period, there were certain dialect groups which may be designated as Eastern Magadhan Apabhraṃśa. They represented mixtures of many tongues and many forms. When they were reduced to writing, the authors often used parallel forms characteristic of different dialects without any discrimination, but with the development of linguistic self-consciousness, the forms were isolated and each dialect group became clearly demarcated and the parallel forms became leading characteristics of different dialect groups.

Dr. Chatterji has made certain valuable observations in this respect. Speaking about the Bengali dialects he says,—

"The Bengali dialects cannot be referred to a single primitive Bengali speech, but they are derived from various local forms of late Magadhan Apabhraṃśa, which developed some common characteristics that may be called pan-Bengali." (O.D.B.L., p. 139). Again, "Assamese under her independent kings and her social life entirely self-contained, became an independent speech, although her sister dialect, North Bengali, accepted the vassalage of the literary speech of Bengal." (ibid. p. 148).

(C) The Distinctive Assamese Period.

22. The distinctive Assamese period of literature, to speak from the materials hitherto discovered, begins with the 14th century. For the convenience of grouping linguistic peculiarities, the history of the Assamese language may be broadly divided into three periods:

(i) Early Assamese:—from the fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century. This again may be split into (a) the Pre-Vaishnavite and (b) the Vaishnavite sub-periods.
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(ii) Middle Assamese:—from the seventeenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is a period of the prose chronicles of the Ahôm court.

(iii) Modern Assamese:—from the beginning of the nineteenth century till present times.

23. The earliest Assamese writer is Hema Sarasvati, the author of a small poem, Prakrâda Carita. He makes mention of his patron, king Durlabhanârâyaña of Kamatâpur, who is said to have ruled in the latter part of the 13th century. In the time of king Indranârâyaña of Kâmatâpur, the son of Durlabhanârâyaña, the two poets Harihara Vipra and Kaviratna Sarasvati composed Aśvamedha Parva and Jayadratha Vadha respectively. Another poet named Rudra Kandali translated Dro̐ga Parva under the patronage of king Tâmrâdhvaja of Rangpur. But the most considerable poet of the Pre-Vaishnavite sub-period is Madhava Kandali, who rendered the entire Râmâyana into Assamese verse under the patronage of king Mahâmânîkya, a Kâchâri king of Jayantâpura. Mâdhava Kandali belonged to central Assam, now represented by the present district of Nowgong. His date has not been definitely fixed, but Sânkara Deva (born in 1449 A.D.) makes respectful mention of him as an unrivalled predecessor. From linguistic peculiarities common to all Pre-Vaishnavite writers and summarised below, Madhava Kandali can not be placed later than the fourteenth century.

24. In all these writers, the Assamese idiom seems to have been fully individualised. The language bears certain archaisms which are remarkably free from the writings of Sânkara Deva and his school. The personal affixation to nouns of relationship is fully established and continues even to-day. So is an anterior -ā- shortened before a following -â-. This also is a feature of modern Assamese phonology. But the addition of personal endings after participial tenses in -ib-, -il-, was not fully established. A good deal of fluctuations is noticeable,—the participial suffixes sometimes standing alone without any personal endings and sometimes taking them on. There is in all these writers a curious use of the conjunctive
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participle, e.g., hāni-erā (does pierce); kari-erā (do you do);
gucāi-erō (I do remove) etc. Cf. uses in Bengali Kṛṣṇa
Kīrtana: di-ārā; kahi-ārā; (do thou give; do thou speak)
(§§ 828 ff). The past participle in -ibā- is also found in all
these writers e.g. māribāra prajā, the slain people; dibāra
astra, the weapons given. (§§ 796 ff).

25. Śankara Deva, the great Vaishnavite reformer in
Assam was born in 1449 A.D. and towards the close of the
century he began to compose literary works in propagation of
his tenets. The religious fervour he created caught on, and
innumerable books mostly in verse were composed by his fol-
lowers. The archaisms noticeable in the Pre-Vaishnavite
writers are entirely absent in his writings. The curious use of
the conjunctive has wholly disappeared and the personal end-
ings after participial suffixes have been definitely established.

Śankara composed also religious songs and dramas and in
these compositions there is a large admixture of what is popu-
larly known as Braja-buli idioms.

26. The enthusiasm for making the scriptures accessible
to the people in vernacular was so great that some time after
Śankara Deva, a certain teacher of the school of Śankara Deva
named Bhāṭṭa Deva translated the entire Bhagavad Gītā and
the Bhāgarata Purāṇa into Assamese prose in about 1593.
While admirable as presenting a specimen of prose style so
far back, there is hardly anything remarkable in this prose
rendering from the linguistic points of view. The diction is
overloaded with Sanskritic words, and the language is far
less homely than the language of the verso-writers which
occasionally betrays colloquialisms. The grammatical forms
also do not shew any simplification towards modernism. Thus
this prose does not give any idea of the spoken language of
the time.

27. Two grammatical peculiarities are, however, notice-
able: (1) The first personal ending in -m- in the future tense
appears for the first time in writing side by side with the con-
ventional -bā in the same discourse and under the same syntac-
tical conditions: e.g. nu-jujhima, I shall not fight likhib, I shall write. (2) The extended forms of the personal endings of participial tenses like -o-hā, to-hā, bo-hā; ā-hā, īā-hā -bā-hā; -ti-hā, bi-hā etc., are dropped altogether. It would appear that in verse compositions these forms occur owing to the exigencies of metre (§ 760).

So far literary activities were carried on in western Assam under the patronage of kings of either Kāmatāpura or Koch-Bihar. But with the consolidation of the Āhōm power in eastern Assam and the decline of the Koch kingdom in western Assam, the centre of literary importance was shifted from western to eastern Assam.

28. The Āhōms had brought with them an instinct for historical writings. In the Āhōm court, historical chronicles were at first composed in their original Tibeto-Chinese language, but when the Āhōm rulers adopted Assamese as the court language, historical chronicles began to be written in Assamese. From the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards, court chronicles were written in large numbers. One such chronicle of the early part of the seventeenth century has been printed under the auspices of the Kāmarūpa Anusandhān Samiti of Guwahati in 1922. This book has been freely quoted from in the following pages.

29. The period of chronicle-prose has been referred to as the Middle period of the language. These chronicles or buranjis, as they were called by the Āhōms, broke away from the style of the religious writers. The language is essentially modern and with slight alterations in grammar and spelling, the chronicles may very well pass for compositions of to-day. The plural suffixes of nouns, -hor, and -hāt, appear for the first time in these compositions. The pleonastic use of the conjunctive participles (§ 818) is well established. The conjunct consonants, of which early Assamese is full, are reduced to single ones. The transfer of plural suffixes from nouns to verbs is first noticed here (§§ 785 ff).

30. With the publication of the Bible in Assamese prose by the American Baptist Missionaries in 1819, the modern
period of Assamese begins. The Missionaries made Sibsāgar in eastern Assam the centre of their activities and used the dialect of Sibsāgar for their literary purposes. In 1846, they started a monthly periodical called Arunodaya, and in 1848, N. Brown published the first Assamese Grammar. The first Assamese-English dictionary compiled by M. Bronson was published by the Missionaries in 1867. Under the influence of the Missionaries, a set of native writers grew up and books and periodicals in the language of eastern Assam were multiplied. Thus the traditions of the Ahôm court supported by the mission press established the language of eastern Assam as the literary language of the entire province.

31. Owing to the levelling influence of the Ahôm court, the language of eastern Assam shews very few dialectical variations. 'But there is a good deal of local variations in the language of western Assam. Even within the single district of Kâmrûp, there are no less than five dialectical regions.

32. Western Assam was never for a long period under any dominant power. It was the cockpit of several fighting forces,—the Kochs, the Muhammedans and the Ahôms, and political fortunes passed from one power to another in different times. A steady commanding central influence that gives homogeneity to manners as to speech was never built up by any ruling power in western Assam.

The dialectical forms referred to in the body of the text belong to western Assam (Kâmrûp).
II. POINTS OF DIALECTICAL DIVERGENCE.

33. Assamese may be divided dialectically into Eastern Assamese and Western Assamese. The language from Sadiyā the easternmost frontier down to Gauhati exhibits a certain homogeneity and hardly presents any notable point of difference from the spoken dialect of Sibsagar, the capital of the late Ahom kings. And for purposes of literature this dialect is generally regarded as the standard language.

34. The two western districts of Kāmrūp and Goālpūra possess several local dialects which betray sharp points of difference from one another and from the standard colloquial of eastern Assam. The spoken dialects of the Goālpūra district seem to have been greatly contaminated with admixtures of the Rājabaṇi dialect—the dialect that was evolved under the domination of the Koch kings of Koch-Bihār, whose descendants ruled over Goālpūra and contiguous portions of Kāmrūp. In between the standard colloquial of Sibsagar in the east and the mixed dialects of Goālpūra in the west stand the dialects of the Kāmrūp district.

35. The Kāmrūp district is not a homogeneous dialectical area. There are different dialects in different localities. Among the dialect specimens presented below, five pieces have been selected from the dialects of Kāmrūp. It will be noticed, however, that the points of difference amongst the dialects of Kāmrūp are mostly confined to details of phonetics and hardly spread over to morphology and vocabulary. The differences, however, between Eastern and Western Assamese are wide and range over the whole field of phonology, morphology and not infrequently vocabulary.

The most salient points of difference are grouped below:

(f) Phonological.

36. The word-stress in the Kāmrūpī dialect is uniformly and dominantly initial as opposed to the penultimate stress of the standard colloquial.
(a) Medial vowels are as a result rarely pronounced and mostly slurred over.

(b) There is a profusion of epenthetic vowels. It may even be said that epenthesis wherever admissible (§ 288) is the rule in the Kāmrūpī dialects.

(c) There is a total absence of diphthongal vowels in the final syllables of Kāmrūpī words. e.g., final -ej, -ay of the St. Coll. appear as -e, -o in the Kāmrūpī dialects. Cf. gale for galaj, prow of a boat; kābo for kābay, supplication.

(d) Diphthongs and even Triphthongs are heard in the initial syllables in Kāmrūpī words:

   e.g., hāulā for hāluwā, a draught of water.
   keuilā, a hermit, for keuariya.

(e) There is a predominance of high-vowels as opposed to the mid-vowels of the St. Coll.

   kāpur for St. Coll. kāpor, cloth.
   tule for St. Coll. tole, raises.
   mul for St. Coll. mol, worth.
   tāmul for St. Coll. tāmol, betel-nut.
   khālu for St. Coll. khālō, I have eaten.

   So also, indu, a rat; sindur, vermilion; nemu, lime-fruit etc., for St. Coll. endur, sendur, nemu, khāichti, he has eaten, for khāiche.

(f) The consonants have a uniform articulation in both Eastern and Western Assamese. But the dialect groups are sharply differentiated by their differing modes of aspiration and de-aspiration. Western Assamese favours aspiration whereas Eastern Assamese favours de-aspiration in the same phonological contexts. (§§ 356 ff).

(ii) Morphological.

37. Both the groups have different sets of plural suffixes.

   For St. Coll. -bor, bilāk, Western Assamese has -gilān, -gilāk, -kun, -āhun etc. The Pl. affix -hāt is common to both the groups but its use is restricted in Western Assamese.

(a) Pronominal derivatives are often different in both the groups; for Western Assamese temporal adverbs kethen, A.—3
when, then, etc., Eastern Assamese has no parallel formations; so also Western Assamese kāhē, jāhē, etc., where, wherever etc., are peculiar to it.

(b) For the third personal conjugation affix -ile after transitive verbs, western Assamese has -ilāk, ilā.

(c) For St. Coll. hēten, to indicate the past conditional, western Assamese has hāy, etc.

(iii) Glossarial.

38. The vocables are often different in both the groups. Even common objects are denoted by different words e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Western Aṣ.</th>
<th>Eastern Aṣ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lājeti latā, sensitive plant.</td>
<td>nilāji latā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khābhani, a scraper, rack.</td>
<td>jabakā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jakarā bhāt, rice left over after eating for a next meal.</td>
<td>paitā bhāt, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In spite of these divergences, however, a large measure of agreement is noticeable in common case endings, conjugational affixes, pronominal roots, derivatives and vocabulary. All this establishes the fundamental unity of the dialects of Eastern and Western Assam.

39. As noticed above, it is the initial word-stress with resulting vowel modifications that makes a Western Assamese word look strange from the point of view of the standard colloquial. So also the aspiration of the west contrasts sharply with the de-aspiration of the east. In other respects the affinities are hardly mistakable.

Beyond admixture of several peoples with varying phonetic habits and peculiarities which will be slightly touched upon in the following section, hardly any other reason can with sufficient accuracy be assigned at present to these points of dialectical difference.

The following specimens will shew all the points of agreement and difference amongst the dialects.
III. ASSAMESE VOCABULARY.

40. The vocabulary of any N.I.A. language may with slight modifications to suit local conditions be divided into the six main sources that have been traced by Dr. Turner as contributing to the formation of the Nepāli language (Introduction to the Nepāli Dictionary pp. xiv et seq.). So far as Assamese is concerned these classifications would be as follows:—

(1) Words of original Skt. or Indo-Aryan origin coming through a slow process of linguistic evolution through the M.I.A. stage.

(2) Words common to many N.I.A. languages but not traceable to that earlier source.

(3) Words borrowed at one time or another from other N.I.A. dialects.

(4) Words of Non-Aryan origin.

(5) A certain number of English and other European words.

(6) Skt. words either in original or in modified forms to suit the genius or phonological peculiarities of Assamese.

Out of these six classes, (1), (2) and (6) would respectively conform to the tbh, dr̥ṣṭa and ts. classifications of the native M.I.A. grammarians. The modified Skt. loan words may be equated to the stś. elements according to European scholars like Grierson and others.

41. Of the varied groups of words, the tbhś constitute the most preponderating elements in Assamese. This is mostly due to the fact that the foundations of Assamese literature were laid by the Vaishnavite reformers whose chief aim was to appeal to the masses and who composed their books as much as possible in the language of the people. The prose chronicles of the Ahōm court meant primarily for the education of the children of the gentry carried this tradition further
In the beginning of the modern period, the American Baptist Missionaries translated the Bible and ran a monthly periodical named *Arunodaya* in the spoken language of the people and gave a fresh momentum to the traditions of composition in homely language. The first Assamese-English dictionary of the American Baptist Missionary, Rev. M. Bronson, is a unique collection of colloquial Assamese words, and later lexicographers have only followed Rev. Bronson in assigning a predominant place to homely indigenous words in their collections.

42. Side by side with the *tbh.* elements, there is a fairly large class of *sts.* words. These seem to be later formations and often betray a good deal of semantic variations. Thus Skt. *śasya*—yields genuine *tbh.* *sāh.* kernel of a fruit, and *sts.* *sāh,* agricultural crops, and a quite recent formation *sāc,* paddy. So also Skt. *sāncu*—, gives *tbh.* *sār,* mould, impression and *sts.* *sāc,* seed for germination. Similarly *θorā,* pestle of a husking-machine (*dhēki*) and *sts.* *θōt,* the beak of a bird, are connected with Skt. *troti.* Likewise, *tbh.* *gār,* boil, and *sts.* *gār,* rhinoceros, look back to Skt. *ganda.*

These *sts* are modified loan words from Skt. and are formed either according to the genius of the spoken language or under the influence of some dialectical cross current.

There is a fair representation in Assamese of what has been registered as *dēśya* elements in M.I.A. lexicons. They conform to class (2) of Dr. Turner’s division and may be characterised as belonging to the inherited stock of Assamese.

*Loan-words from N.I.A. languages.*

43. The chief source for these has been *Hindustāni.* From that source has been received into Assamese a large number of Persian and Arabic words and also words of Portuguese or other European origin.

Words of Sanskrit origin which preserve the sibilant sound in the place of the Skt. sibilants which uniformly have an (*x*) sound in Assamese, are loan words from *Hindustāni* or other Western dialects. Cf. *tīc,* linseed: *cāmbhāle,* takes
care of: bāic, teic, twenty-two, twenty-three etc. To denote the sibilant sound, (c) is used in Assamese spellings.

44. Homely Assamese words, often with slight alterations in meaning, shew parallel equivalents in Orijā, Bihāri, Hindustāni and other western dialects. These might have descended from common sources and in some cases might also have been due to migrations of people from different centres of Northern India.

45. Certain Assamese words have similar or parallel formations in westernmost languages like the Marathi, which intermediate languages like the Hindustāni do not seem to possess. Compare, for example, the following list of words:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assamese</th>
<th>Marathi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khāk. savage hunger</td>
<td>khānkhā. savage. miserly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khaccā. knotty as a tie</td>
<td>khaccā. hard and fast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khābhānī. a rack. a scraper</td>
<td>khāvānī. a scraper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(E.As.) l’hanta-corr. arrant thief</td>
<td>khān-corr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khāp. a notch</td>
<td>khāp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gāō-burā. a petty village officer</td>
<td>gāṇ-burā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jukārā-(bhāit) surplus rice kept over for a next meal: jukērā. surplus articles.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barangānī. subscription:  bargānī. subscription.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beji. needle:</td>
<td>bej. eye of a needle.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46. About this class of words it would be more plausible to assume race contact rather than derivation from a common source. It has been noticed by historians of the Far-East that Indian Colonists seem to have proceeded to the Far-East both by land and sea and that the land route passed through Eastern Bengal, Manipur and Assam (Dr. R. C. Majumdar:}
INDRODUCTION


47. It would thus appear that Assam lay on the highway for emigrants from all parts of India to the Far-East and from the slow nature of the journey in those far-off days, the outward-bound emigrants must have dropped words and formations that were taken over by the local people. It must have frequently happened also that some of the emigrants broke their long journey on the way and settled amongst the native population.

An assumption like this would explain similarities of homely Assamese words and forms with those of the languages of the extreme west.

This seems to be supported by archaeological evidences also. Archaeological scholars like R. D. Banerji and K. N. Dikshit have found in the architectural ruins of ancient Assam, points of resemblance to the Chalukya columns of the Bombay Presidency. Chāitya window pattern so common in the temples of central India (except those in the Rewa states and at Khajuraho), in the Gupta temples at Bhumra and Dēdogarh (R. D. Banerji. Annual reports. 1924-25; 1925-26; *Archaeological Survey of India*). K. N. Dikshit is a little more explicit about the source of the inspiration of ancient Assamese art. “The affinities of Assamese art would seem to lie more with the schools of Bihar and Orissa than with the contemporary Pāla art of Bengal. This is not unnatural as of the streams of influence that have moulded the culture of Assam, the strongest current has always been from North Bihar and Mid-India (Annual report 1927-28; *Archaeological Survey of India*).

**Non-Aryan elements.**

48. The principal Non-Aryan sources contributing loan words to Assamese have been discussed below in a separate section. They are (1) Austro-Asiatic:—(a) Khāsi; (b) Kolarian and (c) Malayan. (2) Tibeto-Burman:—Boṣo;
(3) Thāi:—Ahom. Specimen contributions from the respective groups have been tabulated under respective headings. One point only need be emphasised: while the Khāsi, Bodo and Thāi elements may be regarded as loans due to the contact of Assamese with the several languages, the Malayan and Kularian elements may be said to be due to the facts of a substratum resulting from the unconscious blending of two systems existing amongst the people.
IV. DIALECT SPECIMENS.

The story of the prodigal son.

49. In the following specimens, the story of the prodigal son has been presented in the typical dialects of Assamese. The translations have been made by actual speakers of the several dialects, and the specimens have been transliterated in the usual phonetic letters.

Excepting velars and labials, consonants have an alveolar articulation.

EASTERN ASSAM

(1) Standard Colloquial (Sibsagar).

50. kono ezan mānuhar dutā putrk āsil. tāre xarutoxe bāpekak kale—"oj bopāi, āponār xampattir zi bhāg mai pāu, tāk mok diyak." tāte trū trūr xampatti duyoputke nār hitarat bāti dile. alap dinar pāsat xaruto putke tār bhāgat zi pāle tāke loj dur dextaloj gōj bō:ssāli kari gotēi xampatti nāx kariile. tār pāsat xei dexat bar ākāl hol. tāte xī dūkh pābaloj dharile. tetiyā xī gōj xei dēxar ezan mānuhar āsray lāle. āru xei mānuhe tāk gāhari sarābaloj pathāraloj pathāi dile. tāte xī gāharir khowā ebhid gōsār sēire peri bharābaloj bar hīnh kariilō tāk koneo tko nīdile. xēsat xī setan pāi kale—" mor bōpāir kāta golāme zōrat kōj adhik khowā bastu paīse, kintu mai iyāt bhokat marisō; mai ubhathi bōpāir tāloj gōj ei kathā kam ze—"oj bopāi, mai issarar osarat āru āponār osarat pāp karilō, mai āru āponār po buli kabar zoigga nahaū; mok āponār ēta golām buli rākhak. pāsat xī bāpekār osaralōj ubhati āhil, kintu xī durōj thākōtei tār bāpeke tāk deknī maram lāgi, lari gōj, tār dinjīth dhar dū māna khale. tetiyā putke tūk kale—"oj bopāi, mai issarar osarat āru āponār osarat pāp karisō; mai āru āponār po buli kabar zoigga nahaū". kintu bāpeke bandibilākak kale—"iyāk bēgāi atātikoj bhal kāpor āni pindhāhāk; iyār hātāt ānāthi āru bharīt pāyzār pindhāhāk; āru ānā bhoz pāti raṅ karbāk. kiyano mor ei po marisīl, ākojī zile; hārāsīlō ākojī pālō". tātē xakalowe raṅ karibaloj dharile.
DIALECT SPECIMENS

tetiyā tēr bar putek pathārat āsil. pāsat xi gharar osar pāi, nās-bazanār xabda xunile. tetiyā xi bandi-bilākar ātā māti xudhile—‘ei-bor no ki ḍiṣe?’ tāte xi kale—

“tomār bhāyer ubhāti āhise, āru tomār pitāre teük xustha xarilere powā hetuke bar bhoz pātise”. tāte tār bar khaṅ uṭhīl, āru bhitaralo zābar anissā hal, kintu tār bāpeke olāi goj tāk kāktuk minati karilat, xi bāpeke kale ze—“mai imān basar āponār xowā kari kono kāle āponār āiggā uḷaṅgā naī; taṅṭāpi kono kāle āpum mok bandhu-bilākar lagat raṅ karibalo jē saṅah powalho diyā nat. kintu āponar xi puteke bessār lagat āponār xakalo xampatti bhāgan karile, xi āhilāte tār nimatte āpum bar bhoz pātīl”. tetyā tēr tāk kale—“bāpā tumī xadāi mor lagate asā, āru mor zi zi āse, xakalo tomāre, kintu tomār ei bhāyer marisil, ākōy zīse; herāisīlō ākōy pūśō; ei kāle āmī raṅ karā āru ānandit bowā usit”.—L.S.I. Vol. V, part I. p. 405.

WESTERN ASSAM:—KAMRUP.

(2) Pāṭodarang (Eastern Kāmrüp).

51. tā māṅhur dutā putek āsil. xharātor xarutui bāpākok kalāk.—“he pite, xampottur mor bhāgot zikhini pare, tāke mok di” tāte tāṅ nīzor xampotti xharātok bhāgei dilāk. tār ālpā dīmar pāsōtī xi xaru putektoi xakaloke goeti log komba dēxeqi legi pali ga. āru tāte lampat kāmot gotā urci dilāk xi xakalo bivaṇ kāraṇte xiṅ dext bar akāl hal. tāte xi bar kasto pāśā dhalāk. tītān xi āru xiṅ dextor tā māṅhur ā raṅ laṅlāk. xiṅ māntui nīzor pāthārok legi tāk bārā sāriṅbāk legi pāthē dilāk. tāte xi āru bāsāī khāwā tkbidh gāsot sē di pīt bharābāk legi bar harāp kallāk. kintu kāwe tko tāk nedlāk. xehot āru xi gāt ēd pāi kalāk.—āmār piter kato sākare zorā kori tāt kori ēsī khāwā bastu pāsī. kintu mai ṭt bhokhote marso. mai uṭhi piter tāk legi zāṅ munke kam—‘he pite xargor ahite āru tai dekhāoṭe mai bar pāp kalalo; tor putere buli mātbār zuiggo nahāō, tor sākā tār nāsēṅ mok kar”. taṅ pāsot xi nīzor bāpākor gharok legi āhil. kintu xi durate thākā-ṭōte tār bāpāke tāk dekhi bar marām lāgīl. āru dāuri zāi galot dhori sumā khālāk. tātāt puteke bāpākok kalāk—he pite xargor
pāisi. kintu mai iyāt bhukhote morsu. mai uthi phele bāpār tāke zāi ei katha cam—"bāpā, tai dekhte pāp kori mor parakāl khalā. tor pute buli mātār lāyak āro nahan. mok tor etā sākarar dare kar". pāsot xi uthi phele tār bāpekor gharok ahlak; kintu xi durete thakate tār bāpeke tāk dekhā pāi maramate dāuri zāi tār galot dhori sumā khilāk. titte puteke trūk kalāk—"bāpā, tai dekhte mai pāp kori parakāl khilā. tor pute buli mātār āro lāyak nahan ". titte bānke bāndhā kātāk kālāk—"gotte kori bhāl kāpur āni iyāk ānhā: iyār bātōt ānūthi āro bhorit payār dī, āro ānī bhoṣ pāti ānanda koro, kiyonu ei mor po morio zilāk, hāra satteo pālū". titte gote gilakhene ānanda korhā dhilāk.

xei pastot trūr dānār putektui pāthrot āsīl. pāsot xi āhī gharor guri pāi bāznā āro nāsūr xabda xunlāk. , titte xi bāndhā katār tāk mātī xudhālāk—"ielā khen ki hoisi e"? xi kalāk—"tumār bhāt āhī. āro tumār bāpe tāk xuntha xarile pāwar nimitte bar bhoṣ pātī ". titte tār bar khan uthlāk āro bhītrok zābār logi ssā nakillāk. titte tār bāpeke ole zāi tāk kābo kollāk āro xi bāpekōk uttar di kālāk—"śaṇu, mai atak basar tor xwā kori kono kālote tor āiḡā phālā nāi. trū mor bandhu gilakhene lugot ānanda korhā etā sāglor sānāo tai kono kālote diyā nāi. kintu tor ei pute beisār lugot ter ei xampotti bhātī khar phāllāk, itā āhā mātrake tār nimitee tai masta bhoṣ pātsāh "

(5) Palāsbāri (Southern Kāmrūp).

54. kunbā etā mānhur dūtā putāk āsīl. ekdin xorto putāke bāpiyākak kāla—"bāpā wā, āpunār xampottir mai bhāgot zmnā khēni pām tmnā khini mok diyā," tēthāne bāpiyāke nizor xampotti duwō putākak bhāgē dilā. kei din mān pāsot xorto putāke tār bhāgto loj kunbā ākhān durher dekhok gel, āru ānte gundāmi kori tār gotāi mākhā xampotti nahanā koillā. tār pāsot xiāi dekhot masta ākāl hal. tethiyān
xi bar dukh pābā dhoilā. tār pāsot xi tārei tā mānhur asārokk zāi āsrāy lālā. mānhtoi tāk bārā sārba pathārokk khēdālā. tāte xi bārāi khāwā ekbidh gāsor sān khābā dhoilā. tēo tāk kāyo āko khābā neidālā. tār pāsot setan pāi xi kalā—“āmār bāpār gūlam-hātco agārdenike pēt bhare khābā pāisi, kintu mai ēte bhukhot xukhe morbā lāgsu. mai eithiyāne gharok ultī zāi bāpār āgot yey buli kam—“bāpā wā, mai isarar asārat āru āpunār asārat bar pāp koilū. mai āru āpunār bētā buli khābā zigga nahāū. mok āpunār rātā gūlam buli dhori rākhā.” tār pāsot xi bāpiyākar asārokk legi ulti āhīl. kintu xi bohut durhet thākātei bāpiyāke tāk dekkā pālā āru burhār maram lāgī tār asārokk legi lori zāī tār galot xāmātā mārī dhori sumā khābā dhoilā. tēthiyā putāke tūk kalā—“bāpā, mai bar pāpī, mai mok āpunār bētā būlā noru”. kintu bāpiyāke sākār gilā-kak kalā—“ārōtho thāāi bhāl bhāl kāpur āni yek pindhou. yēr hātot ānthī āru bhori payēr pindhou, āru āni bhoz pātī tāmsā kori de. kāran mor rī tētā mor zamor gharor pēre ulti āhīsī”. tēthiyā xakalowē tāmsā koirbā dhoilā.

tēthiyā burār dāhār putākto pathērot āsil. tār pasot xi gharor kākh pāi tāhato gharot nās bāzānā hawā xumlā. tēthiyā xi sākar hātār tāk mātī xudhālā,—“āzī i khān ki hōi øi”? sākarto kalā—“tumār bhīyāke ulti āhīsī. tūk bāhle bhāle pāwā dekkhi bāpere bar bhēz pātīs.” tāke xumī tār bar khaū uthul, āru tār gharok zābār man nahāwā hal. kintu tār bāpiyāk ide āhi kībo kākotī karāote xi kalā—“mai rmān busar koko nāzāwāke āpunār lagot thākī āpunāk sāwā sīntā kori āsu, tu āzīk lejī mok lag-xamariyār lagot tāmsa kori khābā rātā sāgādor sānāo diyā nāu. kintu āpunār zēto bētaī beisār lagot āpunār xakalo xampoti bhānī khāstān koilā. zēto bētaī ulti āhār thākī āpuni masta bhoz pātīlā”. tēthiyā trū tāk kalā—“bāpā tāi xadhāi mor lagote āsā āru mor zigilā xampoti āse. xakalo tore; kintu tor ēi bhīyāre mori uthi āhīsī, xi haresil. tāk āru pālu. xidh-dhori āmī tāmsā karā āru ānandit hawā usit.—Santāder Goswami, B.A.

(6) Barpetā (Western Kāmrāp).

55. kunbā rītā mānhor dutā putk āsil. tēdīn xarutu puteke bāmar kok kalāk—“pitā, āmār xampottir mai zikhīnī mor
INTRODUCTION

bhāgot pāu, xikhini mok diyā. tethen bāpke nizor xampotti tāhāk bhāge dilāk. tāre kei din men pāsote xei xarū pūtekutui tār gate xapāke loī rkhn duhrer dekhok gusi gel, āro tāte xi lampat hoī tār gate xapā xampottike ure phellāk. tār pāsot xi dekh-khenot masta akēl hal. tethen xi xei dekhor rā mānhor asrot zāi āray lałāk. manuhtui tāk bārā sārbāk login pāthārok kheldālāk. tāte xi rkbhīd bārāi khāwā gāsoī sēi khābā dholāk. tāke dekhalā laīyo tāk rko khābā nedlāk. tār pāsot tār setan lāgīl. āro xi kalāk-“ mor pītār sākār gilāneō agaddānike pet bhore khābā pāwe. kintu mai iyāte bhukhote xukhe morbā lāgū. mai ethere pītār tāke zāi ei boi kam-“pītā, tumi, dekhante mai pāp kori nizor parakāl khālū. mai tumar brītā bolbā lēgā pute nahay mok tumi rthen etā sākare darē rākhā. tār pāsot xi uthi bohil āro bāpkekor gharok login āhīl. kintu xi dhavret thākante bāpke tāk dekhā pālāk. tethen bāpkekor naran lāei dōuri zāi tāk galot xāptā māri ḏhori sumā khalāk. tethen nutke kalāk-“pītā, tumi dekhante mai pāp kori nizor parakāl khālū mai tumar brītā bolbā lēgā pute nahav.” kintu bāpke sākār-gīk nēk kalāk-“khob bhāl bhāl sāi kāpūr ānī māk myndā. yāv hātōt āntī di, bhori payzār di āro āmi khāi di rā tāmsā koru āh. kionu ei mor “brā mara hojo zilāk: mu tāk houreo pālu.” xikhunti tāhun tāmsā korbā dholāk.

tethen manuhtur dāngē pūteku nēthārot āsīl. pāsot xi gharok āhi nās bāzmār xabā suumā tārē rā bāndhāk māt di āni xudhālāk-“īglān nu ki hoīse we?” tethen bāndhātu kalāk-“tumār bhāē āise, āro tumār pītā rā khlādē kāle āhā dekhī mastā bhoz pātse.” īvāte xun tār hor khāi uthi āro bhitro zābār anissā hal. kintu bāpke tāk kāho korbā dholāk. tethen xi bāpkekor kalāk-“rāwā, pītā, tumāk mai innēn basar xewā kori āsu. rkdīnāk ēgīn mai tumar kathā ph nouvelā nāi. tathāpi mok tumi lag-xamariyār lāgō tāmsā korbāk login rā sāgālor sānāo diyā nāi. kintu ei tumār pute beissār lāgō tumār xampotti pānī kori phellāk āro āi āhante tumi mastā bhoz pātī phollā.” tethen bāpke pūtsek kalāk-“hāpā, tai xadāi mor lagate āsāh. mor xikhini āse gate-gilān tore. kintu tor ei bhāētu marā hojo zilāk: tāk mar houreo pālu. xikhunti āmi rān tāmsā karā usīt.—Achyutananda Das.
56. Kuno tkzan mansir duizän saowa asil. tar sotata'e bāpāk köl-bābā sampittir ze bhāg mor haē, tāk mok de. tāt aē nizer sampotti umāk bātīyā dil. tar alpa din pāsite ej sota sāowātā sok goteyā dur desat gel. are lampat bebahārat ar sampotti uzar karīl. aē gotāy kharas karār pāsot oi desat bārā ākāl hol. ate aāyā kasta pāba dhorīl. selā aē zāyā oī deser tkzan mānār āray lōwāt ej mānusī ak sūyār sārabā pāthārat patheyā dil. ate aē sūyārī khōwā ēk rakam gāser sāl dīyā pt bhārābā sāle ak kah kisu nādīl. tār pāsot aē setan pāyā koīl'-mōr hāper kāta golāme besi besi khōwā bastu pāse, kintu mui te bhukate manamu. mui uthe zāyā eī kathā kom-' bābā sarger bhurūdhē ār tūn dēkhāt mui pāp karīlū.' tor sāowā buh karīl ār zungga nahan. tor ēk zān golāmer māta mok kār.' pāse aē uthiyā hāper gharāt gel. kintu aē durāt thākte or hāpe ok dēkhiyā dayā lágiyā dāuri zāyā or galāt dhūrna sūma khul. selā saowāta ak koīl-' bābā, sarger bhurūdhē ār tumār asatot pāp karīlū. tor sāowā buh karīl zōngga nahan.' kintu hāpe golām gulāk koīl-' sakaler sāute bhul kaper ānyāt ēk padnīrē, ar hatat antūn de ār pāwat pāyār de. ār ānā bhūv. patiāra ran karun de. karan mor eī sāowātā mōrisil, āro bādīl, kānā-sūnam āro pāluñī.' ate umurā (ságōt) tāmsā korībā dhorīl. selā ār dōgār sāowātā pathārat āsil. pāse aē astāyā ghat r asar pāyā bāzi ār naser sabā sunil. selā ār gōnā-gūtār thāk dēkhiyā pusil-' eī-gulā ki hośe?' tātē aē koīl-' tor māyā āsil. ār hēr hāpe ok sustha sarile pāyā bhōz pāti. āt abara rag uthūl. ār bhāturat zābār anissa hol. kintu ār kāra māyā zāyā mānāt karāt aē bāpāk koīl-' dēkhe ānētā basār tor sēbā korrīyā kuno kāle tor āgga amamna karun na. tahāja mōr lag-lagariyār lagat rān tāmsā korībā ēkta saqāte āsē tuī kuno kāle mōk dīs nāi. kintu tumār eī ze bētay beissär lagot āpār Sampotti bhāyāyā khāyā phulal. aē āsāte ār bāde ān bārā bhōz pātīlī. selā aē ak koīl-' bābā tui sadā mōr lagot āsis, mōr ze āsē, sok tore. kintu tor ēī bhāi mōrisil, āro bāsēse; haraisilūn āro pāluñ, ei bāde āmī rān tāmsā karā usit.—Bīrāmohān Chakravarti, B.Sc.
V. THE NON-ARYAN LEXICAL CORRESPONDENCES IN ASSAMESE VOCABULARY.

57. In introducing this section certain reservations in statements are necessary. The comparative grammars of the non-Aryan languages are not yet fully settled and one is not sure about the real origin of any word found in them. In selecting non-Aryan words for comparison with Assamese words of unknown origin in the following lists, the only guiding principle has been similarity in sound and meaning (which of course, is not a sure guide in etymology). Nothing more than mere comparison is therefore suggested and every remark about non-Aryan affiliation is to be regarded as subject to this reservation in statement.

AUSTRO-ASIATIC INFLUENCE.

(a) The Khâsi element.

58. The Assam Valley districts are surrounded on all sides by aboriginal tribes mostly of Tibeto-Burman origin except the Khâsis who belong to the Mon-Khmer branch of the Austro stock. The Austro-Asiatic people are supposed by some to have been the earliest inhabitants of Northern India and driven to their present mountain homes by the Tibeto-Burman on the east and by the Dravidian on the west. The Khâsi language in Assam is the sole representative of the Austro-Asiatic family in North Eastern India. Though the Khâsis have been living an isolated life cut off from any great direct intercourse with the plains, there have been in all periods of history commercial and political dealings with them and from the linguistic point of view there have been mutual borrowings on both sides.

59. Other representatives of the Austro-Asiatic stock are the Munda languages that occupy the eastern half of Central India. It has been said that the domain of Munda, Mon-Khmer and other connected languages are much more con-
siderable than it is at present and that it is only in late times
that this domain has been reduced and cut into pieces by the
Aryan and the Dravidian on the West and the Tibeto-Burman
on the east. The people, however, who spoke those Austric
dialects have now merged into the Hindu and Muhammedan
masses of Northern India; they have become transformed
into the present-day Aryan speaking castes and groups of the
country. The absorption of the Austric speaker into the
Aryan fold explains the presence in the Indo-Aryan speeches
of a considerable number of Austric words (P.A.P.D. pp. VII
and XIX).

60. For want of sufficient informations about all the
varied branches of the Austro-Asiatic group, the observations
here are confined only to Assamese correspondences to the
Khâsi, the Muñdâri, the Santah and the Malayalam languages.
It would appear from what follows that the influence of the
Kolarian languages is deeper and more far reaching than that
of the Khâsi or other non-Aryan languages. The influence
of the latter seems to be confined mostly to the vocabulary.
A few words (prob. of Austric origin) retained in the Khâsi,
seem to have been absorbed into late Sanskrit. e.g., Skt.
cholânga, a lemon; As. sole/ng; Khas. soh-long (soh, fruit).
Skt. sîmba, pod. As. chê, Khas. symbai, symbôh, a seed, a
grain (U. S. Singh: Khâsi-English dictionary, 1906).

61. The Khâsi correspondences: y represents the neutral
vowel in Khâsi words.

kâhây, supplication (kabô, to request).
kîng-khép, a kind of cloth (kem-khâp).

√khamoc, grasp. (√kham, close the fist).
khaŋg, anger. (khong-khong, irritated).
kamâ, wander about aimlessly. (√kma, wander, roam
about).

dìngâ, a boat (dîng, wood or tree).

düng, a channel (dông, abbr. of tyndong, a tube).

hênô, it is said, so they say (hâna).

jêpâ, a bamboo clothes basket (jâpi, a basket in the
shape of a round trunk for depositing precious articles).

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*jeng-jeng*, protruding (*jîng*, high up).
*jañjâl*, trouble (*jianjur*, trouble).
*jâhâ*, a kind of sweet scented rice (*juhâi*).
*do-mâcâ*, a half-breed, esp. a cow (*mâsi*, a cow; Aust.
*sia*, a buffalo).
*methon*, a wild bull (*mythen*, *mythun*, big and muscular
as a calf).
*enei*, "to boot," for nothing (*tanoh*, a little quantity in
excess of that sold or bought).
*cokorâ*, the shell of a nut or egg; a scab.
(soh-kiroh, having pock marks, e.g. soh-khiang,
a scar).
*sâl-man*, pimples on the face; (*sulom*, dandruff on the
face).
*nodokâ*, stout and sturdy (cf. *sup-dok*, short and stout:
*sup*, a big basket; *nud*, the heart+dok).
*sañjât*, sâjât, trust. confidence (*syanjat*, a pledge).
*cû*, a bullock’s rump. H. cûar (*synta*, a hump).
*tabanâ*, wretchedly poor, Skt. Lex *takka*, niggard.
(Cf. *takhaw*, wretchedly poor).

*taði*, an oil-vessel, an abandoned bed of a river (*thãria*,
a shallow bed of a stream; Cf. Munđ. *tarâ*, low land).
*bhurâ*, a male wild boar (*bhur*, one of a herd of wild
boars).

(b) The Kol (or Munđâ) element.

62. Considering the present habitation of the Kols (Kher-
waris) in the Chota Nagpur Plateau and Central Provinces, a
direct Kolarian influence upon Assamese seems to be a far
cry. Dr. S. Levi refers to the Vayû Purâna which shews the
Kol in its list of the peoples of Eastern India between Prâg-
âyotâsa (modern Gauhati) and Videha (Turhut). There are
references also to the Mahâbhârata which shew the Kol as a
tribe living in Eastern India (P.A.P.D. pp. 87, 88). It is
in the regions north of the Ganges and east of Bihar that the
Assamese language in its formative period seems to have
been individualised. A direct Kol influence thus becomes
easily conceivable.
63. The influence of the Kolarian languages seems to be
more deep-acting than that of any other non-Aryan language.
The most distinguishing feature of Assamese is the addition
of suffixes to nouns of relationship.

There are also specific terms to indicate relationship
according to gradation in rank and age of the person with
whom relationship is indicated. (§§ 595 ff).

These peculiarities are generally ascribed to the Tibeto
Burman influence. But in the Tibeto-Burman there are only
prefixes to nouns of relationship. The Kolarian languages ex-
hbit all these peculiarities; and there seems to be hardly any
doubt that Assamese borrowed these peculiarities from the
Kolarian.

64. There is a distinct tendency in Santali to approach
the sound of vowels in consecutive syllables to each other; e.g., kora, a boy; kuri, a girl. This is characteristic also of
some Dravidian dialects. There are vowel changes in Bengali
and Assamese in similar directions. For want of sufficient
information it cannot be definitely ascertained how much of
the vowel changes grouped under Mutation (§§ 249 ff) and
Vowel-Harmony (§§ 259 ff) can be attributed to the Kolarian
influence. But the influence seems to be there.

65. The lexical elements present a difficulty. Both the
Santali and the Mundari dictionaries contain scores of words
that bear striking similarities to Assamese formations of un-
known origin in sound and sense. The correspondence extends
even to onomatopoeties on a large scale. The Kolarian lan-
guages have borrowed so freely from other languages of India,
that even the compiler of the Santali Dictionary made no
attempt to distinguish between words of Kolarian origin and
those adopted from other sources. “With our present know-
ledge of the non-Aryan languages of India, living or dead,
which have influenced the present Santali vocabulary, any
such attempt would have been mere guess work, and would
have served no useful purpose.” (A. Campbell: Preface to
A select list of Kolarian-Assamese correspondences is given below to shew either the nearness of contact of both the languages, or the extent to which they were indebted to common sources. A few words in the lists seem to be of Kolarian origin having Austric affinities. In the forms and meanings quoted, most of the words do not occur in lexical Bengali.

66. The Munḍāri Correspondences.

√aṭā, to prepare, parch as a cake (Md. Sant. ṛṭā, fry, parch).

āṭom-tokāri. within limit. economically (Md. āṭom, brink Austr. tak. be full to overflowing).

√uṭe, float (Md. Sant. atu, to float, Cf. Austr. uit.).

√bīlā, to distribute (Md. √bīl, to spread.

Austric. bīlā, separate (Sem. Buk. Max.).

dānguca, bachelor. solitary (Sant. dānguca).

erā, a particle expressing assent (elā).

gedrā, hard and unripe (gādar, gādra).

hūṭā, hard, obstinate \{ (hotā, attack with horns erect).

√hūt-hūṭā, to clash

hūkari, growl. bellowing (√hukur, low growl or moan).

junā, introductory stanza and chorus of a song.

(jonokā, parable, example).

jūṭi, a bird snare (√juṭi, to seduce).

kadū, a gourd (kadū).

lāṭum, a spinning top (Md. √lāṭum, to fold up.


lethom, slow, lazy (letho).

lukmā, fat (lukum).

māi, a term used in addressing females. \}

māikī, a female (māi).

√merhā, twist, coil (merhāo).

muga, silk cocoon (munga, coral).

mutha, measure of distance from the elbow-joint to the palm closed up (muth).

√ubāriyā, turn upside down (√obor, lie down on the belly).
utangwā, urge a person to any course (oṭāngāo, be carried away by the wind).
serekā, watery, tasteless (? √ser, to dissolve).
cikarā, a tick, a skin-louse infesting animals (sikā, louse).
√coṅgā, make a mere outline as of a road (soṅghā, a narrow path).
sōṭā, a broom-stick, (soṭā, stick).
ṭupurā, round and small, (Cf. tāprā-toprā, small).
ṭheṭuvaṭi, numbness with cold, (tāṭāi, to benumb with cold).
āriyā, a wide-mouthed bamboo basket (uria).
lākha-latī, the arm-pit (Md. lātā, a pit, hole).
-lekhiyā, like, similar, as in ei-lekhiyā, sei-lekhiyā, this-like, that-like (Md. lekā, like, similar; Ėraon: lekhā).

67. 'The Santali Correspondences.
āko-gojā, obstinately sticking to something, (akor, difficult).
ālā-bādu, worthless, inefficient. (alaa-basua, ignoramus).
√āt (E. As. ānt), be sufficient (vantao).
āṭhkurīyā. (E. As. ānṭhū-kurī). childless, barren (atkura, childless).
bhīrā. (E. As. bhīndā). a lump of earth; (bhind, a lump of anything).
bhōdā, foolish. (Sant. bhondo : Austric. bodo).
bhūt-kurā. dwarfish, stunted. (bhutka).
buc. (obscene) female organ. (Sant. buya, cucu).
bōkā, mud. (Sant. bakal, muddy : Austric. buko. muddy water).
cahāl, easily passable as a road. (cahla, slushy).
capkal, full of vigour and health as a young man, (caphel, smooth and unruffled as shallow water).
cikhe, a sudden and involuntary start due to cold, fear etc. (cihi, cikkan).
dōbolā, a patch of land marked out by earthen embankments to contain irrigation water. (doblak).
dhip, a boundary mark. (dhipi, dhiph, a mark of boundaries).
dhāk, fainting due to weariness, (dhak, weariness).
Examples: —

Assamese.

ātā, grand-father.
ābu, grand-mother
bopāi, bopā, father
āi, mother
kakāi, kakā, elder-brother:
bāi, elder sister; a term of address to an elderly lady.

Austrie.

ator, ata, grand-father, ancestor (G. 86)
abuh, abu, father. (F. '40).
bapai, bapa, father. (F. 44 a).
ai, father. (F. 45).
kaka, elder-brother (B. 426).
bhai, ibhai, (Mon).
elder sister.
va, bii, mother (B. 413).
amai, mother, aunt. (M. 194).
bo, bu, mother. (M. 194).

As against kakāi, bāi, elder-brother, elder-sister etc. there are Aryan bhai, bhāni, ier younger brother, younger sister.

73. Miscellaneous words.

akān, aken, term of address to young children. Cf. (awa kān, young child. (U. Kcl.) C. 101.
āla, a scaffold or hanging from the roof or a beam of a house. Cf. alā (Sak. Ra). B. 101.
ata, grandfather: Cf. ata, ancestor; ator, grandfather.
(Sak. Ra. U.) G. 86.
ācu-sūa, coloured threads to weave embroidery figures into a piece of cloth. Cf. achu, pattern, picture (Sak U. Kam) P. 42.
ā-kar, to open the mouth widely. Cf. ang, to gape; (Bes. Sep.) M. 199.

bār, partition wall on a house. Cf. bara (Sak. Ra.) B. 100.
bokā, muddy, mud. Cf. buko, muddy water (Sak. Kerb) W. 36.
bej-bej; itching sensation;
also bej-kacu; a kind of yam causing itching sensation.
Cf. bej, bij, tickle; (Sem. Buk. max) T. 124.
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bāi-√di, to thrust something long and round into a hole or cavity (slang). Cf. ya bai, dig, bore through (Sem. Jar) D. 107.


bilāk, many (Pl. suffix). Cf. ba-lu (Sem.) ba-lut (Kran) bi ga, many. Khās. byllai.


bātātu-gūṭi, a clay pellet shot from an arrow. Cf. telian, round. (Sem. Buk.).

ba, boh. fruit. R. 190.

√bāk, to pour. Cf. bikut, bekut, to spout. (Sem. Pa. Max) ba-ak. flood (Som). bahak (Sak) 1. 44. F. 178.

bhōdā. silly, foolish. Cf. bodo. foolish (Ben. New)

badvē, blunt. (√bodh.) (Sem. Buk) F. 219


√butāl, to pick up. Cf. butā pick up. (Bes. Songs). boht (Bes. Lang.) C. 52

butā. blunt. worn out. Cf. buta blind (Sak. U. Kam).

bhet-cakura, dim.-lighted E 245.


also √car, shine unfolded (Sak. Br.) R. 122.

celāru, eye-brow. Cf. cherū, to see. (Bes. Malae) S. 78.

√cēyār, to cry out. Cf. serhot, cry out (Mant. Bor)

E. As. cēhar C. 10


cāpar, thatched roof of a boat. Cf. sano slats of thatch.

xāphar, cover. lid (Law. Siang) H. 159

cēcā, chill. Cf. chenjak, chungāc (Cuot). C. 205.

√chāṭ, clip as hair. Cf. ge-chat (Sak. Ra). chet, chiet. (Bah) to cut small. C. 296.

cong, a den, a resort of wild animals.

Cf. cheong, chong, belly. (Sem. Buk. max.) B. 159.

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**da'l (Pron. dël),** a shrine, temple. Cf. dol house (Sert. Ulu) H. 153 (b).


**dalang,** a bridge; also Darang, the name of a district.

Cf. dorr, bridge. (Sem. Cliff), B. 391.

**ḏhekiyā-patiyā,** the royal-tiger. Cf. pato; (U. Kel).

**diagion** (Or. Hn. Joh) T. 129. T. 130 (b)

**gāhari,** a pig, Cf. gaur, gau, (Sak.); gāhu (Tan. U. Lang) pig, P 74 (a).

**gewāri,** work, menial service. Cf. gewe, work; (Sem) W. 137.

**gerehā,** half-dried fuel.

**gerekanu,** a place where filth and rubbish are thrown.

Cf. gerong, wood; (Sak. Sel. Da) T. 207.


**gilāk,** many (Pl. suff.). (Cf. §§ 640 ff).


**hul,** thorn. Cf. hulat, insect, (Blan. Rem); hili, thorn (Sem.) I. 23.

**hābī,** wood, forest. Cf. bi (Sem. K.); bā, bāk, (Sen. K)

**hop** (Pang. K.) forest, jungle F. 231, 234.


**hepā,** hampet, flying-fox (Bes. Songs). C. 193, B. 74.

**holonga,** a sharp pointed bamboo pole for carrying loads on the shoulder. Cf. halang, long piece of wood, (Serak) B. 101.

**jit,** silence. appeasing. Cf. jīt, jet, thin. (Bes. Sep) T. 72.


khang, anger. Cf. kheng, khing, angry (Khmer). A. 80

(b) Khâsi; khong-khong, irritated.

kodo, hornet. Cf. padau, tadau, bee (Sem. Plus. Keda) B. 135. Also pêduri-parwâ, a kind of beetle which when touched passes burning wind.

kongâ, having crooked fingers. Cf. keng-kang.


kan, small. used in addressing a young person (e.g. kan bopâi). Cf. kanet, kaneh, small. (Sem. Buk. Max) S. 280.

√kâtal, remove branches or thorns from the main stem: to smoothen. Cf. kontok, cut up, carve (Bes K. L.) C. 299.


kili-a-kani, kulakut, nail, (Sem. Klapr.)

telaha, nail (Sem. Buk. Max). E. 42, N. 3

(b) Cf. Skt. kil, elbow.

capi, a girdle round the privities. Cf. kia

penis; penyali, woman’s girdle: Khâsi, jum-pien, woman’s girdle. P. 52 C 171. Lex. Skt. kâpina.

khâri, lightning. Cf. karei, kherei thunder. (Som) T. 166.


kawang, a wild dog. Cf. kohang, tiger-cat. (Jok. Raff) T. 133.

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kēlā, penis (slang). Cf. kēlā. penis, (Bah Stieng) kēlā. P. 52.

kapau-phaul, a kind of flower. Cf. kapoh. egg (Sert) E. 35.
kapau-māh, a kind of pulse
kelebang, a wretched nondescript person.

kelehpām,

Cf. kelebpang bent, crooked (Sem. Buk. Max) also, kelpum hollowed. B. 175(a).


kāvāgī, a kind of fish. Cf. kāgī. (Sak. Br.) fish. F. 138 (u)
Lex. Skt. kāvāyā.

kām, kāyan. a kind of water-fowl. Cf. ayam. fowl (Sak. Tam) F. 238. Khas. ka is an article placed before singular nouns.

kākōh-pilā, a tumour in the armpit. also pilāi, spleen. Cf.
pilāi, stone of a fruit. (Sak: Cliff) F. 282. Lex. Skt. pilāā.

kālā, deaf. Cf. kēia. dumb. (Pang. Sam); kalo. (Ser.). D. 186.

kāni, rags. Cf. kham. (Or. Lant): kham (Jak. Semb); ni (Bes. Bell).

ō/kāmor, to bite as an insect. Cf. komor. insect. (Sak. Kerb) B. 143(a).

lațā-mākan, a leopard. Cf. lataik. wild cat.

lāo-pānī, spirituous liquor. Cf. lāu. clean water. (Sak. Tap) W. 35.


lep, pincers, tongs: also lep-lepīyō, glib.


lengā, thin and slender. Cf. lengak-lengak, slender (Bes. Songs) S. 259.

THE MALAYAN ELEMENT


√lar, to run. Cf. loi, run (U. Pat) hari (Mal); lor, move.
(Bes. Songs.) R. 201, 202. M. 211.

lin, abysmal depth. Cf. lien, (kran. Tem.)
also lindā-gārā, a very deep hole hole. H. 109.
leť-, leći-,√lā, wallow in the mud. Cf. latak, mud (Som).
M. 215.

√marah, to be dry and crumbled. Cf. marah, angry,
(Mal). A. 87.
mej-mej, feeling uneasy in body. Cf. mijī, meje, sick
mēcā, curved. bent. Cf. menčhas, bent. low (Sem. Pa
Max). L. 150.
maidām, a heap. a burial mound. Cf. midup, maidap (Sem.
māki, a female. F. 64.
mākari-ghīlā, a round pebble-like fruit of a creeper with
which children play at marble. Cf. maku, maku, egg.
(Sem. Bux) E. 34.
nomal, young. Cf. nyom, young (Bes. Sép).
nānān, nānā, diverse, various. Cf. nānā-ner, other. (Sak.
Kerb) T. 42.
nāhar-phūtki, a leopard. Cf. menāhar, tiger (Sak. Em)
T. 136.

√nādor, to sport on the water with shouts and playful
shrieks Cf. nādur, nādor, cry (Sak. U.) C. 281.

√ākiyā

√/pot, to plant, bury Cf. petom, to plant. bury; potam
(Bah). P. 132.
pokar, anus ; vagina. Cf. puki, vagina; (Sem. Buk. Max).
P. 222.

pagalā, mad. Cf. gila, mad. (Sak. Ra) M. 3.
pāl, alluvial deposit on land. Cf. palao, island. (Sem. Jur
pulao. (Sak. Kor) J. 42.
pel, testicle: Cf. pelokn (Sem. Cliff). peluk (Sak. Blau)
egg. E. 37.
rāng-kukur, a wild dog. Cf. rāakn, (Jel). raag (Sera).
T. 132.
śunā, awn of corn: (Bg. Śuk. Skt. śuka, śunga).
contaminated with Skt. śakta.
solā, toothless, sola bald: (Mantr. Malac) B. 20.
√salā, to exchange, to change. Cf. selek. exchange. silék
(Sem. Plus.) B. 485.
ṭelekā, large and prominent eye. Cf. telek. see. (Plant.
Kap. Lem.) S. 77.
takn, a stick. Cf. tokn. hand; (Sak.) H. 15.
ṭiyā, a parrot. Bg. kākāṭivā. Cf. tiyng. minah-bird. (Ser.)
tiokn, (Jel). M. 105.
Max.) E. 12.
ṭeki. cold. chill
\{ Cf. tekā, cold. wet;
tek-tekiyā. moist. wet (place) \{ (Bes Her.). W. 74
tu-kuru. a piece. Cf. tio, tiu. piece: (Sem. Buk. Max.).
P. 70.
ṭik. \{ endure. last. Cf. tego. firm, durable:
Bg. jēk. \{ (Sem. K.) H. 31.
ṭilā, a mound. a hillock. Cf. tal. mountain. (Pang. U.)
M. 100, tenlā. rocky hill M. 199. also. til. tel. place.
P. 118.
ṭapā. a wicker bag in which seed-grains are stored.
ṭopolā. a bundle. Cf. tapa. bag for betel (Sum). tabok,
ṭok. to snip off as the leaves of trees, to shed as tears. Cf.
ṭok. netok (Bes. K. L.) to cut the heads of rice with
a reaping knife. C. 299.
ṭak. to be full to over flowing. Cf. toko, increase, aug-
ment (Mant. Ror). A. 185.
ṭut, to float. Cf. uit, float, (Sem. Max.) F. 173.
√ukiya, to shout, to scream.
Cf. ya-kukeau, to shout (Sem. Jarum) S. 175.
ũgoi-kiā, a kind of inflammmable wood. Cf. ui, (Kon, Tu).
udit, (Stieng) fire. J. 124.
THE BODO ELEMENT

ûî, white ant, Cf. yui, fly (Bes. A.) F. 199.
Khâs. u wieh, a worm.

xiju, a kind of tree. Cf. siajoi, a kind of tree.
(Pang. Tel.) T. 223.

chep, xep, spittle, exudation. Cf. chep, pus; (Sem. Pa.
Max). P. 239.

xèhâ, to make a hissing sound as of a man shivering with cold. Cf. seoi (Bes. A.). sihoi, (Manlo), to sing
S. 213.

TIBETO-BURMAN INFLUENCE.

The Bodo element.

74. Amongst the Tibeto-Burman people the Bodos were
the most powerful. They built up strong kingdoms and with
varying fortunes and under various tribal names—the
Chûtýas, the Kachâris, the Koces etc., they held sway over
one or another part of North-Eastern India during different
historical times. The Bodo folk who live to the west of the
Kâmûp district are called Mech by their Hindu neighbours.
This word is probably a corruption of the Skt. mleccha. Those
of them who live in and to the east of the district of Kâmûp
are called Kâchâris or Kachâris by the Hindus. Various
guesses have been made about the origin of the word Kachâri
(Kachâri) (L.S.I. Vol. III. Part II. p. 1.), but it seems likely
that the word is connected with Skt. ¹kaksâta—, a hypotheti-
cal formation parallel to Skt. kirâta, a frontier dweller. There
is also a hill tract in Assam called Kâchâr (Kachâr). The
word koc has acquired a specific meaning and it is used to
describe a Bodo who has become converted to Hinduism.
The Koc is now recognised as a Hindu caste. The origin of
the word koc is unknown. Might it have anything to do with
Skt. kruâca, name of a mountain, near about the Himalayas?
Cf. Koc-Bihâr, the seat of the Koc kings at the foot of the
Himalayas?

The Bodos live in scattered groups of villages that spread
out from the extreme North-East of Assam to the districts
of North Bengal. They are a people who lived mostly in the
plains and came in almost daily contact with the Aryani-ised
people. It is natural to expect that they should make some
contribution to the vocables of the people with whom they lived in close neighbourhood.

75. Living long in the plains and in immediate neighbourhood of Aryan-speaking people, the Boôos borrowed words freely from the Aryan dialects and without careful examination it is often difficult to ascertain whether a particular word is of N.I.A. origin borrowed by the Boôos or vice-versa. Some of the words of suspected Bodo origin are noted below:—

76. The verbal roots of Bodo origin.

celek, lick, (salao, lick).
ceba, feel an unassy sensation, (saiba, insipid, tasteless).
(?) gam, get lost as money in a transaction, (gamâ, to disappear, perish).
jirâ, to refresh oneself (jere, jirâ, to entertain, feed: √ji, to eat: -ra, -ri, causative suffixes).
rep, cut with a drawing stroke (rep, strike as a match)
â-gac, to obstruct, hinder. (gaso, hinder).
gacâk, to trample under foot. (gaseng, to put the foot down upon anything).
cêkâ, run at full speed as a horse or calf of an animal.
(sany, go speedily)
bhekâr, get mouldy. (bukhunde, foam, froth).
bakhalîmâ, peel off the skin or covering of a tree or a fruit; (bokhole, the shell of a fruit. Cf. also, bo-khalai, how down).
gora, season by putting under mud and water as bamboo withes or jute plants. (goro, hatch).
cep, press, squeeze, (sep).

Compound Verbs.
khêm-√bândh, co-agitate, get into a lump, (khêm, settle in one place).
gabâ-√mâr, clasp. embrace. (gabao, to embrace).
bir-√di, to part as hair to find out lice, or make a way through a crowd by displacing people.
(Cf. Bôl. √bir, to scratch.)
thâlâmuri-√mâr, slap on the head, (thâlâmâ, to slap).
77. Other Assamese words of Bodo origin are:—
hāphalu, a mound, an ant-hill (Bodo. Há-phláí).
abrā, a simpleton; (Bodo).
māi-hāñ, a rice-plate with a pedestal on which food is
served to a respectable guest, (Bodo, a pile of paddy-
hay).
hābāñ, silly, (Bodo).
ceregá, interval of sun's rays in a cloudy day, (Bodo, 
srāñ, light).
hāmāhi, laziness, (Bodo. Hāmāsu, to sigh).
jakhala, a ladder, (Bd. jāñkhulā).
jon, a point, (Bd. jón, a spear). Austric, wjong (Sak. Ra),
point of arrow, E. 65.
lāgi, a kind of fish net, (Bd. lāû, to take).
khamalā, co-agulated, clotted, (Bd. kham-lai, do together).
hādām, a pile of mud and other useless things, (Bd.).
hōjā, simpleton, (Bd. hoyá).
hengār, a temporary fence, (Bd. heñrä, obstruction).
bondā, the male of a cat, (Bd. the male of an animal).
khokā, a kind of fish trap, (Bd. khau-khā).
meva, bent, crooked, (Ed.).
hāo-phāo, lungs, (Bd. hâm, breath; jái, to come).
evāy, a scaffold, a platform (hàsāng).
bhālāsu, a playful jesting person (bhala, joke).
dokhar, a piece cut off. (Cf. Ed. dokhao, to separate by
beating or knocking).
gakatā, bitter, acrid, (gakà, gakha).
hologa, flabby, corpulent, (holom).
lapha, a vegetable plant of the class of the mustard plant,
(laiphang).
lāmak, a net spread across an animal's path in the jungle
(lāmkhon, a wild animal's path in the jungle).
lōo-kholā, skull (lōo-khrong, a skull; Cf. also khoró,
head).
silikhā, myrobalam, (slikathai).
woeji-kāth, a kind of inflammable wood used as a torch
ukhi, dried skin on the head, dandruff, (waikhi, ashes).
dāuk, a gallinule; (Bd. déo, a bird).
INTRODUCTION

In Skt. dāhuka is a late formation. Bodo dāo is a generic term. Does this show borrowing from a common source?

A close scrutiny into the various sub-branches of the Bodo language will undoubtedly swell the list of loan-words. But materials for such an examination are just now not available.

Formative affixes of Bodo origin.

78. The Bodo affixes -ma, -sa, indicate something big and small respectively. The affix -ma suggests biggishness in an object and -sa suggest smallness, e.g. rüng, a boat; rüng-ma, a big boat; rüng-sa, a small boat: similarly, dıkōng-ma, a big stream; dıkōng-sa, a small stream; so also thampī, a mosquito; thampī-ma, a gnat: dāo, a bird, dāo-sa, a chicken etc. The affixes -ma -sa (>-ca) with extensions exist as derivatives in many Assamese words.

79. -ma and extensions:

balla-m, a spear, (bhalla-) The de-aspiration is due to Bodo influence. Bodo having no sonant aspirates.
jala-m, shining decoration, (jala-).
pekha-m, dance of a pea-cock with spreading plumage (?prejka-).
lehe-m, dilatoriness.
leṣhomā, lodhomā, lodhomā, dull, heavy, corpulent.
lurū-mā, rolled up, bundled up, (Cl. lundikā, a round mass).
sts. jugamīyā, jum-miyā, long lasting, (yugu-).

80. Diminutive -sa, (written -ca in Assamese) and extensions.

The Bodo -sa > As. -ca persists in a diminutive sense in Assamese adjectives indicating “a little”, e.g.,
kala, blackish. As. kōla, black.
rāngā, reddish, As. rāngā, red.
bagā, whitish, As. bagā, white.
dhepcā, a little flat. As. dhepelā, flat.
kerēciyā, oblique, slanting, As. kerā, squint-eyed.
dāheciyā, also dāhekiyā, half-mature, Cf. Bg. dāśā.
kharaiciyā, a little coarse or rough, (khara-).
sts. lakacā, lakaciyā, a thin bamboo twig, (Cf. laka- in lakuṭa-).

This -sa > -ca- is quite different from Bengali -s, -sā, -cā, etc. (O.D.B.L. § 450) and has nothing to do with them. These Bengali derivatives have been shown to be related to O.I.A. -sā (ibid) which becomes Assamese -ha, hā (§§ 576 ff).

Bodo past participle affix in -ibā and its survival in Assamese formations have been noticed in their proper places (§§ 796 ff). For Bodo influence upon Assamese alveolar sounds, Cf. (§ 429).

Thai (or Ahom) Influence.

81. The Ahoms have been referred to already. Though they constituted a ruling race for about six hundred years (1228-1824 A.D.), they gave up their language and religion in favour of Aryan habits and customs and their absorption was so complete that they contributed only a few words to Assamese vocabulary.

Grierson quotes the following opinion of Mr. (now Sir) Edward Gait concerning the remarkable completeness about the supplanting of Ahom by Assamese. “The reason probably is that the Ahom people always formed a very small proportion of the population of the Assam Valley and that as their rule expanded and other tribes were brought under their control, it was necessary to have some lingua franca. The choice lay between Ahom and Assamese. The latter being an Aryan language had the greater vitality and the influence of the Hindu priests was also strongly in its favour. The latter alone would probably not have sufficed. In Manipur, where there was no indigenous population speaking an Aryan language, the people became enthusiastic Hindus without giving up their native language, although that language unlike Ahom, was unwritten and a character in which to write it had to be invented by the Brahmans” (L.S.I. Vol. II, p. 63, foot note). This, however, does not explain the whole point. A language
may cease to be spoken but it may leave traces of its former vitality in the shape of a large number of loans supplied to the current language of the province. The Austric and the Bodo languages seem to have fared differently. It would appear that the Ahōms even when they preserved their language lived in circumstances which forbade diffusion of linguistic influences by contact. Unlike the Bodos, the Ahōms do not seem to have been a colonising people spreading in groups of villages over different parts of the province. Neither does it appear that they were ever given to trade and commerce which bring varied dialect speakers together and make linguistic borrowings possible. As it is, even now the Ahōms live in a concentrated mass in the Sībsāgar sub-division of the same district. An examination of the place-names also shows that the places which bear Ahōm names mostly belong to the same locality (§ 89). The exigencies of the Ahōm state in favour of a common lingua franca combined with the social habits of the Ahōms themselves may explain why their contribution to the Assamese vocabulary is so small.

Some of the miscellaneous words are:—

kāi, a particle used after a proper name as a mark of seniority (T. kāi, elder).
kāñ, a wicker-basket (T. khāñ).
takāli, a click with the tongue against the palate (T. tak).
√tāŋ, attend to (T. tāṅ).
√pāṅ, to plan (T. pāṅ, to plan).
pokhā, a sprout (T. pu-l-hā, small thatch).
puā, a spring, water-hole (T.).
phāñ, a trick (T. a false statement).
phetā, bent (T. phet, be bent).
phāu, nothing (T. dust).
rup-bān, wealth and property (T. bān, a kind of cup).
hañ, a hole (T).
barañji, chronicle (T.).
ñān, a shallow canal (T. shallow part of a river).
ñekā, damp, moist (T. jik. damp).
jin, still, quiet (T.).
jenfā, an uneasy situation (T. jen. feel uneasy).
ceñ, false hair (T. ceñ, hair tie.)
tháp, a layer (T.).
√/thuká, come in contact (T.).
thonga, bag, wallet (T. thuñ).
kāreù, a palace with a raised platform (T. kā-raù.).
rān-ghar, a palace (T. rañ, a palace).
lāñ, back. Cf. As. lāñ-khāi parā, fall on the back (T. lāñ).
hāi, noise (T.).
dongā, a puddle (T. dunā, a low field).
ān-marū, impotent (T. ān-kā, ability).

The non-Aryan languages borrowed so freely from Assamese, that it is often difficult to fix upon a particular word as of non-Aryan origin without ascertaining whether any such formation occurs in other cognate non-Aryan languages.

The borrowings from other non-Aryan languages do not seem to be very great. But unless all the non-Aryan languages are fully explored, their influences cannot be correctly estimated.

Non-Aryan Traces in Place-Names.

Austrie place-names.

82. Kāmākhyā or Kāmākṣī.

The name of a goddess so called and worshipped in a Śākta shrine situated in a hill named Nilācala near Gauhati. According to Paurānic legends the organ of generation of the Sati fell here when her dead body was carried over from place to place by Śiva.

Cf. the following Austrie formations in this connection:
ke-moyd : ke-moit, ghost. (Sem).
ke-mut : ke-muymt, grave. (Bos. Sep).
khmoch, corpse, ghost. (Khmer).
kōmuoch, corpse. (Stieng).
kamoi, demon. (Old Khmer).
kamoit, devil (Cham).
kōmu, grave, (Tareng).
ka-met, corpse, (Khasi).
kambru, kamru, name of a lesser divinity worshipped by the Santals.
The formation Kāmākhyā or kāmāksi may be a Sanskritisation of such non-Aryan formations as khmoch, komuoch. In that case all the Austric formations would lead on to the conclusion of the place having been connected with some one's dead body. The Paurānic legend makes it the burial ground of a part of Sati's dead body.

83. Kāmarūpa. The mediaeval name for the province of Assam. According to Paurānic legends, Kāmadeva, the god of love, regained his form (ṛupa) in this locality after having been burnt to ashes by Śiva.

Hiuen Ts'ang called it Ka-mo-lu-p'o (Kāmarūpa). Watters notes also a place mentioned in T'ang-shu called ko-me-lu (kāmru). (Watters: vol. ii. p. 186). Alberuni calls the place kāmru, (Sachau: vol. i. p. 201).

Mahomedan conquerors always referred to the place as kāmru or kāmru-d.

Perhaps popularly the country was known as kāmru or kāmru-t(d). (Cf. Santali kambru, kamru § 82). -t being a suffix of place names (§ 86). kāmarūpa, having been a place famous for Tantric practices, Kāmru-t would suggest some sort of connection with a land of necromancy. The Paurānic legend also speaks of the revival of a dead person here Kāmarūpa may be an Aryanisation of Kāmru-t.

84. Other place-names with kām-, are Kāma-ta, in Coch-Bihar, Comilla (Kāma-lajkā) in north Bengal, both having Tantric shrines. Also, (? ) kambo-ja.

Hāruppeśvara: a place-name mentioned in Tezpur rock inscriptions (Kāmarūpa Śasanāvali : p. 22). Mahāmaho-pādhyāya P. N. Bhattacharyya notes that Śala-Stambha was a mleccha king but he claimed descent from Bhāskara Varma and shifted his capital owing to infamy of descent (to hide his infamy?). This place has been located near about the rocky town of modern Tezpur. cf. Sant. hara, a hill; harup, to cover as with a dish or a basket.
85. *Names of rivers:—

Austric equivalents for water are; ho, hong, ong, (W_{29}), taya, tiu, tu, tuheh; du, diu (W_{30}); lao, clean water, (W_{36}). The word indicating water is placed before or after other words: e.g. ti menu, a big river; tiu me, a small stream; kuod teu, a tributary stream.

The principal river in Assam, Brahmaputra or Lohita is popularly called Luit. In the Ahôm Burani, written in the Ahôm language and published with parallel English translation by the Government of Assam (1930), the river Brahmaputra has been frequently referred to as ti lao. This was perhaps the popular name of the river when the Ahôms entered the province. This seems to be an obvious Austric formation. Lohita is a Sanskritisation of some such formation as lao-tu. Cf. river names in North Bengal: karg-toyâ (Huem Ts'ang's ka-lo-tu); tistâ. Other river names in Assam are tihu; ti-pâm; tiyak; di-hong; dib-ong; disa-n; nâmâtimâ; jaî-timâ; badati; nâmâ-ti; ti-rûp (for di-, nâm-, Cf. §§ 87, 89).

86. Austric equivalents for earth, land, place, are ta, te, teh, tek, tik, tyek, etc. (E_{12}); Santali, ato; at. Cf. the following place names: kama-iâ; cuna-iâ, baka-tâ; dip-tâ, capha-tâ; names of places in Assam; bhâba-tû, saka-ți, names of villages in the Bogra district, North Bengal. Also Darrang, name of a district in Assam. (Austr. dorr, a bridge).

Dharam-tul, a village near the Mikir hills (Austr. tul, a luli).

*Boô* place-names.

87. The Boôs built their colonies near about streams and most of the river names in eastern Assam are of Boô origin. The Boô equivalent for water is di (in the hills and in eastern Assam) and diu (in the plains and in western Assam).

88. The Boôs rechristened a river name of other origins by placing their own equivalent for water before it; e.g. di-hong, the name of a river, where Boô di-, was placed
before Austric hong (water)—perhaps the name of the river in olden times. Cf. the following river-names:—

dibru, (Bô. a blister); dibong, (Bô. dib, luscious);
digaru, (digru, to bathe); dikhau, (dikhou, to draw water);
dikrâng, (dikhreng, rapids in a river); disâî, (disa, a small stream), digbai, (bahi, flow of water). Also bhog-daj; manyal-daj, etc.

Place-names of Bôlo origin are:—

hâjo, a temple on a hill-top near Gauhati, (hâjo, a hill).
hâkâmâ, a village in Goalpârâ district, (hâkhamâ, to conceal).

bihâmpur, name of a village in Kâmrûp, (bihâm, daughter-in-law).

dispur, name of a village near Gauhati, (disa, to remove to another place).
mâi-raj, name of a place near Gauhati, (mâi rang, rice).

Aôm place-names.

89. The Aôm place-names are mostly confined to rivers. The Aôm equivalent for water is nâm and it occurs as the first syllable of many river-names. Like the Bôlos the Aôms also put their equivalent for water before river-names of other origins. They called the river Brahmaputra either ti-lao (§ 85) or nâm-ti-lao. So also nâm-timâ, (the river Dhanasiri), where -timâ is an Austric formation. The genuine Aôm name for the river Brahmaputra is nam-dao-

phi, (dao, star; phi, god:—river of the star god). Other river names are:—

nâm-khun, (khun, muddy), the river Dilih in Śibsâgar.
nâm-khe, (khe, river), river Jhâñji in Śibsâgar.
nâm-shao, (shao, cicar), river Dikhau.
nâm-hoi-khe, (hoi, shell; khe, river). Śâmuk-jân.
nâm-rûp, (rup, collect).
nâm-dân, (dang, to sound).
nâm-sâñ, (sâng, a platform).
nâm-chik, (chik, a dirty place).
nâm-jin, (jin, cold). The Cécâ river.

Most of these names did not survive as is shown by the current names by which the rivers are known to-day.
PART I.

PHONOLOGY
CHAPTER I.

SOUNDS AND LETTERS.

90. The principal Assamese sounds may be represented in tabular form as follows:—

Consonants.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Bi-labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
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<td>.. t, d.</td>
<td>.. k, g.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>s, z</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>t</td>
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<tr>
<td>Semi-vowel</td>
<td>ð (w)</td>
<td>ê (j)</td>
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<td></td>
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Vowels.

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<tr>
<td>Half-close</td>
<td>e, ë</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-open</td>
<td>e, ê</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
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</table>
I. PHONOLOGY

The above table represents the essential phonemes in Assamese. They are twenty-four in number. But as the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet are used to represent these sounds, in the description given below the Assamese sounds are equated to the Sanskrit letters which symbolise them.

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91. (p) : unvoiced bi-labial plosive. It is represented by Sanskrit p. There is not the slightest accompaniment of breath as in the case of ordinary English voiceless plosives, Ex. pāṭ, leaf; pāṇi, water.

But in the surrounding languages of the Bodo group, the great stress that is laid on a consonant when it is at the commencement of a syllable often gives the unvoiced stops an aspirated sound and when reduced to writing in Assamese or Bengali character, these unvoiced stops are often represented as aspirated consonants (I.S.I Voi III. Part II. pp. 4. 69). These non-Aryan habits might have caused spontaneous aspirations examples of which are preserved in N.I.A. languages: e.g. As. thōt, beak (trot) ; phēvā, owl. (pecaka).

92. (b) : voiced bi-labial plosive : symbolised by Skt. b and v (in initial positions) : e.g bagal, a crane (baka-), bāmi, a kind of fish (ürm-). It represents the sound of Skt. v in learned ts. words in non-initial positions also; e.g. bāhan, invocation (āvāhana). But in homely ts. words, Skt. v is represented by the semi-vowel -we- : e.g. sevā, service, (sevā) ; Śiva, (Śiva).

93. (t) : voiceless alveolar plosive like the English t. The alveolar sound may be due to the influence of the Bodo languages in which “dental consonants are pronounced as semi-cerebrals as in English” (I.S. I. Vol. III. part II. p. 4). It is symbolised by Skt. t, ṛ ; e.g. tām, copper (tāma) ; ṛāle, is moved (ṭalati).

94. (d) : voiced alveolar plosive. It is the exact counterpart of (t) in its voiced form. It represents Skt. (d) and ḍ (in initial positions) ; e.g. dapoṛ, mirror (darpana) ; dīma, egg (ḍimba).
95. \((k, g)\) : unvoiced and voiced velar plosives; e.g. kal, plantain, \((kadali)\); gach, tree, \((gaccha)\).

96. \((m)\) : voiced bi-labial nasal; e.g. māt, mother. As it is distinctly articulated in all positions, it does not betray any tendency unlike Bengali intervocal \((m)\) dialectal, to pass into a nasalised \(\sim v\) : e.g. As tāmākhā; Bg. tāmāk, tāvāk, tobacco.

97. \((n)\) : voiced alveolar nasal. It stands for Skt. \((n)\) and \(n\) \(\text{in intervocal and final positions}\); e.g. nāk, nose; kān, ear.

98. \((ŋ)\) : voiced velar nasal as in English song. It occurs only intervocally and finally; e.g. lenā, tall, ben, frog \((vyaŋga)\).

99. \((l)\) : as in English long; e.g. laga, clove \((lavaŋga)\).

100. \((r)\) : voiced alveolar rolled. Formed by a succession of taps made by the tip of the tongue against the upper gums. It stands for Skt. \(r, d\) \(\text{in non-initial positions}\), and N.I.A. \(r\) \(\text{in intervocal positions}\). Unlike Bengali \(r\) which has three values (Chatterji: A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics, § 21), it has only one value in Assamese in all positions; e.g. dhār, debt; gur, molasses, \((guda)\); nūr, pulse, \((nādikā)\).

101. \((s)\) : voiceless alveolar fricative. It stands for Skt. \((c, ch)\) in all positions; Skt. \((s)\) being articulated differently (cf. § 108) in Assamese; e.g. cun (pronounced gun), sign, \((cūna)\); kācha (pronounced kāchā), tortoise, \((kaechāpa)\).

102. \((z)\) : voiced alveolar fricative. Stands for Skt. \(j, jh\) and \(y\) \(\text{in initial position}\); e.g. āṭa, caste; jār, big forest, \((jhāṭa)\); jā, a measure, \((jara)\).

103. \((x)\) : unvoiced glottal fricative. This is a sound that is peculiar to Assamese only. It is a sound unknown to Bengali except, "in some interjections, in a final position, as in \(i\). (Chatterji: A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics, § 25). It represents Skt. \(s, š\) \(\text{in initial positions}\) e.g. xakal for
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sakala, all; xar for šara, arrow; xollā for ṣollā (ṣoḍaśa), sixteen.

104. (ṭ̣) : voiced glottal fricative as in English behind. It occurs in all positions; eg. hāṭ, hand; biḥan, morning; biḥ, poison.

105. (ʋ) : voiced bu-labial semi-vowel. It represents the u-glīde and stands also for Skt. v (in intervocal positions) in homely words; eg. svar. service (svarā); śuva, (Śīva); noṣa, is unable. (na-pārayati): ghāṭa, wound, (ghāṭa). In final positions it is often written as ṣ: eg. leṇ, smearing (lepa). It never occurs initially, but foreign words with an initial ʋ-sound are often transliterated with an initial Assamese W; eg. Wālfr for Walter.

106. (j) : voiced palatal semi-vowel. It is equivalent to consonantal (i) of English and other languages. It represents the y-glīde and the sound of Skt. y (in intervocal positions) : e.g. bijāl. evening. (vākāla); piyāh. thirst, (piṇāsā); niyam. rule, (niyama).

107. There are the aspirates, ph. th. th, kh, bh, ḍh, dh which have separate letters and are therefore regarded as simple sounds. In Assamese, th, th have no distinction in sound, so also dh and ḍh (initial). The aspirated th is a characteristic Assamese sound and is very prevalent in tīth. words; eg. burhā, old. (vṛddha), written as Skt. ḍh; parhe, reads (pathāti). kh represents also the sounds of Skt. s, ś, ś, in intervocal positions: eg. bikh, poison (visa); dakh, slave (dāṣa); ākhyā, intention, (āśaya). There is only a difference in sonority between Assamese articulation of intervocal and final sibilants and fully aspirated kh; so that kh (intervocal) is often represented by s; e.g. pas for, pakh, a fortnight (pāka); kās for kākh, side, (kāḵa). In Majthili s is pronounced as kh in all positions (L.S.I. V. II. p. 21). There is only one instance in Assamese where s stands for kh initially; e.g. ṣet-kaparā, a medicinal herb (kṣetra-parpāf).
108. In ṭbḥ. words, s, ś, ș in intervocal positions > h; eg. bāh, dwelling, (vāsā); dāh, ten, (daśa); sāhur, father-in-law, (ēvaśu); bīh, poison, (viśa). In no position in a word have the sibilants an s-sound. That sound in Assamese is symbolised by palatal c, ch. Wherever in a Sanskritic word, the sibilants give an s-sound, c is generally substituted in writing for the sibilant and the s-sound of the sibilants is generally to be regarded as an imported one; eg. maṅṭr, a kind of pulse, (maṅṭra); tieś, linseed, (atasi); bīnae, miscarriage (vināśa); kalacie, the jar-shaped pinnacle of a temple, (kalaśa)-

But the regular ṭbḥ. forms from vināśa and kalasha would be bināh, destruction; kalah, jar.

109. Properly speaking, there is hardly any difference in sound between, c, ch; but ch is now generally used in transliterating foreign words with an ś-sound; eg. Shakespeare would be transliterated as Chekṣapūr So would Chilan be written for Shillong.

110. The numerals have a certain peculiarity. Though spelt with an ś they have preserved the sibilant sound. Thus though spelt with ś in ekaś, bāś, teś etc. the final sibilant has an (s) and not a (kh) sound. The manuscript spelling in early literature is very diverse; eg. das, das, dāh; paṅcāś, paṅcāś; cabic; paṅcic etc. The s-sound of ś in numerals is most probably an imported one and due to Hindustānī influence.

111. To sum up, the sibilants have different sound values in initial and non-initial positions in ts. words and they are treated differently in non-initial positions in ṭbḥ. words. In initial positions in both ts. and ṭbḥ. words, they are pronounced as x, but in non-initial positions in ts. words they are pronounced as kh. In non-initial positions in ṭbḥ. words, they are all changed to h. Examples: śeśa is pronounced as xeśh; vaśa as bakh; asāra as akhār; but ṭbḥ. forms are xeḥ: bahaṭyā, (vaśa-); bāh, (vāsā) etc. The change to h seems to be carried out in a large scale in Mid. As. period. In early Assamese, the intervocal sibilants also seem to have been pronounced as
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x. In the case of the numerals, the sibilant ś has an s-sound and this sound is a borrowed one. In some borrowed forms, palatal ē is substituted for the sibilants. In compound consonant-groups, the sibilants retain an s-sound. e.g. Kṛṣṇa pronounced as Krisna; praśna as prasna etc.

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112. There is no distinction of length in the sounds of i, ī; u, ā in Assamese. They may be used indiscriminately in Assamese words without alteration of sound or sense. And in final positions, especially as affixes, ī, ā are so used. But in ts. and in tāh. words distinction is made in the use of i, ī; u, ā in imitation of Sanskritic spelling. There are, however, long and short sounds of the pure vowels i, ā. But the long or the short quantity depends on the length of the word in Assamese or on the position of the vowel within the word.

113. Assamese (i) (short) corresponds to English i in pit, pin. It is heard in As. words like pit bile; khl, fallow land.

As. (ii) (long) corresponds to the sound in English machine. Its sound is very distinct in the final syllables of verbal formations where some vowel sounds have been dropped e.g. kma: having bought. (kmā).

nu: having taken. (nuć)
sn: having sewn. (snā) : but sn. he.

Initially and medially it is heard in words like e: tar, common; piri:kā, pimples, etc

114. (e): It corresponds to English e in men: except in ts. words which have preserved the sound in familiar colloquy, (e) is not a primary but a resultant sound in As. tāh. words. The sound has been preserved in homely ts. words like deś, country (deśā); cetan, consciousness (cetana) etc. In regular tāh. words it has been lowered to (e); e.g. kher, straw (khetā); pel, testicles (pela).

Due to the presence of the high vowels (i, u) in a following syllable, (e) is raised to (ē); e.g. bēṭā, son, but beḍi, daughter;
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thane, push; but thani, having pushed. So also pet, belly: but petula, pot-bellied.

(e) is heard in the instrumental-nominative case-ending -e (<-ena), as in the locative case-ending -e (<-ahi) and in the third person conjugational ending -e (<-ati); eg. hate, with the hand; share-share, in every house; kare, he does.

115. (t). This is the usual sound-value of the e-phoneme in Assamese. E.g. ek, one; bela, time.

116. (æ). This is the characteristic sound in Bengali. It is absent in Assamese, but in some dialectical areas in western Assam, an attempt to reproduce this sound has resulted in broadening it to a, ø, through the intermediate stages ya, yã. Thus yã is often heard in certain localities as yatã, yãtã, aatã. This is, however, a purely local and dialectical variation. It is quite likely that in standard Assamese forms like akul, alone, (ôkula); akay, once again, (*ôkulan), the change of -e- to -a-, and -ã- is due to dialectical influence.

In Bengali also, “a is frequently heard for æ in the middle of a word” in certain circumstances. (Chatterji’s Bengali Phonetics, § 38).

117. (a) It is a clear sound as in English father, part. E.g., ama, we; hat, hand; bat, road.

In the St coll. (a) in an initial syllable, followed in the next syllable by another (a), has often the frontal pronunciation of (i). This (i) has evolved through an intermediate (a) sound of the nature of the cardinal vowel (o); e.g., najay, does not go; E. As. najay: Mod. As. nejy. Compare also atha, atha, gum; adha, ada, ginger; adha, edha, half; alav, alah, laziness, etc. This tendency is ever on the increase in recent times. All the three following forms are used in modern writings according to the taste of individual writers:—chapa, printed: chapa, chapa. The sound ne- for *ne, in nejy is due to confusion with ne from neg. ne with emphatic hi.

Pure ts. words have not been subjected to this change: eg. raj, raj, king; tara, tar, star.
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118. (ə) : Ordinarily it is a short vowel of the nature of the sound in English hot, e.g. kal, plantain; khar, straw. It has two other sounds as in English law, and the (ə) in the second syllable of English morrow. These two sounds are represented in transcription by (a) and (ʊ).

(a) is a resultant sound in Assamese and is due to contraction of the sound groups -awa-, -ava-, -aha-, etc. e.g. dhūl, leucoderma, (dhavala-); nāni, butter, (navanita); nā, new, (nava).

(ʊ) also is a resultant sound and is due to vowel mutation; e.g., mōh, buffalo, (mahiṣa). The (ʊ) sound is also perceptible when in the next syllable ə is followed by i or u; e.g. kōri (for kari), having done: Hōri (for Hari), name of a person; sōra (for sari), small.

This (ʊ) sound is often stiffened to a; e.g. lōrā or lārā, boy. This broad sound of ə is characteristic of western Assamese dialect.

119. In the St. coll. there is no neutral vowel or “the half-distinct form of (ə), which results from an attempt to slur a syllable containing (ə) in quick pronunciation.” Especially before a following glide or semi-vowel -w-, the previous half-distinct (ə) is fully vocalised into a regular (o). e.g. cākwā, the ruddy goose, (cakravāka-); torwāl, sword, (taravārī); hālowā, a plough ox, (hāla+vāha-). etc.

120. The o-phoneme has two values in Assamese, long and short. When long, it has a sound as in English voca-
tion: e.g. bhog, enjoyment; lo, iron; po, child, etc. The short (ʊ) has a lower position than long (o) and has a position intermediate between long o and a (ə). It has been dis-
cussed in (§. 118). In a final syllable it appears as a semi-vowel. e.g. chēb/w, a piece, (cheda).

kheb/w, a cast, throw, (ksepa).

taō/w, heat, (tāpa). etc.

The short (ʊ) is often lowered to a frank a (ə) sound. eg. kār, bud, (*kōra, kora); gādhuli, evening, (go+dhūl-); sajinā, a vegetable plant (sobhānjana-).
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This change is highly characteristic of the Kāmrūpī dialect.

121. (u) presents a parallel to (i). It is pronounced both as short and long:—

Short: as in hul, thorn; guṭi, seed. The long sound (u:) is heard as in kukuḥā, wild cock, utanuwa, rash; khāru:, a bracelet; gāru:, a pillow.

Short (u) often interchanges with (o), through the laws of vowel-harmony. eg. sowe, lies down; but śuba, lying down; Rowe, plants; but ruva, planting etc. (*suiha, *ruiba).
CHAPTER II.

STRESS-ACCENT IN ASSAMESE.

122. There have been sharp differences of opinion amongst eminent Indologists about the existence or otherwise of accent in N.I.A. languages. Pischel held that there are certain sound-changes in the Pkt. dialects which can be ascribed only to the influence of an accent corresponding in position with the tone of Vedic Sanskrit. Jacobi denies the existence of this accent or its effects in Pkt. and argues that the accent of Pkt. was a stress corresponding in place with that ascribed to classical Latin. Dr. Bloch holds that we know nothing certain about the accent in ancient times and that there is much that is doubtful and inconsistent in Pischel and Jacobi’s theories and that the N.I.A. languages possess no stress etc.

Opinion seems, however, to settle down on the side of the existence of stress. Dr. Turner in his article on “the Indo-Germanic accent in Marathi” (J.R.A.S. 1916) has exhaustively examined all these theories and supports the views of Jacobi as being applicable to all the N.I.A. languages except Marathi which follows a different scheme of accentuation. Grierson in his recent articles on the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars (Indian Antiquary: Supplement, 1932, April) reverts to the views of Jacobi and examines the question of accent in N.I.A. languages in the light of his theory.

123. As Assamese has been left out of reference in all the existing works of Comparative grammar of the N.I.A. languages, it is necessary to examine the question of stress in Assamese in the light of some of the views of these eminent scholars.

124. From the phonological details in the body of this book it would appear that there are two different systems of
stress in Assamese sharply differentiated from one another in two different dialectical areas. The stress in the Kamrupi dialect in western Assam is dominantly initial whereas the stress in the Standard colloquial of eastern Assam is medial. The stress in the Standard colloquial seems to fall in a line with the prevailing pan-Indian system in being placed on the penultimate. The initial stress of the Kamrupi dialect has in some instances influenced the phonology of the Standard colloquial.

125. The dominant initial stress of Kamrupi causes such violent changes in the following syllables as to make words almost unrecognisable. Each particular word carries its own initial stress and when the final syllable is an open one, the medial vowels are slurred over and practically ignored in pronunciation so that the medial syllables are always the weakest in a Kamrupi word.

126. With these preliminary observations, let us examine the stress of the Standard colloquial. Let us assume as a hypothesis that it follows the pan-Indian system which may be enunciated as follows:—“In the Sanskrit-like language from which Assamese sprang up, the stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the word if it is long; if the penultimate is short, then on the antepenultimate; if that again is short, then on the fourth syllable from the end.”

127. The vowel changes that take place are considered under the following heads:—

(A). Vowels in accented syllables:
(1) In open syllables.
(2) In closed syllables.

(B). Vowels with the secondary stress.

(C). Unaccented vowels:
(1) Pre-accentual.
(2) Post-accentual.
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A(1). Vowels in accented open syllables.

128. In open syllables except for O.I.A. ai, ay, r, all vowels remain unchanged: ai, ay > e, o: which converged with O.I.A. e, o; r > a, i, or u, which converged with O.I.A. a, i, u.

Examples:

(a)

khaṅ, catechu (khādīra).
thar, still. (siṅhārā).
bhaṅī, sister. (*bhāṅnikā).

(i)

sāhan, sākōn, ancestral property. śāsana).
cōṭāl, court-yard. (cōtvāla).
dhōrā, a kind of snake (*dūndubhākā).
bāla. (Coll.) sand (vālukā).

(u, ū).

urul, mortar. (*ūḍukhala).
gōru (spelt garu), cow. (garūpa).
dhūlā, dust. (dhūlikā).

(e)

sts. mekhelā, woman's girdle. (mekhalā).
tēṭōn, rogue. (*tēṇṭa, cf. D. tentā, a gambling den).

(o)

sts. jojonā, an epigram. (yōjanā).
ray, (Pr.-ou), a kind of fish. (*rōhitaku).
thōrā, the pestle of the husking machine dhāki (from its look like the beak of a crane), (*trōtikā).

(r)

-maṭā (in kēcu-maṭā. earth thrown out by earth-worms)
(mēṭākā).
bichā, scorpion. (*vēcākā).
129. In the M.I.A. stage all long vowels before two consonants were shortened. These short vowels converge with the corresponding O.I.A. short vowels. Later in the formative period of the N.I.A. languages when the double consonants were shortened, or in the case of the group nasal+consonant, when the nasality was produced simultaneously with the vowel, the preceding short vowel, if in the syllable bearing the chief stress, was lengthened.

As there is no distinction of length in the sounds of the Assamese vowels, this compensatory lengthening is recognised only in the case of (a) which becomes (ā); e.g. M.I.A. a < O.I.A. a: dāpōn, mirror, (dārpana).

sāːjr, yoking together, (sanghaṭa).

sāːjo, swimming, (sāntara).

kāndōn, crying, (krāḍana).

bāndhōn, tying, (bāṇḍhana) \{ \text{reduction of -nd-; -ndh-}\}

kapōr, cloth, (kūrapaṭa).

gāḍha, ass, (*gārdabha)

bāgh- (jari), reins, (avāgraḥa).

pāgha, tying rope (prāgraḥa-).


bhāda, name of a month, (bhāḍrapaḍa).

nāṭhōn, just, (*nāṭraṇa. mātra-).

O.I.A. ū: vucōn, dancing, (*nīṭyana).

130. In words of more than three syllables there is also a secondary stress. The secondary stress falls on that one of the unstressed syllables which is furthest removed from the principally stressed syllable: because the least stressed syllables are those in the immediate vicinity to the fully stressed ones. But if the last two syllables of a word are unstressed, the last is the weakest.

When carrying the secondary stress of the word, short vowels remain unaltered, long vowels are shortened and con-
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Sonant groups are simplified without compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. e.g.

a: pariyāl, members of a family, (pārivāra).
taruś, sword, (tāruvāri).
bhāda, name of a month, (bhādrapāda).
gāḍhā, ass, (gāḍdahāka).
pāghā, tyng rope, (pārāghāka).

Long syllables are shortened. e.g.
cuṅkā, ruddy goose (cūkravāka-).

(C). Unaccented vowels.

131. All M.I.A. short vowels, unless protected by two following consonants, have a tendency to become either (a) or to disappear. Long vowels preserve their quality, but are shortened.

The weakest positions are: (1) the absolute beginning of the word; (2) between the main and the secondary stress or vice versa. In both of these, short vowels have a tendency to disappear. The next weakest positions are: (3) the syllable preceding the main stress; (4) the syllable following the main stress in an originally trisyllabic word. In both these positions short vowels lose their timbre and long vowels their length.

C (1). Pre-accentual syllables.

132. Unstressed long syllables are shortened. e.g.

prak/ṣalayati, washes, > pakhāle.
pras/ūrā > pathār, field, meadow.
*mā, kāsikā > nikāri, projection of a roof beyond the wall.

ud/bhārayati > ubhāle, uproots.
ut/pājayati > upāre, fells.
vyā/khyāna > bakhān, exposition.
jā/mātrka- > jāvā, jāvāi, son-in-law.
*mā/vrāpayati > marāy, causes to beat.
*cā/lāpayati > calāy, causes to shift.
go/dhūma- > *ghāhu, ghēhu.
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*go/ṛūpa > ga’ru (Pron. gōru), cow.
*go dhūlikā > ga’dhuli (Pron. gōdhuli), evening.
*vai/rāguika > ba’rāgi (Pron. bō-), ascetic.
vai/sākha > ba’hāy (Pron. bō-), name of a month.
sau/blāgya > suvāg, husband’s favour.
kay/pīna > ka’pin, loin-cloth worn round the privities.

133. Initial short syllables beginning with a consonant remain: e.g.
śa/lākā > śalā, a thin wedge.
vi/nāśa > bināḥ, destruction.
vi/bhāna- > bīhān, dawn.
gu/vaka > guvā, betel-nut.
ku/tūmba- > sts. ku’tum, relative.

134. Initial short syllables beginning with a vowel are often lost eg. a/lābu- > lāu, gourd.
a/vāgraha > bāgh- (jar), rens.
a/riśta-ka- > riṭhā, soap-nut.
*u/dāmbaruka > duṭaru (Pron. duṭaru), fig tree.
u pāvīṣati > bahe, sits.
*u/pāṇahākā > pānaj (pr. pāνoι) shoe.
u/pasthāna- > bathān, place of abode as of cattle.

135. The initial short vowel may be lost even before double consonants e.g. a śthīlā- > śṭlā, a hard stopper.

C(2). Post-accentual syllables.

136. In post-accentual syllables i, u > a, or they drop out altogether after causing mutation of the preceding vowel; eg. *vāḍīśikā > barahi, angling hook.
*āmiśika > *āhi- (in āhiyā), having the smell of raw flesh.*bhāginikā > bhānī, sister.
sthāvira, > thar, stiff.
māhiṣa > maḥ (Pron. mōḥ), buffalo.
khādira > khaer, catechu.
māṭkuṇa- > makhanā, a tuskless elephant.

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\*útkuṣiki > okaṣi, a louse.
\*údukhala > ural, a mortar.

137. Post-accentual (a) is always short. As there is no letter in the alphabet to express this sound, it is left unnoticed in spelling. Often, however, this short sound is indicated by o (Pron. ō). This accounts for the double spelling of some words with a and o. In the case of some words the spelling with o (for ō) has established itself. e.g.

sāhan, sāhon (Pron. ō), ancestral property (sāsana).
dāhan, dāhōn, property (dāyana, dāya), (cuphonic -h- explained §. 216).
țetan, țetön, rogue (țentaka, L. tenta, a gambling den).
cikați, cıkōy, glossy, beautiful (cikkana).
bherati, bherōn, rent, wages (bhārāya, (e) for (a) due to contamination with vetana).
pănaj (−ov), shoes (−upānahikā).
năcan (Pron. năçon), dancing (nṛtyana, nṛtya).
đumaru (Pron. đumōru), lig (−udāmbaruka).

The spelling with (o) has established itself in the following:

sts. bitopan, shining, excellent (vitapana).
dāpon, mirror (dāpaya).
kāpor, cloth (karpata).
sātor, swimming (sāntara).
bāndhon, tying (vādhana).
sānjor, yoking together (sānhqāta).
sts. laghōn, fasting (lāghana).
māthon, just (−mātrana, mātra).

138. In the neighbourhood of accented high-vowels, pre-accentual or post-accentual (a) > ĕ is assimilated to the accented high-vowels; e.g.

biriṇā, a kind of shrub (*viraṇāka, virāṇa).
sts. mekhela, woman’s girdle (mēkhalā).
sts. jojonā, an epigram (yōjavā).
kuruvā, osprey (*kuraṇāka, kurava-).
dhumāhu, storm (*dhumarbhāka, dhūmrabhā).
139. Between the main stress and the secondary stress short syllables disappear. eg.

citraphāla- > cital, a kind of fish.
nāvanita > nāni, butter.
pādasthāna > pathān, the lower end of a bed.
mūkha-sūddhi- > muhudi, something taken to sweeten the mouth after meal.
pānissavāna- > puhan, a ceremony after conception.
sūras-sīhāna- > śītan, head of a bed.
pānya-sālā- > pōhār, a petty shop.
pāscima-vāta > *pachwā > pachowā, westerly wind.

Final vowels.

140. All final vowels following a M.I.A. consonant disappear (For detailed treatment see §§. 160ff. Final vowels). eg. ullāsa- > ulāh, buoyancy.

bhēla- > bhel, a raft.
pipāsā > piyāh, thirst.
śilā > śīl, stone.
mūnti > mūth, total, abridgement.
ānsu > ḍh, fibre.

Stress-Shift.

141. So far the theory of penultimate stress that has been built up with reference to other N.I.A. languages seems to be applicable to Assamese and it explains the phonological variations of Assamese with a certain degree of accuracy. But there is a certain number of formations that can not be explained in the light of the theory of the penultimate stress. In them the stress always falls on the initial syllables and the succeeding syllables shew vowel modifications that are due to want of stress. These apparent exceptions may be classified under three heads.—

(1) Stress-shift due to analogy of forms belonging to the same paradigm.

(2) Stress-shift in accordance with value.

(3) Stress-shift due to dialectical influence.
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(1). Stress-shift due to analogy.

142. The effect of analogy is seen in the case of verbal roots. A large number of Assamese verbs are descended from simple Sanskrit verbs and in these the accent mostly fell on the first syllables. Hence in those cases where the compound verb in the Skt. stage had the stress on the root syllable (often times in Skt. the accent fell also on the prefix; e.g. prásarati, údbhavati), it was transferred in Assamese from the root-syllable to the prefix, being the first syllable of the unchanging body; eg.

nāce, he dances (nṛtyati).
but ópaje, is born (útpadyate).
páme, is melted (prámlāyati).
pāhare, forgets (prásmarati).
ólame, hangs (ávalambate).

(2). Stress-shift in accordance with value.

143. By this is meant the placing of the stress on a particular syllable of the word because that syllable is felt to be especially important for the comprehension of the whole. To this class in Assamese belong the privative prefixes a-, ana- and the deteriorative prefixes apa-, ara-.

The privative prefixes a-, ava- > sts. á-, ão-, to shew the accent; e.g.

alāgi, álāgi, a woman to whom the husband is not attached.
akāji, ákāji, not skilled in work.

athāuni, áthāuni, fathomless.
sts. áhukāl, trouble, uneasiness. (*asukhāla).
áo-bāt, wrong way (apa ÷ vartman).
áo-marāṇ, unnatural death (apa ÷ marāṇa).

Of the two forms in a-, á-, the forms with á- are mostly used in the standard colloquial.

144. By analogy ava- > áo- as a verbal prefix without deteriorative significance eg.

áokhāle, washes (avakśālayati).
STRESS-SHIFT

The negative prefix ana- > anā- eg.
sts. anāthiti, helpless (-sthita).

anājāle, without being heated.

Forms like anā-meghe, without cloud: anā-bāte, without wind, are common in early Assamese.

(3). Stress-shift due to dialectical influence.

145. There are certain forms the phonological modifications of which cannot be explained in the light of the theory of the penultimate stress. Of these words, (1) some shew shortening of the long vowels in the very position of stress according to the penultimate theory; (2) a few again shew absence of compensatory lengthening of -a- before a consonant group when it is simplified. For explanations of these and similar forms we must turn once again to the luminous article of Dr. Turner referred to already. Dr. Turner has isolated Marathi from the operation of his theory of penultimate stress. He has postulated for Marathi a different scheme of accentuation. Basing his observations on certain suggestions of Pischel (Pischel § 46). Dr. Turner has developed a theory of stress which he has found correct in the case of Marathi and which he has summarised as follows. As the Kāmrūpī dialect has a system of stress different from that of standard Assamese (cf. §§ 153 et seq) it is worth while to discuss whether the Marathi scheme of accentuation holds good in the case of the Kāmrūpī dialect. Dr. Turner’s findings are as follows:—

(a) The original tone of Sanskrit, itself descended from the Indo-Germanic tone, became in the Pre-Marathi stage, a stress.

(b) In verbs the tone or stress was confined to the first syllable.

(c) In other words, when the accent rested on the last syllable, there was a secondary accent on the first. This afterwards became the chief stress.

(d) Initial syllables retained their length if stressed,
or if unstressed, when followed by a short stressed syllable. Otherwise they were shortened. 

(e) Medial syllables retained their length if stressed; if unstressed they were shortened or lost.

(f) Penultimate i, u, if stressed > i, ú: if unstressed > a.

146. The vowel changes in M.I.A. noted by Pischel before and after the position of Vedic accent are as follows:—

(a) Pre-accentual long vowels were shortened, e.g.:—

\[
\begin{align*}
{kumārā} & > {kumāra} - (P. §. 81). \\
{pranāhā} & > {pavaha} \\
{uttamā} & > {uttima} \\
{pakvā} & > {pikka} - (P. §§. 101 ff.).
\end{align*}
\]

(b) Pre-accentual a>i or u: eg.

\[
\begin{align*}
{utmā} & > {uttima} \\
{pakvā} & > {pikka} - (P. §§. 101 ff.).
\end{align*}
\]

(c) Post-accentual long vowels were shortened: e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
{uṭkhātā} & > {ukkheā} - (P. §. 80). \\
{tēsām} & > {tesimi} (P. § 108). \\
{bhānāmah} & > {bhanimo}.
\end{align*}
\]

147. The following Assamese formations culled from different dialectical regions of Assam may be interpreted as shewing conformations to the phonetic laws enunciated by Pischel.

(a) Pre-accentual long vowels are shortened: e.g.

Sanskrit. Assamese.

\[
\begin{align*}
kumārā & > {kōvar, prince. In some parts of Kāmrūp, kūwār also obtains.} \\
nihārā & > {niyar, fog. Some Kāmrūpi dialects have niyār.} \\
purānā & > {purañ, Kāmrūpi} ; St. Coll. has purañ, purañi, ancient. \\
samāṇā & > sts. samān (Kāmrūpi) ; St. Coll. samān. \\
nanāndī & > nanad, wife’s husband’s sister. \\
jāmāṭī & > *jāwai, jāwe, (Kāmrūpi) ; St. Coll. jōwāl, son-in-law.
\end{align*}
\]
na-pārāyati > nare (Kāmrūpi); St. Coll. nowāre, is un-
able.
sthāpāyati > thaṭy, places.
For further explanation about their formations, see § 150.
(b) Pre-accentual a>i or u.
agusadhā- > sts. oṣud, (medicine); āhudi, a love philtrum.
ganāyati- > gune (coll.) counts.
patangā- > pharug, grass-hopper.
pakvā > pık, the red spittle after chewing betel-nut.
Of these, osudh, occurs in Aśokan Pāli and phaṭinga and
pikka occur in Prākrit and gune may be explained as a blend
between ganayati and gunayāṭ. Hence there is no reason to
look upon these examples as independent Assamese forma-
tions. They must have been borrowed from the sources
where they occur.

148. The absence of compensatory lengthening in the
following words may be explained on the asumption that the
vowels occupying position of accent remained short in the
formative period of Assamese when the conjuncts were
simplified and short vowels lengthened.

Skt. As.
sārva> saṭ, all.
khālva > khal, an apothecary’s mortar.
saṃt- > liṭ, a plural affix.
varṭāyati > baje, pounds.
pakvā > pık, ripeness.

In the last two, absence of compensatory lengthening is
due to the transfer of the accent to the initial syllables, when,
in the case of pakvā the final syllable was dropped; and in the
case of varṭāyati there was the working of analogy to accent
all verbs on the root syllables.

149. The word khal, a stone for pounding drugs, occurs
in AS. Bg. O. G. M. and it has been connected with Sans-
krit khalla (Turner: Nepali Dictionary). The -a- in N.I.A.
khal is left unexplained. Assamese has both khal, an
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apothecary’s mortar, and khāl, a canal, a trench. Of these two, khāl obviously goes back to Skt. khalla, a canal; khal, points to O.I.A. khālava, a vessel for pounding drugs. khalla may be a late Sanskritised Pkt. formation from khālva. (See Monier-Williams: Sanskrit-English Dictionary: khālva, khalla).

In the following words the vowel changes are unaccounted for:

sts. varṣaṇa, rains (varṣaṇa-) Cf. Pali. preṇaṇa < preṇkhana.
ājināi, sty. (aṇjana-).
ś sajinā, a kind of vegetable plant (?sobhāṇa-).
sikar, a baked cake of potter’s clay (sarkarā).

150. If the Vedic tone-cum-accent is to be assumed at all, the above are all the forms that come under its operation. The corresponding O.I.A. forms shew accent marks which may be supposed to have induced vowel changes in the As. forms. But such a hypothesis is not sufficiently warranted by existing materials. There is a large number of formations in St. As. which shew shortening or alteration in the quality of long vowels in the very position where the accent, according to the scheme of penultimate stress is due to fall. They can not be explained with reference to the corresponding O.I.A. forms which have been registered in standard authoritative lexicons without any accent mark. To explain them we have to assume a uniformly dominant initial stress. On this hypothesis the accentual scheme would be like the following:—

Post accentual e. o > a
Post accentual ā > ā

Examples: —

Skt. As.
Lex. kuhelikā > kuwali, fog.
nārikela > sts. nārikal, cocoa-nut (also see § 229).
nāgeśvara- > nāhar, a kind of tree.

Lex. utkroṣa->ukah, an osprey.
   *ud-yānikā > ujani, the upper part of a stream.

Lex. seka-pātra- > sewat, a scoop for baling out water.
   arka-pāra>ākaṅ, a kind of medicinal plant.

Lex. vesavāra->behar, mustard.
   pārāvata>pārā, a pigeon.
   kārsāpaya->kāoṁ, a certain measure.
   *viṅkālikā>biyali, afternoon.
   *dūrvāśikā > dubari, bent-grass.
   yamāni- > jani, a medicinal herb.
   śrīgūja->śīgarī, a water-chesinut.
   jivanta- > jiyāi, living as fish.

151. In the following, there is strengthening of initial a- to ā- under the influence of stress: eg.
   āghan, name of a month (agrahāyana).
   āusi, the night of new moon. (*amā-vāṣikā).
   sts. mādey, the principal queen, (*mahādevikā).

152. Owing to the shift of accent from the penult to the initial syllable we often get double forms like the following: eg.
   cakravāka>* cawkā, cakowā, a ruddy goose.

but *cākravākikā > cākai, cākai.
   *hālavaḥika- > *hālwāī, hālwāī, a ploughman.

but *hālavaḥika > *hālwaī, hālwaī.

So also ātāī, ātaī, a term of address to a respectable person.

THE KĀMRŪPI DIALECT.

153. The dialect that caused stress-shift in the forms that stand out as exceptions to the theory of the penultimate stress is the Kāmrūpi dialect of Western Assam. Its accent-
scheme differs from that of Marathi. In Marathi the tone or stress was uniformly confined to the first syllables only in the case of verbs. In the case of the substantives no such uniformity is recognizable. But in the Kāmrūpi dialect, the stress always falls on the first syllables in all classes of words. In polysyllabic words, there is a secondary stress on some succeeding syllable. Its probable origin is discussed below (§ 158).

154. In Kāmrūpi, the unstressed medial syllables are shortened or lost. In the following table the parallel forms of Kāmrūpi and St. colloquial are given side by side for comparison.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>St. coll.</th>
<th>Kāmrūpi</th>
<th>Sanskrit.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ughāle</td>
<td>ughle</td>
<td>ādghāṭayati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uṭhāy</td>
<td>uṭhay</td>
<td>āṭhāpayati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakhale</td>
<td>pakhle</td>
<td>prākṣalayati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paṭhāy</td>
<td>paṭhai</td>
<td>prāsthāpayati</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here, as Dr. Turner observes, appears the familiar spectacle of the stressed syllable retaining its length, the unstressed being shortened.

155. The sharp difference in the systems of accentuation in the St. colloquial and the Kāmrūpi dialect stands out very clearly in the conjugation of the causative verbs in Assamese. There are O.I.A. causal bases which have acquired only a transitive meaning and lost the old causal sense. They have the augmented base in -ā- whereas the intransitive bases have -a-: e.g. māre, dies; but māre, beats. The new Assamese causative base is prepared by adding -a- to the transitive base (§ 726). In the standard colloquial this affixal -ā occupying a position of medial stress remains but shortens the preceding -ā- of the transitive base, whereas in the Kāmrūpi dialect, quite the reverse takes place; e.g.
THE KÂMRUPI DIALECT

St. coll. Kâmrûpi. Skt.
marāy, causes to beat. māraj *mārāpayati
calāy, causes to shift. calāj *calāpayati
phalāy, causes to split. phālāj *sphālāpayati
rūvāy, causes to plant. rūvēj *ropāpayati
śodhāy, causes to enquire. śadhāj *śodhāpayati
nowāre, (*nawāre), is unable. nāre na + pārayati.

156. Compare also the following non-causal forms: eg.

St. coll. Kâmrûpi. Skt.
palāē, flies. palai (-oī). (parā + √ay).
uphāē, is inflated, uphai (-oī). (ut + √spāy).
omale, sporns, umle (un + √mrād).
onalme, is suspended alme (ava + √lamb).
pāhare, forgets. pāhre (pra + √smr).

Substantives also show similar vowel variations.

St. coll. Kâmrûpi. Skt.
jūvāi jāue (* jūwēi). jāmār-
karāhi kāri (* kērāi). kāṭāha-
cakowä

157. After the examination of all the above formations, there is hardly any room for doubt about the strong initial stress of the Kâmrûpi dialect. A comparison of other Assamese formations will only confirm the statement. There is a secondary stress on the final vowel if the final syllable is an open one and the medial vowel is then slurred over:

Loss of medial:

St. coll. Kâmrûpi.
-a-: bhekola (bheka-). bhekā.
korokä (kara̱ka-). karkā.
-ā-: komora (kuśmānda-). kumra.
baral (vadāla-). balla.
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St. coll.  Kāmrūpī.

-i- :  śālikā (śārikā-)  śālkā.

kariba (*karitavya-)  korbā.

-u- :  kukurā (kukkuṭa-)  kukra.

The strong initial stress of the Kāmrūpī dialect often made itself felt upon the standard colloquial. That often explains double forms (e.g. hālomāi, hāluwai, a ploughman: cākowā, cākai, the male and female ruddy goose etc.) even in the St. colloquial itself from one corresponding Sanskrit prototype.

158. The materials examined above point to the conclusion that in the pre-Assamese stage when a certain Sanskrit-like language was developing into Assamese, it carried a system of penultimate stress. In western Assam, perhaps in contact with some people speaking a language with a strong initial stress, the penultimate stress of the primitive language got shifted to the initial syllable. In eastern Assam, the original penultimate stress persisted. As early Assamese religious literature was mostly composed in the language of the people and the authors almost always wrote in the dialects they spoke and knew best, there was an intermixture of dialectical forms and both the dialects borrowed freely from one another. This would explain the presence in the St. Coll. of words that should primarily be referred to western Assamese. There need be no assumption of the persistence of a Vedic accent for the explanation of forms like kōwar, niyar, pak etc. Either they were borrowed from some language preserving the Vedic accent or were shaped under the influence of the Kāmrūpī dialect.

The source of the initial stress in Kāmrūpī is obscure. It is true, Bengali also possesses an initial stress. But in Bengali the word-stress is remarkably faint (Anderson: Stress and pitch in Indian languages: J.R.A.S. 1913, P. 869) and in other respects also it is different from the Kāmrūpī accent. Compare for example the following formations in respect of the effects of the stress on different syllables of the word.
Skt. | St. As. | Kmpi. | Bg.
--- | --- | --- | ---
catvāla; | cōtāl; | cātāl; | catāl, court-yard.
nā-pārayati; | nōwāre; | nāre; | nāre, (early Bg.), is unable.
prastāra; | pathār; | pāthār; | pāthār, meadow.

etc.

In St. Assamese the penultimate stress shortens the pre-accentual (a) to (ā); in Kāmrūpī the strong initial stress shortens the post-accentual (ā) to (a); and in Bg. there is an anticipatory lengthening of initial (a) in a position of stress before a following (ā).

Anderson supposes (Accent and prosody in Bengali; J.R.A.S. 1913 p. 865) that the Bengali initial stress can have come from one of the three following sources: (1) Parent Māgadhī Pkt. (2) Some Dravidian tongue. (3) Some Tibeto-Burman language. He considers the third as the most likely source as most of Bengal was once included in the Koch kingdom and Koch accent was initial. Kāmrūp or western Assam also was for a considerable length of time within the Koch kingdom, and the effects of the Koch accent may be presumed on the Kāmrūpī dialect also. But the doubt still remains as to whether the influence of the Koch speech was so powerful as to cause radical changes in the accentual systems of Bengali and Kāmrūpī unless there was some inherent pre-disposition in the languages themselves towards this direction. Even if the Koch influence is admitted, it should not have acted differently in two neighbouring and contiguous tracts.

(4) Stress-shift due to long final vowels.

159. There is one more peculiarity of the standard colloquial. Before the long vowel -ā in the final syllable, (this -ā or its extensions -iyā, -nūā being suffixes), an anterior -ā- in the penult or antepenult is shortened to (a). This peculiarity Assamese shares along with the Bihari language and the tendency was there perhaps in the Parent Māgadhī AP. itself. This peculiarity is noticed also in the Cariyā Padas. The stress
is thus shifted from the penult or antepenult to the final syllable. This peculiarity is not noticed in the Kāmrūpi dialect. Compare the following formations:

pāṇī, water: paniṇa, watery.
kāṭāṇ, spinning: katanā, spinning for wages.
cākī, lamp: cakā, wheel.
bātārī, news: batarā, news.
dhār, debt: dhāruṇā, debtor.

Due to dialectical influences certain forms resist this tendency.

sār, manure: sāruṇā, fertile.
CHAPTER III.

FINAL VOWELS.

160. Final vowels following a M.I.A. consonant have disappeared in modern Assamese. The final vowels following a M.I.A. vowel (owing to the disappearance of an O.I.A. consonant) often lingered on to the early Assamese period and afterwards coalesced with the preceding vowel.

By virtue of their position in unaccented syllables, final vowels are relatively shorter than the corresponding vowels of internal syllables and the history of the final vowels shows a gradual attenuation in timbre.

The O.I.A. long final vowels -ā, -i, -ū were shortened to -ǝ, -i, -u; and -e, -o were weakened and shortened to -i, -u in late M.I.A (AP.) period, and these short vowels converged with the original short -ā. -i, -u. The N.I.A. languages inherited these short vowels and they were afterwards dropped or assimilated according to their position after a consonant or a vowel.

The treatment of the final vowels in modern Assamese is discussed below.

O.I.A. ǝ.

161. O.I.A. -ǝ > M.I.A. -h > As. ǝ; e.g.
ākǝn, a medicinal plant. (arkaparna).
ācal, hem of a garment. (aṅcala).
āṭāh, uproar. (aṭṭahāsa).
ulāh, buoyancy. (uḷāsa).
ohār, udder. E.As. osār (apāsāra).
kāh, decoction. (kvatha).
kār, bud. (kora).
khe, straw. (kheṭa).
ba, large. (vaṭra).
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bhela, raft, (bhela).
pācan, a goad to drive cattle, (prājana).
sol, a kind of fish, (sakula).
sun, gold, (sāv-varṇa). etc.

162. M.I.A. -ā > As. -a (pronounced-ō).

Except in the word sa (pronounced ō) this change is not noticed in the final syllables as most N.I.A. Assamese words are closed by the definitive affix -ā. eg. hiyā, heart, (hiyā), > hia-, *hia- + As. affix-ā).

163. Unelided final -a in Assamese 1bh. words and forms and commonly pronounced as -a in English “law,” is derived from earlier groups like -awa, -aha. The phonetic change is of the nature of contraction. (§ 237 b).

eg. sā, a corpse, (śava > *śava).
pārā pigeon. (pārāvata > *pāravaa).
kāchā, tortoise, (kacchapa > *kacchāva).
bhādā, name of a month, (bhādrapada).
kara, thou dost (karasi > F.As. karasa. karaha > N.I.A. As; kara; egāra, eleven (M.I.A. egāraha).
barha, twelve (M.I.A. bāraha). etc.

164. M.I.A. -āa commonly becomes -ā, but in originally disyllabic words -āa generally becomes -āō.
eg. guwā, betel-nut (guvāka-).
ojā, teacher, (upādhyāya-).
barā, pig. (varāha-).
biyā, marriage, (vivāha-).
but ghāō, blow, (ghāta).
chāō, child, (śāva).
tāō, heat, (tāpa).
pāō, foot, (pāda).
bāō, wind, (vāta).
bhāō, acting, (bhāva).
nāō, boat, (Vedic nāvā).
Also rā, rāō, uproar, (rāva).
gō, gāō, body (gōa, gātra).
165. M.I.A. -ia, ia > *i > -i, -i in Assamese.

In spelling, -i, -i are arbitrarily used as there is no difference between them in pronunciation. The general tendency is towards spelling with -i, eg.

kāti, name of a month, (kārtika > kāttia).
nāni, nāni, butter, (navanīta > navanīa).
ārati, waving a light at night before an idol, (ārātrika).
bhāi, brother (bhrātrika).
jiwā, son-in-law (jāmātrka).

Assamese gerunds like kari, having done; dhari, having caught etc. are from M.I.A. kara, dhara (O.I.A. *karya, *dharya = -kṛtya, -dṛtya, = kṛtvā, dṛtvā).

166. The O.I.A. passive participle in -ita = M.I.A. -ia > -i, -i. In this way, the common M.I.A. nojective affix indicating connection, -i (-i), is derived from O.I.A. iya, ika. e.g. pāni, water (pāniya), dāduri, frog, (dardura + ika).

167. M.I.A. -ua, -uā > -u in E. As. > -u in modern As. eg.

śahu, a porpoise. (sāhuka).
garu, a cow. (guru, rupa).
keču, earth worm. (kēcuka, kićuluka).
ulu, straw, (udipa).
alāndhun, stout, (alāndhuma).

(LW). camu, straight (chamnuha, sanmuha).

168. M.I.A. -ea > As. eō; e.g. cheō, a portion cut off (cheda, cheu); kheō, throw (kṣepa), etc.

eka, one, becomes e- (<ea) only as the first member of a compound, e.g. etā, one; e-jam, one man, etc. (See also §241).

In the evolution of the affix for the instrumental-nomina-

tive -e of Assamese (O.I.A. -ena) the loss of -ā took place in M.I.A. of the AP. period, eg. O.I.A. hastena > (Mag.)

M.I.A. hatthena, AP. hatthem, habhē; As. hāte. (Cf. O.D.B.L. p. 303).

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169. M.I.A. -oa > As. -o, e.g.

   jo, supply, (yoga).
   po, child, (potaj).
   lo, E.AS. ioha, tear, (lotaka).
   lo, iron (loha).

Final -a in tatsamas.

170. With certain exceptions which are noted below, ts. and sts. words as a rule drop the final -a, e.g. bhaban, dwelling, (bhavata) : kamal. lotus, (kamala) ; garah, one morsel, (grasa) ; barasan. ram, (varasan), etc.

171. The following are the exceptional cases where the final -a is retained in pronunciation:

   (a) When a word ends with a conjunct of two or more consonants, the final -a is retained: e.g. krṣṇa. black, (krṣṇa) ; candra. moon, (candra) ; dharma. duty, (dharma), etc. But when the conjuncts are simplified by an anaptyctic or epenthetic vowel, the final -a disappears, e.g. surāj. sun, but surya; sat. true, but suṣṭha (pronounced sūtta) ; bāk. word, but bākha (pronounced bākha) < bākha; mūrkh. fool, but mūrkha, etc.

   (b) The sts. forms in rha (O.I.A.—ṛha) retains the vowel; e.g. gārha. deep (gāḍha) : mūrha, foolish (mūḍha), etc.

   (c) The ts. -ta, -ta affix retains the final -a; e.g. gita, sung; nata. bent; gata. gone. But when used as nouns the -ta forms drop the -a; e.g. gīt. song; nata, opinion; nuṣcit, certainty.

172. A few adjectives which are commonly used also drop -ā; e.g. calīt. current, (calīta); garhīt. reprehensible: (garhīta); bārjīt. deserted, (bārjīta), etc.

   (a) The ts. affix -ya retains the vowel: e.g. peya, deya, bidheya, (vidheya), etc.

   (b) In words of two syllables with ṛ, qī, qy, in the first syllable, the final -a is retained: e.g., mṛga, deer; māyā,
silence; ūnā, oil; śaṅka, rock, etc. But the retention or elision of a final -ā depends upon the extent to which a ts. word has become naturalised. Compare the following words against those just noted above: tren, straw, (trnā); brṣ, taurus in the Zodiac. (vrṣa).

173. In general there are fewer words and forms in Assamese than in Bengali which retain the final -ā; e.g. As. bibāh: Bg. bibāha, marriage, (nimāha); As. gurutan; Bg. gurutara, momentous. (gurutara), etc. Cf. O.D.B.L. pp. 304, 305. In Bengali, ts. words occurring in a compound as its first part as a rule do not drop the vowel; but in Assamese there is no such rule. The same compounds would be pronounced differently in Assamese, e.g. Bg. ranā-mukho, but As. ran-munā, facing, going to the fight; Bg. padā-sebā, As. padā-sevā, service at one’s feet; Bg. bhārā-bāhā, As. bhār-bāhī, carrying a load. But in recently coined words that have not yet been naturalised the vowel is retained, e.g. janā-tantra, gana-tantra, democracy.

O.I.A. -ā.

174. O.I.A. -ā > M.I.A. -ā (−ā in nominative, -ā in oblique > late M.I.A. -ā > AS -ā, e.g.
kal, machine. (kalā); khāṭ, bedstead, (khaṭvā).
gāṇ(g), river (gāṅgā).
ghrun abhorrence, (ghruṇā).
pipāth, thirst. (papāṣā).
bhok, hunger, (bubhukṣā).
śil, stone, (silā).
dhār, edge, (dharā).
lāl, saliva, (lālā).
reh, carriage, behaviour, (rekuṇā).
śikār, pot-sherd, (śakarā).
lāj, shame, (lajā).
bāj, barren, (bandhā).
būn, flood, (vanyā), etc.
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175. In Assamese as in Bengali (O.D.B.L., p. 306), the plural affix of O.I.A. -ā, -ā nouns, -āh > M.I.A. -ā, was reduced to -ā in AP. and lost its Pl. force. e.g. desāh > desā > desā: vārtāh > vattā > vattā>bāta. New Pl. forms had to be built up by adding nouns of multitude.

176. E. As. tāna, his. (honorific, < their); tehō > Mod. As. teō, he. (honorific < they) are connected with O.I.A. *tānām, occurring beside teśām > M.I.A. tānānī, tāna, and tešām, teśām > AP. tānā, tānā, tehā. In As. Nom. teō < tehā there is an extension of the genitive Pl. to the nominative.

There is weakening of O.I.A. ā- to ā in tāna < tānām: teō < teśām.

177. (a) O.I.A. -ā. + consonant + -ā > M.I.A. -āā, -uā, -ō > As. -ā. e.g.
   śalā. a spike. (śalāka).
   chāh. shadow. (chāyā).
O.I.A. -ākā > M.I.A. -āā. -ā > As. -ā. -ā. e.g.
   pāi. a vegetable creeper (pāttikā).
   kuwā. fog. (kuvelikā).
   gu. iguana. (godhikā).
   nevāli. name of a flower. (nava(mallikā) > *nava(mallikā))
   sevāli. name of a plant (sephājikā).
   māti. earth. (mṛtikā).
   bāri. garden. (vātikā).
   bāli. sand. (*bāl-kā balukā).
   mā. mother (mātikā).
(b) O.I.A. -u. -upā etc > M.I.A. -u. u. (See §§ 239d, 240a: Vowels in contact).

O.I.A. -i. -i.

178. O.I.A. -i. -i > late M.I.A. -i > Mod. As. zero after a consonant. e.g.
   tarovāl. sword, (taravāri).
   āṅgul. measure of a finger. (ānguli).
   gābhīn, big with young, (gārbanī).
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rahak, plentiful, (rāśi + ).
muih. abridgement, (muṣṭi).
dīṭhak. waking vision, (dṛṣṭī–).
sattār. seventy, (saptati).
sts. thōt, beak, (troṭi).
ts. jāṭ- pāṭ, caste and line (jāṭi-paṭkti)

But in large majority of instances the tendency is to strengthen the final -i by -ka, -kā and retain it. e.g.

rāṭi. night (rāṭri + kā).
gāṭhi. a tice, knot. (granthi–).
tētēli, tamarind. (tintidi–).
tīni. three. (tiṇḍi, trinī–).
cāri. four. (*castāri-. cātvāri–).
bhanī. sister. (*bhaginikā).
gābhīnī. big with young. (*garbhīnīkā).
bīyānī (E. As. bhānī) daughter’s mother-in-law (*vivāhinikā).

179. O.I.A. -i. -i > M.I.A. -i. -i is retained after a M.I.A. vowel. in Assamese: e.g.

chāi > chāi. thatched covering of a boat. (chadis).
nai > nai. river. (nādi).
bārhai > bārhai carpenter. (vardhaki) etc.

The -i of the O.I.A. pronominal ending -smi > M.I.A. -ssin, -śtin > Ap. -hi, -hi, -hi, persisted in early Assamese: kahi, where: tohi. there: jahi, where: obi. here. The old locative supplied a new oblique base in the early As period and these forms were treated as the base for pronominal adverbs of place, direction etc e.g. kahi-tā, where-in: kahi-nā, where-of etc. In Mod. Assamese with the softening of intervocal -h-, the medial -i- disappears after causing mutation of the preceding a- to o-, e.g. kahita > *kaita. *koita > kōt (written ka’t. to shew the elision of -i-) So also tōt, ǫt. therein, herein, etc.

180. The -i of O.I.A. -ati (Conjugational ending of the 3rd Person Sing.) > M.I.A. -ai becomes either -ā in As or is by vowel erasis changed into -e. e.g. *karati (karoti) > M.I.A. karai > early As. karā or kare—Mod. As. kare.
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181. The M.I.A. -i of the passive conjugation -īai in contact with the preceding -a- becomes either -iyā or is strengthened to -iyā. This -iya or -iyā group also by contraction often became -i> -i, eg. bujiya, is understood, (*bujihiāi); buliya, is called (*bolihiāi); kari, is done (*kariāi), etc.

The -i of the 2nd person Indic. Singr. -si is dropped in early As. calasa. you go, (celasi).

O.I.A. -u. -ū.

āh, fibre. (aũśu).
jām, a kind of fruit. (jambu).
pamā, lance. (paũmu).
hiũ, Asafoetida. (hiũmu).
āgar, sweet scented wood. (aũrum).
In ts. words also. -u is often dropped in naturalised words e.g. dayāl, name of person. (dayālu).

183. O.I.A. -u. -ū>M.I.A. -u is often retained after a vowel in As. eg.
sāu, a merchant. (sādu).
bāu, border of a wicker basket. (bāhu).
E.AS. jav<javu. lac. (jatu).
bau, bay. elder brother's wife. (rakū).
mau, may, honey. (malhu)
lāu, gourd. (alabu), etc.

184. The affix -u for the imperative 3rd person -tu of O.I.A. was lengthened by -l in E. As. and became -ōk in a medial position. In this form it was attached to verb-roots ending in a consonant or a vowel; eg. thākōk, let it stay; karōk, let him do; jāōk, let it go; ḍōk, let it be, etc.

Mod. As. thākak; karak; jāōk, jāk; ḍōk, etc. (§238 c).
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185. O.I.A. -ah, -aṁ > M.I.A. (Mg.) -e > Mg. (AP.) -e, is elided in Assamese.

The Mg. case affix -e for the nominative singular of -a nouns is not represented in modern Assamese. The -i of the nominative in Assamese pronouns si (he), nā (which), etc., for M.I.A. (Mg.) še, ye (O.I.A. sāh, yaḥ); amī, we; tumī, you, for M.I.A. (Mg.) amhe, tumhe (O.I.A. asme, 'nasme), etc., represents a fusion of the nominative and the instrumental -e ( < -ena) > -i. (§ 644).

186. The Nom. case-ending -i appears also after nouns ending in -ā, -ā, -ā, -ā.

The old locative in -i, even though ousted by -e < -ahi, -aṁ, -at of late M.I.A. is preserved in a few adverbial formations. E.g.

ajr, to-day (M.I.A. ajr, ajr, O.I.A. adye).
kalor, to-morrow (M.I.A. kālīn: kalīc).
parahī, day after to-morrow (O.I.A. parasacāḥ > M.I.A. (Mg.) parasīc: parasīc: parasī, parasī).
also, parasau (parasacāḥ > Mg. parasauve, parasaun, parasaun).

187. In the adverbial words of direction: keni, which way; teni, that way, jeni, whichever way, etc., the -i represents the instrumental -ena > ē > -e ( > -i) > thus: keni < * kene (O.I.A. * keṇena): teni, * tene (O.I.A. * tenena), etc.

For the loc. -i in Assamese pronominal adverbs of time; kāhānī, when; tahānī, then, etc., early Assamese kaṣānī, kajānī, cf. §. 731.

The phrasal expressions ghar-ghar, each to his own home; ghar-ghar, in every home: stī. ut-nītī. always. (* nītī-nītī > * nītī-nītī > nītī-nītī) illustrate both the retention and elision of loc. -i.
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188. The dialectical Western Assam -e, in the proper names of females like Rāhe, Paṭe, Māhe, etc., seems to be shortening of forms like rasadevi, paṭṭadevi, etc. Cf. St. coll. rāh-daj (rasa-devi) ; mādaj (mahādevi). Western Assamese Coll. māde. Cf. § 36, d.

189. The AP. 2nd personal imperative Singular ending -e, -i (O.I.A. optative -eḥ) continues as the second personal Singular ending of Assamese t-future and t-pasi. e.g. karibi, karili, thou shalt do; thou didst do.

"O.I.A., M.I.A. -o was extremely rare in Mag. and does not occur in the base of any O.I.A. word ". (O.D.B.L., p. 312).

In the proper names of persons ending in -a, the final -a is often pronounced as -o. e.g. Haro for Harēśwar; Naro for Nareśwar. Nila for Nila Kāntā, etc.

190. In western Assam colloquial, the proper names of women are often found ending in -o, e.g. Pāro, Sājo, Rājo, Māho, Lāho, etc. The -o is not organic but seems to be the abrasion of vadhu- > vāku- > vān > o. e.g. rājo < rūyā + vadhu : lāho < lāsā + vadhu, etc. (final -au > -o in Western Assam unlike -au of St. Coll. Cf. § 36 d.)
CHAPTER IV.

INITIAL VOWELS.

Aphaeresis.

191. Aphaeresis is the dropping of initial vowels and syllables for want of stress. The loss of unaccented initial vowels has already been considered (Stress—Accent §134). The following represent a few of the inherited and borrowed elements:

- bhūte, gets wet, (abhisā ṛu).
- bhuṭtar, interior, (abhināntara).
- (L.W.) tici linseed, (atasi, atasi).

In pūdhe, puts on, (pūnaddha, apunaddha), the loss is inherited from the Skt. period.

dhilā, slow, lazy, often read under aphaeresis and connected with Skt. sāṭhila—> M.I.A. sūṭhila, has been referred to a new M.I.A. source ḍhilla (Turner).

Changes of Initial Vowels.

a- initial, and in initial syllables.

192. The a- in the initial syllable followed by a single consonant generally remains a- (=a- in Assamese) e.g.

- kārac, karacātī, a ladle, (M.I.A., kadacchu).
- kāla, a jug, (kalasa).
- khar, straw, (khaṭa).
- gār, a kind of fish, (gālaka).
- ghar, a jug, (ghaṭṭā).
- cariyā, a spy, (cara + —).
- jarun, a freckle, (jaṭula).
- tāre, pitches, (a tent), (M.I.A. taḍai: ? tata \ tān.)
- palam, delay, (pralamba).
- mājānā, a songster bird, (madanaka).
 śārā, a tray, (*śārāvikā).
 śāli, a wick, (śālikā, šālā).
 sāru, small, (sāru–).

193. In words of originally two or more syllables, a– followed by two consonants or a consonantal nexus and occupying a position of stress is lengthened to –ā, when the following conjuncts are reduced to a single consonant. If the conjuncts are made up of a nasal+ consonant, the nasal is reduced to a mere nasalisation of the lengthened ā– and the following consonant divected of the nasal remains, e.g.

āṭ, entrails, (antra).
ākuhi, a crook, (avkṣikā).
āḥ, fine fibre, (aṇśu).
kākaj, a comb, (kaṅkatika).
kār, a bow, (kāṇḍa).
khāg, the horn of a rhinoceros, (khadga).
ghāru, a pillow, (gaṅḍu–, kāṇḍu–).
ghāri, a headless trunk, (gaṅḍi–).
gāl, cheek, (gallā, gāṇḍa).
gāṭ, hole, (garta).
ghām, sweat, (gharma).
cāpari, a kind of cake, (caraṇī–)
chāl, bark, (charia–, chardaīe).
cōm, skin, (carma–).
chāṭe, covers, (*chatrayati).
jamu– (dāt), the molar teeth, (jambha + –).
dāduri, a frog, (dardura +). 
dāpoṇ, a mirror, (darpaṇa).
nāk, nose, (nakra).
nāṭhanī, tying up a beam with a post, (nastrā–).
bāgar, side, party, (varga+ta).
bhānga, hemp, (bhanga).
bhāgar, fatigue, (bhagna+ṭa).
sāc, stain, (saṅca).

194. In words of more than two syllables, a– in the initial syllables although followed by two consonants in M.I.A. (one of which is dropped in N.I.A.) is not lengthened.
and remains as a- when a following syllable was a stressed one; e.g.:—

kākāl, waist, (kaṅkāla). Bg. kākāl.
kapāh, cotton, (karpāsa). Bg. kāpās.
gamārī, a tree, (gambhārī-).
cārāl, a caṅdāl, (caṅḍāla). Bg. cārāl.
pathār, a meadow, (prastāra).
mādār, a tree, (māndāra).
kaṭārī, knife, (kaṭṭārikā).
kamār, blacksmith, (karmāra).
camār, shoe-maker, (carma + kāra).

195. In Assamese as in Bengali there are certain words that show absence of compensatory lengthening of a- to ā- when one of the double consonants in the succeeding syllable is dropped.

The words showing absence of compensatory lengthening are of ts and stś origin. Dr. Chatterji has thoroughly examined the question of the failure of compensatory lengthening in a large number of N.I.A. words and attributed the phenomenon to the influence of languages showing absence of compensatory lengthening. (O.D.B.L. pp. 318, 319). e.g.

gach, tree, (gaccha).
patti, a long strip of cloth (pattī-).
jakh, an evil spirit, (yakṣa).
pas, pakh, a fortnight, (pakṣa).
mārāl, a circular disc round about the sun or the moon, (mandala).
samala, provisions, wherewithal, (sambala).
gār, rhinoceros, (ganda).

196. After labial sounds p, b, m, the vowel -a- is found as -u- and -o-; e.g.
muniyā, maniyā, stunted, (manīa, manāk).
pūrā, morning, (prabhāta).
pūnā, eighty, (pañā).
pohā, palm-ful, (prasīta-).
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punī, an aquatic plant, (parṇikā).
bojā, load, (vahya–).
bōkā, mud, (vajka).

etc.

197. The -a- in the initial syllable is often found as -o-, when in the next syllable it is followed by double consonants (one of which is dropped in Assamese) or the long vowel -ā- e.g.: —

odā, watery, insipid, (andraka–).

gondh, smell, (gandha).

rondā, sinus, (randhra).

sōcare, infects, (saicarati).

coda, chewing, (carva+).

sotārā, seventeen, (sapta+daśa).

198. Hāladhi, turmeric. is not from haridrā but from the lengthened form haridrika: kāraji. (dialectical kaive) is from Sktised. ċēśī, kavaja; lākhuṭi, a stick, Skt. lakuṭa, may similarly be of some ċēśī origin.

199. The optional lengthening of privative prefix a- to ā- owing to initial stress and of deteriorative ava-- (= Skt. apa–, ava–) to āo– as a sts. prefix has been noticed and examined before (§ 143). By analogy apa–, ava– were changed to ā–, or āo– even when they had no deteriorative significance as a sts. prefix: e.g.

athāntar, athāntar, perplexity. (avasthāntara).

sts. ākhuṭi, āokhuṭi, whim, caprice, (akhāṭi–).

āru, and, moreover, (apara–).

Further examples of privative ā- > ā- and of apa– ava– > āo- are: —

alāgī, alāgī', a wife not her husband's favourite, (a+ lagna–).

agaṛhi, agaṛhi, misfeatured, (a+ √gaṭh, √ghaṭ).

akāgī, akāgī, not skilled in work, (a+kārya).
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athäuni, athäuni, beyond one's depth, (astāgha).
abatār, abatār, bad weather.
āhukāl, bad or troublous time, (asukha+āla).
āo-bāšt, wrong way, (apa+vartman).
āo-maran, unnatural death, (apa+marana).

Initial ā-; and ā- in initial syllables.

200. O.I.A. ā- before a single consonant not followed by the long vowel -ā-, normally remains in Assamese, e.g.:
āli, road, (āli–).
āri, a fish, (ātika).
kāh, cough, (kāsa).
khāi, ditch, (khāti).
ghā, sore, (ghāta).
chāwa* young one, (sāvaka).
hātko, over-burnt brick, (jhāmaka, kṣāma–).
dhā Tort, display of spirit, (dhāman).
baō, left, (vāma).
bhāō, gesture in acting, (bhāva).
sāō, swarthy, (sāma).

201. O.I.A. ā- before conjunct consonants was shortened to ā- in M.I.A. and this ā- fared exactly like O.I.A. ā- before conjunct consonants in Assamese. It underwent compensatory lengthening when one of the following double consonants was dropped; e.g.
ām, mango, (ṁmba, āmra).
kār, arrow, (*kanda, kanda).
kāth, wood, (kātha).
tām, copper, (tāmba, tāmra).
bāgh, tiger, (vaggha, vyāghra).

202. O.I.A. ā-, in the initial syllable >ā- in M.I.A. remains ā- in Assamese when in the next syllable it is followed by the long vowel -ā- in a position of stress: e.g., bakhān, praise, (vakkhaṇa, vyākhyāna).
bhārāl, store, (* bhandāra, bhandāra).
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i-; ī-; initial, and in initial syllables.

203. O.I.A. i-; ī- in initial syllables followed by single consonants remain in Assamese: e.g.

İlīh, hilsa fish, (D. iliša).
khil, fallow land, (khila-).
khilā, wedge, (kila-ka-).
khin, emaciated, (kšīna).
gile, swallows, (gilati).
şi, moisture (jivā, perhaps contaminated with vāspa).

sta. jiyātu, agony, (jivātu).
cirāl, a rag, (cira-).
iyār, a fog, (nihāra).
pirikā, pimples, (piṭika->piṭikka-).
baringā, clever, (vidanga-).
bihān, morning, (vibhāna).
siralu, furrow, (śira+la +-).

204. Before two consonants, i-; ī- generally remain e.g.

ikārā, reed, (ikkata-).
itā, brick, (iṭoka-).
khīc, mud formed of cowdung and urine. (Skt. kīcchā).
cikā, rat, (cikkā-).
cikā-(hāti). small. (D. cikkā-).
jīn, assimilation. (jīrna).
dimā, egg, (dimba-).
tikhā, steel, (tikṣna).
nikāhi, the projecting part of a roof, (niśkāśa-).
pit, bile, (pitta).
pird, lump of flesh, (piṇḍa-).
phichā, tail of a fish, (piccha-).
līkhā, a louse, (likhyā).
śimalu, cotton tree, (śimbala+-).

205. The -i of the O.I.A. prefix ni- before labial letters m, p, v, and the -i of dvi-, as the first element of a compound word is changed into -u-: e.g.

numdī, becomes extinct. (numai. also nimai, nimel, O.I.A. niveti, √vī).
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dupar, mid-day or night, (dví-prahara).
duná, once again, (dvī-guṇa).

u-, ū: initial, and in initial syllables.

206. u-, ū; followed by one consonant remain:—e.g.
uḍharā, a dry barren place (uṣara-).
ulu, thatching grass, (ulūpa-).
kurumā, relative, (kuṭumba-).
kuruwā, an osprey, (kurava-).
guṇā, areca-nut (guvāka).
sū, seed, (guṣikā).
cuti, hair, (cūla, cūḍa, *cūḍikā).
churi, knife, (churikā, kṣurikā).
ju, fire, (dyuti).
pū, a vegetable creeper, (pūtikā).
phurāṇi, giddiness, (spūrṇa + ).
bhū, field for cultivation, (bhūmi).

207. Before double consonants, u- and ū- generally remain unchanged: e.g.

urā, bug, (uddānā > M.I.A. uḍḍānā).
ukā, an osprey, (utkrośa).
ukā, will-o-the-wisp, (ulā-).
ugul, anxiety, (udgūra).
uciringā, cricket (ucitininga) -i in ui-is perhaps due to contam. with As. āi white-ant, which
T. derives from O.I.A. yūkā.

utanuṇa, rash, inconsiderate, (uttāna +).
ud, otter, (urdra).
ud, unrestrained, free, (uddama).
kukuhā, wild cock, (kukkubha-).
kuki, a basket for putting fish in, (kukṣi-).
khud, small rice particles, (kṣudra).
cukā, sorrel, (cukra + -).
dubalā, weak, (durbala+).
śūr, proboscis of an elephant (śūṇḍa).
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śukaṭi, dried fish, (śuṣka-+vṛtta-).
śudā, unmixed (śuddha-).
sūṭā, thread, (sūtra-).

M.I.A. ś-, e-, initial, and in initial syllables.

208. O.I.A. e- followed by a single or double consonants remains in Assamese e.g.
erā, a plant, (eravda).
kerā, squint-eyed, (kekara-).
kheō, a throw, a cast, (kṣepa).
kher, straw, (kheṭa).
kevāri, medicinal work, (cf. ṭkev).
celeś, scarf, (cela-).
cheō, a piece cut off, cheda-).
sts. chewaṇṭiyā, orphan. (chemaṇḍa, § 378).
dēiṛī, threshold, (dehali-).
dhen, giving birth to a calf, (dhenā, a milch-cow).
pel, testicle, (pela).
rekhā, mark on the forehead, (rekhā-).
leō, sticking fast, (lepa).

209. Before double consonants:
khet, field, (kṣetra).
ghēculi, water-plant, (gheṇculikā)
bethā, enclosure, (veṣṭa-).
bherā, ram, (bherdre-).
meji, a pile of straw burnt as a festive ceremonial, (medhyā +).
bēt, cane, (vetra).

210. In akāl, ekāl. alone. (M.I.A. škalla); dālī, threshold, (dehali>*dewali>*dawali, dali), the change of e- to a- seems dialectical and to be the result of an attempt to produce (a) sound (§. 116).

In sts. mithā, a sweet vegetable condiment, (O.I.A. methikā), there seems to be contamination with As. mithā, sweet, in the change of -e- to -i-.
INITIAL VOWELS

211. O.I.A. āj- > M.I.A. e-, ë-; As. e-; e.g.:—
bej, physician, (vējja, vājya).
tel, oil, (tēlla, tālā).
jeṭh, a month, (jagisṭha).
keṭṭ, a caste, (kajivartā).
gerojvā, coloured garment worn by ascetics, (gajrika >
* gajruka).
śeṇvāl, moss, (śeṇvālā).

212. O.I.A. i- and sometimes i- change into ë before
double consonants in M.I.A. Assamese preserves some
examples of this change before conjunct consonants which are
reduced ; e.g. :—
kēcu, earth-worm, (kiṇciluka).
tēteli, tamarind, (tiṇtili-).
bel, the bilva fruit, (bilva).
hēngul, vermillion, (hiṅgula).
endur, indur. rat, (indura).
chēi, pod, (śimbi-).
hēkuṭi, hiccough, (hikkā+vṛtta-).
peḷu, worms, (* pillu<pillu —).
pere, squeezes. (pīḍyate).
bhēṭi, foundation, (*bhīṭṭa-, T.).
sēṅgun, phlegm, (śīṅghāṇa).
hendol, oscillation, (hindola).
celā, centiped, (cilla+ —).
ḍeṭikā, wings, (cf. M.I.A. ḍivvai ; O.I.A. √ ḍi, to fly).
seruṇā, henpecked, (śiṅṣṭa>śeṇḍha, P.).
bēṭu, the calyx of a flower, (vēṇṭa, * viṇṭa, vṛnta).
nemū, the lime fruit, (nimbu—).
keṭār, mucus of the eye, (kittā-).
pehā, aunt's husband, (piussiā, * pitṛsvasṭkā).

213. The sound-group aya- in initial syllables >e-;
e.g.:—
terū, thirteen, (terahā ; trayo-daśa).
tēc, twenty-three, (tevisa : trayo-vimśa).
nēvāṭi, a flower, (* nājamallikā, navamallikā).
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lenī, graceful, (*laṇīkā, lanaṇikā).
śetelī, bed-room: bed-stead, (ṣayana-+talikā>*sayanta-likā).
ḥelā, pale, (*dhayala, davana).
nei, (coll.) takes, (nayati).

M.I.A. ०-, Ṽ-, initial, and in initial syllables.

214. O.I.A. Ṽ- generally remains before single or double consonants except where it is changed to Ṽ- by rules of vowe-
harmony owing to the presence of –i– in the following syllables
(§. 204), e.g.:—
ol, a kind of yam, (ola).
kōh, the bud, (kośa).
khora, lame, (khora-).
kholā, the shell of a coconut, (khola-).
sts. coc, fibres, (coca).
colā, coat, (cola–).
jorā, joint, (jodā–).
polā, bundle, (polaka–).
potā, young fry, (pota+na–).
sts. mocā, plantain fruit, (moca-).
śowā, dropsy, (śotha).

215. Before double consonants:—
or, a flower, (odra).
kōth, a fort, (koṭṭa + koṭṭha).
got, assembled, (gotra).
cohā, sharp, (cokṣa–).
jot, yoking rope, (yoktra).
śolā, toothless, (M.I.A. solla).

216. A few words illustrate the change of Ṽ- in the initial
syllables to a–: cf. Pāli: pharati (sphurati), phallatī
(phullatī), kappara (kūrpara). e.g.
kar, bud, (kora).
calu, a palmful of water, (*cullaka cullaka).
māṭhā, an aromatic plant, (mōṭhā, mustā–).
sājinā, a plant, (śobhāṇjana).
mahī, crucible, (*mōssīa, mūṣikā).
INITIAL VOWELS

In ákhudi, drug, (auṣadhi), the reduced a– is lengthened to ā– by initial stress. Cf. ákhád, medicine. This is parallel to a/ā of §. 143. This tendency of reducing a– in the initial syllable is a characteristic feature of some dialects in Western Assam (Kāmrūp). Thus koc, a tribe is pronounced as kāc; dhōrā, snake, as dhārā; solā, toothless, as sālā; bhok, hunger, as būkah etc.

Amongst other Magadhan dialects this tendency is in striking evidence in the Bihāri dialect, Kurmālī Ṭhar (L.S.I.V. II, p. 147) and it is found in some measure also in Kharīā Thar (L.S.I.VI. I. p. 90). This occurs in West Bengali colloquial also, e.g. rogā lak for rogā lok, a sickly man.

In Kurmālī Thar, (ibid) loker is found as lāker.
okār is found as ō-kār.
go-rākhiyā is found as gārākhiyā.
bhoj is found as bhāj.
mor. tor is found as mār. tār.
In Kharīā Thar: -u. -ū often > -ā, e.g.
bhāke (bhūkhe); mārash (mānush).

217. O.I.A. u– and sometimes ū– become ō– in M.I.A. before double consonants. This peculiarity has been preserved by some Assamese words. The conjunct consonants are reduced to a single one and the u– in the preceding syllable is changed to ō–; e.g.
okāṇi, louse, (utkuṇa +).
okāle, ejects from the mouth. (utkālayati).
okh, high. (ukṣa).
odāl, a tree. (uddāla).
opānge, floats, (* utplavaṅgati).

sts. opace, increases. (*uppacaya, upacaya).
kāc, shrink, (√kuṇe).
kochā, bundle, (kūreca +).
kodāl, spade, (kuddāla).
komorā, pumpkin, (kusuṃṇa).
khōpā, lock of hair, (kṣumpra).
khōj, foot-step, (kṣodya, √kṣud, to tread upon).
gōph, moustache, (gumpha).
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*gomoʃhā*, glum, (*gulma+−*).

*ghol*, butter-milk, (*ghola, ghūrṇa*).

*ghōt*, water drunk at one time, (D. ḍhuṇṭa).

*chopā*, a grove (*chuppa : chupa*).

*poche*, asks, (*pucchai ; prcchati*).

*mol*, worth, (*mālṣa*).

*lōr*, bunch, (*lunḍa*).

*sōṭara*, shrivelled, (*sūṭha + *).

218. O.I.A. *au > M.I.A. o. ō > As. o. e.g.*

*son*, gold (*sawarna*).

*sondā, sondhā*, sweet-smelling, (*savandha−*).

219. O.I.A. *ōr-, ōu−*, before single or double consonants; also O.I.A. groups *-an−*, *-up−* etc. > respectively *-an−*, *-uv−* > late M.I.A. *-o−*, *-uv−*, before single consonant: ō before double consonants > As. *-o−* (cf. O.D.B.L. § 166 iii) e.g.

*lōn*, salt, (*lavarna−*).

*or*, end, extremity (*avara− T.*).

*sō*, right-hand, (*sama− > sa−vā−*).

*dō*, bent, (*dama−*).

*thok*, bunch, cluster, (*thavaka−, stavaka*).

*ōṇāś*, listens to, (*upa + karnayati*).

*ōjā*, teacher, (*upāḍhyāya*).

*ōhār*, (E. As. osār) udder, (*apasaṇa*).

*ovārī*, pavilion, (*upakarika*).

sts. *jokār*, sound of greeting, (*jaya + kāra > *java + kāra*).
CHAPTER V.

VOWELS IN THE INTERIOR OF WORDS.

VOWELS NOT IN CONTACT.

220. Owing to the predominance of the medial stress in the standard colloquial, the loss of interior vowels not in contact is not very great. Unstressed -i-, -u-, in the interior of words are often changed to -a- owing to the influence of the Kāmrūpī dialect characterised by a strong initial stress tending to simplify following unstressed long vowels. But the elision of non-contact interior vowels is not a strong characteristic of the standard colloquial. On the other hand, owing to the tendency of the St. coll. to distinctly articulate the medial vowel sounds, the -ā- in the interior is often raised to -ō-, to give a distinct vowel colouration to the sound.

221. The state of affairs is quite the reverse in the Kāmrūpī dialect. Owing to the prevailing initial stress, the medial vowels are dropped out of pronunciation altogether. The tendency of the Kāmrūpī dialect is to shorten a trisyllabic word to a disyllabic one, and a polysyllabic word to a trisyllabic one.

Thus standard colloquial komorā, pumpkin. (kūsmānda-) is kūmrā in Kāmrūpī; karibā, to do, (*karitavya-) is kōrbā; gomothā, gloomy, (gulma+avasthā) is gāmṭhā in Kāmrūpī.

222. Most of the following words shewing loss of interior -a-, are made up of original O.I.A. compounds and the loss of the vowel is more of the nature of contraction than real elision. In some cases, however, real elision occurs.
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The interior -â-; lost.

223. The few words listed below show the elision of interior vowels and also of syllables; e.g.:—
    kāṅḍhāri, kāṅḍāri, helmsman, (karna+dhāra-> *kanna. +dhāra-)
    pathān, foot of a bed. (pada+sthāna).
    behā, business, (vyavasaśa).
    āghān, name of a month. (agrahāyana).
    gādha, ass, (gardabha > gaddaha).
    pagha, rope for tying cattle, (pragrahâ-).
    śītān, head of a bed. (śīras+sthāna).
    cital, a fish, (citra+phala).
    kāṭhal, jack-fruit, (kanṭaka + phala).
    muhudi, anything taken after meals to sweeten the mouth. (mukha+śuddhi).
    pahāri, a female vendor, (panja + śālikā).
    erā, a plant. (erānda-).

(a) In āyāmūrī, the act of stretching and yawning, (anga+maṭikā) and sts. sātām-purusa, the seventh generation, there is lengthening of the interior -a- together with compensatory lengthening of the preceding -a-.

(b) In a few cases, -a- occurs as -â- before or after a single consonant; e.g.:—
    carāi, bird. (caṭaka->*caṭākika).
    sts. kovāṭh, decocction. (kvaṭha>*kvathā).
    sts. bundāmār, killing by hosts. (rvrnda+maṛa).
    sts. śaṭhāmitra, deceitful friend. (śaṭha + mitra).
    Cf. O.I.A. ekādaśa. (eka+daśa); aṣṭādaśa, (aṣṭa+ daśa); aṣṭāvakra, (aṣṭa+vakra).

(c) -â->-u-; through influence of the labial -m-, bāmūn, Brāhmin. (brāhmaṇa).
    (L.W.) cāmuc, a spoon. (camasa).

224. In general the interior -â- remains unchanged except in the directions noted above; e.g.:—
    śhāt, a tree, (āsvattha).
    āṅtār, distance, (antiara).
kāmāli, blanket, (kambala).
gāgāl, a fish, (gargara).

The interior -ā-.

225. Interior -ā- remains in general except in a few instances which will be noted below;
e.g. kākal, waist, (kaṃkala).
kapāh, cotton, (karpāsa).
sts. kalāy, pulse, (kalāya).

dowāri, the corners of the mouth, (kapāta+).
gamāri, a kind of tree, (gambhāri-).
parīgāl, members of a family, (parivāra).
barāli, a kind of fish, (vadāla+ -).

226. In a few words, the interior -ā- is changed to -ā- owing to want of stress (§§. 147, 150).
e.g. nīyar, fog, (nīhāra).
biyali, afternoon, (*vīkālika).
janī, a medicinal herb, (yamāni-).

prāṇi, ancient, (prāṇa+).
kōwar, prince, (kumāra).

śīngāri, an aquatic plant, (śṛṅgāta-), behār, mustard seed, (vesavāra-).

(L.W.) binac, miscarriage of animals, (vināśr).
āghān, a month, (agrahāyana).

In ṣeṅgun, mucus of the nose, (ṣṛṅghāna) the interior -ā- > -u-.

The interior -i- ; -ī-.

227. There is no great loss of interior -i- except in a few words like khanṭā, hoe, (khanitra); phantiā. sandal (*phanitra, v/phan).

(a) In general, interior -i-, -ī- remain: e.g.

dālim, pomegranate, (dādimba).
pirikā, pimples, (piṭika- > piṭikka-).
śākini, a female spirit, (śaṅkini-).
śālikā, a kind of bird, (śārka- > śālikkā-).
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sts. hābilāś, longing, (abhilāśa).

(b) -i- > -a-;

In some instances, interior -i- > -a-. This is due to want of stress on the medial syllable (§. 136).

e.g. barahi, fish-hook, (vaḍiśa).

pipara, ant, (pipīlīkā).

pichal, slippery, (picchila).

bih-langani, a poisonous herb, (viṣa-langhinī-).

balūḍh, bull, (balivardha-).

The interior -u-; -ū-.

228. Interior -u- generally remains;

e.g. ākuhi, hook (uṣkuśikā).

kukurā, cock, (kukkuṭa).

ghērūli, an edible root (gheṇṇulikā).

dāuk, a kind of bird. (M.I.A. dāhuka).

dāduri, frog, (dardura-).

śāmuk, snail, (śambuka).

sāphurā, casket, (sampuṭa-), (aspiration explained §§. 372 ff).

(a) -u-, -ū-, changed to -a- in some cases owing to absence of stress (§. 136).

urāl, mortar, (udūkhala).

āṅgāṭhi, ring, (āṅgūṭha-).

makhanā, a tuskless elephant (matkūṇa).

okaṇṭi, louse, (utkūṇa).

(b) In gajākoh, an elephant goad, (gajāṇkuśa) and tāmol, areca-nut, (M.I.A. tambola, tāmbūla), the interior -u-, -ū-, > -o-.

(c) -u- > -i-; e.g. sts. manic, mankind, (manuṣya > *manissa).


The interior -e-.

229. In some instances, it is changed to -a- owing to absence of stress (§ 150).
VOWELS NOT IN CONTACT

E.g. kubālī, fog, (kubheltī).
Sts. nārikal, coconut, (nārikela), probably also contam. with
kal, plantain, (kadala).
āmahi, dried mango, (āmra + peštī).
nāhār, a tree, (nāgeśvara).
car, a slap (capeṭa).
In bhairā (vahetaka), the interior -e- has been raised to
-i-. This may be due to contamination with vibhītaka. In
general, interior -e- remains.

The interior -o-.

230. Interior -o- does not seem to be elided. Even its
weakening to -a- seems to be rare. The only instance that
has come to notice is ukāh, an osprey, (uktrośa).

Whether secondary or original, the interior -o- remains,
except when it is raised to -u- by vowel-harmony. (§ 264),
e.g., duli, swing, (dolaka-).
kūhi, bud, (koṣa-).
CHAPTER VI.

VOWELS IN CONTACT.

231. The disappearance of O.I.A. intervocalic stops left a large number of M.I.A. vowels in contact. For the most part these maintained a separate existence into the Apabhraṃśa period.

The process of avoiding hiatus by contracting two separate vowels into one syllable depends for its carrying through largely on speech tempo. There was thus a long period during which words were used sometimes in their contracted and sometimes in their uncontracted forms. This condition is shewn to some extent in the literary Prakrits influenced no doubt by the surrounding spoken languages. Pischel gives numerous examples of such contractions, e.g.

āra, (avara) ; khāi, khāai (khādati).
palāi, (palāyate) ; keli (*kadili, kadali).
thera, (ethanira) ; nacce (nṛtyati).
pōmma (padma) ; moha (mayūkha).
andhāra, (andhakara) ; deula (deva-kula).

But in a great many instances the udvṛtta vowels were not contracted by assimilation and were retained as distinct syllables (Cf. Turner: Gujrāti Phonology: J.R.A.S. 1921, p. 358). In some cases, however, the contraction was undoubtedly early and general, e.g. mora, bora, keli.

232. In late M.I.A. (AP.) and early N.I.A. there was a threefold treatment of the O.I.A. vowels brought into entire or partial contact (i.e. contact with intervening -ɨ-, -ᵻ- glide) by the elision of stops (O.D.B.L. § 169; Bloch § 53 ff.). The three different kinds of treatment in N.I.A. languages are:

(a) They were turned into diphthongs.
(b) They were contracted into a single vowel.
(c) They were retained as separate vowels by the insertion of a euphonic -ɨ- or -ᵻ-.
233. It has been surmised that next to development of a glide sound, diphthongisation of contact vowels was an earlier process of combinative vowel change. In Aśokan inscription of the third century, the diphthong ai is found in forms like thaīra (sthaivira), trajdasa (trayodaśa), samaçagira (?) (Hultsch: Grammar of the Gīтар Rock edicts: Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Introduction p. lvi). It has been held that M.I.A. forms like kēla, bōra, are contractions of still earlier *kaila, bāyra and that there was diphthongisation before contraction took place (Cf. O.D.B.L. § 171).

234. Early Assamese like early Bengali shews diphthongisation as the principal mode of contraction of contact vowels. Dissimilar vowels like a+i, a+u, were diphthongised into ai, ay, where modern Assamese would shew a different kind of change* (§. 250). e.g.

ḥaiḥa. haiла (*ḥaa+iba : haа+ila) ;
kujaśāni. (kuja-), kuītā. (kuhi+ta) ;
piṅgi (*upiṁgalikā) ; saītāri (*sahīta+kārikā) ;
dhauḷīvar. dhauvalivar. white mound. rampart. (dhauvalīta +vara) ; saījārī. belonging to one's own house (svakiya +*garṭha > *sāṅ+dvarā) ; maīrā (*maīraya, maīraya) ;
jāj-grāha. lac-house. (jātu+) etc. Such forms are plentiful in E. Assamese. Final -ai of verbs (calai<calati) also often appears as a diphthongal vowel, e.g. paraj, falls, (patati) : raraj. screams. (ratati) ; jvalai. shines, (jvalati) etc. But even in E. As. they are regarded as archaic and belonging to a still earlier phase of the language. Side by side there are forms like pare, kare etc. Thus it would appear that final -e of verbs is a simplified form of earlier diphthongal -ai.

235. “The alphabet had letters only for the diphthongs ai, au; possibly the speech actually had other diphthongs like eu, ou, āu, āi, etc. which could be represented only as e-u, o-u, etc. by means of two separate vowels; and a form like khāi became a diphthong khāi to be reduced to khāy” (O.D.B.L. p. 344).
236. The examples already quoted from E. As. shew diphthongisation not only of vowels thrown together by loss of O.I.A. stops but also of vowels intervened by O.I.A. and M.I.A. -h-. e.g. sejitārī (sahita-); kāita (kahi-ta) etc.

The following are the new diphthongal combinations:—

-ai-, -awi- > ai;
-au-, -awu- > ay;

Instances of these changes are prolific; e.g.,
asaj, denial, (asvakiya).
agarj, a fish, (gada-+ka-+ika).
chaj, cover, (chadi).
daji, curdled milk, (*dawi, dahi, dadhi).
naj, river, (nadi).
dalaj, the headman, (dalapati).
maj, harrow, (madi).
mađaj, chief queen, (mahādevī > *māhādevī).
kāwaj, a fish, (kavayī).
bay, elder brother's wife, (vadhā).
mauri, aromatic plant, (madhurikā).
caykā, oven, (catuska).
jay, lac, (jatu).
ay, wood apple, O. aū (apūpa, a honey-comb; a round ball of flour).

(a) -a- + -i- > -ai- where -i- represents a personal affix of verbs; e.g. bāy, flows; weaves, (vahati, vayati).
kāy, speaks, (kathayati).
lāy, takes (lahāi, labhate).

(b) -a- + -i- > -aj-, where -i- represents a conjunctival affix, e.g.
khāj, eats, (khādati); cf. khāi, a drain, (khāti).
pāj, gets, (pāvai, *prāpati).
jāj, goes, (yāti).

(e) -e-, -eva- > -ew-; -e-.
cheō/w, a piece, (cheda).
kheō/w, also khā, cast, throw, (kṣepa).
leō/w, smearing, (lepa).
CONTRACTION

But these new vowel-combinations have not fully established themselves as diphthongs. In certain localities notably in eastern Assam they are pronounced as two distinct syllables and not as diphthongal monosyllables (§ 304).

CONTRACTION OF VOWELS IN CONTACT.

237. The sound groups -aa-, -awa- in the initial syllables > -ā-; e.g.
   kār, corns, callosity of hands and feet, (*kaara, kadara).
   kāl, plantain, (kadala).
   kārī, crowry shell, (kapardha-).
   cār, slap, (*cawara, capeta).
   kāndhā, headless trunk, (kabandha).
   lagun, sacred thread, (nava+guna).
   sār, a deer, (sambara).
   lānī, butter, (navanita).
   lānī, graceful, (lavan + ).
   jānī, a ujowan, (jamānikā).
   lāng, a spice, (lavanga).
   dhāl, leucoderma, (dhavala).
   sā, corpse, (śava).
   sā, hundred, (saa, sata).
   jā, measure, (yava).
   pathān, the lower end of the bed, (paa+thāna<pada+ sthāna).

(a) The initial sound-group -aha- > -ā-. e.g.
   pār, measure of time, (prahara).
   gā, doggedness, E. As. gaha : (O.I.A. graha, zeal).
   nārāṇī, instrument for paring nails, (nakha + haranikā).
   Cf. H. naharaṇī.

(b) The sound-groups -aa-; -awa-; a-awa-; -aha-, in interior and final syllables > -ā-; e.g.
   kolāṭhi, the soft lower part of a fish (kola+asthi).
   karūt, saw, (karaputra).
   pulān, ceremony after conception, (puṁsavana > *pusa-vana).
   ākāṇ, a plant, (arkaparna).
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sevwāt, a scoop for bailing water from a boat, (sekhaṭra).
ghāmaci, prickly heat, (gharma+carcikā > *ghamma + accā).
baladā, bull, (*balavada, balivarda).
bekār, mustard, (vesavāra > *vesavara).
āmahi, dried mango preparation, (āmra+pešikā).
āmāni, mango-forest, (āmra+vanikā).
palā, a bamboo basket for catching fish, (palava).
pārā, pigeon, (pāravata>*pāravata).
gādhā, ass (M.I.A. gaddaha). egārā, eleven (M.I.A. 
egārāha).

(c) The sound groups -āːː -āːː -āː (with intervening -iː or -yː glide) > āːː e.g.
ān, āndh, yoking rope, (āhundha).
kāon, a weight or coin, (kāhīvāna, kārsāpana).
āhiyā, āhā, having the smell of raw flesh, (āmīṣa > * āmasa- > * ā-vasa-).
nāhār, a tree, (nāgeśvara. > *nāgassara).
sonaru, a tree with yellow flowers, (sonvarna + dāru-).
cāmār, shoe-maker. (carna + kāra).
panīyāl, a fruit, (pāniyāmalaka).
sāmār, ploughing a second time cross-wise (sambā + kāra).
ār, screen, (apaṭi-).

238. ai > aj. in initial and final syllables. (cf. § 236). After a stressed syllable, medial -i- is shortened to -a-. When it begins a syllable after a stressed -a-, it causes mutation of the previous vowel and then disappears. Assamese ai does not become e except as a verbal termination (-ai <-ati), and the locative case-ending (-ai <-ahi). As a secondary affix also ai>aj: e.g. * bhaginikāpati > bājiñāi, sister's husband; garai, a kind of fish, (*gadakika); but gōl (written gaṭi) gone; (*gata+illa, gaa+illa, gailla, gōl).

(a) -ai>-e; e.g.
cāle, moves (calai, calatt).
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parhe, reads, (paqhai, pasati).
ene, tene, jene, this-like, that-like, which-like; etc.
(*aiha + na; *jaiha + na &c., plus. emphatic
hi > i).

(b) The M.I.A. vowel group -au > -o; e.g.
paŋ, straight, (praguna > * paunìa).
sol, a fish, (sakula).
thör, space of the palm, (staputā).
chō, actor’s mask, (*chauma, chaduna, chadma).

(c) Finally -au > -u, also -o.
ts. sakalo, all, (sakala+emphatic hu < kku, khalo).
sts. nitya, always, every day, (*nītau, nityatak).
au > o, a (imp. third person) in calōk, kalōk, let him
move ; khāōk, let him eat.
aū>ō; indic. first person; calō, I walk; (calāmi, calami,
* calam, cala~w, calū).

(d) The vowel-groups -ā; -āu- remain; e.g.
ghāil, wounded, (ghāta+illa).
māi, mother (mātrkā-).
gāi, cow, (gāvi).
āul, distracted, (ākula).
bāul, intoxicated, (vatula).

(e) Late M.I.A. -aci in final positions in the causative
verb of the third person is reduced to -ē; e.g. calē,
(calāvei, *calāpayati).

239. -ii-; -ii-; -ii-; -ī- > -ī (> -i-).

e.g. civa, flattened rice, (cīpiṭa > cividad-).
dīle, gave, (vdi + -ile).
tīyā, occurring every third day, (tṛtīya- > * tīya-).

(a) Late M.I.A. ia, iā had a three-fold treatment in
Assamese: (i) In initial syllables generally, ia-, iā > e-;
(ii) When a, ā occupy a position of stress, ia-, iā > ē-;
(iii) Finally -ia, -iā > ī, i.

(b) The Assamese sound-group -i(ū)a-, -i(ū)ā- in
initial syllables > -e.
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sts. *Bethā, pity, (vyathā > *viathā).
*behā, business, (vyavasaṃya).
sts. *Beprā, trade, (vyāpāra).
*beḥ, measure of length, (vyāma).
*diya-śalāi, desalāi, match-stick, (dipa+śalākā).
kelai, why, (kiya+lai, kiha; kisa; M.I.A. kissa).
sts. pratyek, manifest, (pratyakṣa).

Excepting cerek hardly anything else shews its presence in E.As.

(c) -ia, i-ua-, -iyya- eō.
teōj, third (year) from now, (*tyayya > *tyajja).
neōtā, invitation, (nimantra-).
neōc, to neglect. (ni+√aṃc).
(d) -iə; -ia in final syllables > -i- > -i; e.g.
kāmali, blanket (kambala+ikā).
gajani, growl, (garjana+ikā).
kaṭāri, knife, (kaṭṭārikā).
tāngī, chisel, (tānga+ikā).
(e) -iu- > -io-; imperative third person;
iōk, let him take.
diōk, let him give; (-u<O.I.A. -tu).
-ia-u- > -io; passive imperative;
sunio, let it be heard, (sunia-u).

240. -u-; -u- &c. >-u-; >-u-.
dunāi, once again, (*duna, div-guṇa).
(a) -ua-; -u- &c. >-u- >-u-; e.g.
E.As. dvāj, second, (*dvaṣja, *dvitayya).
dhūnā, incense, (dhūpana-).
chelu, pretext, (chala + uka).
nelu, wind-pipe, (nala + uka) (For a/u>e/u, cf. § 270).
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241. -ea-> -e-; e.g.
   chenā, chisel, (chedanikā).
   devṛi, a temple-priest, (deva+ *garhika; *grhika).
   sevūti, a scoop, (sekapūtra).
   kerā, squint-eyed, (kekara).
242. -oa-> -o-; e.g.
   po, child, (pota).
   lo, tear, (lotaka).
   lo, iron, (loha).

INSERTION OF EUPHONIC GLIDES.

243. In the two previous sections, the contact vowels have been seen readjusting themselves in Assamese by methods of diphthongisation and contraction. Similar vowels show the absorption of one into another and dissimilar vowels often coalesce by rules of sandhi or crasis. High vowels like i, u, followed by low ones and not lending themselves to be coalesced by sandhi show contractions in different directions in different positions in the word. But certain sound groups resist disposal of themselves by contraction and in uttering them the tongue position changes from one vowel to another resulting in the production of intermediate vocalic sounds or glides. These sound groups have been noticed below.

244. The glides in Assamese are represented as in Western languages by -ü'ë, -u- and sometimes but very rarely by -h-. Unlike Bengali and Oṛiyā, Assamese devised a new symbol (อยากจะ) for the -w- glide. In a final position -th is often represented by -h.

245. The -w- glide is regularly developed after a preceding u-; oftentimes the following glide changes u- to o-. e.g.
   kuwali, log. (kuhelikā).
   kiuva, well. (kuva-).
   dhōwhā, smoke, (dhuwma-).
246. The h-glide is rare and unusual in modern Assamese. In early Assamese stray instances like nihal, leters, (migaṇa) ; loh, tear, (lota-) are met with. The only genuine formation in modern Assamese is dānah, demon, (dānava). In nih, low, (nica), -h seems to be due to contamination with nih-, in st. forms like nih karmā for niśkarma-. dāhan, dāhōn, ancestral property, (daya+na), seems to be built up by analogy with sāhan, sāhōn, property, (sāsana); for Assamese phōhā, pimples, (Skt. sphoṭa) cf. Bg. phoskā.

247. While sound groups āva, āwa>ā; avā, awā always become owā; e.g.

  cukowā, ruddy goose, (cakkuvā-, cakrawāka-).
  nowārē is unable, (na+parayati).
  kowārī, the jaw, (kāpāṭiṭā).
  tarowāl, the sword, (taravārī).

(a) When -ā in a group -ā, āā occurs as a special affix, there is no contraction and the u-glide comes in; e.g.

  kowā, a crow, (kākā-, kāa+-ā>*kāvā, kawā>kowā).
  powā, a quarter-weight, (pāda+-ā).
  houā, being, (√hā+Past Part. affix ā).
  khowā, eating, (√khā+-ā).
  ṣunowā, causing to hear, (causative base ṣunā+P. P. affix -ā).

248. After a preceding i- generally, the y-glide is developed; but when it is followed by the u-glide which in such cases is represented by ō, the glide causes mutation of i to e; e.g. neōtā, invitation, (nimana-); seōtā, parting of the hair; (simanta-); devāli, illumination, (dipālika) etc.

Examples of y-glide after a preceding i-;

  kūcīyā, eel, (kuṇcikā-).
  cattiyana, a kind of tree, (chatvāna ; chatripāna-).
  tutiyā, blue vitriol, (tutthā+ika+-āka).
  piyāh, thirst, (pipāsā).
  biyāl, evening, (vikāla).
  šiyāl, fox, (šṛgāla).
  hiyā, heart, (hṛdaya-).
  diyā, island, (dvipa-). &c.
CHAPTER VII

VOWEL-MUTATION OR UMLAUT.

249. Vowel-mutation or umlaut is the modification of a vowel through the influence of another vowel or semi-vowel of a different quality occurring in a following syllable. This phenomenon was first observed in the Teutonic languages, and since then phonetic changes in similar directions in other languages have been classed as instances of umlaut.

Of the several types of umlaut discussed below, some (especially those discussed under “Vowel Harmony”) hark back to early Assamese, while of some others faint indications may be suspected in M.I.A., but others are of modern growth and characterise modern Assamese only.

250. The two types, a' i: a' u: both > ā, represent changes of contact-vowel and may not be regarded as instances of mutation proper. But they are classed under mutation because they show a line of development quite different from that in early Assamese. In early As. a' i, a' u were regularly diphthongised; e.g.

kaṭhā, where. (kaḥi-ta).
cāṭī, name of a month. (*caitta, caitra).
maṇīrā, pea-cock, (*maṇīr-, maṇīr-, maṇūr-).

But in modern Assamese a' i, a' u > ā; e.g. kāṭī, cāṭī, māṇīrā (written ka' t, ca' t, ma'nā with the apostrophe (‘) indicating the elision of some vowel sound after having caused mutation of the preceding vowel). The diphthongal sound went out of favour and a new sound took its place.

This change was fully recognised in middle Assamese of the prose chronicles.

251. In the sound groups a/i, a/u (> -i), the mutating vowel seems to be (i) in both cases. As contact vowels a/u have two different treatments in modern Assamese in the
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interior of words. They may coalesce into -o-, (cf. § 238 b) or develop a diphthong (cf. § 236); e.g. ǝl, a kind of fish, (šakula-); caupāś, four sides, (catur-pārśva-); while a/i have only a diphthongal treatment in the middle of a word, and never result into an -e- in that position. In the absence of this development in modern Assamese, a+i may be looked upon as having given the mutated vowel -e-.

252. There are indications of the change of au>*ai>*e, both in early and modern Assamese; cf. E. As. mairā (*maira-, maïra-, maïrā-). Mod. As. caidhya, fourteen. (*caiddaḥa, cauddaḥa).

In sequences like mukula>M.I.A. maula>As. mōl (written ma'lı), an intermediate stage like maula>*maila>ma'lı may fairly be assumed. As contact vowels -au- would have given a frank -o- as in ǝl, (šakula). The resultant -e- is often pronounced as a especially in western Assamese; e.g.

hāl (St. coll. hōl, ha'lı)=haa+i.la.

253. The type a/group-nasal with consonant >e/consonant, seems to be peculiar to Assamese. It has some resemblance to the N.Bg. tendency to pronounce å in initial syllables followed by å in next syllables as e (O.D.B.L. § 161). The mutated e< a, takes the place of compensatory lengthening. (cf. § 258.)

The following are the principal types of mutation in Assamese:

254. a/i/a; a/i/ā>respectively ḍ/ā; ḍ/ā; dialectically a/ā; a/ā.

e.g. gōl, gāl, (gaa+i.la>*gaila).
kōlā, kālā, black, (*kālā, kaliyā).
kōt, kāt, where, (kahi+ta).
cōt, cāt, name of a month, (cātta).
dōt, dāt, demon, (*dātta, dātya).
lōrā, lārā, boy, (*lārā, *lariyā, larikā, laṭa-).
mōh, māh, buffalo, (mahiṣa).
In ts. words the mutated vowel is left unnoticed in spelling; e.g. jādi pronounced jōdi.

hari pronounced hōri.
mati pronounced mōti.

255. a/u/a; a/u/ā respectively > ə/ə; ō/ō; dialectically ā/ā; ā/ā.

e.g. mōrā, ma’rā, peacock, (mayūra).
röd, ra’d, sunshine, (*raudda, raydra).
gōrā, ga’rā fair. (*gaura, gayra).
mōl, ma’l, blossom, (*maula, mukula).
cōk, ca’k, court-yard, (cātuṣka).
cōrá, ca’rā, out-house, (D. cauraya).
cōsthā, ca’thā, fourth, (caturtha).

In ts. words, the mutation is left unnoticed in spelling; madhu, pronounced mōdhu.
laghu, pronounced lōghu.

256. a/ō-glide/-ā- > owā-;

e.g. noiwāre. is unable. (na+pārayati).
kōwāri, juw. (kāpāṭa+).
cakōwā, a bird. (cakrawāka-).
tārovāl. sword. (tāravārī).
pōwā. quarter. (pāda-).
kōvā. crow. (kāka-).
khowā, eating, (*kłāwā > *kławā > khowā; As. √khlā+ past. part. -ā-).

257. i w a; i’w/ā > respectively e ə ə; e ə ə; e.g.
teįj, third (year), (trtaya > *tiajja. *tiwajja. teįj’).
sēōtā, parting of hair. (simanta-).
nēōtā, invitation. (nimanta-).
dewāli, illumination. (dipālikā).
nēdc, to neglect. (ni+√aṅc).

Mutation caused by following nasals.

258. A following nasal sound raises the preceding -a- to -ē-. It is noticeable in E. Assamese only; e.g.
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lej, tail, (lañja).
they, leg, (tañga).
beka, crooked, (vañka, vakra). E. As. beñka.
kêkôrâ, crab, (kañkada, karkata).
pêk, mud, (pañka).
cen, a kind of fish, (cañga).
cêk, stain, (cañka, cañra).
pâlen, couch, (pallayka, parayan/k).
reñgâ, to shine dimly, (rañga-).
kêthâ, blanket, (kañthâ-).
soleng, citron, (cholanga).
pêñgâ, lame, (pangan-).

Of the mutating nasal + consonant, the nasal is reduced to a mere nasalisation of the mutated vowel, and the following consonant, when of the guttural series, is often reduced to its corresponding nasal.

HARMONIC MUTATION OR VOWEL HARMONY.

259. Harmonic mutation is a kind of vowel change by which the high or the low quality of a vowel in a following syllable conduces to a similar modification in a preceding one. As a matter of fact the types of mutation examined in the preceding section involve some amount of harmonic change, the high vowels (i), (u) and the semi-vowel (-w-) bringing in an anticipatory raising of the previous vowels. This section is restricted to the consideration of the raising of a preceding vowel under the influence of a following high or a long vowel.

260. Of the several types of changes examined below, that of a > u under the influence of (i) in the following syllable is noticeable in early Assamese also. There is an intermediate stage (a > o > u) in this change; so that if in the original word (original so far as Assamese is concerned) there is an -o- in the preceding syllable, it changes to -u- before -i- in the next syllable; e.g. bhekola, a big frog, but bhekuli, frog (in general). Often the form shewing the intermediate change is not preserved in Assamese: e.g. mêdal, a drum, but mûduli, a drum-shaped amulet; the form *mêdol-, is not found in As.
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The following examples shew traces of harmonic change in early Assamese.

sts. kukil (kokila); akhuṭi (akhaṭṭi), childish pranks;
gharuni, wife; also gharuni, gharini;
sts. kṛtāṇjuli for kṛtāṇjali;
sts. jalaṅjuli for jalaṅjali; nṛtuni, a female dancer for nātini;
(Rāmāyan: by Durgābar).

261. The type involving the change of -a- to -e- before a following -i- goes back to early Assamese also. This change is highly characteristic of the Kāmrūpi dialect and it is likely that examples from E. As. and modern As. as given in the body of the illustrations represent dialectical mixtures rather than regular formations in the standard colloquial, e.g. cf. Hindi, pūjera, a worshipper, for pūjāri, as a dialectical variant (Kellogg, p. 252). This type seems to be absent in Bengali. cf. § 269.

262. The type representing the change of -a- to -e- before an -u- in the next syllable seems to go back to M.I.A. although examples are sporadic there; e.g.

neura, neula (‘napura, nāpura); gendua (kanduka);
also Pāli phuggu (phalgu); ḍuṇḍubha (‘ḍuṇḍubha, duṇḍubha). (Pāli Prakāśa, p. 54).

Traces of this change are suspected in other N.I.A. languages also; e.g. the common N.I.A. word neula, a mongoose, (vakula-); Bg. khejur (kharjura-); H. luṭerka, a robber, cf. § 270.

263. Both before and after a syllable containing the long vowel -ā-, the change of (a) to (ō) often takes place in polysyllabic words. In the contiguity of other high vowels also this change is sometimes noticed. This is perhaps due to the fact that in the St. coll. the sound of (a) is generally short and it is likely to change in the neighbourhood of vowels having distinct sonority. cf. § 272.
264. The principal types of harmonic changes are the following:

-0/-i- > u/-i-.

The following high vowel -i- raises a preceding -o- to -u-:

e.g. urī, wild rice, (oḍī-).
puṣṭi, a fish, (proṣṭhi-).
gui, iguana, (godbikā).
sts. luit, a river, (lohitā).
paduli, gate-way (pratoli-).
āṅga-muri, stretching the limbs, (āṅga+maṭa+ika).
kuli, cuckoo, (kokila+ika).
sts. sutī, streamlet, (srotā-).
kuṭhi, factory, (koṭṭha-).
duli, swing, (dolaka-).
kūṭi, bud, (koṣa-).
sts. thupi, cluster; cf. thop, (stu-pa-).
āpunī, yourself, cf. āpon, one’s own.

The addition of suffixes containing a final or penultimate -i- or -ī- raises a previous -o- to -u-:

e.g. julīyā, watery, (As. jol-).
lunīyā, salty, (As. lon). salt.
jurīyā, living in pairs, (As. jor).
dhubuni, washer-woman; cf. dhobā.
curūni, a female thief; cf. cor.

265. A preceding -a- is raised to -u- through an intermediate stage -o- when the high vowel -i- follows:

e.g. māduli, a drum-shaped amulet; cf. mādal, a drum (mardala).
sts. ākhudi, drug, (aṣadhi).
sts. bhekuli, frog, (bheka+lā+ika).
sts. kāchuṭi, the hem of a lower garment, (kacchaṭikā).

devrī, threshold, (dehali-).
hekuṭi, hicough, (hikkā | vṛttā-).
runī, floating moss, (parṇikā).
dhuti, loin-cloth, (*dhaqtra: H. sts. dhotar).
ākuki, a crook, (ākarṣa+ikā).
dāmuri, a young calf, cf. As. damara (damya + -).
thāūni, fathom, (*stāgha+na-).
266. The low-mid vowel -ε- is raised to high-mid -e- when followed by the high-vowel -i-. As there are no different symbols for -ε- and -e-, the mutated vowel remains unchanged in spelling; e.g.

meni, but menä, a buffalo with drooping horns.
meci, but meca, bent downwards.
pheti, but phetä, having the legs far apart.
beti, daughter, but betä.
eti, one, but etä.

267. Similarly -ε-/u- > -e-/u-, e.g.

petu, petulä, pot-bellied, (peti).
thehulä, suilen, (thih, suileness).
deö, but deu (deva).

The e sound is preserved when the nasal precedes the following -u-; e.g.

cëcu, earthworm.
ghëcuhl, an edible root.
cëcuk, damp.
dhënu, cow.

268. Change of quality from front to back or vice-versa through the influence of a following vowel is rare. The only example seems to be nirâmähi (nirâmiša); munih, male, is inherited from M.I.A. munisa.

The modification of a following low-vowel through the influence of preceding high-vowel is also rare in Assamese. The words cikun, glossy, (cikkaña); tirutä also tirotä, woman, may be considered in this connection.

269. In words of more than two syllables, the medial -a- is changed to -e-, when followed by -i-, -i- in the next syllable. This change seems due to dialectical influence.

sis. nágeri, the nágari script, (nágari).
cânyeri, wood-sorrel, (cânga + -).
câñeki, pattern, (chanda).
dâñeciya, dâñekiya, half-ripe, (dañsä+).
phâlengi, a broker travelling out with cloth, animals, etc. for sale; (cf. M.I.A. phâddaga).

A.—17
E. As. shared this modification in an abundant measure;

\textit{e.g.}

jākheți, (name of a place).
pāmērī, pāmērī, a kind of cloth.
cādērī, cādar, an upper cloth.
pātēkī, pātēki, a sinner.
cākōeni, the female of cākravākā, a bird.

(a) In Western Assam dialects the medial -\textit{a-} is invariably modified before a following -\textit{i-}, -\textit{ī-}; \textit{e.g.}
kāleri, for kālārī, a deaf woman.
dūterī-pāterī, a go-between.
śuśeni, for śuśānī, beautiful.

(b) In Bihārī (Kurmāli Ṭhar), an -\textit{i-} or -\textit{e-} is apt to change a preceding -\textit{a-} to -\textit{e-}. This occurs even in words of two syllables; \textit{e.g.} kahi-\textit{ke}>kehī-\textit{ke}; basī-\textit{ke}>besi-\textit{ke}.
kāris>kēris (L.S.I. V. II, p. 147).

270. Before -\textit{u-} in a following syllable, the -\textit{a-} or -\textit{ā-} of the preceding syllables is changed to -\textit{e-}; a u, ā/u, > e/u.

neul, mongoose, (nakula).
khejur, date-tree, (kharjura).
dhenu, a bow, (dhānu).
sts. jelukā, snail, (julukā).

sts. jetukā, henna, (jaṭuka).
leju, rope, (rajju-).
nele, wind-pipe, (nala+ukā).
celu<chelu, pretext, (chala+ukā).
sts. āluk, water-lily, (āluka).
sts. nēgur, lengur, tail, (lāṅgula).
lehukā, slim, (lāghu+kka+).
ṭhenu, calyx of a flower. cf. ṭhāni, a branch.
ṭhēru, stem, cf. ḍhāri, a stalk.
sts. cēcu, small fibre, cf. coc, fibre.
peṅgurā, lame (paṅgu-).
bhengurā, crooked, (bhaṅga-).
sts. sētuā, dropsy (sōtha-).

This type of mutation is noticeable in Bengali also, but it remains disguised in combination with other sounds; \textit{e.g.} (
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gecho < *gechuwā, *gāchuwā, < gāchūā.
• mejo< *mejuwā, mājhuwā < mājhuā. (O.D.B.L. p. 395).

271. -a->-ō-.

In words of two or more syllables an unstressed interior
-a- > -ō-; (§ 137) e.g. sts. laghōn, fasting, (langhana).
āghōn, a month, (agrahāyana).
sāhūn, sāhūn, unvested property, (sāsana, lauded pro-
property).
dāhān, dāhon, property, (dāya--).
bherāṇ, bherōṇ, rent, hiro, (bharaṇa).
māthōn, just, (mātra--).
kāpor, cloth, (karpāt).
bēkorā, crooked, (vāṅka-, vakra-).
kōkorā, 'crab, (karkata).
bhekolā, frog, (bheka+).
sāngor, yoking together, (sāṅghata).
māch-rōkā, king-fisher, (matsya+raṅka).
dāpon, mirror, (darpana).
āpon, self (appaṇa-, *ātmanaka).
sts. sapon, dream, (svapna).
sts. bitopan, shining, (vi+tapana; √tap).

272. In cases where the vowel in initial syllable is -a-, 
• both the initial and the interior -a->-ō-, before an -ā- in the
final syllable. The unstressed medial -a- first becomes -ō- and
then it causes assimilation of the previous -a-; (§ 138).
korokā, pot made of cocoanut shell. (karaṅka-).
kokohā, rough, (karkaṣa-).
bhomorā, black-bee, (bhramara-).
ondolā, to darken. (andha+la--).
mokorā, large mouthful. (cf. markara, a vessel, a pot).
korohā, a draught of liquid. (*caṣtā | sa).
kotolā, a knotty bamboo, (kaṇṭa+śa--).

(a) The M.I.A. Pres. Participial -anta- + As. -ā ->
-āti; e.g.
•
kāvāti, doer, (karanta+ā-).
śūndti, hearer, (śunanta+ā-).
(b) The above noted vowel change occurs only when the succeeding vowels happen to be either -a- or -ã-. The presence of any other vowel will cause either a reversal to the original vowel position or harmonic changes if the vowel happens to be -i-:

e.g. cārāhe cf. corohā;
karāti. šurāti. a female doer, hearer.
sāŋuri, cf. sāŋgor.

273. Whenever the vowel -ã- finds itself in the antepenultimate or in any anterior syllable, it is shortened to -a- when in any part of the succeeding syllables it is followed by the vowel -ã-, e.g. pāni. water. panīyā. watery.

kātan. cutting: kātanā. spinning for wages.
cāki. lamp: cākā. wheel.
chāti. umbrella. chatā. mushroom.
pāt. a slab: pātā.
bāri. a widow: bāralā. a bachelor.
bātari. news: bātāra.
dāmuri. a suckling calf: dāmarā.
cākali. a flat circular body: cākala.
jāla. a hole. (jāla+-).
nalā. a drain. (nāla+-).
mahā. quarter of a tōlā. (māsa+-).
kanā. blind. (kāna-).
batāh. wind. (vēta+*āsa) cf. (§ 576a).
sts. tarā. star. (tārā).
sts. rajā. king. (rājā).
So also, dhāruvā. debtor. (dhāra+-).
māruvā. greasy. cf. mār. gruel. (manda).
bhāruvā. given to eating. cf. bhāt (bhakta).

(a) There is an absence of the shortening of the anterior in a few words. This is due to the influence of the Kāmrūpī dialect; e.g.

ātāl. a loft. (aṭṭāla).
āṭāh. loud scream. (aṭṭā+ḥāsa).
āḍā. ginger. (āḍraka).
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ādhā, half, (arāha).

• āṅgār, charcoal, (āṅgāra).
  āndhār, dark, (āndhakāra).
  ālāh, sloth, (ālasya).
  sāruwā, fertile, (sāra).

Of late, however, a certain tendency has become noticeable to change anterior -ā- to -e-, and a certain fluctuation between -ā- and -e- has found expression; e.g. āḍā, edā; ādhā, edhā; ālāh, elāh &c. (cf. also §. 117).

(b) The shortening of the anterior is noticeable also in E. As. specially in the case of the negative particle na (§. 275); e.g. nājāy, does not go, for *nājāy; nāmāre, does not beat, for *nāmāre. Mod. Assamese forms are nejāy, nemāre.

(c) The short anterior is highly characteristic of Oriyā also. In fact, Oriyā seems to have carried it out more uniformly than Assamese; e.g.

O. āṭā, flour; As. āṭā, etā; Bg. āṭā.
O. āṭhā, gum; As. āṭhā, ethā; Bg. āṭā.
O. āḍā, ginger; As. āḍā, edā; Bg. āḍā.
O. ādhā, half; As. ādhā, edhā; Bg. ādhā.
O. cāmārā; As. camarā; Bg. cūmrā.
O. chatā; As. chatā; Bg. chatā.
O. tarā; As. tarā; Bg. tārā.

VOWEL ASSIMILATION.

274. The assimilation of vowels is also a kind of harmonic change. Vowels of different qualities are assimilated to the sounds of neighbouring vowels for ease of pronunciation. Unstressed vowels are generally assimilated (§. 138). Vowel assimilation is noticeable in M.I.A. also; e.g.

miriya. (marica); avariin. (upari); ucchu. (iksu).
  (Pischel. §. 177).

Examples in Assamese are:
- i; birinā, (virāna-).
  biring. (vidānga).
- u; kuruwā, (kuruvu).

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pukhurī, (puṣkara-).
dhumuhā, (dhūmrāḥha-).
muruli, (murari-).
surungā, (suranga-).
-e-; sts. mekhelā, (mekhalā).
tēṭeli, temarind, (tintilikā) (§. 212).
-o-; sts. jojoṇā, (yojana).
lohorā, iron-pan. (layha + bhānda-).

275. The particle na of the negative conjugation which always occurs before the conjugated verb is assimilated to the vowel of the initial syllable except when it happens to be ā-, when nā→ ne- (§. 273 b); e.g. nakare. does not do; nepāče, does not get: simile. does not agree; nubuje. does not understand: nobole. does not say.

O.I.A. (R) IN TBH. WORDS.

276. The sonant (r) counted as a vowel in Sanskrit grammar disappears in Pkt., as in Pāli. In O.I.A. (r) was not pronounced as (ri) as it is now-a-days. It was a sonant fricative used as a vowel and its pronunciation may have been similar to the sonant (r) in some Slavonic languages; e.g. Srbi. the name of the Serbs in their own language. Languages not possessing this sound naturally represent it with the neutral vowel (a) or introduce a vowel sound before or after the consonant (r); sometimes both before and after. Hence it is more intelligible why (I) the guna of (r) is (ar) and not (re);

(2) vṛtrahan appears in Avestan as vṛćetkraḥgha; ṛju as ērčzu;

(3) Pāli has irtvija and irubbeda for rtviṣa and ṛgveda;

(4) Prākrit not possessing (a) pr a sign for it replaces (r) by (a). (i). (u) as well as by ri: (Woolner; Introduction to Prākrit 2nd. Edition §. 59).

277. Already in the Prākritisms of the Rg-Veda, it appears in the three forms though most frequently as (a).
Dr. Bloch after an examination of the Aśokan inscriptions and the literary languages on this decides that the predominant development of \( \tau \) was (a) to the South-West, and (i) and (u) to the North and East. (Bloch: §30. Turner: Gujrati Phonology, §12).

But owing to the great intermingling of dialects, it cannot be definitely ascertained which of the three-fold treatments of (\( \tau \)) is a characteristic vowel of a particular dialect area in modern times. In the instances given below, all the three-fold treatments are illustrated in modern Assamese.

278. O.I.A. -\( r \)- > -a- in M.I.A. In some cases -a- > -å- in N.I.A. either through compensatory lengthening or through stress.

- kachári, court-house, (\( kṛtya + ṣ̣̄ha > * kacca + *garha \)).
- kānu, (kā̃ha-, kṝ̣̄̄ṣ̣̄̄a-).
- kācio, cuts up into pieces, (kṛtyate).
- ghāt, stir, agitate, (ghaṭṭa, ghṛṣṭa).
- nāc, dance, (uṛṭya).
- bāche, selects, (* vacchai, vṛṣate).
- māti, earth, (maṭṭā, mṝ̣̄̄ṭākā).
- māṭhe, makes smooth, (* mṝ̣̄̄ṭati).
- bāṭi, teat, (vaṇṭa, uṛṇta).
- darhāi, firmly, (daḍha-, dṝ̄̄ḍha-).
- bār, banyan tree, (vạ̄u, uṝ̣u).
- kāṛhe, takes away forcibly, (kaḍḍha-, kṛṣṭa-).

279. -\( r \)- > M.I.A. -i- > N.I.A. -i-,

- e.g. amiyā, nectar, (amia-, amṝta-).
- ghiiu, clarified butter, (ghīa, ghṛṭa).
- ghin, abhorrence, (ghṝ̣ṇā).
- teōj, third, (* triạya, tṝ̣ya).
- ḍ̣̄haṭak, waking state (dṝṣṭa-).
- pīṭhi, back, (ṝ̣ṣṭha-).
- bichā, scorpion, (vṛ̣scika-).
- nātī, grand-son, (napṛ̣ṭka).
- śiṅg, horn, (ṝ̣ṇa).
- śiṅkal, chain, (ṝ̣ṅkhaḷa).
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śiyāl, fox, (śīyāla).
hiyā, heart, (hīya, hīdaya-);

280. -ṛ- > M.I.A. -u- > N.I.A. -u-;
sts. uju, easy, (ṛju-).
   buphā, old, (vrddha-).
   sune, hears, (śrṇoti).
   bundāmar, killing by hosts, (vrṇda-+māra).

281. -ṛ- > -e- (by secondary change of -i- before double consonants). Rare in Assamese:
   E.As. ghene, accepts, (grhṇāti > gṁhai. > * gṛṇhai, * gṛṇai, ghene).

282. -ṛ- > -o- (by secondary change of -u- before double consonants); e.g.
   bōta, stem of flower, (vonṭa-, vrṇta-).
   poche, asks, (prccchati).
   dhōhe. pulls, draws, (dṛṣyate, * dhussai, ḍhossai).
   molāṇa, lotus stalk. (ṁṛṇāla > * ṃṛṇala).
CHAPTER VIII.

INTRUSIVE VOWELS.

ANAPTYXIS OR SVARABHAKTI.

283. This is a phenomenon by which a vowel is often inserted between a combination of sounds which are difficult to pronounce. This is an Indo-European phenomenon and found in all periods of I.A. In O.I.A. (Vedic), forms like indra, indara; darsiata, daraśata; are noticeable. In classical Sanskrit double forms like pṛthīvi; pṛthi; suvar, svar; svarna, svarna &c. are common. In Skt. naiyāyika, daśvarika (< na₂yāy, da₂śara) are derived from the intermediate forms āniyāya, ādvāra. In the first and second M.I.A. viprakūrṣa forms are found to be on the increase. (Geiger. §§ 29ff. ; Pischel. §§ 131ff. In M.I.A. svarabhakti takes place only when one of the conjunct consonants is y, r, l or a nasal (Pischel §. 131). While on the whole this is true of the N.I.A. languages also, svarabhakti is often noticeable in other consonant groups also e.g.

dagadhā, clever, (*dagāha, vidagda).

Unlike Bengali, Assamese shows great partiality for the use of words simplified by anaptyxis. In fact the use of such words in preference to the original Sanskrit counterparts is looked upon as a mark of a racy and idiomatic style.

284. Oftentimes new forms by anaptyxis are created in the place of older forms used in earlier literature; e.g. bara-ṣan, rains, for earlier baraṣan; so also daraṣan for earlier daraṣan etc.

Examples of svarabhakti in Assamese:

(a) -a; netārā, silk, (netra); māṇgā (maṇasa);
      bangah, (vaṃṣa); dagadha (*dagdha);
      baran, (vaṛna); jatana, (yatna);
      ratan, (rataṇa);

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darab, (dravya); barasun, (varsha); saraanga (saryga); bhadhar (bhadra);
jatar (yantra); garah (grasa);
maram, affection, (marma-);
sapoon (svapna); slagh (slaghā).

(b) -i-; arihanā (arhanā); garihanā (garhanā); sariyah (sarisava, sarṣapa); kiriṣi (kṛṣi);
bāriṣā (varṣā).
silān (snāna);
dhāniyā (dhanyā); kīrā, *kriyā (kṛyā);
harīṣ (harṣa);
tīrī (strī).

(c) -u-; dūwār (dvāra); padum (paduma; padma);
mukutā (muktā);
śukulā (śukla); murukh (mūrkha);
kūruc, to addle as milk, (cf. kūrīcā, inspissated milk).
lagun-gāthī, (lagna + granthi-),
ceremonial tie of the ends of garments belonging to the bride-groom and the bride.

(d) -e-; recent sts. ceneh (sneha).
melec (mleccha).

(e) -o-; sōvaran (smarana); sōlok (sloka).
sovād, (svāda).

PROTHESIS OF VOWELS.

285. The prothetic vowel was very rare in M.I.A. The only noted example is itthi < *istri=stri. In N.I.A. Assamese, the prothetic vowel is noticeable in some tḥb. and ts. words. This is seen in Bg. also (O.D.B.L. p. 378).

abihane, without, (*vihana, vihina).
ākhai, parched rice, (khadikā).
akumāri, a girl before the age of puberty, (kumāri).
apoganda, childish, (poganda).
akan, small, (kana, a particle).
abhāb, plenty, (a + bhāva). (Coll.).
atāhr, unsteady due to old age; cf. thar, stiff (sthavira).
amuttak, amurtak, violent, fierce (said of speed, anger)
(? mūrtā-).
286. In the evolution of the prothetic vowel, many influences seem to be at work. Under the non-Aryan (Austro) section, an Austr. form ava kanit, small child, has been registered. This may from sound similarity be equated to As. akan, akanitä. The idea of smallness in akumārī, apogandā might be due to association of ideas with forms like akan, akanī. The working of folk etymology is seen in abhāb, plenty, lit. about which there should be no thought: (sts. bhāb, sts. bhābana). There is perhaps contamination by athīr in a form like athār.

Thus it is likely that there is convergence of several forms in the establishment of the prothetic a-. In athīr, neglected, abandoned; ahelā, neglect, contempt, a- is not prothetic, but a contraction of ava-, (avahina, avahelā).

Epenthesis.

287. “Epenthesis is the anticipation of an -i- or -u- before the consonant after which it occurs is pronounced.”

Examples of epenthesis are found also in M.I.A., “but there it is not regular, not at all a characteristic of the language, only some sporadic instances being found” (O.D.B.I., p. 378; Pischel § 176).

(a) In Eastern Assam standard, examples of epenthesis are not very numerous. The epenthetic habit is noticeable mostly in sound-groups consonant + -y-. e.g.

ām, (*anā, anya).
puim (*punia, punya).
jāin, root and branch. (janya)
rāij, people, (rājya).
bātk, (vākya).

(b) Ordinary examples:
sāud, merchant, (*sādhuka > sādhu > *sāudha > sāud).
māur, epidemic, (māruka > *mārva > *māura. māur).
māukh, cluster. (makṣa + uka).
kāṭi, thorn, (kaṇṭaka + ika).

(c) As in Bg. so in Assamese. Sanskrit -kṣ- and -jñ- in the interior of words have the value of -khy- and -gy- and in pronunciation an epenthetic -i- comes in which is often
diphthongised; e.g. lakṣa > *lakhya > *laikkha > laikkha; so also ajñāna > *agyāna > aigān.

288. While epenthesis is not a noticeable feature in the standard colloquial, it is a distinguishing characteristic of Western Assam colloquy. It is so exceedingly prevalent that it disguises words beyond recognition by causing diphthongisation.

Epenthetic i, u, invariably come in, in words of more than two syllables.

(a) But unlike Bengali even Western Assamese dialect avoids epenthesis in disyllabic words. A form like Bg. ājj, to-day, for āji, or Bg. rāit for rāti, night, is never heard in any part of Assam. But epenthesis comes in whenever disyllabic words are lengthened by affixes; e.g. rāti, night, but rāiṭā (rātiyā), name of a person born at night. kāṭi, name of a month; but kāitā (kātiyā), a person born in that month.

hāl. a plough. but hāulā. a plough-ox, (hālōwā).
ghāṭ, a ferry, but ghāuṭe. a ferry-man. (ghāṭuwaś).

289. It need be pointed out that contact vowels by epenthesis are real diphthongs. Triphthongs are also heard in such positions; e.g.
māurā, an orphan, (*māurīya; St. Coll. māurā).
khāuirā, a great eater, (khāwariyā).
keuilā, a solitary devotee, (keuilityā).

Final Anusvara.

290. O.I.A. final -m became the anusvāra in M.I.A.; and original anusvāra remained. Thus O.I.A. -m > M.I.A. -m became a frank nasalisation of the preceding vowel in the late M.I.A. (Aphhraṁśa) period and this final nasalisation survives in a few pronominal formations in Assamese and in some dialectical pronominal derivatives; e.g. I.O.A. teśām > M.I.A. teśām,
*tešām > Ap. tehā = As. teō, he (honorable); esām > esām, *ēsām > Ap. ehā = As. eō, this person (honorable).
So also in the dialectical formations kahā, kahāi, where; jahā, jahāi, whichever way, etc. -ē (< ai), -i represents O.I.A. -smin > M.I.A. -śim, -śim > Ap. hīm, hī.

**Nasalisation and Reduced Nasals.**

291. In Assamese, in the groups, nasals + stop or sibilant, the nasal is lost and the preceding vowel is nasalised and lengthened in compensation, or is nasalised and undergoes umlaut change according to the nature of the case. The change of a preceding (a) to (e) under the influence of a following nasal has been already noticed. cf. §. 258.

The groups, nasal + sonant stops (glottal and labial) shew assimilation of the stop element to the preceding nasal and this is largely common to both Bengali and Assamese, though the nasal + sonant labial stop has another (~b) treatment in Bengali not noticed in Assamese. But in the groups nasal + d or dh (dental), the assimilation of the stop or aspirate to the previous nasal is peculiar to Assamese. The preceding vowel is lengthened but the consonant group is often left unsimplified in spelling. The nasal is fully pronounced but the stop or aspirate following has a reduced articulation. Sometimes the stop or aspirate is fully assimilated into the preceding nasal, though this is noticed more in pronunciation than in spelling.

**Examples:**

bândh, bond, (bandha-).

gondh, smell, (gandha-).

kândon, crying, (kandana-).

endhār, darkness, (andhakāra).

āndh, ān, yoking rope, (ābandha).

kándh, kān, shoulder, (skandha).

chând, chān, secret opportunity, (chanda-).

phānd, phān, trap, (prabandha-).

sān, complete mix-up, (sandhā).

cānekī, pattern, (chanda; appearance, shape).
The formation (sān) is the only example shewing complete assimilation of the aspirate to the nasal. In the majority of instances the complete assimilation of the stop or aspirate takes place only when it closes a syllable. Before a following vowel, the reduced stop or aspirate is restored; e.g. kān, shoulder, but kāndhat, on the shoulder, chān, secret opportunity, but chāndē, looks out for an opportunity.

The reduced sound of d or dh is parallel to the sound of the reduced nasal.

292. The lines of nasalisation are indicated below:
unvoiced stops and aspirates preceded by class nasals; the vowel is nasalised (after being lengthened) and the stop or the aspirate remains; e.g.
āk, (aṅka); kēal, (aṅcal); āt, (antra); ātar, (antara);
kākāl, (kanṭāla); kēthā, (kanṭā); kākāj, (kanṭatikā);
kēcu, (*kicuka); gōph, (gumpha);
pōch, to wipe, (pra + uūch);
sākh, sāk, (saṅkha); sūṭhā, (sunth);
bātā, reward, (vaṅtaka).

(a) Sibilants with preceding anusvāra: the anusvāra nasalises the preceding vowel and the sibilant is changed to -h-.
e.g. āh, fibre, (aṅśu).
kāhī, a bell-metal plate, (kaṅśya + ika).
urāh, bug, (uddaṅsa > uddansa).
dāh, gnat, (daṅśa).
bāh, bamboo, (vaṅśa).
(b) Class nasals with voiced consonants, and anusvāra with h, y, v, are treated in the following sub-sections.
(c) -ṅ-, and -ṅh-. (O.I.A. and M.I.A.) are reduced intervocally to -ṅ-, or the original spelling in -ṅ- is retained, even though pronounced as -ṅ-. Intervocally, -ṅh- > -ṅ-
unless reduced to -ṅ-. Finally, written as (ṅ-, m-).
e.g. sts. abhāṅ, obstinate, (a + bhaṅga).
āṅuli, āṅguli (āṅguli-).
E. As. gāṇ, gāṅg, river, (gaṇḍā).
   jāng, thigh, (jaṅghā).
   suṅge, suṅe, smells, (suṅghati).
   seṅgun, phlegm, (siṅghāṇa).
   bhāṇ, hemp, (bhanyā).
   raṅga, red, (raṅga + As. -ā-).
   lāṅ, lān, (lavaṅga).

sāṅgorc, sājore, yokes together, (samghaṭayati).
śuṅga, śuṅ, śuṅ, awn of corn (śuṅga).
śiṅgari, a water-plant, (śṛṅgāṭa+).

(d) -nī-, -nīh- > ~j-, e.g.
ājali, (aṅjali-).
ājanī, (aṅjana + ika).
bājā, barren, (vaṅjjhā-, vandhyā-).
sāj, evening, (sahdyā).
pājar, side, (paṅjara).
pǔji, heap, (puṅja-).

(e) -nd- > ~r > ~r-.
kārīa, milk-pail, (kanḍa).
kār, arrow, (kānda).
gāri, headless trunk, (ganda-).
cārāl, (candāla).
dār, oar, (dāṅḍā).

pirā, a quarter of flesh, (pinda-).
bārālā, bachelor, (vanta+la- > vanda+la-).
bhārāl, hoarding place, (bhāndāgāra).
mār, rice-gruel, (maṇḍa).

(f) In khan, khani, a piece, there is the assimilation of
   -nd- > -ṇ-; cf. E. As. ratha-khandā.

(g) M. 1. A. -ṇḍh- > ~rh e.g.
kuṛh, deep water, (kuṇḍa > *kuṇḍha).
It remains in kāṇḍārī,
kāṇḍhārī, helmsman, (karna+dhāra+).

(h) -nd- of O. 1. A. remains (cf. Bg. ~d) e.g.
indur, endur, (indura).
sindur, sendur (sindura).
kāṇdon, (krandana).
ophande (ut-spandate).
cândā, awning, (candrātapa).
chand, secret opportunity, (chanda).

The nasal is found to be reduced in mādār, a tree (mandāra). This may be regarded as a sts. form, so also sts. naldan-balān, luxuriant (in growth)—nandana+vandana.

(i) -ndh- either remains or is assimilated to -n-; e.g.

endhār, darkness, (andhakāra).
kandh, kan, (skandha).
āndh, ān, (ābandha).
kāndh, kān (kābandha).
sandh, (sayandha-).
bān-bāti, cup with a pedestal, (bandha-).

(j) O.I.A. -mb-: -mr- (M.I.A. -mb).

"There has been an assimilation of the stop-clement and the nasal has generally survived." The ~b treatment is absent in Assamese; e.g.

ām (amba, āmra).
sts. kādām (kadamba).
jāmir (jambira).
tāmol (tāmbūla).
śāmuk, (śambuka).
sts. sāmal, (sambala).
sts. sāmandh (sambandha).

(k) -mbh-→-m-. without nasalisation of the preceding vowel; e.g.

kühum (kusumbha).
kumār (kumbhakāra).
gamārī, (gambhārī-).
jāmu-, molar teeth. (jambha-).
thām (stambha).
khām, co-agulation, sticking together. (skambha).

(l) M.I.A. -ṇh- and -mb- from various sources >-n-, -n-, and -m- respectively, e.g.

kānu, (kaṇha-, kṛṣṇa-).
cin, sign (cīnha, cihna).
ūm, (ūṣma).
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komorā (kumhanda, kusmānda).
bamun (bamhana, brāhmaṇa).

(m) When two nasals of M.I.A. are reduced to one, there is no nasalisation of the previous vowel; e.g.
ān (aṇṇa, anya).
bān (vanṇa); kām (kamma, karma).
cām (carna).

(n) Of anusvāra with h, y, there seems to be no case in Assamese.

SPONTANEOUS NASALISATION.

293. In M.I.A. there is the phenomenon of spontaneous nasalisation of the first of a pair of double consonants (Pischel: § 74). This tendency has largely infected N.I.A. phonology. Words that have no nasal elements in O.I.A. develop nasalisation in N.I.A. languages. The whole phenomenon of spontaneous nasalisation has been examined by Pandit Vidyadhara Sāstrī in an article entitled "Aṣṭāṣṭika O Saṁ- yuktāvarna (Pravāṣī B. S. 1333: Jyāgīṣṭha issue. p. 356) and by Sir G. A. Grierson (Spontaneous Nasalisation: J.R.A.S. 1922).

Different explanations of this phenomenon have been suggested. Dr. Bloch (¶70) and Dr. Turner (J.R.A.S. 1921, p. 344) regard this nasalisation as due to the length of the vowel which according to Dr. Bloch spontaneously develops a nasal resonance. Differing from this view Sir G. A. Grierson says that "such spontaneous nasalisation could occur only if it was introduced in the present stage of development of the M.I.A. vernaculars in which the vowel would become long. But this is not the case, for the nasal was introduced not later than the Prakrit stage and has nothing to do with the length of the vowel."

"In Prakrit, while the original conjunct is usually represented merely by the doubled form of one of its members, in certain words, instead of this doubled letter we find a conjunct consisting of a class nasal or anusvāra with a single consonant; e.g.
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vaṅka- for *vakka- (vakra-).
phamśa- for *phassa-, (sparśa-) &c.

These forms with class nasals were especially common in deśya forms of speech and the above examples are similarly borrowed from such dialects. Such words as kaṅkar, maṅg, uṅc, bhint, saṅc, etc., are deśya survivals and are the parents of kākar, māg etc. and not modern corruptions of the latter forms (Grierson: Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars: Indian Antiquary; Supplement, Dec. 1932; pp. 99, 100).

(a) Sanskrit itself absorbed a good many nasalised formations from M.I.A. e.g.

karaṇka, a cocoanut-shell; also karaka.
kaṇṭaka (kartaka).
puṇkha (pakṣa).
gāṇjana (gurjana).
lāṃchana (lakṣaṇa).

(b) Even in M.I.A. the principle of spontaneous nasalisation operated within a restricted area but in N.I.A. every group of double consonants could be nasalised. Consider the following examples from E. As.:
niṇḍa (niḍṛā).
āṇṭāilekā (aṭṭa-), āṇṭhu (aśṭhivat).
saṅcā, (satya).
samba, all, (sarva).

(c) Even O.I.A. single consonants were nasalised in E. As. e.g.

peṇcā (*pecca-, peca-).
jamaṇja (*yamajja, ymaja).
pimparā. ant. (pipilikā).
jhānte, at once, (jhāṭiti).

294. Examples from modern Assamese:

āḥat (*aṁsattha, *assattha. aśvattha).
ōṭh (*oṭha, oṭha, agṛha).
kāc, glass, (*kaṅca, kacca, kāce).
kūj (*kuṇja, kujja, kubja).
SPONTANEOUS NASALISATION

kūhi, bud. (*kośiśā, kośilā).

kēkūra (kaṅkaḍa, *kaṅkaḍa, karkaḍa).

kēhā, astringent, (*kaṁśā, kaśāyā).

kōṭhā, fort, (*kōntha, kōṭha, *koṣṭha, a blend of kōṭṭa+ koṣṭha).

kōṭā, crooked, (*kōnta, *kōṭta, *kuṭṭa, kuta-).

gāt, hole, (*ganta, *gatta, garta).

ghāhe, rubs, (*ghaṁsai, *ghassai, gharsati).

ghāh, grass, (*ghaṁsa, *ghassa, ghāsā).

ghōrā (*ghōntaka, *ghōttaka, ghōtaka).

cičā, flattened, (*ciča, cicca).

cāce, smooths with an adze, (*caṁch-, √tvaks).

chā, shadow, (*chāyā, chāyā).

jōt, yoking rope, (*yonta, *yonta, yokton)

sts. ṭhōt, beak, (troṭi- > *troṭṭi- > *ṭhōnti- > ṭhōt-).

nāṅgath, naked, (*nagga-, *nagga, nagna+ -).

dāt, demon (*dānta, > *dātta, daitya).

pih, to power, (*piṁsai, *piṣāi, *piṁśati).

phākki, riddle, (*phāṅkikā, phākikā).

phāku, (*phākku-, *phaṅku-, phalgu. Contam. with some word for powder, T.).


bānti, lamp, (*vantiā, vattiā, vartikā).

bēt, cane, (*venta, vetta, veta).


mahāṅga, costly, (*mahangha, mahāṅgha, mahāṛgha).

barangani, subscription, (*varanga-, *varagga, varga).

295. Though there is the development of the nasal in non-nasal compounds in M.I.A. and notably in N.I.A., there are instances of the dropping of the nasal even in M.I.A. and this has continued down to N.I.A. cf. M.I.A. viṁśā. tiśā. sīha<

O.I.A. viṁśati, triṁśati. sīha.

cf. also As. sts. biḥā, a bundle of twenty (M.I.A. viṁśā);

śikāli, chain, (śṛṇkhalā-).

bhitar, interior, (abhyantara).

bhije, gets wet, (abhi- √aṇī).
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NASALISATION THROUGH INTERVOCAL -m- AND -n-.

296. Single intervocal -m- of O.I.A. > -u- in late M.I.A. This -u- often occurs as a mere nasalisation of a contiguous vowel, or where -u- is absorbed into the previous vowel, there is only a mere nasalisation of the preceding vowel; e.g.

\[ dh\text{\textbar}\text{w\textbar}\text{a}, \text{smoke}, (\text{\textbar}dh\text{\textbar}\text{w\textbar}a, \text{dh\textbar}ma). \]
\[ d\text{\textbar}\text{wa\textbar}y, \text{bends down}, (\text{\textbar}da\text{\textbar}wa\textbar a, \text{dam\textbar}a\textbar t\textbar i). \]
\[ c\text{\textbar}w\textbar r, (c\text{\textbar}m\textbar a\textbar r\textbar a). \]
\[ k\text{\textbar}w\textbar ar, (k\text{\textbar}m\textbar\textbar a\textbar r\textbar a). \]
\[ \text{\textbar}h\textbari\textbar\textbar y\textbar a, (\text{\textbar}m\textbar\textbar i\textbar a\textbar +\textbar). \]
\[ \text{\textbar}c\textbar\textbar, \text{wash the face after eating}, (\text{\textbar}a + \text\sqrt{cam}). \]
\[ \text{\textbar}u\textbar\textbar, \text{\textbar}u\textbarh\textbar, (\text{\textbar}m\textbar\textbar a\textbar +\textbar v\textbar\textbar s\textbar i\textbar). \]
\[ s\textbar, \text{right}, (\text{\textbar}s\textbar\textbar a\textbar\textbar w\textbar a, \text{s\textbar a\textbar a\textbar}). \]
\[ d\textbar, \text{bent}, (\text{d\textbar a\textbar}). \]
\[ b\textbarh\textbar\textbar i, \text{field}, (\text{b\textbarh\textbar u\textbar m\textbar i}). \]
\[ c\textbar\textbar e\textbar, \text{a pod}, (\text{\textbar s\textbar m\textbar i\textbar}). \]

297. Examples of the nasalisation of the vowel through contact with an original or derivative -n- are not many in N.I.A. cf. As. m\textbar\textbar h\textbar\textbar. just; also m\textbar\textbar h\textbar\textbar\textbar (m\textbar\textbar a\textbar\textbar +\textbar n\textbar).

Bih\textbar\textbari: k\text{\textbar}a\text{\textbar h\textbar a\textbar}, k\text{\textbar}h\textbar a\textbar; a conjunctive particle (§ 819).

There is one more instance of nasalisation of secondary intervocal -n- in the particle for the past conditional h\textbar\textbar (K\textbar\textbar a\textbar m\textbar\textbar r\textbar\textbar p\textbar\textbar) for *h\text{\textbar a\textbar n\textbar e}, *h\textbar a\textbar n\textbar i; (K\textbar\textbar a\textbar c\textbar h\textbar\textbar r\textbar) a\textbar n\textbar e; E. As. h\textbar a\textbar n\textbar t\textbar e, s\textbar a\textbar n\textbar t\textbar e (§§ 470, 789).

The nasalisation of the vowel in -\textbar e-, (the instrumental case affix) persisted till early N.I.A. period. The nasalisation was inherited from late M.I.A. time; O.I.A. -\textbar e\textbar a>-\textbar e\textbar n\textbar a, -\textbar e\textbar n\textbar a\textbar>-\textbar e\textbar m>-\textbar e\textbar.
CHAPTER IX.

SOURCES OF VOWELS IN ASSAMESE.

298. Modern Assamese -a-, -ā- comes from

(a) O.I.A. short -ã (§ 192) e.g. karañi, a flower basket, (karaṇḍika).
    tar, bank, (taṭā).
    tāwāl, bamboo withe, (tamāla).

(b) O.I.A. long -ā-; through absence of stress (§§ 147a, 273) e.g.
    niyār, fog, (nihāra).
    'tarā, star, (tārā).
    rājā, king, (rājā).
    kañā, blind, (kāñā+ -).

(c) M.I.A. sound-groups -āi-, -aii-. the resulting -a- is pronounced both as -ā- (as in E. law) and -ō- (written a’i) (§§ 254, 255); e.g.
    cāt, cōt (cāitta, cāitra).
    rā'd, rōd (rāudda, rāydra).

(d) O.I.A. -i-; barahi (vaḍiṣa).
    ucangā (ucciṣga-) (§§ 227b).

(e) O.I.A. -u-; ural (*udukhala).
    okarī (utkunā-) (§ 228b).

(f) O.I.A. -r-; bār, banyan tree (vaṭa, vṛṭa). (§ 278).

(g) O.I.A. -e-; kuvaḷi (kuhelika).
    nāhar (nāgeśvara). (§ 229).

(h) M.I.A. -e-; akal (ēkkala); (§ 210).

(i) O.I.A. -o-; kār, bud, (koraka).
    sajina (sobhānjana-).
    ukāh (uktkaṇa). (§§ 150, 216).

(j) Also M.I.A. -ō- < O.I.A. -u-; e.g.
    mathā (mōṭthā, mustā).
    māhi, crucible, (*mōṣiā, mōṣikā).
    garāk, tread, trample, M.I.A. (gōḍḍ) (§ 216).
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(k) O.I.A. conjunct consonants by svarabhākti (§ 284a)

E.g.

jatan, effort, (yatna).
baran, colour, (varna).

299. The sources of -ā-

(a) O.I.A. -ā-; bād, (vātā).
   lāh (lāsa). (§ 200).

(b) O.I.A. -a- through initial stress;
   āru, and (apara).
   sts. āhukāl, uneasiness. (asukha+āla), (§ 143).

(c) O.I.A. -a- before conjunct consonants, (§ 193).
   kān (karna).
   āg (agra).

(d) O.I.A. -a- through medial stress. (§ 223,b).
   sts. sāthāmitra (sāthamitra).
   sts. bundānār (vṛnda-māra).

(e) M.I.A. -āā-; āā : āā: (§ 237, c).
   gachā, lamp-stand. (gaccha+āka⇒gaccha+ā).
   guvā. (guvāka).
   salā (sālākā).

300. The sources of -i-, -ī-.

Assamese -i- comes from

(a) O.I.A. -i-; nihāl (nigada).
   bihān (bihāna). (§ 203)

(b) O.I.A. -ī-; sīyāl (śrgāla).
   hiyā (hrdaya). (§ 279).

(c) O.I.A. -a-; sikar (śarkarā).
   sajina (śobhānjana).
   ājina, sty. (aṅjana-).
   birinā (vīrāna). (§§ 149, 274).

(d) Also M.I.A. bi- (=dvā) in compounds (not separately treated).
   biālli (dvā + catvāriṁśat).
   chi- (=sāt); chiālli; (sāt + catvāriṁśat).
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(c) O.I.A. -ya- after consonants by sampräsāraṇa (-ya- > -ia > -i). (Not separately treated).
   stt. bicañi (vyajana+-).
   stt. patihā, expectation, (pratyāsā > *patiśā > patihā).
   stt. patiyan (pratyaya-).

(f) Also by epenthesis; dhain (dhānya).
   puin (punya). (§ 287, a).

(g) O.I.A. -e-: stt. mithī, vegetable condiment (methikā).
   bhairā (vaheṭaka). (§§ 210, 229).

(h) O.I.A. conjunct consonants by svarabhakti;
   (284, b).
   garihānā (garhanā).
   bariṣā (varṣā) &c.

301. Assamese -u-; -ū-; sources:

(a) O.I.A. -u-; ukhār, dry, hard, (uṣarṇ).

(b) O.I.A. -r-; būrhā, (vyṛṛha-).
   uju, (ṛju-). (§ 280).

(c) O.I.A. -a-; after labial consonants in initial syllables
   puwā (prabhātā).

(d) O.I.A. -a-; after interior labial consonants (§ 223,c).
   bamuṅ (brahmaṇa).
   (L.W.) cāmuc, spoon, (camasa).

(e) O.I.A. -a- and -o- by vowel harmony; (§ 264). e.g.
   akhūṭi, whim, (akhaṭṭi).
   pukhuri, tank, (puṣkara-).
   sutī, streamlet. (srotā-).

(f) O.I.A. -a-: śengun (śinghāna).
   dhumuhā (dhūṃrābha). (§§ 226, 274).

(g) O.I.A. -va- after consonants by sampräsāraṇa:
   (not separately treated).

   (-va- > -va- > -u-):
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sukīyā (svaḵyā).
turante (tvaranta-).

(h) Conjunct consonants by svarabhakti, anaptyxis
(§284.c).

padum (padma).
lagun (lagna).

(i) O.I.A. -i- of prefixes dvi-, ni-, (§ 205). e.g.
dunā (dvi+guna).
nunāy (ni+√vi).

302. Assamese -e- : sources :

(a) O.I.A. -i- before double consonants ; (§ 212).

bel (bila).
bhēj (*bhēṭṭā).

(b) O.I.A. -e- : reh (rekhā).

ṭerā (ṭeraka). (§ 208).

(c) O.I.A. -ai- > M.I.A. -e- ; (§ 211).

bej (vādīṭṭa).
tel (taṭṭa).

(d) O.I.A. sound groups : -ava- ; -aya-;

šeteli, bed-room, (śayana+talikā > "śayantalikā).
leni (lavanikā > "layanikā).
nevali, a kind of flower (navamallikā).

(e) Sound groups -i̯a-, -iyā- after consonants in the initial syllables ; (§ 239, b).

behā (vyavasāya >"viyasāya).
sts. bepār (vyāpāra >"viyāpāra).

Cf. etā, this much : (iyat- >"iattā- >"ēttā).

(f) O.I.A. -a- ; -a- : by vowel mutation (through influence of -i-, -u in the following syllables) : e.g.

sts. nāgērī (nāgārī).

nelu, wind-pipe (nala + ).

thenu, calyx of a flower or fruit; (Cf. sthāna-).

(§ 269).
(g) By contraction of a + i: (§ 238, a).
    cule (calāi, calati).

(h) By influence of following nasals: (-a- > -e-);
    (§ 258).
    lēj (lañja).

(i) From O.I.A. conjuncts by svarabhakti; (§ 284, d).
    melec (mleccha).
    ceneh (sneha).

303. Assamese -o-: sources:

(a) O.I.A. -u- before double consonants: (§ 217).
    okh. high, (ukṣa).
    kundūl (uṇḍūla).

(b) O.I.A. -o-: dōl (dora). (§ 214).
    polā (pota-la+ā-).

(c) O.I.A. -au- > M.I.A. o: (§ 218).
    oṣh (uaṣṭha).

(d) By contraction. -a- + -u-: (§ 238, b).
    sōl (sakula).
    pon (pragūne).

(e) O.I.A. -a-: gondh (gandha). (§ 197).
    oṭhāra (aṣṭāḍaṣa).
    sōcare, infects, (saṅcarati).
    cotāl (cutośa).
    oḍā, watery (andaka).

(f) Pres. part. in -ant- > -ōt- before vowels other than
    -i (§§ 272a, 272b): e.g.
    karōtē, doer. (*karant-).
    karōtē, while doing.

(g) Sound-groups -ua-; -uā-; -uwa-; in the initial
    syllables; (§ 219).
    onāy (upa+karnayati).
    soubād (svāda, > *suvāda, > *suśvāda, &c.).

(h) Sound-groups -awā- -a~wa-, (= -ava-, -apa-,
    -ama-) and

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-āu- > -o-; lon (lavaṇa).
   sō (sama).
  ohār (apasāra). (§ 219).
(i) Sound group aya- (§ 219).
e.g. sta. jokār, sound of greeting (jaya+kāra).
(j) A following glide+ā- raises the previous -a- to -o-; (§ 256).
   kowāri (kapāta - ).
   tārowāl (taravāri).
(k) By svarabhakti; (§ 284, c).
   sapon, dream, (svāpya).
   šolok, a sloka (šloka).

DIPHTHONGS.

304. The Assamese system of writing like that of Bengali follows the Skt. system and recognises only two diphthongs:—
   əj and əy. But the number of diphthongal sounds in
   Assamese as in Bengali is very large. As will be seen from
   the list of diphthongs below, they are derived from elision
   of O.I.A. or M.I.A. consonants and as such they may be
   looked upon as being vowels in contact without diphthongal
   articulation. In St. coll. of Eastern Assam, these vowel
   combinations are mostly pronounced as two distinct syllables
   (§ 236, c). In rapid conversation, however, a diphthongal
   sound is often heard. It is in Western Assamese dialects
   only that the diphthongal character has been fully establish-
   ed. In these dialects triphthongs are also heard (§ 289).

305. The list of diphthongs is given below:
   (ie): sie, sews; jie, lives.
   (ia): tia, occurring every third day, like fever; bia,
         marriage.
   (io): tio, yet; still; kio, why.
   (iu): jiu, life. liu-liu, (onom). rapid straggling motions
         of crawling insects.
   (ei): chei, pod of beans.
DIPHTHONGS

(ea) ; ea; sea, just this; just that.

(eo): keoa, somebody.
    bareoti kal, often times.

(eu): nuol, a mongoose.
    beula, the heroine of a popular legend.

(eo) seô, service.
    deô, spirit, ghost.

(ai) : bhai, brother.
    mai, mother.
    atai, father; a person of fatherly position.

(ae) : khaê, eats.
    jaê, goes.

(ao): bhoao, acting.
    bhaona, drama.

(au) : lau, gourd.
    bau, arm.

(əe) ; h ə e is; bh ə e fear.
(əo) ; h ə ök, l ə ök, bc, take.

(oi): (written as ai); noí, river; doí, curd.

(oe): doe, milks.
    dhoe, washes.

(aa): jou, going.
    loa, taking.

(ou): (written as ay); bou, elder brother's wife.
    mou, honey.

(ui) : duî, two.
    jui, fire.

(uo): duar, door.
    juri, gambling.

The Bengali diphthongs æê (dæê). ue. (dhuye), uo.
(kuyo) are absent in literary Assamese, but in Western
Assam colloquial ue obtains;

due, milks.
    dhue, washes.
CHAPTER X.

THE O.I.A. CONSONANTS.

306. The general history of the O.I.A. consonants together with the special question of dialectical difference has been very exhaustively dealt with by various authorities, the most recent being Dr. Bloch (§ 14, ff) and Dr. Chatterji (§ 132, ff). The following short and simplified account of the downward history of the O.I.A consonants is based upon these authorities as well as upon the articles of Dr. Turner (Encyclopaedia Britannica, the 14th edition: Articles on Sanskrit and Pali languages; Introduction to the Nepali Dictionary; J.R.A.S. Gujrati Phonology).

307. The most noticeable feature through the history of the consonantal changes has been the progressive enfeeblement in the articulation of the stops. This has shown itself in three ways; (i) the loss of final stops; (ii) the assimilation of the first to the second in a group of stops; both these phenomena having their origin in the implosive pronunciation of stops in those positions; (iii) the sonorification of the intervocalic breathed stops and eventual disappearance of all intervocalic stops. In the case of the aspirates, only the h-sound remained.

308. The course of this evolution was continuous; for the sake of convenience of reference it has been divided into four stages:

(1) Early M.I.A. comprising the language up to the inscriptions of Aśoka.

(2) Second M.I.A. coming down to a few centuries before Hemachandra.

(3) Early modern Indian including (so far as Bengali and Assamese are concerned) the Čaryāpadas.

(4) Modern Assamese.
309. In the first stage the loss of all final consonants and the assimilation of consonantal groups has been carried through with certain exceptions noted below. The cerebrals, which in O.I.A. are practically confined to cases where a dental has become a cerebral owing to the influence of a neighbouring (t), or in the case of (n) also of a neighbouring (r), have greatly increased in number. This increase is perhaps due to the influence of the Dravidian speakers whose languages clearly differentiated the series. It can be noticed (i) in the increasing number of assimilations; e.g. trutyati > tuttai > tuta, diminishes; (ii) in apparently spontaneous change of dental to cerebral; e.g. patai > patdi > pura > pur, falls; (iii) in a large number of new words e.g. tupti, cap (D. toppia).

310. The most noticeable points in the matter of dialectical differentiation are in the treatments of (kṣ) and (r, r+dental).

(a) (kṣ) appears as (cek) in South-West and as (kkh) in North and East. Assamese has kkh.

(b) In the group (r or r) +dental, the dental becomes a cerebral in the East and remains in the West. But the mutual borrowing has been so great and extensive that it is almost impossible to assign the modern languages definitely to one development or the other. The predominant Assamese treatment seems to be cerebral.

311. In the second stage, the sonorization and the loss of intervocalic stops is carried through. Before complete disappearance they seem to have become a y-sound which either remained or disappeared without trace. Intervocalic *-m* has become a mere nasralisation of contiguous vowels through an intermediate stage of *-w*; *η, n > ñ*, an alveolar sound.

312. In the third, double consonants, the result of earlier assimilation, are shortened and the preceding short vowels are lengthened. The same process is observable in the group,
nasal+consonant, where the nasality is pronounced coincidentally with the vowels which are lengthened. This re-establishes the O.I.A. system of intervocalic stops.

313. The noticeable point of dialectical difference of this period is: \(-v- < -w- \) (\( < -vy- \)) remains \( w-\) sound in the West but becomes \(-b-\) in the East. Assamese has a \( b-\) sound. (Cf. §§ 476, 477).

314. In the fourth stage, the loss of final M.I.A. vowels and of certain short vowels between consonants has re-established the O.I.A. system of final stops and of unassimilated consonant groups.

The sounds of Assamese consonants have already been described (§§ 91-111).

GENERAL LINES OF CHANGE TO ASSAMESE.

315. The outlines of change shewn below are practically the same as given in O.D.B.L. p. 433, but modified here and there to explain typical Assamese formations.

SINGLE CONSONANTS.

316. Single \( initial \) consonants have generally remained unchanged. There have been however, some cases of aspiration and de-aspiration of stops, of change of a sibilant to a palatal \( c \) (\( h \)), and of \( bh- \) to \( h-\): O.I.A. \( y-\) and \( v-\) have changed to \( j-\) and \( b-\), and \( r-\) is found as \( l-\) (\( l > n \)) and also as \( r-\).

SINGLE INTERVOCAL CONSONANTS.

317. The stops \(-k-, -g-, -t-, -d-, -p-, -b-, -y-, -v-\) have been dropped; \(-\, -d-\) have been reduced to \(-r-\); and in a number of Māgapdi inheritances \(-rt-\) has resulted in \(-t-\) as well; intervocal \(-c-\) and \(-j-\) remain as \(-c-, -j-\) (in original Māg. words) or are dropped (in non-Māgapdi forms) (§§ 410, ff).

318. The aspirates \(-kh-, -gh-, -th-, -dh-, -ph-, -bh-\) have been reduced to \(-h-, -\th-, -dh-\) occur as \(-\th-, -dh-\).
319. -m- has become a mere nasalisation of contiguous vowels through an intermediate stage of ~w; ~n-, probably both occurred as the cerebral -η- to be changed to the alveolar -n- in Mod. Assamese.

320. An intervocal sibilant has transformed itself to -h-.

321. There is little interchange between -r-, and -l-; -h- remained in E. As. generally to be lost in modern Assamese (whether original O.I.A. or M.I.A. -h- derived from O.I.A. aspirates).

CONSONANTAL GROUPS.

322. These, initial or medial, have been reduced to a single consonant in Assamese after having undergone assimilation in the early M.I.A. stage. The following were the main lines of treatment.

323. Stop-+stop became a single stop; stop-+aspirate became a single aspirate. When the first of these sounds differed in its point of articulation from the second, the first assimilated itself to the second in M.I.A. (kt. > tt: gdh > ddh; tk > kk, etc.). This kind of consonant nexus occurred medially only.

324. Stop-+nasal: -kn-: -tn- became -k-, -t-, -gn- > -g-, -η (g)-: -hn- became -n-, -dn- had already become -nn- in O.I.A. and this gave -n- in Assamese: -tm- in ātman- gave -p- (āpon); of -dm- > -d-, there seems to be no case.

325. Stop or aspirate-+y: gutturals, palatals, cerebrals and labials-+y-: the -y- was assimilated to the preceding consonant, which was doubled medially in M.I.A. (but the genuine Māgadhi change seems to have been kiyy., dīyy. etc.). Assamese preserves a single stop or aspirate.

326. Dentals-+y: the group became -ce(h)-, -jj(h)- medially, and c-, ch-, j-, jh- initially. Assamese preserves a
single -r, -j. (This palatalisation of dental + y, seems not to have been characteristic of Old Māgadhī, which changed -ty-, -dy-, etc. to -tiy-, -diy- etc. The palatalised forms, evidently from other dialects in M.I.A. seem to have overwhelmed Māgadhī). The suspected remnants of typical Māgadhī changes have been noticed under "Palatals" (§ 410 ff).

327. Stop or aspirate + r. The -r- was assimilated to the preceding sound which was doubled in a medial position in M.I.A. Assamese has one stop or aspirate. The group -dr- probably became -*dl- in the O.I.A. source dialect of Māgadhī, whence we have -l-, -l- in a few words in N.I.A.

328. Stop or aspirate + l: assimilation of -l-.

329. Stop or aspirate + r: assimilation of -r-. (In the groups -tw-, -dw-, -dhw-, the resultant form in some cases is -p-, -b-, -bh- in Mod. Assamese as in other M I A: this labialisation is non-Māgadhī).


331. ts, ps became cch in M.I.A., whence ch in Assamese.

332. Nasal + stop or aspirate: for treatment (see §§ 291 et seq).

333. Nasal + nasal: the O.I.A. groups were -nn-, -nn- and -mm-. They occur as -n- and -m- in Assamese.

334. Nasal (anusvāra) + y, r, l, v, ś, (ś), s, h, (see §§ 291 ff.).

335. -yy- gave -j- in Assamese.

336. r + stop or aspirate.

- r- before a guttural, palatal or labial: the latter was
doubled and the r was assimilated. In As. these assimilated groups result in a single guttural, palatal or labial stop or aspirate.

337. r+dental stop or aspirate of O.I.A. shew a two-fold treatment: the r cerebralised and doubled the dental, and was so assimilated: or it simply doubled the dental without cerebralising it. The former is the proper Māgadhī treatment; the latter non-Māgadhī. Assamese has -t (h)-; -r (h)- in Māgadhī inheritances and -t (h)-, -d (h)-, in apparently non-Māgadhī forms.

338. r+nasal: -rn-, -rn- were assimilated to -rn- in M.I.A. which gave -n- in Assamese, and rm > mm > m-; -rn- occurs also as -l- through a stage of (rn > -ln- > -ll-).

339. -ry-: the early M.I.A. (non-Māg.) assimilation was to -yy- which gave second M.I.A. -ji- whence Assamese -j-. There are suspected cases of -ry- > -yy- > -y- in Assamese (Cf. āi, mother, grand-mother, ? <āryikā, *aryiā, āyiā, āi). The genuine Māg. change was to -iy- which is not preserved in Assamese but -ry also occurs as -l- in Assamese (through a stage -iy- > -ll-).

340. -rl- > M.I.A. -ll- > As. -l-.

341. -ru- is found as -bb- > -b-.

342. r+sibilant: assimilation with the sibilant which is doubled (-ss-, -ss- = ss in Māg.) and is then reduced to -h- in Assamese.

343. -rh- > -lh- in Māgadhī, whence -l- in Assamese.

344. -l-+stop: assimilation of -l- leading to a single stop in Assamese.

345. -lm- > M.I.A. -mm- > -m- in Assamese.
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346. -ly- > -ll- > -l- in Assamese. There seems to be no case of -ly- > -yy- > -j- in Assamese.

347. -ll- > M.I.A. -ll- > As. -l-.

348. -ly- > M.I.A. -ll- > As. -l-.

349. -vy- > M.I.A. -vv-, -bb- > Assamese -b-. This is a non-Māg. change: the original Māgadhī alteration of -vy- was to -viy- which is lost and -vy- > -vv-, -bb- forms have become established: -vy- becoming -b- is noticed only in the future affix -b-, -ib- (§§. 476, 477).

350. Groups with sibilant+stop or aspirate: śc, sk, st (h), sp, sk (h), st (h). became initially an aspirate, medially a stop+its aspirate in M.I.A. Assamese has a single aspirate.

351. Sibilant+nasal:
    sm > M.I.A. nh > As. n.
    sn > M.I.A. nh > As. n.
    ŝm, ŝn, sm > M.I.A. ss (śś Māgadhī), mh : >
    Assamese h. m.

352. Sibilant+y: normally assimilated to double sibilant in M.I.A., whence early Assamese single sibilant. In modern Assamese the single sibilant has been modified to -h-.

353. Sibilant+r, l, v: assimilation of r, l, v, resulting in double sibilant > early Assamese single sibilant written -s- > modern Assamese -h-.

354. h+nasal (hṇ, hn, hm): this group underwent metathesis in M.I.A. (ṇh, nh, mh) and in Assamese they have resulted in a single nasal: -hṇ- probably became -hīn- in old Māgadhī. In other M.I.A. it became -jīn- > Assamese -j-.

355. Visarga+consonant simply doubled the latter and Assamese has a single consonant representing the O.I.A. group.
DE-ASPIRATION

In groups of more than two consonants, the semi-vowels, liquids or sibilants were assimilated and then they behaved in M.I.A. like O.I.A. groups of two consonants.

PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES OF A GENERAL CHARACTER.

(1). De-aspiration.

356. After the sibilant letters which are pronounced as a guttural spirant (x) in Assamese, de-aspiration takes place of the original O.I.A. aspiration as well as of the resultant M.I.A. aspirations of O.I.A. intervocal sound-groups -ś-, -st-, -śk- etc., in the interior of words; e.g. śiṣṭā, dregs, (śiṣṭa-) but piṭhā, calc, (piṭṭaka-) ; śiṭān, head of a bed, (śīras+ sthāna), but, pathān, foot of a bed, (pada+sthamā); śukān, dry, (suṣka+n), but pukhuri, a pond, (puṣkara-).

357. Compare also the following:—

śikuli, chain, (śrykhala-).
śudā, unmixed, (śuddha-).
śike, learns, (śikeśate).
śāk, conch-shell, (śaykha-).
sāṅgore, yokes together, (sāṅghatayati).
sondā, sweet-smelling, (sayaṃdha-)
sāndi, inaccessible place, (sandhi-).
śeṅgun, mucus of the nose, (śeṅghāna-).
śoṭar, to shrivel, (vśunṭha+ -).
sts. sipā, root, (√śiphā).
sts. sāūd, merchant, (sādhuka > *sāudha > sāud).
sts. sep, phlegm, (M.I.A. sēpha).

358. So also of two aspirates in the same word, one is de-aspirated;

e.g. kāndh, shoulder, (*khanda, skandha-).
bhok, hunger, (bubhukṣā).
tadhā, amazed, (*thaddha, stabdha-).
bhika-hu, beggar, (bhikṣā-+).
ghāgar, small bells, (ghargharā).
mahayopa, costly, (mahârgha-).
hetâ, a ladle, (hastaka-).
bhûta, falling tide, (bhraṣṭa-).
dhûtri, a poisonous medicinal plant, (dhûstûra-).
nîkâhi, the projection of a roof beyond the wall, (nîkâsa-).
sts. ákhudi, drug, (âyûdhi-).

359. These instances of de-aspiration in Assamese seem to be in a line with M.I.A. illustrations of de-aspiration; e.g. 
sânikala < śrîkala ; dhâhka =Pâli dhanka < Skt. dhvâṅkṣa etc. (Pischel ; §§ 213, 214).

360. It would appear that after c- also (which is a pure sibilant in Assamese) de-aspiration takes place e.g.
    caku, eye, (cakṣu-).
    coka, sharp, (cokṣa-).
    cāke, tastes, (M.I.A. cakkhai).
    cōk, square, quadrangle, (catuska-), etc.

361. In other places the aspirations generally remain; e.g.
    okh, high, (ukṣa).
    makha, an assemblage, (mrakṣa-).
    mithā, sweet, (miṣṭa-).
    puthi, a book, (pustikā).
    gōph, moustache, (gumpha-) etc.

362. Assamese itâ, brick; ut, camel, are from M.I.A.
    īṭṭa- (iṭṭaka); uṭṭa (uṭṭra).

363. Intervocal -ndh- > -nd-. This is an intermediate stage before the complete assimilation of -ndh to -n in a final position (-ndh > -nd > -nn > -n) e.g. ândh, ân, a yoking string, < âbandha ; kândh, kân, shoulder, < skandha (Cf. §§ 291 ff).

Examples of intervocal -ndh- > -nd-, are
ASPIRATION

rondã, sinus, (randhra-).
bandūli, a kind of flower, (bandhûli-).
kândâri, a helmsman, (karnadhâra-). Cf. also § 370.

(2). Aspiration.

364. The aspiration of unvoiced initial stops represents a certain phase in M.I.A. phonology; e.g. M.I.A. khappara, O.I.A. karpara; M.I.A. planasa, O.I.A. panasa; M.I.A. khujja, O.I.A. kubja; M.I.A. khilaa, O.I.A. kilaka etc. This tendency is greater still in N.I.A. languages.

365. No satisfactory explanation covering all cases of aspiration has yet been suggested. While a M.I.A. form like khappara, has been explained on the assumption that it must have come from an O.I.A. form like *skarpara, (Pischel §§ 205 et seq)—O.I.A. illustrating existence of forms with an initial s-, followed by un-voiced stops in alternation with forms without an s- (Wackernagel, part i § 230), N.I.A. forms like bhūsaí, (Skt. busa), bhes (Skt. veṣa) with aspirations of sonant stops, remain unexplained. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar’s suggestion that a vowel or a mute is aspirated through the influence of an adjoining aspirate or an aspirated mute (W. Lectures, p. 189), is inoperative in cases like khujja (Skt. kubja): khilaa (Skt. kilaka), which he considers to be cases of aspiration without any apparent reason (ibid, p. 190). Dr. Chatterji suggests that aspiration may be due to contamination with other forms plus a vague sense of onomatopoeia rather than to the presence of any particular sound especially in initial aspiration. (O.D.B.L. p. 438).

366. So far, however, as Assamese and the Eastern dialects of Bengali are concerned, the influence of the Boço languages in aspirating initial stops is unmistakable. “In the languages of the Boço group, the great stress that is laid on a consonant when it is at the commencement of a syllable often gives unvoiced stops an aspirated sound and when reduced to writing, these unvoiced stops are often represented as aspirated consonants” (L.S.I. Vol. iii, Part ii, pp. 4,
69). Cf. the following loan-words in Boço from the Aryan languages.

Boço:  
- *thālu*, palate.  
- *phorman*, proof.  
- *phudul*, coral.  
- *khamae*, to earn.  
- *khāmri*, dysentery.  
- *khangkhra*, a crab.  
- *thuthla*, stammerer.  
- *thothi*, beak.

Aryan:  
- *tālu*.  
- *parmān*, pramāṇa.  
- *powāl* (pravāla).  
- *kamā*, earn.  
- *kāmor-ani*, stomach-ache.  
- Bg. kākarā, (kaṅkada-).  
- Bg. totālā.  
- As. *ṭhōṭ* (treṭi-), etc.

367. The de-aspiration of initial sonant aspirates (gh, bh) is shewn by the following loan-words:—

Boço:  
- *gorai*, horse.  
- *batō*, a parrot.  
- *bādao*, the name of a month.  
- *balā*, a spear.

Aryan:  
- As. *ghorā*.  
- As. *bhāτyā*.  
- As. bhadā.  
- As. ballam, (bhalla), etc.

The Sylhet dialect of Bengali preserves these characteristics almost uniformly. The initial stops k, p > x, j, and initial sonant aspirates gh, bh, > g, b. (L.S.I., V. I, p. 224).

368. While Assamese does not shew aspirations of initial stops on the same uniform scale as the Sylhet dialect, the isolated instances of initial aspiration that are preserved must be attributed to the Boço influence;.

E.g. *phecā*, owl, (pecaka); *phichā*, tail of a fish, (pichcha-); *phēc-kuri*, mucus of the eye, (piṇca-); *dhōrā*, (kāuri), cf. Bg. dār-kāk, a raven, (daṇḍa-kāka-).  
sts. khalap, layer, cycle; (kalpa-).  
kharaliyā, dry, rough as rice, (Cf. Skt. √kaḍḍ, to be rough).
MEDIAL ASPIRATION

*phenu*, a leg, (*jangu*).
*sts. *ṭhōt*, beak, (*troṭi*-

Other examples will be found in the tables of consonantal changes.

369. In the following words, the aspirations are inheritances from M.I.A. formations:
*khilā*, peg, (M.I.A. *khila*, O.I.A. *kilaka*).
*khāpari*, pot-sherd, (M.I.A. *khappara*, *karpara*).
*khāru*, bracelet, (M.I.A. *khāḍaṇa*).
*khūṭā*, post, (M.I.A. *khūṇa*) etc.

370. In the matter of the de-aspiration of Assamese intervocal sonant group *ndh* (>*nd*), the influence of the Boōo can very well be assumed e.g. Boōo *gandaka*, sulphur; Aryan *gandhaka*.

(For Assamese examples of De-aspiration, see §§ 356 ff).

(3) Medial Aspiration and Dialectical Influence.

371. There are instances of medial aspiration also in Assamese and these shew the influence of the Kāmrūpi dialect of Western Assam. As in the matter of accent, so also in the matter of aspiration, the Kāmrūpi dialect shows a complete reversal of the phonetic process of the standard colloquial. Kāmrūpi preserves the M.I.A. aspirations after the guttural spirant (*r*), the sibilant (*c*), and in the neighbourhood of another aspirate in the same word as against de-aspiration under the same conditions in the standard colloquial (§§ 356 ff: De-aspiration). The following comparative table will make this clear:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>St. coll.</th>
<th>Kamp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>śīṭā</em>, dregs.</td>
<td><em>śīṭhā</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>śiṭān</em>, head of the bed.</td>
<td><em>śīṭhān</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>śīke</em>, learns.</td>
<td><em>śīkhe</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bhok</em>, hunger.</td>
<td><em>bhukh</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hetā</em>, ladle.</td>
<td><em>hāṭhā</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>cakū</em>, eye.</td>
<td><em>cakhu</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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St. coll. Kamp.
cāke, tastes. cākhe.
bhāṭi, down-stream. bhāṭhi.
khāk, canine hunger. khākh.
ṭhēṭā, crippled in hand. ṭhēṭā
ṭhāṭ, pose. ṭhāṭ etc.

372. Kāmrūpi also aspirates an original O.I.A. stop after the guttural spirant (x) and in the neighbourhood of another aspirate in the same word. These medially aspirated words have often passed into the standard colloquial. Compare the following examples:—

Kāmrūpi. St. Coll.
sāthre, swims sātore.
sts. śolokh, a sloka. śolokh.
sts. śālkhā, a bolt. śālkhā (śalākā).
sāphrā, a casket. sāphurā (sampūta).
bharath. bharath (bharata: bharata).
hāḍph, steam. bhāp (vāspa).
hāḍhī, turmeric. hāladhi (*hāridrika) etc.

So also the double form hām-kuri. hām-khuri, falling with face downwards, illustrates dialectical influence.

373. The de-aspiration of one of two aspirates in the same word is common enough but the aspiration of an interior stop under the influence of an initial or a neighbouring aspirate is rather unusual. Yet the aspirations in bharadha (*bharatha < bharata), akhakhase (akarkaśa) in the Aśokan inscriptions (quoted from O.D.B.L., p. 439) fall in a line with aspiration in the Kāmrūpi dialect.

374. Some of the medially aspirated forms of the Kāmrūpi dialects have entered the standard colloquial, e.g. sts. śolokh, śalākhā, sāphurā etc. (noticed above). The aspiration in forms like the following in the standard colloquial is due to the influence of the Kāmrūpi dialect;
sāṭhan, ability, (samsthāna-).
VOICING AND UNVOICING

śūthi, something dried like the cow-dung, (śuṅthā-).

tsuthil, tender, (su+śithila, Dr. Bloch).

cōṭhā, the fourth day, (caturtha-).

375. The source of the aspirating tendency of the Kāmrūpī dialect cannot be clearly traced. The same tendency is found also in Boḍo: e.g.

Aryan cōṭāl, (cātvāla) is Boḍo sathāl: Aryan, ḥūṭ (tṛotp) is Bd ṭhōthi.

But considering that in M.I.A. also there are instances of medial aspiration under similar conditions, it cannot be definitely laid down whether this tendency is inherited or borrowed from some non-Aryan source.

(4) Aspiration through metathesis or Absorption of -h-.

376. This type of aspiration is illustrated by a few O.I.A. formations also. Thus late Skt. ghara < *garha, < grha; so also bhedra, inhedra, mediha.

Assamese examples of aspiration through metathesis are:

dhōrā, (cf. Lig. dhōru), a kind of non-poisonous snake noted for its hissing sound.

(dhūndhā, dhānndha, ḍhūndhā). bhābari, sweeper. (Cf. babhrū, a cleaner, sweeper).

Examples of aspiration through absorption of a following -h- are:

• paghā, a rope for tying cattle, (pragraha-).

gādha, ass. (yardabha > gaddaha).

bāgh, (yari), reins. (avagraha).

(5) Voicing and Unvoicing.

377. Voicing represents a stage in the growth of O.I.A. before the complete elision of the intervocal stops in M.I.A. e.g. calati > caladi > cala > cal. In some dialects of M.I.A. the changes in the single intervocal stops were arrested at this stage before they were totally elided.

A.-22
Voicing was very common in Ap. (H.C. IV, 396) and it also took place in S. and Mg. in regard to (t), (th), (Pischel § 203) and in M.I.A. generally in regard to the cerebrals (Pischel, § 198).

378. The voicing of unvoiced consonants and the reverse process occur in sporadic cases in Assamese as well as in other N.I.A. languages, mostly in stts. words:

_e.g._ -k- > -g-:

sts. bagali, crane, (vaka-).
sts. sagun, vulture, (sakuna-).
sts. magar, fish, (makara-).

egārā, eleven, (egārāha, ekādaśa).

-kh- > -gh- > -g-: e.g.
nigani, a rat, (nikhanika > *nighama- > nigania, nigani).
bōhāg, name of a month, (vasākha > *vassāgha > bōhāg).

-kh- > -gh-; reghā, a big mark, (rekhā).
-t- > -d-; paduli, gateway, (M.I.A. padoli, pratoli).
bāduli, a bat, (vātili-).
-p- > -b-: bōkā, mud, (-pānika > M.I.A. -vānika).

Unvoicing.

Examples:

-gh- > -kh-; gobar- khūji, cow-dung cake, (ghuṇṭikā).

-j- > -c-; pācan, a cowherd’s stick, (prājana).
hāci, sneezing, (haṇji-).

bicani, a fan, (vaṇjanikā).

ācināi, ājināi, sty in the eye, (aṇjanikā).

-ṇ- > -n-:

dāṇṭi-guṭi, a golf-like play of children, (daṇḍa-).

E. As. chewanṭiyā, orphan, (chamanṭa-).

(6). Metathesis.

379. The metathesis of -h- causing aspiration and de-aspiration has been noticed above. There are other instances of metathesis in Assamese as in cognate languages:

e.g. nahrū, (met. of cons. and vowel) garlic, (laṇuna > *raṇuna > *nasaru, nahrū).
COMPOUND WORDS

E. As. bâhûrā, twelve, (dvâdâsā > bârâhâ).
sarîyâh, mustard, (sârîsâ < sârîsâ > *sârîsâsâ).

(7). Haplogy.

380. Haplogy is the dropping of one of two similar sounds or syllables in the same word. Loss of consonants by haplogy is noticed in some cases in Assamese: e.g.

nârâṇî, a nail-paring instrument, (nâkha+haranikâ).
mâhârî, mosquito-curtain, (maśâ+harikâ).
muhuddî. sweetening the mouth with some spice after taking food, (mukha+Śuddhi > *muhahuddhi).
âusî. night of the new moon, (amâ+âsîkâ > *a~vâ+âsîâ).
lohorâ. an iron-vessel, (lauha+bhânda > *loha+âhanda).
sâh. courage, (sâhâsa. *sâhaha).

(8). Echo-Words.

381. Echo-words and onomatopoetic formations on a lavish scale are as much a characteristic of Assamese as of other N.I.A. languages. "A word is repeated partially (partic.-ly in the sense that a new syllable, the nature of which is generally fixed, is substituted for the initial one of the word in question and the new word so formed, unmeaning by itself, echoes the sense and sound of the original word) and in this way the idea of et cetera and thines similar to, or assimilated with that, is expressed (O.D.B.L. p. 176). This is characteristic of the Kolarian, the Dravidian and of N.I.A. languages.

Assamese takes c- in the formation of these echo-words and retains the vowel of the original word: cf.

bhoṭ-côṭ. rice and similar things;
kitôp-citôp. books and the like; etc.

But when the original word begins with c-. the echo-word takes on a t- e.g. cûlû-tûlû, hair and the like; cûkî-tûkî, lamp and the like; etc.

(9). Compound-Words.

382. The varied types of compounds in a N.I.A. language have been examined by Dr. S. K. Chatterji (Polyglottism in
Indo-Aryan: Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference; Baroda, 1935). There are translation compounds in which one word is of native origin and the other foreign designed to convey the meaning of the native word to speakers of a different language in the same locality; e.g. hāṭ-bāzār, market and fair: Indian hāṭ. Pers. bāzār; mēl-darbār, assembly to settle an affair: Indian mēl, Pers. darbār, etc.

383. Apart from translation compounds of the above type with a very clear foreign element, there are others where we have the native elements in both parts. This kind of compound can perhaps be traced back to the habit of grouping two synonyms for the sake of amplification or generalisation of the meaning conveyed by one of them e.g. yhāṭ-bāṭ, the road and the landing place, i.e. every nook and corner; āṭi-paduli, the road and the gateway, i.e. every avenue, māṭ-bol, speech and sound, etc.

When the words have different endings, the last part of one is often extended or transferred as the last part of the other, giving both the words the pause of a rhyme, e.g. chin-bhin, scattered and dispersed, (chinna—bhinna); but chigā-bhagā, torn and broken (chīna—bhagā), where the last syllable of bhagā has been extended as the last syllable of the expected *chīna. So also in the case of chīga-bhagā, torn and tattered, (chinna—bhagā).

(10). Blending.

384. Oftentimes both the synonymous compounds are fused into one single word where the first part of one word is fitted into the last part of another, the intermediate portions being dropped. Both the compounds are blended into a single solid word; e.g. cheg, loop-hole, convenient opportunity, (chidra+bhagā > *chigna. *chigga. *chegga. cheg).

The following are other examples of blending:
gap, boast, vanity. (garva+darpa-).
jīp, moisture (jīvā+vāspā-).
nomāl, young. (nava+komala), (Bloch).
meṣhāni, a woman’s girdle, (mekhālā+veṣṭanikā).
kōthā, a fort, (kōṭṭa+koṭṭha-).
kōngā, having a crippled hand, (kōni+pāṇgu-).
Cf. As. pengā, lame.

E. Bg. tiyās, thirst. is obviously a blend between tṛṣnā+pipāsā. Assamese cāi is most probably a blend between kṣāra+bhasma (Cf. Bengali compound, chāi-bhasma), but Dr. Chatterji suggests the derivation from kṣāra- (O.D.B.L. p. 542). This would, however, leave the nasalisation in As. cāi unexplained.

385. Bhimīkī, (tārīt bhimi) elder sister’s husband, seems to be built up on the analogy of māhī, pēhī, (tārīt māśī, pēśī). Pāṭk. mānāsī, pāṇiā). mother’s sister, father’s sister, whence by back formation and semantic variation māhī, pēhī, mother’s sister’s husband; father’s sister’s husband: bhimīkī would thus be bh(a)mī-ssā. The -i (in -hi, instead of -ā as in māhā etc.) may be explained as due to vowel-assimilation. (The suggestion is Dr. Bloch’s).

(11) Consonants in Contact.

386. Within the limit of a word there is hardly anything like contact of consonants in the St. coll. In it vowels are slowly and distinctly enunciated. There is nothing like hurried pronunciation and consonants are hardly thrown together in the St. coll. It is rare, however, in western Assam. For example, where a Bengali speaker says kōrbē, he will do, a speaker of As St. coll. will say, kōrbā, and a speaker of Western As. will say kōrbā.

Consonantal contact with resulting changes takes place, however, in the case of compound words and connected sentences where the final consonant of the previous word comes in contact with the initial consonant of the following one.

386a. The numeral ek. (eka), one, shews significant changes in contact. Before a word beginning with a consonant, ek > e- (§ 168): e.g. e-bār, one time; e-jān, one: e-buṅ, breast-deep, etc. It remains before a word beginning with
a vowel; e.g. ekājali, one palm-ful; ekāṭhu, knee-deep; ekāṅgul, finger-long. Both ek-, and e- are used before ārā, a unit of four; e.g. ekārā, e-ārā. This use of e-, ek-, is peculiar to Assamese.

(12). Assimilation.

387. Other changes of consonants due to contact fall in a line with Bengali. "In the case of aspirate (stop)—aspirate or stop, voiced or unvoiced, there is de-aspiration of the first aspirate. In deliberate and careful pronunciation, however, the aspirate may be retained (so far as it can be retained in a final position in a syllable) where we have a sound of a different class: (O.D.B.L. p. 449) e.g.

rath-khan (⟩raftkhan); the chariot.

ādṛṭ-najī, (⟩ādṛṭnajī); the name of a river.

ādh-tolā (⟩ādtolā); half a tola.

bāgh-hol (⟩bāghhol): "tiger-walk". a kind of indoor game.

budh-bār, (⟩budbhār). Wednesday etc.

There is regressive assimilation when stops and aspirates of the same class occur side by side, by the first sound acquiring or losing voice according as the second one in the group possesses or does not possess it: and the first sound, if it is an aspirate, loses its aspiration: (Ibid. p. 450).

ādṛṭ-ghar (⟩ādṛṭghar), post office.

sadānīyā (⟩sādānīyā, sātānīyā), a weekly periodical etc.

In other respects also the changes are in the same direction as in Bengali. They are not shewn here as they have been elaborately dealt with in O.D.B.I. pp. 448-452.

(13). Assimilation due to change in point of articulation.

388. Owing to loss of distinction between O.I.A. dentals and cerebrals in Assamese (§ 429), and owing also to the O.I.A. palatals having acquired dental values (§ 408), assimilation of dental to cerebral and of palatal aspirate to palatal is often noticed; e.g.
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cūce, scrapes, (*caṅchai M.I.A. cacchai).
sts. ṭaṭastha, passive, (O.I.A. tāṭastha).

śrīṛūhā shrivelled (O.I.A. takta, ṛṭaṅc
ṛṣṭorā,  } > *tatta, > *ṭatta > *ṭatta).

(14). Dissimilation.

389. The principal types of dissimilation are, the de-
aspiration of two aspirates in the same word, and also de-
aspiration of O.I.A. aspirations, or of resultant M.I.A. aspi-
rations, after the O.I.A. sibilant letters and also after -c- (§§
356 ff).
CHAPTER XI.

THE SOURCES OF ASSAMESE CONSONANTS.

The Gutturals.

390. The O.I.A. gutturals do not appear to have changed their mode or place of articulation in modern Assamese and they appear as k, kh, g, gh whether they have subsisted initially or again arisen through simplification of consonant groups.

Non-initial -k- is voiced in a few sts. words e.g.

bagali, a crane, (vaka-); magar, a kind of big fish, (makara-); sagun, vulture. (sakuna-), etc.

Initial and intervocal -k- is clearly pronounced in Assamese and there does not appear to be any alteration in its articulation.

The Sources of K.

391. Initially. As k- is derived from O.I.A. k-; e.g. kar, corns in hands and feet, (kadara); Bg. kará is connected with late Skt. k̄‘kaḍḍa. to be hard.

karaṇga, thigh-bone. (karaṇa-ka−na).
sts. kavāri. miserly, stingy. (Vedic. kavāri).
kāmi, a rib-like piece of split bamboo. (kamhi-).
kūhiyā, sugar-cane. (Cf. Skt. kośakāra. a sugar-cane).
kerāni, a clerk. (karaṇa−ika).
kenā, bored by an insect. as a fruit (kina).
kūwā, putrid from stagnation. (Cf. Vedic. kepya. impure).
kilākuṭi. elbow. (kila. elbow).
kāci, sickle. (cf. kṛtyate ṣ/vkṛ). (T. derives it from

*kartya: Turkish gaiici might have given kēci not kāci).
kochā. a bundle. (kūrea).
O.I.A. kr-;

kine, buys. (krināti).
kānde, weeps. (krandati).
THE GUTTURALS

O.I.A. kv-;
   ste. káth, káh, kowáth, decoction, (kvatha).
O.I.A. sk-; > M.I.A. kh-;
   kándh, shoulder, (skándha).
O.I.A. g-; (by unvoicing);
   kalagraha, an insurmountable difficulty, (yala-graha).

392. Intervocally and finally (through dropping of
    vowels at the end of a word), -k- is derived from:
   M.I.A. -k- after -i-; representing O.I.A. -ηk-; -kr-;
      -ηkr-; -rk-.
    e.g. ákūhi, a crook, (āykuśikā).
    kákāl, a waist, (kaykāla).
    kákāi, comb, (kaykāi-).
    kēkorū, crab, (karkaṭa).
    bēkā, crooked, (vankā, vakra).
    bōkā -(tēul), a kind of rice that grows in muddy soil
      (M.I.A. varśka).
    sāko, bridge, (sajkrāma).
O.I.A. -ηkh- (by de-aspiration);
    śāk, bracelet made of shells, (sajkhā).
    śikāli, chain, (sṛykhala+iṣka).
    From M.I.A. -kk-, from the following O.I.A. groups:—
    -k- doubled in old 1s. in M.I.A.; e.g.
    ek, one, (ēkka, eka).
    (Lw.) ekāśi, twenty-one. (ekavimśati).
    -kk-, cikā, rat, (cikkā-).
    bhokā, barks, (M.I.A. bhukkāi).
    kukkuhā, bits of burnt grass carried about by the wind,
      (kukkukhā).
    buk, chest, (vṛkkā, heart).
    -kn-; nikā, cleansed, (nikka < *nikna; √niṇj. P.).
    mukalī, open, (mukka<-*mukna; √muc, P.).
    -ky-, sikā, sikiyā, swing made of rope, (sikyā-).
    māṇik, pearl, (māṇikya).
    -kr-, nāk, nose. (nakra).
    culā, sorrel, (cukra-).
    cāk, wheel, (cakra-).
    -kv-, pakā, ripe, (pakva-).
A.—23
-kṣ-; bhok, hunger, (bubhūkṣā).
   caku, eye, (cakṣu-).
   kuki, a conical fish-basket, (kukeṣi-).
   cokā, sharp, (cokṣa-).
   sekā, "a good lesson," (śikṣa).
-ṛk-; chak, square of a game-board, (śaṭka).
-ṭk-; okaṇi, louse, (utkuṇa).
   makanā, a tuskless elephant, (matkuṇa-).
   ukāh, a species of eagle, (utkroṣa).
   ukal, to pass over, (ut + √ kal).
-ṛk; ākay, a medicinal plant, (arka-parṇa).
   pākari, the aśvattha tree, (parkaṭi-).
   śikār, a cake of baked potter's clay, (śarkaṭa).
   makara, spider, (maraṭa).
-ṭk-; ukā, burnt straw carried about by the wind (ulkā-).
-ḥk- = Skt. -sk-, -sk-;
   nikāhi, portion of the roof projecting beyond the wall, (niṣkāsa-).
   śukān, dry, (suska-).
   caṭkā, an oven, (caṭuṣka-).
   makāl, a kind of bamboo, (maskara- >  *maskra-).

M. I. A. -gg- (by unvoicing).

phāku, red powder sprinkled in the Holi festival,
(*phāqu, Skt. phālgu. Contaminated with a word for power; O. phāku, T.)

In ṛṣ- kāparā for kṣetra-parpara-, the k for p in kāparā seems due to contam. with the sound of kāpāh from kārpāsa.

Of deśi origin are hāk, prohibition. (D. hakkā); dāk, shout (*dakka-). T.

393. -k- is also found as an affix in numerous nouns and verbs; (§§ 561, 739).

  e.g. jonāk, moon-light.
  dīṭhak, vision.
  deukā, wings.
  titiki, bitter;
  cināki, acquaintance.
  paca-k, to trample.
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thamak, to stop.
semek, to be moist.
solak, to be untied, etc.

394. This -ka-. -k- is derived from M.I.A. -kka-.

This has been connected by Hoernle with the O.I.A.
√ kr:

e.g. Skt. camat- √ kr- > M.I.A. camakka-;
Skt. cyut-√ kr- > M.I.A. cukka (Hoernle §. 204).

Dr. Bloch connects it with an O.I.A. -kya < akiye,
as in pārakka < pārakya < pārakiya. A Dravidian affinity has been also suggested (Bloch, p. 105).

395. Final -k- appears also as a verbal affix (3rd person)
in E. Assamese. e.g. gaılek, he went:
karilek, he did.
diyak, let him give.

This -k seems to have come from more than one source. After formations in - pest, it seems to have the value of -tavant: in other instances it may be related to O.I.A. pleonastic -ka > M.I.A. -kka (§. 830).

396. In ts words -k- occurs double in interior groups
with y. r. l. v. m. and also in khy : e.g.
bāikka, speech, (vākya).
bakkra, crooked, (vakra).
pakkra, ripe, (pakra).
rukkei, for rukminei.
āikkhā, (ākhyānei-).

In -ks-, pronounced kkh- initially and -ikkha medially
and finally, we have a similar doubling of k.
e.g. kkhan, moment, (kṣaṇa).

KH.

397. kh is fully articulated in all positions in Assamese.
Its sources have been shewn in the following table.
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In ts. and sts. words, Skt. ś is often pronounced as kh. This value of ś has been borrowed from Northern India through the Brajbalui dialect.

A few ts. words with ś are spelt with kh in Assamese.
  e.g. sts. ukhar, hard, severe, (uṣara).
  pākhaṇḍa, villain, (pāsṇaṇḍa).

Conversely, a few tbd. words are spelt with ś where kh is etymologically due; e.g.
  kāś (pronounced kākha), side, (kakṣa).
  sts. paś (pronounced pakh), fortnight, (paksā).

398. In one instance ś appears initially for kh: but it has now lost the kh- sound and is pronounced like any other sibilant in Assamese as (x);
  e.g. set-kapara, a kind of medicinal herb, (kṣetra-parpaṇa-).

399. The change of ks to kkh > M.I.A. kh seems to have been the Māgadhi change. The ch- development of ks was a characteristic of the North Western I.A. dialect of the early M.I.A. period. Assamese has also a few ch- words which were apparently later additions to the eastern speech.

The Sources of KH.

  kher, straw, (kheṭa).
  khāgari, reed. (*khaggara = Skt. khaḍga-ra-).
  khaṭā, short, dwarffish. (khaṭta-. cf. khaṭṭana).
  khola, the shell of a betel-nut. cocoanut, etc, (kholā).
  khāṭi, ditch, (khāṭi).
  khic, cow-dung dirt, (Skt. khicca; D. khača).
  kṣ-; khud, particles of rice, (kṣudra).
  kheo, a throw, cast, (kṛṣepa).
  khār, alkali, (kṣāra).
  khōpā, hair made into a braid. (Vedic kṣumpra, a mushroom).
  khoj, foot-step, (kṣodya).
THE GUTTURALS

O.I.A.  k-; by aspiration: (§. 368).
   khorong, a cave, (kroda-; a cavity).
   khīla, a peg, (kilaka).
   khelā, sport, (khelā; krīḍā).
   khāparā, tile, (karpara-).
sts. khalāp, layer, (kalpa).

The following words have been classed as of déśī origin;
   khāru, a bracelet, (déśī, khaṇḍā; cf. Skt. kanduka).
   khūṭā, post, (kuṇṭa).
   khōcarē, loosens and turns up as earth, (?√khac, to come forth, project).

401. Medially and finally, -kh- comes from:

O.I.A.  khy-; likhā, a small louse, (likhyā-).
   bakhān, a narration, (vyākhyāna).
-k-; by aspiration;
sts. lākhūtī, stick, (lakuta).
sts. rok. rokh, ready-money, (roka); cf. Skt. Lex. roka-
   kroṣṇa-bhid, buying with cash (T).
sts. salākhā, a bolt, (salākā).
-kṣ- > M.I.A.  -kkh-:
   dakhā, attainment of puberty, (dakṣa).
   pakṣā, wing, (pakṣa-).
   mākhā, collection, horde, (mraka-).
   okhā, high (uka).
-kṣ-; tikhā, steel, (tikṣa-).
-ṇkh-. pokham, dance of a peacock, (preṇkhā).
-s-. (pronounced as -kh-);
   ukhar, hard, severe, (uṣara).
sts. pākhanda, vicious, (pāṇḍa).
-ṣk-. > M.I.A.  -kkh-;
   pukhuri, tank, (puṇkara + —).
-gh-. by unvoicing;
   (gobār)khūṭi, cow-dung cake, (ghunṭikā).

By medial aspiration from M.I.A.  -kk- (§. 372).
< O.I.A.  -lk-. -tk- etc.
   bakhalā, a flake, a lump, (valkala).
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makhanā, (also makanā), elephant of the tuskless variety, (matkuna).

In ts. words, -ks- is often spelt as -khy-:
kakhyā, rivalry, (kaksā).

G.

402. The various sources of Assamese (g) are given below. In a few sts. words the change of O.I.A. (kh) to As. (g) is noticeable: e.g. nīgani, a rat. (nikhanika).

bōhāg, name of a month (vaiśākha).

Most likely, the change is in the following direction:

kh > gh > g.

The Sources of G.

403. Initially, -g-, comes from O.I.A. g-: e.g.
gūch, tree, (gaccha).
gūrā, small particles, (gunaδa-).
gārā, hole, (*ganda, gadda-. garta-).
gobar, cow-dung, (gorrara-).
gōph, moustache, (gunpha).
ts. gahanā, ornament, (gahanā).
gr-; gōd, village, (grāma).
gōthe, strings together, (guṇṭhai, grathnāti).
sts. gāhak, customer, (grāhaka).
gah, gā, boast, zeal, (graha).

404. Medial and final -g-; from

O.I.A. -gn- > M.I.A. -gg-;
nagā, a naked hill tribe, (nagna-).
lagā, attached, (lagna-).
bhagā, broken, (bhagna-).
bhāgar, fatigue, (bhagna + ta).
-gu- > M.I.A. -gg-:
suvaṅ, prosperity, (saubhagya).
-gr- > M.I.A. -gg-:
āg, front, *(agra).
-ng-; sts. nēgur, tail, (lāṅgula).
-dg-; khāgari, reed, (khaḍga-).
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-dg- > M.I.A. -gg-;
ugār, belching, (udgāra).
ugul, anxiety, (udgūrṇa).
mug, a kind of pulse, (mudga).
magur, a kind of fish, (madgūra).

-ry- > M.I.A. -gg-:
gāgal, a kind of fish, (gargara).
māge, asks for, (mārgayati).
bāgar, side, (varga + ūa).

-rgh- > M.I.A. -ghh-; (by de-aspiration):
ghāgar, a girdle of small bells, (ghargharā).

-lg- > M.I.A. -gy-:
phāgun, the month of Phālgun, (phaṅghuna).
By voicing from O.I.A. -k-;
sts. bagalt, a crene, (vaka); sts. sāgun, a vulure, (śakuna).
By de-aspiration from O.I.A. -gh-;
sts. śalāg, praise, (śāglū).

405. The following are some of the common words of deśi origin:

gar, fortress, (D. gaṭha-).
gāji, sprouting wheat, (D. gajja, wheat).
gāri, carriage, (D. gaddi-).
gādh, wadded pad on the back of an elephant, (*garda,
garta, a chariot seat, T.)
pāg, turban, (D. *paggā T.)
pāgul. H. pāgur, chewing the cud:
(*paggur < pre-√gur. with analogical doubling
of initial g-. cf. Skt. gurate, eats off).

(g) occurs in the pronunciation of the Skt. group.
-ghr- in ts. words e.g. bāγghra. tiger, (vyāγhra); sīγhre,
soon. (śīghra-).

In compound words, g appears for k in a final position
before a following voiced sound in the initial position of the
second element of the compound e.g. dāγ-ghar, post office,
for dāk-ghar.

ts. jān is pronounced gu-, gia- in the initial syllables and
as -igga in the medial and final positions; e.g. jnān
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is gyan whence colloquially gi'an; so also aiggan, agian, for ajñan.

The Sources of GH.

406. Initial gh- comes from:
O.I.A. gh-: (r̥̄h) -gharā, honey-comb, (ghata-).
ghai, a bird-net, (ghati).
ghat, a landing place, (ghatta-).
ghuli, a puddle of water, (ghurṣikā).
ghumati, sleep, (? *ghurma + — √ghur, to snore).
g-; by transfer of aspiration;
E. As. ghenāy, accepts, (ṛghnātṛi > *ginhar > yhinnaɪ > ghenāi).
ghop, a dark secluded place, seems to be a blend between (guhā + gopya).

407. Medially and finally, -gh- comes from:
O.I.A. -g-, by assimilation of the following aspiration:
āghon, a month, (agra-hāvana).
ṇaghā, the tying rope of cattle, (pragraha-).
bighā, a measure of land: 1/3 of an acre, (vigraha).
bāgh, a bridle, (avagraha).
O.I.A. -ghr-; bāgh, a tiger, (vyāghra).
-dgh- > M.I.A. -agh-;
ughāle, uproots, (udghāṭayati).
-rgh- > M.I.A. -agh-:
dīghi, tank, (dīṛghikā).
dīghal, long, (dīṛgha+la).
By voicing from -kh-;
sts. reghā, a mark, line, (rekhā).
By dropping of the nasal from
ṛgh-: sts. laghon, fasting. (laṛghana).

Before a following voiced consonant in compounds, tbh. gh tends to be de-aspirated; e.g. bāg-bhāluk for bāgh-bhāluk, tigers and bears:

bāg-bar for bāgh-bar, the name of a place.
THE PALATALS

In dik-chay, long covering, a long distance (? dirgha-cchada-), gh > g > k, in contact with a following unvoiced sound.

408. The O.I.A. palatals have become dentals in Assamese: c, ch being pronounced as (s), and j as (z). The sound jh and the corresponding letter for it are absent in Assamese. Wherever phonetically due, jh is represented by j.

409. The palatals have acquired different sound values in different N.I.A. speeches. In North and East Bengal they are pronounced as dental affricates and pure sibilants respectively, whereas in West Bengal they have become palatal affricates. Marathi again has developed a set of dento-palatals. The historical evolution of these varied sounds has been exhaustively discussed by great linguists (Grierson: J.R.A.S. 1913, pp. 391 ff; Chatterji §§ 132, 255-258).

410. According to the Prakrit grammarians, intervocal palatals were fully articulated in Māgadhī, whereas they were elided in other M.I.A. dialects. This would lead on to the expectation that Assamese is a Magadlian dialect should preserve instances in which intervocal -c-, -j- are retained. But examples of such retention are sporadic. Even where O.I.A. -c-; -j- have been retained they have come through an early Assamese -ṅc-, -ṅj- stage;

e.g. kāc, glass.: E. As. kāṇca (O.I.A. kāca).
  jājā, twin. E. As. yamañja (O.I.A. yamaja).
  pēcā, owl: E. As. peñcā (O.I.A. pecaka).

411. In other places, a word with O.I.A. -c-, -j-, is likely to be taken as a sts. or ts. rather than as a Māgadhī tbh. e.g.

ocar, near, proximity, (upacara). H. or, side.
uju, easy. (ṛju-).
saj, honest, straight-forward, (sahaja-).
sucak, observant, circumspect, (sucakṣu-).

ología
412. The commonest word for "blood" in Assamese is *tej* (tejas). It is difficult to say whether it should be ranked as a sts. or Māg. tbh.; cf. also As. kac, to ānd tightly, (O.I.A. √kac). Against these, there are instances where the O.I.A. palatals are elided, e.g. ghāmaci, prickly heat; (gharma-carcikā); lāi, mustard, (rājilā).

413. In the Māgadhī or Prācya speech of the first M.I.A. stage as illustrated in the inscriptions of Aśoke, ty, dy, dhy, are equated to tiy, yy, dhiy. The changes of ty, dhy, to tiy, dhiy, even where suspected, are likely to be taken as instances of sts. formations e.g. teje. abandons; (tyajati).

- dhiyāē, meditates, contemplates, (dhyāyati).

414. Assamese, however, seems to retain sporadic illustrations of certain Māg. equations like (i) ty. ṛi > uy > As. y.

Examples:

(?) āi, mother; a venerable lady. (*ārīkā).

(?) bāi, elder sister: a polite term to address a lady (varyā > *? varyikā).

(?) bāyāṁ, separate, distinct. (?varjā-).

(ii) ṛī, ny > ṛī > As. ṛī. e.g. keṇā-(ānguli) little finger. (kanya, small). haṇi, haṇārā, a familiar term of address to a woman, (haṇje).

415. In Māgadhī "the y represents a front palatal fricative different from the semi-vowel sound in English "yes". The equivalent of -y- was used in the North-West to express a foreign sound written z in Greek." (Woolner : p. 60).

In Assamese, intervocal -y- from any source has only the value of a semi-vowel. Only in an initial position it has a (z=yz) sound. Assamese has tiyā, occurring every third day as fever, (ṭṛtiya-) as against H.P. tij : pūj, pus, (pūya); kālijā, heart, (kāleya), are imported forms with -j- for -y- > yy.
416. Examples of these changes are not, however, very
common. They are confined only to homely words. In others,
the western M.I.A. changes of ty, dhy, etc. to double palatals
were introduced into Māgadhī and later Māgadhī fell in a
line with other M.I.A. dialects in this matter.

417. Of the two-fold development of ks into M.I.A. kkh,
and cch, the former may have characterised the dialects of
the East and the Midland, and the latter those of the North-
West and the South-West (Bloch § 104; Chatterji § 259).
But through an early inter influence amongst the M.I.A. dia-
lects there has been a mingling of kh and ch forms in all
N.I.A. speeches. The Magadhan dialects characterised by
kkh- development of ks must have obtained (c) (ch) words
as loans through Sauraseni and the Northern speech.

The Sources of C.

418. Initially, c-, comes from O.I.A. c-;
cāndā, an awning, (cāndrātapa).
cāpar, a stroke with the open palm, (cāparu).
sts. cepetā, flat, (cēpiṣṭa > *cēpipṣṭa).
ceḷa, centiped. (cillakā, a cricket).
cāul, rice, (cāṃya+lā).
cāḷii, prostration, (caturāṇga-).
cariya, a washing pot, (caru-).
col, calu, a palmful of water, (cullaka).
cuti, dwarffish, cf. Skt. cuciṣṭi, to become small (pro-
bably of deśi origin.).

O.I.A. s–:
(Lw), camu, straight, (saṃmukha).
(Lw), cambhāle, takes care of. (saṃbhārayati).

O.I.A. tv– > *ty– > M.I.A. cc–:
cāhec, scrapes. (caheci, tvakṣati).
sts. coca, bark, rind, (coca, tvoca).
caṭā, a splinter of bamboo or wood, (tvasta).

The following are of deśi origin:—
cikā, small, (deśi, cikkā).
cicō, emaciated, (D. ciće).
cirikā, drizzle, (D. cirikkā).
cārā, high, (D. caḍai, ascends).
cupi, a small oil vessel, (D. cuppa, oily).
cāh, cultivation, (D. cāsa).
cāpā, conceal, (D. campai).

419. Medial and final -c- comes from
O.I.A. -c-, -cc- > M.I.A. -cc-, -nc-;
  kēcerā, naughty, (kaccara- > *kaṇcara-).
  ucalā, projecting, (ucca+lā+-).
  ucingarā, a cricket, (uccingata-).
  cācē, scrapes (tvakṣati).
O.I.A. -nc-; ācal, hem of a garment, (aṇcala).
  sāc, impression, mark, (saṅca).
  kūcīyā, eel-fish, (kuṇcikā-).
  kōcē, shrinks, (kuṇceti).
  kācī inspissated milk (kāṇcikā).
-rc- > M.I.A. -cc-;
  ghāmaci, prickly heat, (gharmandārī).
-rā- (Lw) ārcī, a mirror, (ādarṣa-). The purely Assamese formation is ārhi < *āraki.
-ty- > M.I.A. -cc-;
  sācā, true (sacca, *saṅca; satya).
  kācē, cuts up, (*kṛtyate).
  gharaciyā, domestic, (*garha < gṛha)+tya).
ācābhuhā, ącbaḥuḥā, strange, (atyaddhūta).
  nāc, dance, (nṛtya).

By unvoicing, from O.I.A. -j-, -nj-;
  pācāni, a cowherd’s stick. (prājana).
  hāci, sneezing, (hāṇji-).
  bicani, a fan, (*vyajanikā-).

420. In borrowed words, Skt. -ś-, -s- are spelt as -c- in Assamese; e.g.
  kalaci, a jar-shaped pinnacle of a temple (kālaśa + -).
  tici, linseed, (atasi).
  bindac, miscarriage by a female animal, (vi-nāśa).
THE PALATALS

CH.

421. There is practically no difference in sound between c, ch. But in recent times there has been a tendency to differentiate the sounds between them. As there is no s sound in Assamese, ch is generally used in transliterating foreign words with an s sound; e.g.

chilani for Shillong;
cheekpiar for Shakespeare.
Some people use sv to represent s- sound.

422. Present Assamese orthography thus uses c for the s-sound of foreign (English) names, and ch for the sh- sound.

The Sources of CH.

423. Initially, ch- comes from

O.I.A. ch-:

sts. chan, deserted, (channa).
chāli, bark of a tree, (challi-, chardis).
chaj, roof, covering, (chadi).
chupā, grove, shrub, (*chuppa, chupa, kṣupa).
chō, an actor's mask, ("chauma, chaduma, chadma).

kṣ- > M.I.A. ch-:

chinā, small, thin, (kṣīna-).
churi, knife, (kṣurikā).
cheō, measure in a dance, (kṣepa).
chip, an angling rod, (kṣipra).
chāi, ashes, (blend between kṣāra+bhasma-).

s-, ś-, s- > probably ch- in late M.I.A.
chāṅ, young one, (śāvuka).
chēi, a pod, (śimbi). cf. Hg. chā, stuffing in pastry.
chutā, pretext, (śūra).
chāy, six. (ṣṭ).”
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kāchā, tortoise, (kacchapa).
sts. kāchuṭi, the hem of a lower garment, (kacchaṭikā).
gachā, a lamp-stand, (gaccha-).
pīch, rear, (picchā).
bīchānā, bcd, (vīchādana).
-kṣ-, bāche, selects, (vṛksate).
bīchōh, sorrow, (vīkṣobha).
-ñch-, pōche, wipes. (prōñchati).
lōc < loch, border of cloth that sweeps the ground when worn, (M.I.A. luchai, luñchai rubs; Skt. luñcāti, pulls T.).
-ts- > M.I.A. -cch-;
bachar. year. (vatsara).
bāchā, young one, (vatsa).
sts. uchuryā, dedication, (utsarga-).
sts. bibhach, ugly, (bibhatsa).
-tsy- > M.I.A. -cch-;
māch, fish, (matsya).
-thy-; michā, false, (mithyā-).
lechāri, a long metre, (rathyā+-).
-re-; kochā, bundle, (kūrca-).
-śc-; bichā, scorpion, (vṛścika-).
sts. pachim, west, (paścima).
śr-; moch, beard, (mhačchu, śmaśru).

The Sources of J.

425. The jh sound and the corresponding letter for it are absent in Assamese and whenever it is phonologically due in spelling, it is written as -j-. Only in some rare instances the symbol for -jh- is used and it is regarded as archaic and pedantic.

426. Initially j- comes from

O.I.A. j-; e.g.
jari, rope, (jaṭi-).
jaruṇa, a mole on the skin, (jaṭula).
jār, cold, (jādya).
jalāh, a large sheet of water, (jalāśaya).
THE PALATALS

jīp, moisture, (jībā+vāspa).
jokār, sound of greeting, (jaya+kār > *jau+kāra).
jouār, flood-tide, (*javakāra; java, speed T.).

O.I.A. jh- < -kš-;

jāo, over-burnt brick. (jhāmaka, kṣāma).
jare, oozes out, (jharaï, kṣaraï).
jikā, a kitchen fruit. (cf. jhiyga-).
jār, a big forest (jhāta).

M.I.A. jh-;

jōlāï, tease, stir. (M.I.A. √/jhāykh).
jure, clears forest by cutting down trees. (M.I.A. jhodai-).
jāre, winnows, (cf. M.I.A. jhādāvana).
jarii, continued showers, (D. jhadi, O.I.A. jhatikā, monsoon showers).
jōpā, basket with a lid, (M.I.A. √/jhāmp, to shut up).
japaṭiyā, entwine, (D. jhampa, entangled).
jōlongā, wallet, (M.I.A. jholīa).
jōpā, a shrub, (D. jhumpa).
jāmara, subsides, as a swelling. (jhāma-; kṣama-).

O.I.A. jy-;

jeṣṭhā, father’s elder brother, (jyeṣṭha+tāta).
jonāk, moon-light, (juṭstvē-).

jv-;

jār, fever. (juvara).
jale, shines, (juvalati).

dy-;

juyārī, a gambler. (dyūta+kāra-).
jui, fire, (dyutī).

y-;

jājā, twins. (yamaja). E. As. yamañja.
jokhe, weighs. (yokṣyaï, will recollect T.).
jābar, refuse, sweepings, (yāvya+ta T.).
jor, a pair, a couple. (joda: O.I.A. √yaut (d).
jame, freezes, co-agulates, (yamyate, is fixed: M.I.A.
jamei, collects, T).
427. Medially and finally -j- comes from O.I.A. -jj-; kažalà, blackish, (kažjala-).
   lāj, shame, (lajjā).
   mājā, the core or inner part, (majjā-).
   sāj, dress, (sajjā).
   -jjv-; ujalā, prominent. (ujjvala-).
   -jy-; banij, trade. (vānijya).
   -ñj-; pūji, hoard, capital, (puñja-).
   pājī, a ball of cotton, (pañji-).
   lāj, tail. (lañjā).
   pājar, flank, (pañjara).
   -dy-; khoj, foot-step. (kṣodya-).
   akhāj, not fit for eating, (akhāḍya).
   bej, physician. (vājya).
   mej, tumour. (medya).
   muje, shuts up as eyes. (muḍyate).
   -dhy-; ojā, teacher. (upādhyāya).
   māj, middle. (madhya).
   sāj, evening. (sandhyā).
   bājā, barren. (vandhyā-).
   beji, needle. (vedhya-).
   meji, a stack of straws for ceremonial burning,
   (medhya-).
   -bj-; kūjā, hump-backed. (kubja-).
   -y-; > yy; teoj, year before last, (trtaya > *trtayya).
   kalijā, heart. (kāleya, *kāleyya).
   pūj, pus, (pūya > *pūyya).
   bhatijā, nephew, (bhrātriya > *bhrātriyya).
   -yy-; sejā, bed of a river, (sayyā-).
   -rj-; khajuli, itches, (kharju-).
   gājani, thundering, (garjàn-).
   khejur, date tree, (kharjura).
   -ry-; kāj, work, (kārya).
   ājo, (kakāi), the great grand father, (ārya + pada).
   -hy-; bojā, load, (vañya-).
   guj-bhûi, private parts, (guhya-bhûmi-).

The word gāj, sprout, < D. gajja, wheat.
THE CEREBRALS

428. O.I.A. -ya- of passive forms > -ia, -iya-, -i- in early Assamese, and remains -i- in certain idiomatic expressions in modern Assamese (§§. 751 ff). In the Western AP. O.I.A. -ya- (passive) > -iya, -ijja > -ija. The adjectival -iya- affix similarly becomes -ia, -ija. Assamese possesses no relics of the -ijja-passive. Of the -iya, -aya affix > iijja, -ajja, Assamese has teoj (shewn above) for tṛtaya > tiajjja; kalijja, heart, (kalyja); bhattija, (bhṛatiya-).

In its words, Skt. y- is pronounced as j-, in initial positions, e.g. jadi for Skt. yadi. Intervocally y is subscribed and has the y-pronunciation. With conjuncts y is pronounced as j intervocally in tss. e.g. kārja for kārya; samjukta for samyukta.

THE CEREBRALS.

429. The cerebrals and dentals though differentiated in spelling have both acquired values as alveolars. The loss of distinction and the establishment of alveolar pronunciation have been attributed to Tibeto-Burman influence (Grierson: Indian Antiquary: Supplement; 1933. October: p. 156). In the languages of the Tibeto-Burman group dental consonants are pronounced as semi cerebrals as in English (L.S.I., Vol. III. Part II. p. 41). Under the levelling influence of the surrounding Tibeto-Burman dialects, both the cerebrals and the dentals have lost their proper enunciations.

430. Historically Assamese belongs to the cerebralisng group of N.I.A. languages, i.e., under the influence of a neighbouring r or r. dentals are cerebralisred.

431. As an eastern speech, Assamese inherited both cerebralisred forms and the cerebralisred instinct from the eastern M.I.A.; but the alveolar pronunciation of both the series seems to have given to Assamese a fresh momentum towards spontaneous cerebralisation. Loan-words from foreign and non-Aryan sources and also unfamiliar sts. words are spelt with cerebrals, e.g. ṭagar, a kind of flower (tagara), ṭagambari, destitute, (tvagambara-). When the spelling is

△—25
meant to be adjusted to the sound, the dentals are supposed not to represent the sound properly, and to give the sound the value of something other than the dental (which is, however, present to the eye and not to the ear), it is represented by the cerebrals. But purists with an eye on the etymology often write tagar, tagambari.

432. Loan-words from foreign non-Aryan sources are, however, spelt with the cerebrals e.g. English: station = istechan: court=kort.

Boço: dibru = dibru.
dihiñ = dihiñ or dihiñ.

The Sources of -T- (Cerebral)

433. Initially, -t- represents

O.I.A. -t-;

tale, is moved. (talati-).
tekelā, an errand-boy. (cf. tikuϕate, is gone).
tangī, wedge. (tanga+).
terā, squint-eyed. (terakā).
tokonā, poor, niggardly. (? takka).
t- (dental) > t- by spontaneous cerebralisation: e.g. tāru, a wooden ladle. (tāru-).
tākurī, a spindle. (tarku-).
sts. tagar, a flower. (tagara).
tenga, sour, acrid. (tigma- > M.I.A. tigga-, *tinga-, tēnga-).
ton, quiver. (tūṇa).
takacā, to put off with promises. (? tarka).
tang, tangī, a loft. (tamaṅga-).
tahal, move about aimlessly. (* < tahalla, extension of Skt. trakhati, T.).
talak, ponder deeply. (tala- + k > -kk).
E.As. tāmaṅ, mischievous fellow. (* tāmra + na).
tepā, saturated with moisture, (cf. tipate, to be moistened).
tanguvā, poverty-stricken. (? taŋkana).
tāi, boast, exaggeration. (tāya+).
THE CEREBRALS

†ah, foot-step, (√ tarh, to move).

†orvā, †orvāga, shrivelled up (*takta : √tañc, to shrink).

†erguciá, to limp, (√ tañg, to tremble, to stumble + *tya).

†ani, bamboo frame for a scoop-net, (tanikā, a string).

sts. †aṣṭha, (uaṣṭha), passive, "sitting on the fence (tāṣṭha).

†akalā, bald-headed due to skin disease, (takman-).

O.I.A. tr- : tuše, diminishes, (truṭyati).

tv- : sts. †agambari, reduced to extreme poverty (tvagama- bartā-).

†īmak, quick of understanding, flash of passion, (M.I.A. timma = ? c tvisma, √ tvīṣa, to glitter).

O.I.A. st- ; sts. †om, tom, a wicker basket, (stoma).

sts. †abha, †abha, stuccified, (stambha).

Of dēsī origin are †upi (torpia).

†akar, sharp sound : †okāri, a musical instrument played upon by striking (D. ́okkar).

†āti, fence, (D. ṭaṭṭi).


434. Medially and finally -t- comes from

O.I.A. -ṭṭ- > M.I.A. -ṭṭ-;

kuṭe, cuts up, (kuṭṭayati).

ghāṭ, a landing place, (ghaṭṭa).

pāṭ, silk, (pattā).

āṭāh, loud scream, (aṭṭa + hāsa.)

āṭāl, loft in a house. (aṭṭāla).

keṭār, eye-dirt, (kīṭṭa + --).

bheṭi, site of a house. (bhiṭṭa T.).

-tv- ; e.g. khāṭe, supplicates, (khāṭyate ; √ khaṭ).

tuše, diminishes, (truṭyati).

tuṣe, plunders, (luṭyati).

-khṭ, bed-stead, (khaṭvā).

-tr- (dental) : baraṭi, a strap, (varatrā-)

chāṭe, covers, (*chatrayati).

-tr- (dental) : māṭi, earth, (mṛṭikā).

bheṭā, dam, enclosure, (bhiṭṭa, wall).
XI. PHONOLOGY

-nt- (dental): śēṭu, throat, (cf. tantukī, a tubular vessel of the body).

-rt-: bāṭi, a cup, (vartikā).
  bāṭalu, a round and circular thing (varta+la+uka).

-rtm-: bāṭ, road, (late Skt. nāṭa < nartma-).

-ṛṣṭ-: ṛṣṭā, dregs, refuse, (āṣṭṭṭā-).
  piṭe, strikes, (*piṣṭati).
  bhāṭi, falling, receding; cf. bhāṭā, ebb-tide, (bhṛṣṭa).
  itā, brick, (iṣṭaka-).
  miṭ, amicable settlement, (miṭāvai, O I.A. mṛṣṭa, T.).

-ṛṣṭ-: ut, camel, (uṣṭra).

-ṛṣṭ- (dental): pāḷṭ, turned up, (paryastu).

-ṛnt-: > M.I.A. -ṛnt-: bāṭ, teat, (uṇṇa).

-ṛṇ-: bāṭā, privo. (vaṃṭa + -).
  kāṭ, thorn, (kanṭaka + ika).

Of ḍēṣī origin is liṭṭāi, an obsequious follower, (D. liṭṭia, flattery).

The Sources of TH.

435. Initially, ṭh- comes from O.I.A. sth- (dental):
sts. ṭhag, a rogue. (sthaga = M.I.A. ṭhaga).

sts. ṭhagi, a betel-nut tray, (sthagi).
  ṭhāwara, to ascertain, (sthāvara) cf. H. ṭhāhar.
  ṭhānuva, well-shaped, comely. (sthāna, posture of a body, T.).
  ṭholā, hollow, indentation. (cf. stha-puṭa).
  ṭheregā, ṭharaṅgā, stiff, rigid (*sthara, cf. Skt. sthalati, is firm).
  ṭhalarā, large, flabby, (? sthāla-).
  ṭhari, a stalk, a leaf stem. (M.I.A. ṭhaddha).
  ṭhāni, branch. (cf. sthanu, a bare stem).
  ṭhāi, spot, also ṭhāwa, place, (*sthāman).

st- (dental): ṭhakar, to strike against, (?√ stak).

tr- (dental): sts. ṭhāṭ, beak, bill, (troṭi).

By initial aspiration:
  theng, leg, (ṭanka).

By dropping of the initial vowel:
  thilā, a stopple, (aṭhīḷā).
The Dentals

\(\text{ṭh-} \); \(\text{ṭhākur}\), an idol, from Skt. \(\text{ṭhakkura}\).
Of deśi origin is \(\text{ṭhāṭ}\), pomp, show, (D. \(\text{ṭhāṭa}\)).

436. (Contents dropped).

437. Medially and finally -\(\text{ṭh-}\) comes from
O.I.A. -\(\text{ṇṭh-}\); \(\text{sāṭhi}\), anything dried like cow-dung,
   (cf. \(\sqrt{\text{ṣunṭh}}\)).
-\(\text{ṇṭh-}\) (dental): \(\text{gaṭhi}\), knot, (\(\text{granṭhi}\)-).
-\(\text{ṛṭh-}\): \(\text{caṭhā}\), fourth day, (\(\text{caturṭha}\)).
-\(\text{ṣṭ-}\): \(\text{nāṭḥ}, \text{loss}, (\text{naṣṭa}).
   \(\text{rūṭhā}\), angry, harsh, (\(\text{ruṣṭa}\)).
   \(\text{jāṭhi}\), a lance, a spear, (\(\text{yaṣṭi}\)-).
   \(\text{miṭhā}\), sweet, (\(\text{miṣṭa}\)-).
   \(\text{diṭṭhak}\), vision, (\(\text{ḍṛṣṭa}\)).

By blending:
\(\text{mēṭhāni}\), a woman's girdle, (\(\text{mekhalā + veṣṭanikā}\)).
\(\text{lāṭhūwā}\), vicious, (\(\text{laṭa + naṣṭa}\)).
\(\text{kāṭhūwā}\), severe, (\(\text{kaṭu + kaṣṭa}\)).
-\(\text{ṭḥ-}\); e.g. \(\text{ṭhī}\), the stone of a fruit, (*\(\text{aṅṭhi} < \text{aṭṭhi-} < \text{aṭṭhi-}\)).
\(\text{pūṭhī}\), a kind of fish, (\(\text{proṣṭhi-}\)).
\(\text{āṭhū}\), knee, (\(\text{aṣṭhāvati}\)).
\(\text{bhaṭhā}\), oar, (\(\text{vaḥṣṭhā-}\), driving or carrying best).
\(\text{aṅgūṭhī}\), ring, (\(\text{aṅgusthā-}\)).
\(\text{kāṭhī}\), verandah of a house, (\(\text{kāṭha}, \text{*kāṣṭhikā}\)).
\(\text{kōṭhā}\), a fort, (a blend of \(\text{koṭṭa + koṣṭha}\)).
\(\text{kolaṭhī}\), the soft belly-part of a fish, (Pāli, \(\text{kolaṭṭhi} = \text{kola + aṭṭhi}\)).
\(\text{āmaṭhī}, \text{āmaṭhu}\), the kernel inside the stone of a mango fruit, (\(\text{āmra + aṭṭhi}\)).
-\(\text{ṭh-}\); e.g. \(\text{paṭhāy}\), sends, (\(\text{pra + sthāpayati}\)).
\(\sqrt{\text{ṛṭh}}, \text{rise}, (\text{ut+√ṣṭhā}).
\(\text{sāṭhan}\), ability, resources, (\(\text{sāṃsthitāna}\)).

The Dentals.

438. The dentals are pronounced exactly in the same way as the cerebrals, viz., as alveolars. The dentals have a
uniform history except that there are changes in the direction of cerebralisation (which was also native to Māgadhī) and palatalisation in connection with -y- (which was non-Māgadhī) and just in a few cases of labialisation in connection with a labial or denti-labial (which was also non-Māgadhī). The non-cerebralised forms in the presence of a preceding r in O.I.A. are apparent loan-words from the Western dialects. (cf. O.D.B.L. § 273).

The Sources of T.

439. Initially t- comes from
O.I.A. t-;
    tapīna, hip, buttock, (taipana-).
    tūvāl, with of a young bamboo, (tamāla).
    tār, bracelet worn on the arm, (cf. taṭāka, a large ear-ring).
    titā, wet, (*tina ∨ tim, to wet).
    tr-; terā, thirteen, (trayodaśa).
    tini, three, (trini-).
    tv-; turanté, speedily, (*tvaranta-).
    tāi, thou, (tvayā-)
    st-; sts, tom, wicker basket for storing grains, (stoma).
    tadāhā, amazed. (stabāha).

440. Medial and final -t- represents
O.I.A. -jkt-; pāti, order, line, (paśkri-).
    -tt-; pit, bile (pitta).
    -t-; > M.I.A. -tt-; jīt, victory, (jīta, > * jīta).
    -thh-; āhat, a kind of tree, (aśvattha).
    tutiyā, blue vitriol, (tuttha-).
    -tm-; atā, grand-father, a revered person, (ātma-).
    -ty-; sts, da'it, demon, (dāiyā > * dāita).
    -tr-; e.g. sutā, thread, (sutra).
    citā, a leopard, (citra-).
    māut, an elephant driver, (mahā-matra).
    chāti, an umbrella, (chatra-).
    dhuti, waist-cloth, (* dhautra-).
    -tv-; cotāl, court-yard, (cātvāla).
**THE DENTALS**

itār, common, (itvāra).

-kt-; bhāt, rice, (bhākta).

lātā, rag, (laktaka-).

rātul, red, (rakta-).

-ktr-; jōt, cord, rope, esp. of the yoke of a plough (yoktra).

-nt-; -ntr- > M.I.A. -nt-; e.g.

śāt, tranquil, (śānta).

seōtā, parting of hair, (śimanta-).

śāntar, swimming, (śantara).

āt, entrails, (antra).

jāt, mill, (yantra).

tāt, loom, (tantra).

neōtā. invitation, (nimantra-).

māte. calls, (mantrayate).

karōtā. doer, (M.I.A. karunta-).

śunōtā. hearer, (M.I.A. sunanta-).

pl. suff -hāt (santa. > hanta);

Past conditional post-position. hēten (*sante + na, > hante+na).

lāhāti. a foppish woman. (*lāsavantikā).

phulōtā. a woman skilled in embroidery. (*phullanvantikā).

O.I.A. -pt-; e.g. sāt, seven. (sapta-).

nātī. grand-son. (napīrka).

-rt-; e.g. kōti. the neme of a month, (kārtika).

bātāri. news, (vāri : M.I.A. vattadi). (Lw.) bhātāra, an uncastrated bull (cf. H. bhatāra.

husband. (a Western form corresponding to Eastern bhaṭāraka).

-st-; -sth-. e.g. hāt. hand. (hasta).

dhātūrā. a poisonous plant. (dhūtūra-).

śitān. the part of the bed where the head is placed, (śiras + sthāna).

By de-aspiration of -th-;

sts. sūti. a flower. (yūthikā).

putal. breadth, (prth-. cf. prthula).
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The Sources of TH.

441. Initially, th- comes from

O.I.A. st-; sth- > M.I.A. th-;
\( \text{thōpā, bunch. (stupa > stuppa > thoppa).} \)
\( \text{thokā, cluster, as of fruits, (stawaka: M.I.A. thavakka).} \)
\( \text{thaīg, is within depth. (* stāghati).} \)
\( \text{therā, old, (stihavira > Pāli therā).} \)
\( \text{thāli, a big vessel, (sthalikā).} \)
\( \text{thālyā, a sack, (stara cf. Mrcch: jāṇathalake - yānastara-).} \)
\( \text{thāke, remains, (\(\text{\(\text{/thakk: O.I.A.? *\text{/sthā+ka).} \)}} \)

The following words can be traced only to desī sources:
\( \text{thār, handful of reaped corn. (D. thaḍa, multitude).} \)
\( \text{thirikani, rain-drops, (D. thāra, cloud).} \)
\( \text{thol-gol, round. (D. thora).} \)

The following are of unknown origin:
\( \text{thāp, clutching;} \)
\( \text{thūtari, chin;} \)
\( \text{thukuc, to chop;} \)
\( \text{thōtā, stammering;} \)
\( \text{thetelā, crushing;} \)

442. In the interior of words, -th- represents:

O.I.A. -tr-; māthō, māthon, just. (mātra + na).
-nth-; kēthā, blanket. (kunthā-).
\( \text{mathāri, embankment. (manthara- > *manthra-).} \)
\( \text{gāthā, stringing. (\/aranth).} \)

-rth-; bethā, (burtā-bethā), old and infirm. (viarthha-).
-st-; -str; puthī, book. (pustikā).
\( \text{pathār, field, (prastāra).} \)
\( \text{pāthār, stone, (prastara).} \)
\( \text{māthā, a plant. (mustā-).} \)

E.As. bhāthi, bellows, (bhastri-).
\( \text{āthe-bethe, in great hurry, (asta-vyasta).} \)
THE DENTALS

-sth-; pathān, the part of the bed where the feet are placed, (pada + sthāna).

pathāli, breadth, (praṣṭha +).

āthāntar, a bad turn, (avasthāntara).

The Sources of D.

443. Initial d-: comes from

O.I.A.  d-: dām, heap, (damhha, dambh, to collect).

dārāk, tether, (dṛdha + kka).

dāji, curdled milk, (dādhi-).

dāji, bamboo split for weaving into a mat, (cf. vdo, to cut, reap).

dār, teeth, (dāṅgṛā).

dāpoṇ, mirror, (darpāṇa).

don, a basket containing a certain measure, (dṛṇa).

dr-, dagar, a small drum, (drakata, also draḍada).

dām, price, (dramya. Gk. drakhme).

dv-, sts. dand, quarrel, (dvanda).

dui, two, (dvī > Pāli. dvve).

dvīyā, island in the middle of a river, (dvīpa-).

444. Medially and finally, it comes from

O.I.A. -dd-: kodāl, a spade, (kuddāla).

odāl, a tree, (uddāla).

-dr-: ud, otter, (udra).

• khud. particles of rice, (ksudra).

sts. śet-bhedālī, a plant, (āṛeta-bhadrāli-).

sts. ra’d, sun-shine, (raydra).

mude. seals, (mudrayati).

āḍā, ginger, (ādraka-).

bhāḍā, a month, (bhādra-pada).

-dh-; -dḍh-; by de-aspiration

sts. sāūḍ, a merchant, (sāḍhū-).

sts. āḥudi, drug, (ausadhi).

bandāli, a flower, (bandhūli-).

sondā, sweet-smelling, (sau-gandha-).

śūḍā, unmixed, (śuddha-).

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muhudi, sweetening the mouth after eating, (mukha + suddhi-).

-nd-; mādār, a tree, (mandāra).

nādān- bādān, luxuriant, (nandana + vandana).

-rd-; pād, breaking wind, (parda).

mādal, a drum, (mardala).

-rdh-; ādāh, middle-age, (ardha + śa).

By voicing from -t;

sts. paduli, gate-way. (pratoli, M.I.A. padolī).

sts. bāduli, bat, (vātuli-).

Intrusive after intervocal -n-;

. bāndar, monkey, (vānara).

khāne. khānde, digs. (khanvate. * khanvai).

dhun. mental perplexity. (dhūna).

mākhundē, a female elephant, (matkunā-).

The Sources of DH.

445. Initially dh- comes from

O.I.A. dh-; dhōnā, smoke, (dhūma-).

dhumūhā, storm, (dhūmrābhā-).

sts. dhūtvī, cleansing. washing. (dhyatā-).

dhun, decoration. especially in dress. (* dhūsā, √dhūs. to decorate).

sts. dhupāl. scorching heat, (dhūpa+).

dhupāle, washes. cleanses as teeth, (? dhayuta+ plava).

dhēmāli, sport, romping, (dhāva + karma-).

dhūnā, incense. (dhyapana-).

dhen (-dīyā), giving birth to a calf; applied to animals. cf. dhenā, milk-cow.

dhanā. dhenā, blasted as a fruit, (Cf. dhānā, fried grain).

dhr-.; dhuvā, refrain, (dhrūvaka).

dhv-. e.g. dhāhe. falls off. (dhvatsati : √dhvas).

sts. dhaaj, mark, symbol, (dvaja).

446. In the interior of words, it comes from

O.I.A. -gdh-; dudh, milk, (dugdha).
THE LABIALS

-dhm-; udhmāṇa, earthen support for cooking vessel,

-bdh-; tadhā, amazed, (stabdha).

-rdh-; ādh, half, (ardha).

mūdh, ridge of a house, (mūrdha-).

By assimilation of aspiration


pondhārā, fifteen, (paṇḍaraha > *pandaruhā >

THE LABIALS.

447. No change is noticed in the articulation of labials.
The bi-labial spirant pronunciation which characterises certain
dialectical areas in Eastern-Bengal is not observable
in Assamese.

448. Assamese is also free from the labialisation of the
O.I.A. groups of dental stops or aspirates +m. or v which
is found in M.I.A. and which characterises Western languages
like Gujarāṭi and Sindhi (Bloch §. 129; Chatterji §. 277).
Excepting O.I.A. atman- which has given Assamese āpon,
ātā, there does not appear to be anything like a tendency
towards labialisation. Even the Bengali affix -panā, indicating
abstract quality, is absent in Assamese.

Words shewing labialisation of dental stops + m, v, are
apparently loan-words in Assamese.

The Sources of P.

449. Initially. p- comes from

O.I.A. p-; parali, a covering, roof, (paṭala-).

puli, the seedling, (pulaka. cf. tṛṇa- pulaka).

pārā, section of a village, (pātaka-).

pāṅ, a vegetable creeper, (pāṭikā).

pāb, the part between the two joints as of the finger,

bamboo, etc., (parvan).

pāti- (bāh), domestic goose that cannot fly; pedes-

trian, (patti-).

pr-; pācan, a goad to drive cattle, (prājana).
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palam, delay, (pralamba).
pāhāre, forgets, (pra-smarāti).
paghā, a rope to tie up cattle, (pragrāha-).
pohā, palmful, (prasṛta-).
pohār, light, (prabhā+Ja).
sts. patihā, expectation, (pratyāśa).
   (ā-) paicān, close attendance: Cf. H. pahicān,
   (pratyabhiṣigāna).
pl-, pungā, a float in a fishing rope, (? plavaṅga).

450. In the interior of words, -p- is from:
O.I.A. -tp-; opāje, is born, (utpatyate).
   opace, overflows, (? utpatyate).
   -tm-; āpā, son (vulgar); (ātma-).
   āpon, own, (atmanah-).
   pimparā.
   -pp-; pipāli, medicinal herb, (pippalī-).
   -pr-; bāpā, father, (vapra-).
   dip-rip, shining, beautiful, (dipra+*lipra).
   chip, angling rod, (kṣipra).
   -mp-; sts. kāpāni, shivering, (kampana-).
   -mpr-; khōpā, hair done into a knot, (Vedic. kṣumpra).
   -rp-; kapāh, cotton, (karpāsa).
   căpar, blow with the palm, (carpaṭa).
   sāp, snake, (sarpa).
-lp-; śipini, a woman knowing needle work, (śilpinī-).
-šp-; bẖāp, steam (bāṣpa > *bappha, *bhappa, >
   *bhampa > bhāp).
By final de-aspiration.
sts. śipā, root, (śiphā).
sts. sep. phlegm, (M.I.A. sepaha).

The sources of PH.

451. Initially ph- comes from
O.I.A. ph-; e.g.
   phalā, a slate, (phalaka-).
   pheruvā, a fox, (pherava-).
THE LABIALS

phāki, artifice, (phakkikā).


sts. phār, shield, (phara).

phantā, sandal, (? *phanitira, phan, to move about). cf. also, phānaśi.

phēhu, the first milk of a milch animal, cf. H. phenus
(∀ phan : phānayati, to skim off the surface of a fluid, cf. phena).

phopolā, hollow, (unnum. phupa+).

phike, swells, (spīta- > phia+kka. Cf. spīte, wins.
< jita+ka).

U.I.A. p-; pr (by aspiration).

phēcā, owl, (*peñcā, *peccaa, pecaka).

phichā, tail of a fish, (piccha-).

phariṅg, grass-hopper, (M.I.A. phadinya, patanga).

phalikār, clear, (pariśkāra, contam. with Persian.
pharaśā).

phāni, comb, (phana-).

phor, slightly stitching together (prota, stitched).

phāhiṇyā, cut up into thin splits; (M.I.A. phamśa:
sparsa).

sp-; spli- > M.I.A. ph-;
phande, trembles, (spandate).

phorā, boil, (spoṭaka-).

phure, walks, (spurattī).

phāh, noose, (*spāśa T.).

phāik, much, abundance, (spāti-).

phirinīṭati, spark, (spulinga+vrta-, T.).

By unvoicing, phīṅgā, a bird, (late Skt. phīṅgakā < bhṛṣga-).

452. In the interior of words, -ph- comes from

O.I.A. -mph-; e.g. goph, moustache, (gumphā).

lāph, jumping, (lampha).

-tsp-; -tsp- > M.I.A. -pph-; e.g.
ophānd, to swell, (ut+√spand).

ophār, to bound off, (ut+√spahr).
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- sph-; óphále, dashes, (á-sphálayati).
By medial aspiration,
    sáphurá, a casket, (sampúta-).

The sources of B.

453. Initially, b- comes from

O.I.A. b-; sts. bagali, a crane, (baka-).
    barahi, fishing hook, (bádiša-).
    bándhá, friend, (bándhava).
    bá, bámun, a Brahmin, (bráhmaṇa).
    bole, says, (M.I.A. bollai, extension of O.I.A. √bá).

v-; bámi, a fish, (vármí-)
    hiha, a bundle of twenty, (M.I.A. vásā; viniśati).
    bukh, chest, (vṛkṣa-).
    banti, a light, lamp, (vartikā).
    bári, a widow, (vándā > *vándikā).
    baramti, a leathern strap, (váratrā).
    báj, drain, (váhi).

vy-; bagh, tiger, (vyaghra).
    beo, measure, (vyáma).

báhá, business, (vyavásya).

dv-; bárá, twelve, (dvádaśa).
    báśi, twenty-two, (dváviniśati).

By voicing, boká, mud, (pa)ka > M.I.A. -vánka).
By de-aspiraion from -bh-:
    báinái, sister’s husband, (*bhaginiká-pati).

454. In the interior of words, -b- represents:

O.I.A. -dv- > M.I.A. -bb-:
    (Lw) chábbiše, twenty-six, (sa)dviniśati).
-rb-, dubalá, weak, (durbala-).
    bábará, a grain, (barbaṭi-).

-rv-; páb, the part between two joints, (parva-).
    khábüja, dwarffish, (kharva-).
    cóbá, chewing, (carva-).
    dáb, the handle of a knife, (darva).
    dubári, bent-grass, (dūrvá+).
THE LABIALS

-dbh-; gāb, pregnancy, (garbhā).
dābcā, grass, (darbha+-.)

By de-aspiration from -bh-;

hābhiyāh, hābilās, longing, (abhilāsa); -h- being pro-

thetic, for elision of -l-, see (§ 485).

For -b in verbal nouns like khāba, eating; kariba, doing
etc. see under “Semi-Vowels” (§§ 476, 477).

The sources of BH.

455. Initial bh- comes from

O.I.A. bh-; sts. bhāng, defeat, (bhangə).
bhāgār, fatigue, (bhagna+fa).
bhurukā, a small earthen vessel, (cf. √bhund, to
support).
bharak, threat, vain boast. Cf. Bg. bharaṇi, a trumpet,
(*bhadakkka, bhata, a soldier).
bhētā, dam, enclosure, (bhitta, a wall).
bhebhuō, struck with fear; amazed. (bhetoṭṭya-).
bhel, a raft, (bhelaka).
bhāj, a bend (bhaṇja).
bhacahu, simple, idiotic (M.I.A. bhasa-; bhasma-)
c- shewing it is a loan-word. Cf. N. bhasari.

b- } (by aspiration. spontaneous and transferred):

bhusi, chaff, (busa-).
bhūp, steam, (bāspa).

sts. bhōt, disguise, dress, (reṣa).
bhairā, a medicinal plant, (vahetaka).
bhābāri, sweepings, (babhra-; babhra, a sweeper).

bhy-; (by dropping initial vowel).
bhīṭār, interior, (abhyaṇtara).
bhij, be drenched, (√abhyaṇṭ).
bhr-; bhomorā, black-bee, (bhramara).
bhai, brother, (bhṛār-)
bhōj, to fry, (√bhōsati).

m- (with -h- following, by transposition).
bhelā, abundant, (*mhilla < *mihalla < *misalla
< miśra+la).
456. Medially and finally, -bh- is from

O.I.A. ṛdhva-: ṛbh, to erect, (ubbhaa, ārdhva-).
-rbh-; gābhini, pregnant, (garbhini-).

gābharu, youthful as a girl, (garbha+rūpa).

-ḥv-; > -vha-, -bhav-, intervocally -bhh- (Pischel § 332).

jībhā, tongue, (jihvā-).

bibhol, confused, (bihvāla-).

F. As. bibhā, marriage, is an example of aspiration through transposition of -h-, from a form like *bibāha= vivāha (O.D.B.L. § 238).

O.I.A. vivāha, yields As. biyā.

Amongst common words of desī origin, are the following:—

bhēṭī. bribe, reward (D. bhitta, reward).

bhale. is warped, distorted by heat, (Cf. D. bhalanta).

bhul. mistake, (M.I.A. bhulō).

bhōtā. bhōdā. bhōlā. simple, straight-forward: seem all to be connected with the radical of M.I.A. bhola, straight-forward.

THE NASALS : Mod. As. (ṇ, n, m).

457. All the five class-nasals of Sanskrit are retained in Assamese orthography but in point of articulation they have reduced themselves to three only. O.I.A. and M.I.A. anusvāra has disappeared in Assamese or has resulted in a mere nasalisation (§§ 292ff). In tss and sts. Sanskrit anusvāra figures, but it has a η pronunciation now. This is seen clearly when a Sanskrit word with interior anusvāra undergoes anaptyxis e.g. Skt. maṇsa > M.I.A. maṇśa > As. sts. mayāḥ; vaṇśa > vaṇśa > As. sts. > baṇah; aṇī > aṇī > As. aṇahī.

It would thus appear that the anusvāra has developed the η pronunciation in Assamese.

458. (ṇ, n) : these two nasals occurred only before their corresponding class consonants in O.I.A. In M.I.A. ni occurs initially, and ſḥi intervocally as a result of the simplification of consonant groups with nasals; e.g. Pāli. niṇa. (jñāna); aṇiṇa (anya); but η does not occur initially, neither are -n-, -η- and -ηη- found intervocally.
459. In modern Assamese η is met with in intervocal and final positions only: it is derived from M.I.A. -ηg and is written intervocally as -ηg-, -η-, and finally as -ηg, -η, -ṅ. 

460. In certain dialectical areas in Kāmrūp, η is pronounced as a bi-labial semi-vowel ~w; e.g. tenā, acid, is pronounced as te~wā; and conversely in other dialectical areas in Kāmrūp ~w~ is pronounced as -η- e.g. āṇā, immature, St. coll. cwnā (ama-); taṇāl, bamboo withe, St. coll. tāwāl (tamāla-); āṇhi, night of the first moon; St. coll. āūsī, āūhi (amā+vāśī-); jaṇi, yoke, St. coll. juwāl (yuga+la-).

461. It does not appear that η is used for the ~w~ sound in the standard colloquial, nor is η for ~w~ met with in early Assamese. In E. As. udayā unrestrained, free, is written for uddama. In Bengāli S.K.K. (p. 81. 142) uddā occurs for uddāma. In modern Assamese, however, udevi occurs for uddama. This must be regarded as a dialectical borrowing from Kāmrūp where we have η for -m- (> ~w~).

462. O.I.A single intervocal -m- (> M.I.A. -ηw-) is reduced to nasalisation with or without a glide element in Assamese, e.g.

\√ācō, to wash after eating. (ā+√cam).
āhīyā, having the smell of flesh. (āmīn-).
āūsī, the night of new moon. (amā+vāśī-).
calō, 1 movec. (calāmi, kalami. *calā~w, *calāu).
gāō, village. (grāma).
jiṅ, overburnt brick. (jhāma, ksāma-).
gosāi, a vaisnava guru. (gosvāmin).
bhūyā, a landlord. (bhūmi-).
seōtā, parting of hair (simanta-). (see also § 296; Treatment of intervocal -m-).

463. The reverse process of nasalising spontaneously a -w- sound either original (i.e. < -v- in Skt.) or derived (e.g. from -p- of O.I.A. or from elision of O.I.A. -h-) is also found in tōhsl; e.g.

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ār, screen, (apaśi).
chā, shadow, (chāyā, *chāw; Kampi chāw).
kādi, the dry stalk of jute plant devoid of bark (*kāyika, kāya, the trunk of a tree).
kūvā, a well, (kūpa-).

464. There are also instances of modern Assamese -m-, from M.I.A. sound groups like -mb-, -mm-, -mh-, being pronounced as -w- (also ~y, ~i after a palatal front vowel). e.g.
chēi, pod as of a bean, (śimbikā).
āwar, āvari, falling sickness, (apasmāra-).
jouā, cast seeds in a nursery, den. √from janma.
sār, a kind of deer, (śambara).

The ņ sound in Assamese.

465. ņ denoted the sound of the nasalised palatal glide ~y in early and middle Assamese. It was also often used for ~w- e.g.
gohāni (gosvāmin).
bhūnā, (bhūmi-).
maṇi, I,
tāṇi, she.
kuṇari, princess, (kumāri-).
jāno, I go (yāmi).
gāño, (grāma-).

From the use of ņ to denote both the nasalised ~y- and ~w- glides, it would seem that it was a mere spelling device to denote the nasalised glide sounds.

466. The use of ņ has dropped out of modern Assamese, but it is retained in a few tbh. words e.g. keṇa- in keṇa-āṅguli, the little finger; keṇā-ban, a kind of herb; keṇā-kaṭhāl, a kind of fruit. In all this keṇā is derived from O.I.A. kanya-, the smallest: (cf. also kanyasā, the little finger, kanyā, the name of a tuberous plant). kanya- > M.I.A. (Mg.) *kaṇña-.
It occurs also in As. words like haṇ, haṇerā (§ 606) used by
women to address equals. It is also found in ts. yācā (pronounced jācā).

467. Cerebral (ṅ) sound is absent in Assamese but the letter for ṅ is fully used in Assamese orthography. In tēr words, (ṅ) has been put in with an eye to the spelling obtaining in the ts. prototypes; cf. kāṅ, ear (karṇa-) son, gold, (sauvarṇa-); lon, salt, (lavāṇa); (ṅ) occurs in rāṇī, queen, (rājñī) because of the presence of a preceding ṛ. This is due to mistaken analogy with Skt formations.

Dental (ṅ) has become an alveolar sound in Assamese.

The Sources of N.

468. Initially ṅ- comes from

O.I.A. n:- nāhi, the hooked point of a cutting instrument (nāsikā).
nihāti, blanket, (niśāra-).
nikhāi, boiled rice-water, (nisraṇa-).
nichalā, harmless, innocent, (nis+chala).
nibokā, taciturn, (nirvākyā. Cf. nivāku, speechless).
nariyā, illness, connected with na + ṛaṇyati, is unable.

O.I.A. ny- : nećā, contempt, (ni + aṅc).

l- : sts. nom, hair, (lōman).
nēji, tail, (lānja).
sts. nēgur, tail, (lāngula)
lāra, nārā, a mass, a ball. (ś. landa- Cf. lundikā).

sn- : nowa, bathing, (snāpa-).

469. In the interior of words. -ṅ- comes from

O.I.A. -jā- : minati, supplication (blend between Arabic minnat + viṃśapti-).

O.I.A. -ṅ- (cerebral), e.g.
lāmi, charming, (lavaṇa).
mākhanā, elephant, (matkuṇa).
khantek, a moment, (kṣaṇa).
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-ṇd- : khān, piece, (khaṇḍa).
-ṇdh- : ān, the string of a yoke, (ābandha).
          kāndh, kān, shoulder, (skandha-).
-ṇya- : ān, another, (anyā).
          banāy, wanders about aimlessly, (* vanyāyate).
          bān, flood, (vanyā).
sts. jāin, root-cause, (janya).
-ṇṭ- : chan, deserted, (channa).
          bhin, separated, (bhinnā).
-ṛṇ- : pāṇ, betel-leaf, (parṇa).
          cun, lime, (cāṇa).
          chāṭiyān, a tree, (chātri-parṇa-).
-ṛ- : > -l- > -n- ; mehun, a fatty tumour, (masūrā).
-ḷ- ; panaru, onion, (palāṇḍū > *panāṇḍu-).
-ṣṇ- : -su- :
          jōṇāk, moon-light, (jyotṣna-).
          dhun, luxury in dress, decoration. (* dhūṣna.
          √ dhūṣa).
-ḥn- : cin, sign, (cihna).

470. Dialectical pl. suffix -hān (§. 636) is from -santa,
> -sanda > -handa > *-hanna > -hān. It is a variant of
St. coll. -hāt. Cf. also dialectal (Kāchār) aue for E.As. hante,-
post-position to express the past conditional (§. 790).

The Kamrūpi dialect drops the -n- so derived, and nasali- sēs
the previous vowel ; e.g. hāē < *hāni < *hane, < hānde,
hante (§ 789). So also -mān in E. As. ye-mān, te-mān <
-manta.

The Sources of M.

471. Initially m- comes from

O.I.A. m- : māciyā, chair, (maṇci-ka-).
          maṭh, slow, blunt, (maṭṭha-, T.).
          mite, settles as a quarrel, (mṛṣṭa- > mitāvai, T.).
sts. maṭhiyā, a large earthen jar. (maṭṭhikā-)
          māliha, pretext, dissimulation, (māla-, deceit).
moche, plasters as the floor of a house, (mūrčhayati, to cause to thicken, T.).

mehun, a fatty tumour, (masura, eruption of pustules).
mākqi, maize, (markaka-).
mr- : makhā, multitude, (mraka-).

472. In the interior of words, -m- represents

-mb- ; jāmīr, a tree, (jambira).
nim, a tree, (nimba).
ālam, support, (ālamba).
nīs, samal, wherewithal, (sambala).
śimāl, cotton tree, (śimba-).

-mbh- ; kum, temple, (kumbha).
kūllum, the yellow of an egg, (kusumbha).
thām, pillar, (stambha).

-ṃr- ; ām, mango, (āmba, āmra).

-tām, copper, (tāmba, tāmra).

-ṃr- : ghām, sweat, (gharma).
kām, work, (karma-).
hāmi, yawning, (harman-).

-ṃ- ; -hm- > M.I.A. -mh- :

um, warmth, (usma-).
bāmua, a Brahmin, (brāhmaṇa).

473. In future personal affix -m. -im. for -b, -ib, (e.g. jām, I shall go: karim, I shall do, etc.) there is a change of intervocal -b- to -m- through an open nasal (~w) stage. The forms in E. As. are -bō, -ibō.

There are similar changes in dialectical Bengali and in early Orijā; Cf. karimu, karim : O. dekhīmi = dekhibi, I shall see (Cf. O.D.B.L., pp. 531. 532).

The Semi-Vowels (Y and V).

474. Single initial y-, u-, have both in thk. and ts. words acquired the values of z- and b- in pronunciation. In the case of y-, the z- sound is often shewn by the letter for j (§. 425);
but even when it is not shewn, initial *y-* is always pronounced as *z-* e.g.

*ýót* (Pron. zót), tying rope, (*yoktra*).

*yadi* (Pron. zudi), if; *yam* (Pron. zám), the god of death, (*Yama*).

Dr. Turner reads As. ûï, white-ant; *desí, āā*, Pâli ākā together and connects them all with Skt. yûkû, a louse, without the initial consonant (N.D. p. 220 under "jumlah"). In that case, ûï would be the only case in As. which shews the elision of initial *y-*. In this connection non-Aryan Austr. yũû, fly; Khâs. a wieh, worm: may be considered. The desí form may not have anything to do with Skt. yûkû and may belong to some non-Aryan source.

The letter for *b* is used to indicate the sounds of O.I.A. *v-*, *b-* initially and they are both pronounced as *b-*. Assamese has devised a letter *j* to indicate the *w- glide and also to indicate the sound of O.I.A. intervocal *v-* in ts. words. (§. 105).

Except in O.I.A. sound-group -auga- which in genuine tbh. words becomes -e- (Cf. tera, thirteen; trayodaśa), single intervocal -y- does not admit of any separate treatment in Assamese. The letter for -y- is pronounced as a glide sound. For varied treatment of -y- both original and resultant in contact with other vowels (Cf. §§. 239, b, c ; 248).

M.I.A. single intervocal -v- representing O.I.A. -v- and -p-, is softened to -w-. and it is then treated as a vowel in contact. It is either absorbed into the previous vowel or remains a mere glide sound. (Cf. §§. 237, 237c, 246, 247, 247a).

475. O.I.A. *yy-* > M.I.A. *yy-*, *jj-* > *j-* in Assamese; e.g. pûj, pus. (*pûjya, pûya*). bhâtiâ, brother’s son, nephew, (*bhâtriyya, bhâtriya*). About doubtful cases of M.I.A. (Mg.) *yy-* > As. -y-; (Cf. §. 414).

476. M.I.A. *uv-* (< O.I.A. *vu- ; -vy-) has a two-fold treatment in Assamese according as -uv- represents
O.I.A. -rv- or -vy-. The O.I.A. sound group -rv- > M.I.A. *-bh- > -b in Assamese; e.g. dāb, handle of a knife, (darva); pāb, joint, (parvan); dūbāri, bent-grass, (dūrvā-); cōbā, chewing, (carva-); sab, all, (sarva); āpū, east, (pūrva).

But M.I.A. -vv- representing O.I.A. -vy- or doubling of -v- becomes -v- > -v-, and is written and pronounced as a glide; e.g. siye, sews, (suvai, suvati); šoue, sleeps, (suvai); dhound, washes, (dhuvai); ḍeṣ, stride, (Cf. divvai).

The two-fold development of O.I.A. -rv-: -vy- into -b-, and -v- seems to have counterparts in early and late M.I.A. (Ap.). Sāstri lays down that in Pāli -rv- > -bh- (Pāli prakāśa, p. 10) and he quotes sabba (sarva), nibbāna (nirvāna). In late M.I.A. (Ap.) both -vv- and -bh- are noticeable for O.I.A. -rv-: (Cf. sarva, sabba: Pkt.-Hindi Dictionary). As against these, Dr. Bloch has noted -v- development of -rv- in Marathi (F.L.M. § 155). This difference in treatment may be supposed to point to some dialectical variations in M.I.A. times. As. and Bg. have however b-treatment of M.I.A. -vv- (< -rv-).

477. Conversely, -vy- (in O.I.A. -tavya) > M.I.A. -vv- > As. and Bg. O. Bih. -b-, through an earlier *-bh- : whereas Western languages have -v-. The change of -vv- (<tavya>) to -b- in Eastern dialects is not accounted for.

In tss. after consonants -y undergoes epenthesis (§. 287a) and -v has a w- sound. e.g. svāda > *swāda > stś. souād. "taste. The w- articulation of -v- is heard in sounds like bisvāx (viśvāsa).

ASSAMESE (d, dh, r, rh).

478. The alveolar pronunciation of the cerebral stops has already been referred to. Initially d, dh are pronounced as d, dh. But intervocally "d, dh have a liquid pronunciation —that of the "so-called cerebral ṛ in all Indian languages,— Aryan or Dravidian.” Assamese, however, has lost the sound of cerebral ṛ and no difference is observed in the sounds of ṛ
and dental r. In spelling also the letter corresponding to the sound of r (dental) is used both for r and ṛ.

The sound of <ṛh> - ṛh remains in Assamese.

The Source of ṛ.

479. Initially ṛ- represents

O.I.A. ṛ- : e.g.

dalā, a flat bamboo tray. (dalaka-).
dimā, egg. (dimba-).
dekeri, a young woman. (dikkari, also dikkarī).
dol, a rope. (dora).

O.I.A. ṛ- ; e.g.

dāḥ, a gnat. (drūṣa).
sts, dāṛ, punishment. (danda).
deuṅi, threshold. (dehali).
dubari, dubari, bent-aras. (dūrvā-).
dāṭh, an elephant goad;
also dāṅhā, stalk. (dāṅṭrā).

dar, fear. (dara)
dāb, the handle of a knife. (dara).
dāl, H. dāṛ, a branch. (dana : deśi, dāla).
dālim, a pomegranate. (dāḍimba).
dirāi, in an exaggerated manner. Cf. E. As. ḍerhi,
exaggeration : (drdha : √ṛḥ, to increase).
dāke, bites. (danaṅṣati).

dr- ; dongā, a puddle, a canoe made of plantain sheath
(M.I.A. dongī, a small betel-box connected with
Skt. dṛṇa, M.I.A. donā, a canoe, T).
dāwā, cloud. (dṛva + -ṭa ; Cf. O.I.A. dṛṇa,
a cloud).

480. Medially and finally, M.I.A. -ṛ- > N.I.A. -ṛ- , As. -ṛ-
comes from

O.I.A. -ṛ- ; e.g.

kūṛ, perfume: Cf. tel-kūr. (kūṭa).
kurṃa, relative, (kuṭumba-).
ASSAMESE (d, ḍh, ṛ, ṛh)

kāpor, cloth, (karpat).  
ciṅgarā, a water-fruit, (ciṅgāṭa).  
tār, bank, (taṭa).  
phorā, a boil, (phoṭa).  
narā, stubble, (naṭa-).  
ār, screen, (apati, a curtain).  

O.I.A.  -d- > ṛ- > ṛ-;  
gur, molasses, (guḍa).  
jurulā, worn-out. (√ jud, to reduce to powder).  
nāri, pulse, (nadikā).  
barahī, fish-hook, (baḍiṣa-).  
ārūra, a tortoise, (duṭi-).  
-dd-; e.g. utre, flies up, (uddayate).  
lāru, hall of sweetmeat, (laḍukā).  
-dy-; e.g. jār, cold, (jādyā).  
perc, presses, as oil out of seeds, (piṭiye).  
-dr-; or a kind of flower, (oḍra).  
bārā, great, (vaḍra).  
hora, a ram, (hheva).  
-ṛ-; bārāla, a bachelor, (vaṇṭala< -ṛṛṭa +).  
-ṇ̌-; e.g. kār, arrow, (kāṇḍa).  
hāri, a pot, (bhaṇḍa-).  
erā, castor-oil plant, (eranda-).  
gūrā, powder, (guṇḍa-).  
mūrā, log, trunk, (munga, lopped, shaved. T.).  
-ṇ̌ṛ-; pūrā, sugar-cane of the red variety, (pūṇḍra).  
t- (dental) > ṛ- in M.I.A. > ṛ- > ṛ-;  
mūrā, a wicker-work stool, (mūta, a woven basket, T.).  
pure, falls, (patati).  
phor, a stick at long spaces, (prota).  
āmāra, a kind of sour fruit, (āmrāṭaka).  
phāriṇa, a grass hopper, (patoṅga > pahiṅga).  
-d-; pārāwā, a creeping insect, (pada > * pada-).  
ural, mortar, (udukhala).  
-dd-; (dental); e.g. urāḥ, a bug, (uddaṇa).  
-ār-; e.g. khurā, uncle, (kṣuṭra + tāta).  
-nd-; e.g. ārāl, ērāl, a tether, (anda-la).  
sarāh, tongs, (sandaṇa).  
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āriyā, a torch, (Cf. andikā, a fire-place).
khāru, bracelet, (D. khandā ; also khasḍua Cf. Skt. kanduka).

-rt-: gārā, a hole, precipice, (M.I.A. gaddā, garta).

-rd-: kari, a cowrie, (kaparda).

-ṭaru, a ladle, (tardu > M.I.A. *ṭauḍū-).

-nīrāy, weeds off, (nirdāpayati, √ do, to cut).

-mārr, kneads, as flour, (mardati > maḍḍai).

(?)-st- > M.I.A. -ṣṭh > -ḍḍ-;

berā, fence, enclosure, (veṣṭa > M.I.A. veḍḍa-).

-ṣṭh-: hār, bone, (Skt. hadḍa). Dr. Bloch suggests connection with asthi-, p. 425).

The Sources of "DH."

481. Initially ḍh- comes from

O.I.A. ḍh-; e.g. ḍhuki (in ḍhukr-powca, be accessible) (√ ḍhauk, M.I.A. dhukkar).

M.I.A. ḍh-; ḍhale, pours, moulds, (M.I.A. ḍhālay, throws down).

ḍhale, leans, (M.I.A. ḍhalat, drops, falls-).

O.I.A. ḍ; ḍhimā, a globular mass (? √ dimbh, to accumulate).

ḍhimā, slow, languid, (ʼ dimbha, a block-head).

ḍhōrā, a kind of non-poisonous snake, (dhunḍubha).

ḍh-; (dental),

ḍhāri, a bamboo mat; ḍhāl, a shield, (perhaps connected with √ ḍhā, to hold. cf. ḍhāka, a receptacle, ḍhāni, a scat).

ḍhāy, wave, (? ḍhava + ku; √ ḍhū, to shake, tremble).

Bg. and O. dheu<dhava>*dhaya>*dhe+u (-uka)

Cf. dhunī, a river.

ḍhelā, pale, (dhavala > ḍhayala > ḍhayala).

ḍhoka, a prop, support, (ḍhāka > M.I.A. *ḍhakka).

ḍhukā, to be exhausted, to die (√ ḍhukṣ, to be weary).

ḍhōhe, pulls by force, (dhṛṣyate).

ḍhāke, covers, (D. √ ḍhāk).
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\( dhāt, dhār \) (-kāpāliyā), unfortunate, (\( dhṛṣṭa \)).
\( dhule, \) swings, oscillates, (an extension of \( \sqrt{dhū} \), to shake).

-\( dhv- \); sts. \( dhāk \), rumour, (\( \sqrt{dhvāṇka} \), to sound).
\( dhēker, \) Bg. \( dhēkur \), sound of belching;
\( dhērekāni, \) thunder; all these seem to be semantically connected with \( deśi, \) dhīṅkka.

482. Medially and finally -\( dh- \) > -\( rh- \) > often -\( r- \), is derived from
O.I.A. -\( th- \): \( paṛhe, \) reads, (\( paṭhati \)).
-\( dh- \): \( darbāi, \) firmly, (\( dṛdha- \)).
-\( nd- \): (By aspiration): \( kūṛh \), deep water, (\( kuṇḍa \)).
-\( št- \); early M.I.A. -\( th- \) > late M.I.A. -\( ddh- \);
e.g. \( kāṛhā, \) snatching away, (\( kṛṣṭa \)).
\( beṛhā, \) beṛā, fence, (\( veṣṭa- \)).
-\( ddh- \) (dental): \( bṛṛhā, \) old, (\( vṛddha \)).
-\( rdh- \) (dental): \( bāṛhāni, \) broom-stick, (\( vardhanikā \)).
\( bāṛhāj, \) carpenter, (\( vardhaki \)).
\( āṛhāj, \) two and a half, (less than three by half)
\( (vṛddha + tṛtiya) \).

In the following -\( dh- \) > -\( rh- \) > -\( r- \):
O.I.A. -\( th- \): \( pīrī, \) a section in genealogy, (\( pīṭhikā \)).
\( pīrā, \) a stool, (\( pīṭha + \)).
-\( dhr- \): \( mer, \) a r.m. (\( meḍhra \)).
-\( st- \): \( seṛuvaṭ, \) (E.As. \( seṛhuvaṭ \)), too much attached to wife (\( seṛḍha- < śista-, \) P.).
\( leruvaṭ, \) (E.As. \( lerhuvaṭ \)), having big lips, (\( leṣṭuka > leṛḍukka, \) P.).
-\( dh- \): (dental): \( āṛi, \) pledge, deposit, (\( āḍhi-, \) Pischel)

THE LIQUIDS (\( r, l \)).

483. The liquids are alveolar sounds in Assamese.
There is no difference between \( r \) and \( l \) in Assamese, both being pronounced as alveolars.

It has been found that there were at least three dialects which as early as the Rg.-Veda differed in their treatment of I.E. \( r \) and \( l \). One distinguished \( r \) and \( l \), the second confused them as \( r \) and the third confused them as \( l \). (Wackernagel,
§. 129: Turner: Gujarāṭī Phonology, J.R.A.S., 1921, p. 517). The Prācyā or Eastern O.I.A., the source of Māgadhi and the modern Magadhan speeches, was an (l) dialect. Sanskrit shews its composite character as a literary language in its (r) and (l) words occurring side by side (O.D.B.L. §. 291).

Assamese as a Magadhan dialect ought to shew only one sound representing the Māgadhī single liquid (l). But Assamese has both r and l in tbh. There is, however, a greater predominance of the change of r to l than of l to r as shewn in the following tables of change.

484. Intervocal r is dropped in a few tbh and ts. words. This is, however, a characteristic of modern Assamese.

kāi, than, for kari, a conjunctive participle used in comparison.

ghajini, wife, the mistress of a house. E.As. gharini.
* garhinikā.
sts. āpaitā, immature (parinata > *parintā).
sts. pājñat, skilled. (parinata).
sts. hāitā, yellow orpiment, also a kind of pigeon. (haritālā).
cātā, four; (cāritā).
erā, castor-oil plant. (eranda-).

485. There is dropping of l in hábiyāh, longing, < hábilās, O.I.A. abhilāsa.
kāl-lāj, by to-morrow, for kālī-lāj.

The sources of R.


sts. rāghā, a big fish, (rāghava).
sts. rok, cash-money, (roka).
rājahuvā, pertaining to all; common, (rājya+śa-).
rāuci, loud scream, (rāva+tya).
rāragiyā, refreshing, mild, (rasa+rasi).
THE LIQUIDS

487. In the interior of words, -r- represents O.I.A. -r-: ärū, and, (apara-, avara-).
   care, grazes, (carati).
   -l-: pipārā, ant, (pipīla+).
   pārī, row, (pāli-).
   sts. nēgur, tail, (lāŋgula).

   For -r- representing M.I.A. interior -d- and -dh-, (cf. §§ 480, 482).

488. In the numerals bi-r-āci, eighty-two, (dvi+aśiti);
   bi-r-ānabbāj, ninety-two, (dvi+navati);
   ni-r-ānabbāj, ninety-nine, (nava+navati) etc. an euphonic -r- intrudes to
   prevent hiaitus.

The Sources of L.

489. Initially, l- comes from

   O.I.A. l-: lagā, bail, surety. (lagna+-).
   sts. lakā, a young bamboo twig, (lakah +iya-).
   lāru, a ball of sweetmeat, (laddu-< ?).
   laguvā, a close attendant. (lagna-).
   lālā, saliva, (lālā).
   n-: lagun, the sacred thread of Brahmins, (nava+guna).
   lāū, indulgence, (nātha, *nāthikā, help, refuge).
   loy, nature, conduct. E.As. nāyā. (nāya).
   r-: lāī, a vegetable like black mustard. (rājikā).
   lechārī, a long row or line. (rathyā-).
   leju, rope. (rajju).

   Of deśī origin are lādā, ladā, ordure voided by animals,
   (D. laddī).
   liṭikāi, an obsequious follower (D. liṭṭia, flattery).

490. In the interior of words, -l- comes from O.I.A. -l-:

   ughālē, uproots, (udghātayati).
   baral, hornet. (varaṭa: M.I.A. varola).
   -d-: nihal, fetters, (nigada)—with the development of
   -h- glide.
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nal, reeds, (nađa: naţa).
kol, lap, (kroda).
šolá, sixteen, (šodaša).
dalim, pomegranate, (dādīmba).
-d-: (dental), √/mûl., to squeeze, (√ mrad).
√omal., to sport, (un-√ mrad).
-dr- > M.I.A. -dd-: bhâl, good, (bhadra).
khul-sâl, wife's brother, brother-in-law, (kṣudra-+ šyâlaka).
-r-: hâladhi, turmeric, (hâridra-).
sâlâl, crafty, (sârâla).
bhârâl, hoard, (bânâlâgâra).
thâliyâ, pouch, bag, (star-+. cf. M.I.A. jânathala-,
yânâstara-).
-rn-: bol, colour, (? varna).
gholî, whey, (ghola < ghûrâ).
ghuli, stagnant pool of water, (ghûrnikâ).
ugul- (thugul), restlessness, (udgûrîna).
-rd-: châl, berk, (challî-< chardîs).
-ry-: pâlâ, turn, (parjâya).
pâleng, couch, (paryâjka).
pâlaj, turned down, (paryasta).
-rh-: gâlî, abuse, (garhâ-).
âl, attendance, (ârhhâ).
-l-: šîl, stone, (šîlâ).
lângal, plough, (lângala).
ural, mortar, (udûkhâla).
thâlî, a big vessel, (sthâlikâ).
-ly-: šel, dart, (šalya).
mol, worth, (mûlya).
kulâ, winnowing fan, (kulyaka-).
-ll-: kerêlâ, a vegetable fruit, (karavella-).
cîlâ, kite, (cîlâ-).
kâlà, deaf, (kalla-).
gâl, cheek, (galla).
ulâh, gaiety, (ullâsa).
-lv-: bel, a fruit, (bîlva).
491. There are instances of interchange between *n* and *l* in initial positions. Instances of change of *l* to *n* are, however, not too many in Assamese. Even the few that occur are found exclusively in the St. coll.

In the Kāmrūpī dialect *n*-forms are rare. This change does not seem to take place in non-initial positions.

**THE SIBILANTS.**

492. The O.I.A. sibilants have lost their distinctive sounds in Assamese. They are all pronounced as guttural spirants both in initial and medial positions, even though, in medial positions, a soft *kh* sound is heard. The distinction, however, is so slight that their sounds in all positions in a word may be represented by *(x)*. Thus tss. *sakala*, *sarù*, are As. *xakal*, *xaru*; *tbh*. *sīkali*, *śol*, are As. *xikali*, *xol*, etc.

493. In the compounds in tss. the sibilants are pronounced as dental *(s)*; e.g. *śāstra*, *kṛṣṇa*, *duṣṭa*, etc., would be pronounced as *xāstra*, *krīṣṇa*, *dusta*, etc.

When, however, *r* precedes, the *x*-sound is retained; Cf. *darsāna*, pron. *darśana*; *hāra*, pron. *hāra*. When compounded with -y, their sound approximates that of *ś*; Cf. *śīṣya* pron. *xīṣya*; *śasya* pron. *xāṣya*.

494. In *tbh* words in modern Assamese, the sibilants whether original or resultant from the simplification of consonant groups are generally reduced to *(h)* intervocally and finally, e.g. *siḥ*, lead, *(sisa-)*.

*māḥ*, gnat, *(maśa-)*

*bīḥ*, poison, *(viśa-)*; *śāḥ*, kernel, *(śasya)*

*aḥat*, a kind of tree, *(aśvattha-)*

This wholesale change of non-initial sibilants to *(h)* belongs to modern times.

In early Assamese, they often appeared as *(š)*. Cf. *kaisāni*, when; Mod. As. *kāhān*: *kisā*, why; Mid. As. *kiha*; Mod. As. *kīyā*.

*śasur*, father-in-law; *śāsu*, mother-in-law, Mod. As. *śahur*, *śāhu*. 
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495. In initial positions, the sibilants hardly change to $h$. In the plural affix -ḥāt (santa), the change was due to the position of the suffix in early Assamese after numerals and oblique forms of pronouns, which position was an interior one: Cf. dui-hanta, tini-hanta, (§. 624).

Thus, it would appear that the original Māgadhi value ś of the sibilants is not retained in Assamese. The Assamese change of the non-initial sibilants to $h$ seems to be a local phenomenon and does not seem to have any connection with the change of the O.I.A. sibilants to $h$ in M.I.A.

496. In a few words the upper-Indian pronunciation of ś as $kh$ has been kept up. In these words ś appears in spelling where $kh$ was phonologically due. Cf. kāṣ proun. kākh, side, (kakṣa). paṣ proun. pakṣ, fortnight, (pakṣa). In one word ś appears initially for $kh$, where however, it has now acquired the sound of x. Cf. set-kaparā proun. xet-kaparā, a medicinal herb. (kṣetra-parpata-).

As noted above (under Palatais), the only sibilant sound (s) in Assamese is represented in spelling by c. ch: and in borrowed words retaining the sibilant sound, it is represented by c, ch: Cf. camu for *samu. straight, (saṃmulka): cam-bhāle for *saṃbhāle. takes care of, (saṃbhārayati); bāc (also spelt bās) twenty-two. The change of ś to ch in words like chāō, young one, (śāva-); chače, six, (śaṭ-) is pre-Assamese.

The Sources of X.

497. Initially x- represents

O.I.A.

ś-. śol. a fish, (śakula).
śewāl, moss, (śuvāla).
sā, dead body, (sava).
śang, awn of a corn, (śunga).
śy-. śādō, black, (śyāma).
śen, hawk, (śyena).
śv-; sts. sētā, pale, (śveta).
śūhur, father-in-law, (śvaśura).
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śr-; sāon, a month, (ārāvaṇa).

O.I.A.

s-; sevāt, a pot for draining off water, (seka + pātra).

sācī, the bark of aloe wood used for writing, (sañīcā-).

sāṅgor, yoking together, (saṅghāṭa).

sū-; sts. sūvād. taste, (svāda).

sṛ-; sūt, stream, (srotā-).

śl-; sernīā, attached to wife, (ślia > M.I.A. seddha, P.).

The Voiced Glottal Fricative (ṅ).

498. Assamese (ṅ) is a voiced sound as in O.I.A. The initial h- of O.I.A. has been generally preserved in Assamese as in other N.I.A. languages. Intervocal (h) of O.I.A. is a derived sound, having been weakened from Indo-Iranian jh, zḥ and also partly from dh, bh (Macdonell, pp. 50 et. seq.; O.D.B.L. §. 302). In second M.I.A., single intervocal voiced aspirates except dh became (h) and this (h) converged with the O.I.A. (h). In early Assamese, this medial (h) continued unaltered, but in modern Assamese, this has mostly dropped off.

Except in a few words shown in the table of consonantal change under (h), intervocal (h) in Assamese is largely derived from sibilants and their compounds, and this is quite a modern phenomenon. The intervocal (h) derived from changes of O.I.A. sibilants into M.I.A. (h), has been mostly elided.

499. O.I.A. intervocal -h- is generally lost in modern Assamese

e.g. kuwali, fog, (kuhelikā).

bāy, frows, (vahati).

gā, obturacy, (graха).

plural affix -bor, (bahu-lič).
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500. The retention O.I.A. intervocal -h- is noticed in a few instances, when it is followed by another -h- sound, generally resultant, one of which is then dropped by haplogy. (§. 380).

e.g. sāh. boldness, (sāhasa > *sāhaha)
Cf. sts. form sāhax.

maharī, a mosquito-curtain, (maśa + *harikā > *maha + hariā).
lohorā, an iron-vessel, (layha-bhānda- > *loha-haṇḍa-).

501. Loss of M.I.A. intervocal -h-<

O.I.A. -kh-: śiṣyār. root. (śikhara).

-muva, as the second member of a compound indicating direction, facing. e.g. ghar-muva, facing home. (-mukha-).

O.I.A. -gh: athāi. deep. fathomless. (astāgha-).

-th-; kāy. speaks. (kathayati).

E.As. tāy. there. (tahā. tathā).

-dh-; bāy. (vadhā-).

dājī. curd. (dadhi-).

-ph-; sēwāli. a flower plant. (sēphālikā).

-bh-; lay. takes. (labhate).

suva, affection. good-luck. (saubhāgya).
puva, dawn. (prabhāta).

502. M.I.A. -h- from O.I.A. sibilants and their conjuncts is lost in modern Assamese

e.g. egāra. eleven. (ekādāsa).
barā, twelve. (dvādāsa).

Oblique tā- (tāha, tasya).

tēh. he, (nom.). (tehā. teśām).
loc. affix. -hi, hi. (śmin) > i, i.

There are instances also of a M.I.A. -s- (ś-) > early Assamese -h-, being lost in modern Assamese; e.g. M.I.A. aisa- kaisa-, jaisa- > early Assamese ehna, kehna, jehna, > modern Assamese ene, kene, jene; M.I.A. kissa (kīṣa) why, > E. As. kisa, kiha, > modern Assamese kiyā.
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In stss. like uśā (ut-ūvāsa), nīśā (niḥēvāsa), the elision of -ē- through an intermediate -h- stage belongs to the modern period, e.g.

\[ uśāh > *uḥāh > \text{Mod. As.} \text{ uwhā.} \]
\[ nīśāh > *nīhāh > \text{Mod. As.} \text{ niyāh.} \]

The Sources of H.

503. Initially h- comes from

O.I.A. h-; hāmi, yawning, (harman-).

hāci, sneezing, (hañji-).

hiyā, heart, (hṛdaya-).

hāt, hand, (hastu).

s-; (dental): -hāt, a pl. suffix, (-santa).

bh-: hāy, is, (bhavati).

hāri, a pot, (bhānāh-).

By initial aspiration of vowels:——

sts. hābilās, longing, (abhilāsa).

sts. hākul-bikul, flurry, (ākul + vyākul).


504. In the interior of words, -h- represents

O.I.A. -kṣ; lā, lāhā, lac, (lākṣā-).

kahur, rivalry, competition, (kakṣā-).

-kh-: reh, beauty, (rekḥā).

-qh-: lehukā, flexible, (laqhu).

-pḥ-: śihā, wick of a lamp, (śiṣhā; contam. with śikhā-).

-bh-: bhān, day-break, (vibhāna).

gahin, deep, (gabhī- Cf. gabhira).

O.I.A. -ś-; -s-; -ṣ-:

kāḥ, cough, (kāsā).

siḥ, lead, (sīsa).

nāhi, the hooked point of cutting instrument, (nāśikā).

dhahe, falls off, (dhvastati).

śiḥu, porpoise, (śīṣukā).

śāhā, hare, (śāsaka).

māḥ, gnat, (maśaka).
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bīh, poison, (viṣa).
kōh, inner pulp of a fruit, (koṣa).

O.I.A. -ṇī-, -ṇīs, -ṇīsy > ~h.

āh, fibre, (aṇōu).

kāh, bell-metal, (kāṇṣya).

urāh, bug, (uddānśa).

dāh, gnat, (dānśa).

hāh, goose, (haṃśa).

O.I.A. -rś; sts. arhi. pattern, (adarśika).

-rś-: căh, tilth (? cărś=√kṛṣ).

śiḥ, ear of corn, (śiṃśa-).

-ēr-; mihali, mixed, (miśra + la-).

śāhu, mother-in-law. (* śvāśrūkā).

-sv-: paraḥi, day before yesterday, (paraśvāḥ-).

-sy-; mānuh, munih, (manusya).

ākūhe. draws out in a disorderly manner, (dṛṣyate).

-sm-; pāhāre, forgets, (prasmarati).

-sy-; elāh, laziness, (ālasya).

śāh, kernel, (śasya).

-sv-; gohāi, (gosiṃīn-).

-sr-; nihani, boiled rice-water, (nusravana-).
PART II.

MORPHOLOGY
CHAPTER XII.

THE FORMATIVE AFFIXES.

505. Barring dialectical variations, the formative affixes of Assamese fall almost in a line with those of Western Bihāri and Bengali as discussed by Drs. Hoernle and Chatterji. Hoernle's division of the affixes into pleonastic and derivative has been avoided here as the same affix has often a pleonastic and a derivative function. In Assamese there are some new formatives which have been marked out as being specifically Assamese under respective headings. They are often made up of whole words which might have served as second members of compounds in O.I.A. By frequency of employment in an entire category of words, they have acquired the value of derivatives in Assamese.

The derivatives have been presented in a rough alphabetical order.

Only the tbh. suffixes have been considered with the exception of sts. -tali (§. 570), which has been included because of its invariable uses after words indicating grains, to denote fields where they are cultivated.

(1)

506. -a-

This represents the primary affixes of O.I.A. masculine, feminine and neuter nouns in -ah; -ā; and -as and -am, respectively; e.g. yachā, tree, (yacchāh); rehā, posture; (rehkā); manaś. mind, (manas); dhanā, wealth; (dhanaṃ).

This represents also the simple verbal roots used as abstract nouns; e.g. dāru, punishment, pāku, maturity. In māra ārī, ominous prosperity, māra has an adjectival sense.

(2)

507. -ā;

It is derived from O.I.A. and M.I.A. sound groups -ābhā, -āhā; e.g. pālā, a bamboo basket for catching fish.
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(palava > palavā).
pārā, pigeon. (pārāvata).
gādhā, ass, (garudhā, gaddaha).
kāchā, tortoise. (kacchāpa > kacchawa).
egārā, eleven. (M.I.A. sts egārahā) etc.

(3)

508. -ak ;

A secondary affix found in a few words used adjectively: e.g. budhiyak, clever. (budhī) ; khetiyak, a cultivator. Cf. kheti, cultivation. (kṣetra-) : phandiyak, tricky; cf. phandi, a trick. (prabandha-). This affix is derived from O.I.A. -aka > M.I.A. -akka : the -y- in phandi-ya-ak, etc. being euphonic.

(4)


lāōtā, receiver. (>/la). fem. lavāti, lāti.

So also khāōtā, eater: diōtā, giver: dhōtā, washer; śunōtā, hearer etc.

In Early Assamese, this affix occurs in the form -antā: e.g. śunantā : khāwāntā etc.

(5)

510. -ati, -ti. Forms abstract nouns of action or manner: e.g. khājuwāti, itching, (denom. √khajuwā).

bhārati, filling up. (As. √bhār).
calāti, currency, (As. √cal).
mānti, approval. (As. √mān.).
jalāti, brilliance : ganti, counting (√gaṇ).
pūrāti, filling up etc.

Hoernle (§ 325) derives this affix from O.I.A. ∗āptikā from the causative affix -āp+ -ti+ -uleon. -kā. Dr. Chatterji derives it (O.D.B.L. § 398) from the Pres. participle in anta +
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abstract -i, -i (§ 544). Hoernle’s derivation which is phonetically untenable does not suggest the adjectival senses in which words formed by this affix are often used; e.g. calaṭi kathā, current words; bāṛhati pāṇī, increasing water, etc., which Dr. Chatterji’s suggestion about the Pres. participial origin of this affix does; this affix should therefore be affiliated to Pres. participle in -anta. The nominal sense is suggested by the abstract -i.

(6)

511. -ati (anti); -ati; -ti, -ti, also -ta, -tā.

All these form nouns in varied senses and also in the feminine gender, with the feminine -i, -ā. Derived from O.I.A. -vant plus -īka, -ikā, -īka etc. e.g.

urāṭ, thigh, (urāṭ-vant: cf. aṣṭhi-vant, knee).

uccat, high, (ucca+ -).

tirotā, woman, (stri) cf. 1r-māṭ (Siripuriā, Purneā).
sarbatī-kāl, all times (sarva+ -).
bāreṣṭi, bāroṣṭi-kāl, often times. (vārā vānt y ikā).

kṣirati, a milk cow. (kṣiṛu + vant-). Might as well be a
sts. < kṣirāvati.

sts. nāmati, a female chorister. (nāma- + -).

phulati, phulanti, a woman skilled in embroidery.
lākati, a foppish woman. (lāsa + ).

rowati, a piece of land prepared for transplantation of seedlings. (ropa + vant +).

dhāūti, earnest desire. (dhāva + -).

hācīyati, a medicinal herb exciting sneezing, (haṛīji +).
makhiyati, a kind of shrub the twigs of which are used to drive flies from the cows.

lājeti, sensitive plant. (lajā + -).

sakhiyati, a kind of songster bird etc.

In early Assamese this affix occurs both as -ati, and -anti, e.g. mitrāvatī, friendship, (mitra), samayanti, agreement (samaya). In modern Assamese, -anti- is preserved in ṛṭanti- (in ṛṭantiyār, one having enough and to spare) < aṣṭa, excess + vānt-. Early As. preserves one example of the change of -vant to wāṭ: e.g. mūrchiterā wāte, like one in fits (§ 699).

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512. -atiyā; -atiyār, -atiyāl.

These are extensions of the previous affix with the addition of Assamese -iyā, -iyā + ra, -iyā + la < O.I.A. -ika + -āka + ra, (la); e.g.

ālatiśē, delicate, (arha + vant-).
āḥatiyā, half burnt piece of wood, (artha -).
pūwatiyā, pūwati, belonging to the morning, (prabhāta).
pakatiyā, a kind of big boil, (pakva).
sācatiyā, hoarded, (as wealth). (saicaya).
beṅgatiyā, a kind of snake, (vyahga, a frog).
bānatiyā, a land submerged under water, (vanyā).
lāgatiyā, lāgatiyāl, needful, necessary, (lagna).
sācatiyār, one who hoards.
māchatiyār, a fish-monger: expert in fishing (matsya + vant-).

513. -atiyā. A secondary affix forming adjectives in a local sense. It seems to be specifically Assamese; e.g.

āgatiyā, also āgat, early, growing early, (agra).
śehatiyā, latest, (śeṣa-).
mōjatiyā, middle, (madhya-).
talatiyā, subordinate, (tala-).
jākatiyā, living in a flock, cf. As. jāk, a flock).
bahatiyā, a land tenant, (vāśa-).
belegatiyā, living separately, (vi + lagna).
bāpatiyā, ancestral, (vapra-).

This affix is derived from O.I.A. -tra having a locative sense and added chiefly to pronominal stems, but also in some instances to ordinary nouns, e.g. devatrā, puruṣatrā etc. (Whitney § 1099, a). -tra + ika + a (As.).

514. -an, with extensions in (a) -anā, (b) -anu, (c) -ani.

-an. A primary living affix forming abstract verbal nouns and often indicating concrete objects. It is the same as O.I.A. primary suffix -ana; e.g. khāwan, eating; piyan, drinking;
bhagan, breaking; gajan, sprouting, also the vegetable kingdom (all that sprouts).

Similarly buran, sinking, also aquatic animals; uran, flying, also all that flies in the air; phalan, a fruit-bearing (tree); katan, sharp (instrument); gayan, a singer; bayan, a player on a musical instrument.

(10)

514a. -anā. Extension of -an with the addition of definitive -ā (<-āka) to denote a connected object. In O.I.A. -ka is added in this sense; e.g. krīdanaka, a toy i.e., something connected with playing. Assamese examples are:

bajanā, a musical instrument.
bindhanā, a boring instrument.
khuṇanā, a mortar, As.√khud.
chepeṇā, tongs, As.√chep, squeeze, press.
chenā, a cutting instrument. As.√che.
japana, a covering, As.√jāp, cover.

(11)

515. -ani. It was originally feminine in form, being derived from -ana + -akā > -aniā > -ani > -ani. It now indicates a diminutive or petty aspect of the action or object. All grammatical connexion with the feminine form is now lost. When the feminine sense is emphasised, the form in -ani is used (see below). e.g.
ujanī, up-stream, As.√uja.
bjanjī, instruction, As.√bujj.
jarnī, resting. As.√jārā.
juranī, a refreshing drug, As.√jurā.
pātani, introduction, As.√pātī.
nāmanī, lower part, As.√nām.
nawani, a ceremonial bathing,√nawā (snāpa-).
rāndhāni, a cook etc.

(12)

515a. -ani. The same as above. The feminine form is preserved though the feminine sense is lost. Like -anā discussed above, -ani also denotes a connected object; e.g.
jānani, advertisement. √jān.
bārhanī, broom-stick. cf. O.I.A. vardhanikā.
dharanī, a support.
vaćanī, a spindle.
dhākanī, the lid of a box.
mathānī, a churning stick.
kārhanī, a ladle.

The definitely feminine sense is often suggested when the connected object happens to be a female; eg.

rāndhanī, a female cook.
rovānī, a female sower. (√ ro, ropan-).
dāvānī, a female reaper. (√ dā, dāpa-).
bārhanī, a woman who arranges dishes. (√ bārh.)
śuwanī, a beautiful woman.

When, however, reference is to be made to the connected person in general terms, without any implication of gender, the form in -āni is employed: e.g. rāndhanī, dāvānī, bārhanī śuwanī, etc.

In this affix seems to be merged also causal verbal noun affix in -awānī < āwānī (preserved in a few E. As. loan words); e.g. śuwanī, a beautiful woman. E.As. suhāwanī < O.I.A. *sobhāpanikā : pakānī < *pakawanī < *pakāvanī < *pakāpanikā : that which suppurates. The shortening of -ānī to -ān-, in -awānī is due to strong initial stress.

(13)

516. -āni. A secondary affix indicating "localities abounding with." It is derived from O.I.A. vanikā, a grove, a forest, >*vanī, *vanī, >*vanī, >-ānī (Specifically Assamese); e.g.

phulani, a flower-garden. (phulla + vanikā).
dhānani, a paddy-field, (dhānya + vanikā).
āmanī, a mango-grove. (āmra + -).
māhanī, a pulse-field, (māsa + -).
bānāni, a wilderness. (vana + -).
narānī, a stubble-field, (nata > nada, nara, nara + -
definitive, + -ānī.)
śākānī, a vegetable-garden (śāka + -).
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cuwā-pātani, a place where leaves out of which food is taken are thrown, (cyuta + āka + patra + vanikā).
caparāṇi, a field full of clods, (carpaṭa + -).
bāriyani, a hard and fallow land, (vāṭikā > vadiā, *vari, vari + -ani), etc.

(14)

517. -aniyā (< -aniyā) with extension in (a), -aniyār.

A secondary affix forming adjectives indicating both persons and objects connected with the action of the verb. A compound affix made up of the verbal noun derivative in -an + -īyā, adjectival, (E. As. -iyā), e.g.

maganiyā, a beggar: also things obtained by begging, (√māg).
bilaniyā, a distributor: also things to be distributed. (√bilā).
joganiyā, a supplier: things to be supplied, (√jogā).
jījaniyā, kept alive as fish.
sācaniyyā, one who hoards; things hoarded.
laganiyā, a tale-bearer: things spoken behind one’s back, (√lagā).
khōjaniyā, a beggar: things obtained by begging. (√khōj).

(15)

517a. -aniyār: < -an + -īyā + -āra < -kāra. Forms agentive nouns. e.g.

sts. joganiyār, a supplier.
maganiyār, a beggar.
bhaganiyār, a fugitive. cf. Hindi √bhāg.
bhāyaniyār, a spendthrift. (bhānga)
cukanīyār, a lease-holder.
sācaniyyār, one who hoards.
nācanīyār, a dancer.

This corresponds to Bihāri affix -anīhār, -anīhārā (Hoernle § 318).
(16)

518. -ari, -arī, -ariyā, -uri.

A secondary affix forming nouns and adjectives and indicating habit or some sort of connexion. e.g.

taliyari, lying at the bottom, (tala-).
dhūliyari, dusty, (dhūli-).
lāhāri, graceful, (lāsa-).
phulari, flowering.
dudari, having a milky juice as ears of corn, (dugdha-).
bhūlāri, friendly, beneficent, (bhādra-).
lagāri, a companion.
satiyāri, enmity, the feeling of a co-wife, (sapatnī- > * savatṛī- > * satti-).
dūteri-pāterī, one bearing messages to and fro and arranging matters between two parties.

sts. saśārī, a close companion, (saśita-).
sayantarī, a close companion, (saṃantarā-).
banārī, a woman meeting her lover in some appointed place, (lit. forest).
lagariyā, samariyā, a companion.
banariyā, wild.

sts. bhāgariyā, a share-hold-er.

This affix is related to O.I.A. -kara-, -" karika. There is an extension of -ariyā to sts. ajātariyā, bijātariyā, degenerate.

(17)

519. -ariyā : -uri.

A secondary affix added after verbal nouns in the sense of "used to", "skilled in". e.g.

palariyā, a run-away, (As. √ palā.).
khāvariyā, a glutton, (As. √ khā.).
jujariyā, pugnacious, (As. √ juj.).

This affix is connected with late O.I.A. derivative in -āta (cf. drohāta, hunter; varnāta, painter; dhārāta, cloud filled with rains; bhāvāta, an actor; vacāta, talker) > M.I.A. -āda, > -āra; -āra + -iyā = -āriyā > -ariyā. By vowel harmony (-āra, > *-ara) + fem. -i, and abstract -i > -uri, -uri. e.g.
khā-urī, a voracious woman.

palā-urī, a female run-away.

sāṅguri, work done collectively by neighbours without wages, (saṅgha-).

The word deuri, a temple-priest, is a compound of deva and *garha > ghara > *hara, with -i. The word nāwarīyā has been connected with nay + vāta (O.D.B.L. § 440).

(18)

520. -aruwiā.

This is a parallel formation to -ariyā and is an extension of -āta > -āra- > -āra with Assamese -uwā. e. g.

bāṭaruwā, a way-farer, (vartma-).

hāṭaruwā, one attending a fair, (haṭṭa-).

bikaruwā, articles meant for sale, (vikraya-).

āḍhāruwuā, half-finished, (ardha-).

In beheruwā, a tradesman, the -r- belongs to the root-word itself, being derived from vyavahāra, trade. So also in sts. beperuwā connected with vyāpāra.

(19)

521. -aŋ and extension in (a) -aŋā; (b) -aŋg, (seems specifically Assamese).

These form a group of pleonastic affixes, the last two often betraying an adjectival sense when used with nouns. There seems to be convergence of O.I.A. aṅga, a subordinate, a non-essential part, and probably desī formatives like -ŋka, -ŋga, (kuŋa, kuṣaṅka, kuṭaṅga; vātiuga, vātiṅga; etc.); in the evolution of these suffixes, -aṅga > -ŋg, -i, -aŋg.

bipāk, bipāyi, an adverse turn.

sereka, sereṇā, watery, tasteless.

ḍākur, ṇeṇur, fetters.

ṭhokona, ṭhonoṇā, a blow on the cheek.

ṭaṇon, ṭaṇaṇ, a cudgel.

ṭabhaka, ṭabhāṇi, stupefaction.

bhelekā, bheleṇā, foolish, (O.I.A. bhela), etc.

Examples of -aŋ final, are;
celāṇī, celey, a sheet of cloth thrown round the shoulder, (cela-).
mārāṇī, pestilence, cf. Bengali, marak (mṛta- > maḍa-).
bāilaṇī, confused utterance of a delirious person (vātulā, > *vātīla).
bītaṇī, distinct, separate, (vikta; √ vic).
bāyaṇī, separate, distinct.
khorōṇi, the hole in a tree, (kroḍa-).
bhucuy, an obsequious follower, (cī bhrīya-).

In rare instances, the final -ama of O.I.A. is reduced to -ānī. e.g. uduṇī, free, uncovered. < O.I.A. uddama, free; unrestrained. (§. 461).

(20)

521a. -ānā. An extension of the former with the addition of -ā, definite. e.g.
jalāṇā, jolovā, a hole, a bag, (D. ḍholūa).
holovā, a sharp pointed pole, cf. Austr. haleng. long piece of wood.
ḥatiṇā, tall and stiff, (connected with haḍḍi, bone).
poļoṇā, erect, straight, (pulaka).
lahāṇā, luxuriant, (lāṣa).
jaṭhāṇā, stiff, (yaṣṭi).
urūṇā, unsettled, cheerless, cf. As. √ ur, to fly; etc.

(21)

522. -ānī. (Connected with above). A secondary affix forming adjectives from nouns, and original adjectives, conveying the sense of English “ly” in adjectival formations like ‘kindly’ indicating some sort of connexion, “being of the nature of”. e.g.

ṭhirāṇī, definite, (sthira-).
kharaṇī, severe, hard, (khara-).
tarāṇī, shallow, (taṭa-).
corāṇī, secret, stealthy, (caura-).
523. -ā. Definitive, connective, agentive, pleonastic.

This affix is common to both Bengali and Assamese. Its varied implications have been summarised by Dr. Chatterji as follows. “It indicates definiteness; it implies coarseness or biggishness in the object; it means reference or connexion; it forms agentive adjectives and frequently it is also pleonastic.” (O.D.B.L. § 400).

The source of this -ā is the O.I.A. -āka, found in the adjective stems: (Vedic) asmāka. Our. and yusmāka. yus. (the compound stems being asma, yusma. Whitney, §. 493).

gachā. a lamp-stand. (gaccha + ). cf. gāch. a tree.
khalā. a site. (khalā). paṭā. a slab of stone. (paṭṭa). cf. pāṭ. a tablet.

524. -ā : passive participle and verbal noun affix.

This affix is derived from the O.I.A. affix -ta, -ita > M.I.A. -a. -ta, plus the preceding pleonastic affix -ā. The following examples illustrate the line of development: yāta > jāa, + -ā > jāa - *jāa - *jaicā > *jauā (the following -w- glide raising the preceding -ā- to -ā-). (Cf. O.D.B.L. §. 401).

The -i- (in -ita) has been lost. The -ā- affix thus obtained was extended to all verbal roots. E.g. jīyā. living; √jī : dīyā. given. giving. √dī. give : dhowā. washed. washing √dho. wash. etc.
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(24)

525. -ā: temporal affix.

Words indicating time like months, days, etc., often take on this affix to indicate the time of an action, e.g.

si-dīnā, on that day.
 bhāṭī belā, in the afternoon.
 bhāḍā māha, in the month of Bhādra.
 This affix is found also in E.As. e.g. godhūlikā, in the evening.
 ārakā, at another time.
 āgraḥaṇ māsa, in the month of Agraḥāyaṇa.

This -ā is not an affix proper but the phonetic variation of O.I.A. genitive case-ending -asya > *-assa > Mg. āha > -āa.

(25)

526. -āi; *-ai > -ai.

This forms abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives. It may be connected with O.I.A. -āti > M.I.A. *-tāi, > -āi. Dr. Chatterji traces it to the O.I.A. causative affix -āp-ikā > -āviā, -āvia, -āuri, -āi > -āi (O.D.B.L. §. 402). While this derivation may be true of the verbal noun affix -āi, which is absent in Assamese, the abstract -āi seems obviously to go back to O.I.A. -āti. e.g.

muniṣāi, manliness. (E. As. muniṣa < manusya).
barāi, greatness, cf. bar, great. (vaḍra).
ṭāi, exaggeration. (tāya-).
karāi, parched rice, cf. O.I.A. \ kaḍḍ, to be hard.
ālāi, ālai, misfortune. (āla).
bilāi, bilai, mishap.
bojāi, weight. (vahya).
mitthāi, miṭṭai. sweetness, sweetmeat. (miṣṭa).
gotāi- in gotāi-bor, all, (gotra-).
āṣāi in āṣāi-bor, all, (āṭṭa, excess), etc.

This affix corresponds to Bihārī -āi. H. -ai. Hoernle’s derivation from -tā + ikā > -tāiā > -āi seems hardly convincing.
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(26)

527. -āi; *-āi > -āi. A pleonastic affix added to nouns of relationship to express endearment. This suffix is the same as Bengali diminutive -āi (O.D.B.L. § 403) connected with O.I.A. -āka- + -īka-, which corresponds also to Assamese -gi (-aka- + ika).

Examples of -āi (shewing relationship).

bopāi, my father, (vapra > vappa + āi).
sts. momāi, my maternal uncle, (māma).
tāwāi, my father's equal (tāta > tāwa + āi > u) cf. O.I.A. tātagu.
ātāi, ātāi, father, also a venerable person, (ātma-).
āmāi, my mother's equal, (ambā > *ammā > āma + āi, -āi).
jeṣṭhiyāi, husband's elder sister, (jyeṣṭhikā + -).

It is often extended to proper names of persons to shew affection or close intimacy or contempt. e.g.

Nadāi for Nanda, Bhadāi (Bhadra).

(27)

528. -āit: *-āit, > -āit.

A denominative base with an active participial sense. O.I.A. denom. āya- + (y)iitra (ka) > M.I.A. -āa- + itta. In M.I.A., -itta is used both as a secondary and a primary affix. For its use as a primary affix after causative and denominative roots (cf. Pischel § 600).


Examples:

aṅghāit, a wicked person, (*aṅghāyitra-ka, cf. agha, sin).
gabhāit, a secret abettor. (*gabhāyitra, cf. garbha).
So also, ċakāit, a robber.
sebāit, a temple-priest, (*sevāitra-).
pañcā-it, an assembly of five or more.
pākait, expert, skilled in, (pakva-).

The examples of this affix are not many in Assamese. Dr. Chatterji connects poāti (Assamese. powāti), a pregnant woman, recent mother, with *poa-iti (cf. M.I.A. -ittiā); the reconstructed forms being *poa-yitrīka > M.I.A. *poaittīa > *poāti, poa (i)ti, poāṭī.

This suffix corresponds to Bihārī -āt (Hoernle. § 237).

(28)

529. -ān : with extensions ; (a) -*ānte > -antu, (b) -*ānīyā > -ānīya.

This affix obtains only in a few borrowed words FROM Bengali. It is not a purely Assamese formative. It has been traced to O.I.A. causative and denominative verbal noun in -ā-pana > M.I.A. -āw. yana > -āw. yana. > -āna, -ān : e.g.
sts. jogān, act of supplying, (yoga).
. calān, sending forward, (*calāpana).

(29)

529a. -*ānte-ante-ān+ abstract or adjective -i (īkā).
telāni, act of adding condiments to a curry; (*telā-pana-īkā).
hātani, constantly handled, as a hand bag. (*hastāpana-).

(30)

529b. -*ānīyā>-ānīyā, denominative verbal noun in -ān+ adj. -īyā. c.g. muganiyā, bright (of the colour of Mugā-silk).
sts. sākaniyā, green (of the colour of vegetables), (sāka).
mājaniyā, middle, (madhya).

The affix -ān has often a concrete sense, e.g.
patān, chaff : blasted rice, (*patrāja-).
sukān, dry, (*suskāya-).
bājan, a castrated heifer. (*vandhyā-).

(31)

530. -ām : with extension.
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This affix is the same as Bengali -ām with extensions. It has been traced to O.I.A. *karma > kamma > -kāma > -āma, -ām. (O.D.B.L. § 411) e.g.

phulām, flower-embroidered, (phulla + karma).
kāṭhām, pedestal of an image, (kāṭha + karma).
jāṭhām, high land never submerged under water.

(32)

531. -ār; -ārī.

Form nouns of agency indicating profession. Derived from O.I.A. kāra; kāra + -ika. e.g.
kāhār, a worker in bell-metal, (kāneya + kāra).
kumār, a potter, (kumbhakāra).
cāmār, a shoe-maker, (carma + ).
saṅhārī, goldsmith, (saṅvarna + kārika).
jujārī, a gambler (dyūta + kārika).
E. As. baṅjār, a merchant, (vañjīya + ).
   jujār, a fighter, cf. juj, a fight. etc.

(33)

532. -ārī (-āli). Occurs only in a few words. Derived from ágāra + ika. e.g.
kāndāri, helmsman. (kāndāgāra + ika).
bhārāli, store-keeper. (bhāṇḍāgāra + ika).

(34)

533. -ārī. Occurs in a few words. Derived from pious-nastic -ākāra + -ika. e.g.
jīyārī, daughter. (dhuṭā, > M.I.A. dhitā > jhiyā).
bowārī, daughter-in-law, connected with late Skt.
vavahārikā, a female slave, > M.I.A. *vavahāri > Mid.
   Beng. bauhāri (cf. E. Bg. bahāri) > (bowārī).
Cf. late Skt. kuṭṭi-hārikā, a maid-servant.

(35)

534. -āru. A primary affix forming nouns of agency implying habit or proficiency in doing a thing. Derived from
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O.I.A. -āru + -uka > -āru + -ua > -ārū (as in Hindi) > āru. e.g.

jujāru, a fighter, one proficient in fighting (√juy).
līkhāru, a writer; (√līkh).
śikāru, a learner; (√śik).
sodhāru, an enquirer; (√sodh).
jikāru, a winner; (√jik) etc.

(36)

535. -āl, adjectival and pleonastic, with extension in (a)
-āli, -āli, adjectival and abstract. The source of this affix is
O.I.A. -āla, meaning “possessing,” “pertaining to.” e.g.

sts. mukhāl, eloquent, (mukha).
nējāl, tailed, (lešna).
sts. tejāl, energetic. (tej-).

sts. ragnīyal, intoxicating, (rāga + -ika + -āla).
gāpāl, proud, (garva- + darpa-).
gārāl, an enclosure for animals, (gaḍda. < garta).
ghariyāl, an alligator, cf. ghaniṭika, an alligator.

(37)

535a. -āli, -āli: < -āla + -ika, -ikā.

sts. bhogāli, enjoyable, (bhoga).
jonāli, moon-lit, (jyotṣmā).
sonāli, golden, (saṃvara).
āgāli, force-part, (agga, < agra -).
kharāli, dry-season, (kharā).
gorāli, hinder part, (M.I.A. gōḍa, gōḍā).
śākāli, a spear, (śaṅku).

sts. puruṣāli, manliness, (puruṣa).

sts. caturāli, cleverness, (catura).
bejāli, doctorship, (vajīḍya).
ojāli, teachership, (upadhyāya) etc.

(38)

536. -āl. (-uāl).

Forms words indicating connexion, trade or profession. Derived from O.I.A. -pāla, > -vāla > -āla, -āl. e.g.
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gowāl, guwāl, cowherd, (go + pāla).
ghatōwal, ferry-man, (ghaṭṭa + pāla).
raḵhōwal, a herdsman, (rakṣā + pāla).
āgoval, vanguard, (agra + -).
guriyāl, rear-guard, cf. As. guri, rear, (M.I.A. goḍa).
cakīyāl, a watchman, cf. H. cuyki, an out-post. etc.

(39)

537. -i. A primary affix forming action and agent nouns and also adjectives. It is the same as O.I.A. -i, strengthened by the addition of -ka > -a. e.g.
mari, a cudgel, (√mār).
bārī, a stick, bolt, (cf. Skt. vāra-).
pārī, ferrying, (cf. Skt. pāra).
mārī- (kalān), a dead river named kalāṇ; (As. √mār).
uthi-rājā, de facto king: (As. √uṭh).
bahi-rājā, king de jure: (As. √bah.)
gāli, abuse. (cf. garhā).
hāhi, smile; (As. √hāḥ).
dābi, reprimand. (cf. darva).

(40)

538. -i; (a) -iyā: pleonastic and diminutive. O.I.A.
-ika-, -ikā > M.I.A. -ia. -iā > -i > -i e.g.
culi, hair, (*cuḍikā, cuḍā).
dāduri, frog, (dādura + ).
nikāhi, the projection of a roof beyond the wall. (niṣkāsa).
parali, covering, (paṭala).
nihāli, blanket. (niṣāra).
pāhi, meshes, (pāṣa).
nisani, rice-gruel, (nīsaranā).
ārhi, (< *ārāki), pattern. (ādarśa). etc.

Examples of -i < -ikā.
dahi, thread at the end of a woven cloth, (daśā > *daśikā).
pūi, a vegetable creeper. (pūṭikā).
khuvali, fog. (kuhelikā).
gui, iguana, (godhikā). etc
Examples of diminutive -i, -iya.

kūhi, a bud: cf. kūh (kośa).

temi, a small lime-pot: cf. temā.

ḍubi, a puddle: cf. ḍobā.

mādi. an amulet: cf. mādal (mardala).

guri, hinder part: cf. gorā (M.I.A. gūtā).

cāki, a round bunch of flowers, (cakra) etc.

(41)

538a. -iya < -ika + -āka.

cariya, a wash-pot. (car- (caru) + ika + āka).

caliya, a thin flat piece of wood or bamboo: cf. cala.

puriya, a small packet. (putikā + -).

majiyā, the middle portion of a house: cf. māj (madhyā).

batiya, thread. (vartikā + -) etc.

(42)

539. -iyār. Forms agentive nouns and adjectives. Derived from O.I.A. -ika + -āka + -āra < -kāra

ādhāiyār, half-sharer. (ardha-).

sts. bhāgiyār, partner. (bhāga).

phandiyār, trickster: cf. phand. (prabandha).

bādiyar, one who castrates animals: (M.I.A. *vandhi

*vedhi, with spontaneous nasalisation: O.I.A.

vadhri).

sts. budiyār, an accuser. (vāda).

bāgyār, an artful person: cf. O.I.A. vāgaru, faithless

person.

dekhānyār a fair-looking person: cf. dekhan seeing.

sts. bhojanīyār, a good eater. (bhōjana).

sts. bhājānyār, a worthy person. (bhājana).

tokānyār, a club-man: cf. tokan, a club.

phuṭiyār, clever, (M.I.A. *phut̂ta, sphaṭa).

āṭantiyār, a man of sufficient means. (aṭṭa, excess + -vantu

+ -iyār).

E. As. ḫātiyār, an elephant-driver. (hasti-) etc.

(43)

540. -īyal. Forms a few adjectives from nouns. Derived

from -i, as above + -ālu (M.I.A. -alla)
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sts. maramiyāl, kind-hearted, (marmā-).
sāhiyāl, courageous, (sāhasa-).
raṇgiyāl, joyous, (ranga-).

(44)

541. -īla: (a) -īlā, (b) -īli.

From M.I.A. -illa, from O.I.A. pleonastic and adjectival affix -īla, forming nouns and adjectives
raṇgīla, coloured, (ranga).
gārīla, scooped-out bamboo support for a fence, (gaṇḍa).
māhīla, monthly, (māsa)
kāmīla, active. (karma-).

(45)

542. -īl. Passive participle adjective. From O.I.A.
- (i) ta + pleon. -īla > M.I.A. *taillā > *-illa. -īla, -īl. e.g.
ātīl, tight, √ āt, to tighten.
phūtīl, split, √ phūt.
gal. past (time), (gata + -illa > ga + illa).

(46)

543. -ī. A secondary affix forming nouns and adjectives.

Three separate affixes seem to converge into this N.I.A. form: (1). -ī < -in: dhanīn > dhanī. a rich man;
(2). -īya; deśīya > N.I.A. desī, a native: (3). -īka: kārpāsika > kapāhī. The affix in words indicating native of a place (Baygāli, Nepāli, etc.) may be traced back to O.I.A.
-ika, cf. Ayodhya, a native of Ayodhyā. (Cf. O.D.B.L. §. 418). Examples of words in the sense of “things made of”:
tāmī, made of copper. (tāmra).
pitāla, made of brass. (pittala).
kāhī, a plate (made of bell-metal).
domāhī, the juncture of two months. (dvi-māsa).

sts. bhāgāvati, bhāgati, an interpreter of the Bhāgāvata.

The spelling in -ī, instead of in the expected -i ( < -ika, -iya) seems to be due to the influence of tātsama words in -īn, spelt in -i in N.I.A. languages.

A. —32
544. -i > -i. Feminine, diminutive, abstract.

Assamese like Bengali does not possess grammatical gender. The distinctive feminine affix -i is added only after class-names, words indicating relationship, and adjectives with a distinctive feminine significance; e.g.

sts. bāgāli, a female crane. (buku + -la + ikā).

kalarī, a deaf woman. (kalla > kāla + da + i).

sts. māmī, uncle’s wife. (māma + ikā).

In all these examples, the feminine affix -i- goes back to O.I.A. -ika: where the feminine force has been lost, -i > -i, expresses sometimes a diminutive and sometimes an abstract sense; e.g.

bātari, news. (vartā > vattā > bāta + ri (-i)).

jupuri, a cottage. (cf. D. hjumpadā).

māti, earth. (mrttikā).

chāti, an umbrella. (chatra + -).

pāri, a generation. (pāthikā).

After class names, -i (long) has a generic sense; e.g.

sts. bhekuli, frogs in general. (bheka).

sts. bhekolā, a big frog.

sts. chāgali, goats in general (chāga), etc.

Dr. Chatterji notices also the influence of Persian -i affix of abstraction or connexion in N.I.A. abstract -i (O.D.B.L. p. 673)

545. -i�. (E.As. -i�).

Forms adjectives in the sense of “possessing” or “connected with”. It goes back to O.I.A. -ika + -āka > -ia + -āa > ā > -i(y)ā. The change of -i� to -i� seems to be due to the influence of Sanskritic words in -iya. This is attested by the fact that words spelt in -i�ā were regularly spelt in -i�ā in early Assamese, e.g. E.As. teliya: Mod. As. teliyā, an oilman.

Mod. Ex. panīyā, watery, cf. pānī.

sts. jāṭiyā, knotty, (jaṭa).
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luniya, salty, As. lon, (lavana).
guphiya, having moustaches, (gumpa).
bhadiya, born in the month of Bhadra. As. bhadda.
mahikeya, monthly, (masa + ).
gajaliya, youthful. (M.I.A. gajja, a sprout).
majaliya, middle, (madhya).
phukaliya, just born, "breathing into life" (cf. phutkara).

This corresponds to Bengali -iyā (O.D.B.L. §. 421).

(49)

546. -u; with extension in (a) -uvā, pleonastic and adjectival.

The affix -u can be traced back to O.I.A. -uka (adjectival and nominal). Though classed as a primary affix, it often forms secondary derivatives in O.I.A. (cf. bhalluka; kārmuka; pādukā, etc., Whitney. § 1180c).

In Assamese, -u and uvā (uka + āka) are pleonastic. The latter has also an adjectival sense; e.g.

thena, a stalk of flower or fruit, cf. thāni, a branch.
bēṣu, calyx of a flower, cf. bēṭā, (vṛnta).
nelu, the wind-pipe, (vala).
cēcu, small fibre of wood or bamboo, cf. cāc, an adze.
chētu, a pretext, (chāla).
khahu, itches, (khasa), etc.

It implies also a certain pettiness or lovableness in the object; e.g.

nilu, (Nila kānta).
bājū, term of address to a young boy, cf. bāp.
mājū, mājū, goes back to Pāli majjhima (madhyama) > Pkt. * majjhi-va > * majju > mājju, mājū.

(50)

546a. -uvā; pleonastic, indicating resemblance.

cakuvā, spectacles, (cakṣu-).
makuvā, the seed-vessel of the water-lily (markaka).
pajuvā, the sheath of a plantain tree, (pajṭa).

sts. najuvā, an actor, a dancer, (nāṭa), etc.
-uwa; adjective, implying "connected with", "related to";

  e.g.
  
  ranuwä, warrior, (raña).
  banuwä, labourer, cf. ban, work.
  dharuwä, debtor, (dhāra).
  sāruwä, fertile, (sāra).
  māruwä, greasy, (manda).
  bhātuwā, useless; "given only to eating" cf. bhāt, rice, (bhakta).

  (51)

pleon. -la; e.g.

  pāhuvāl, messy. (pāsā).
  bhātaruwāl, pertaining to the interior, cf. bhātar, inte-
rior.
  raṅguwāl, joyous, (raṅga).

  (52)

548. -uk; -ukā. A primary affix found in a few words
indicating "habit", "given to". Derived from O.I.A. -uka >
M.I.A. -*ukka; -ukā = uka + -ā (Assamese def.); e.g.

  māruk, killing; As. √ mār.
  bahukā, sedentary; As. √ bah. Cf. Skt. vasuka

  (53)

549. -uk; -ukā; -uki. A secondary affix occurring in a
few words only. It can be traced back to O.I.A. -uka
(cf. bhālluka, kārmuka, etc.), > M.I.A. -*ukka > -uka, -uk.
e.g. hāluk, light, cf. H. hālkā.
  lājukā, bashful, (lajjā).
  sts. bhābuki, grimace, (bhāva, acting).

  (54)


  A primary affix forming agentive adjectives in the sense
of "doing something to excess". Derived from O.I.A. -ura
+ -ā (Assamese); e.g.
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kāndurā, incessantly crying, (As. √ kānd).
kāhurā, constantly coughing, (As. √ kāh).
hāgurā, frequently voiding stools, (As. √ hāg).
mūturā, urinating constantly, (As. √ mūt).

(55)


E.g. dāhurā, malicious, cf. dāh, malice, (daṁsa).
   bāṅguri, a woman addicted to hemp, (bhaṅga).
   dandurā, quarrelsome, (dvanda).

(56)


Bapurā, the wretched one, (M.I.A. bappuda, a poor fellow).
Hāturī, hammer, cf. H. hathayrī.
Cēkurā, a stain, cf. cēk, stain.
Tēmurā, a swelling, cf. tēmā.
Kāuri, a crow, (kāka - )
Kahurī, rivalry, (kakṣā).

This affix corresponds to Bihari pleonastic -ur, -urā, -urī. (Hoernle. § 213).

(57)

(O. D. B. L. § 448), e.g.
   bāčhor, young calf, (vatsa + rūpa).
   ādhururā, half-finished, (ardhā + rupa -).
   gābhurā, a male child, (garbha + rūpa).
   kāru, whimsical, (kāma + rūpa + ā).
   gōru, cow, (go-rūpa).
   gābhuru, a grown-up child, (garbha + rupa).

(58)

554. -ulā, pleonastic and adjectival; -uli, pleonastic.
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Derived from O.I.A. -ula > M.I.A. -ula > N.I.A. -ula,
+ å, -i (Assamese). e.g.
gûrulâ, small powder, cf. gûrâ, (guna-).
majuli, an island, (madhya-).
sajuli, implements, cf. sâj (sajâ-).
khajuli, itchings, (kharju-).
theyguli, small branches, cf. they, leg.

Adjectival: Examples:
peçulâ, pot-bellied, cf. peç.
thékulâ, haughty.
jurulâ, worn-out. cf. jûrya.
kuñulâ, stunted, cf. Skt. kuṭṭ, to chop.

(59)

555. -ur; -auri. (Seems specifically Assamese).

These imply abundance, continuousness, and are connected
with O.I.A. pûra, āpûra, flood, stream, abundance, etc.
In jâpur, heavy shower (as of rains), pûra appears as a
sts. form. In tbl. formations, pûra, āpûra > *vûra, *āvûra
> -ura, -auri, e.g.

jâur, rising flood (of the rainy season).
also jâuri, a multitude, (java + āpûra).
 cf. jowâr, flood-tide. (java + kâra; java, speed).
mathâuri, a row of fortifications, (manthara > * manthra
+ āpûra-).
phûpûri, continuous hissing, as of snakes. (Cf. onom. phûpûri).
 dedûri, continuous roaring as of tempest or fire.
(Onom. dedûri).
 celûrû, eye-brow, cf. Austr. chelû, see.
bhûhûrû, a place where sweepings and refuse are
deposited, (busa + pûra).

(60)

556. -qi. Pleonastic suffix. Derived from O.I.A. -ka
+ -ika > *-aia > -qi. e.g.
khâiqûni, a ditch, (khâta + -ka + ika).
khâiqû, a fish-basket, (kṣâraka, a basket for birds).
parûqi, a kind of fish living in mud-holes, (gadaka).
pūraj, a kind of red vegetable creeper, (puṇḍra, red sugar-cane).
khālihāj, oil-cake, (khali + śa pleonastic ' + '.

(61)

557. -āī. An extension of the former in combination with -ā adjectival.

pūrajāyā, red; of the colour of Pūraj.
khaṇaya, a voracious eater, (khādaka + -ika + -ā).
karaīyā, a doer, (kara + ka + -ika + -ā).
(Cf. O.D.B.L. § 422)

(62)

558. -ōwā : -uwāi : (a) -uwāi ; (b) -āī.

These are co-related suffixes forming nouns and agentive adjectives indicating connexion and implying cleverness in doing something connected with the object. They go back to derivative formations of O.I.A. √vah, like vāha + ka; vāha + ika : vaha + ika.

Examples of -ōwā. hāłowā, a plough-man, a plough ox, (hāla + vāhaka).
jālōwā, a fisher-man, (jāla + vāhaka).

Examples of -uwāi. ghāṭuwāi, a ferry man. (ghaṭṭa + vāhika).
becowāi, one working for wages, cf. As. bee, price.
khełuwāi, a gamester, (khełā-).
gachowāi, an expert tree-climber. (gaccha-).

(63)

558a. -uwāi; ghāṭuwāi, gachuwāi, jāluwāi, kheluwāi, etc. These are phonetic variants of the formations in -uwāi; the stress being shifted to the initial syllables. the -ā in -uwāi has been shortened to -a.

- The affix -uwāi has been extended pleonastically to śeluwāi, moseses, (śāivala- > śevala-, śela-) and to phatuwāi, sores of the feet, cf. As. phāṭ, crack.
558c. The following apparently similar formations are of different origins.

e.g. parhuvā, a reader. (pātha + vāca + ika).
    meluvaɪ, meluvaɪ, member of an assembly settling a dispute, (mela + vādika-).

559. -owā. (Specifically Assamese). Causative passive participial and verbal noun affix corresponding to -ā of the simple roots. Derived from O.I.A. causative -āpa- > M.I.A. -āva > -āwa + -ā (verbal noun) > -āwā, -āvā > -ōwā (the preceding -ā- being raised to -o- by the following -ō- glide). e.g.

  kārouā, causing to be done: caused to be done. (*karāpa- + -ā).
  śunovā, (*śunāpa- + -ā).

560. -au. It yields abstract, concrete and adjectival words indicating "of the nature of ". It seems to go back to O.I.A. -ku (as in vārāku); e.g.

  bhāṭay, a parrot. (bhaṭṭa-, a panegyrist).
  khalay, uncouth. clumsy, (hala-, deformity).
  dhay, a wave, cf. B. ḍheu (? ḍhava-, trembling + -).
  sts. kapay, a dove, (kapota-).
  kalamay, a kind of vegetable plant growing in water, (kalamba-).
  sts. nityay, always: (perhaps connected with nityataḥ > * sts. nittao, nittau-. Dr. Bloch).
  sts. saday, entire, whole, as an assembly, ( ? connected with sadas).
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(68)

561. -ka; -kā; -ki; -ki; -kiyā; -ikā; -ek.

All these represent various extensions of O.I.A. pleonastic -ka > M.I.A. -ka > N.I.A. -ka, in combination with the several affixes discussed in the preceding sections. The affixes -ika, -ikā, -ek represent O.I.A. pleon. *-ika > M.I.A. -ikka, -ēkka > N.I.A. -ika, -ik, -eka, -ek. e.g.

jonāk, moon-shine, (jyotnā-).
dīplak, vision, waking state, (drṣṭa-).
bapek, his father, (vapra-).
čeukā, wings, (ḍaya-√ḍi, to fly).
sts. phutukā, spotted, (phuja-).
bhelekā, timid, (bhela-).
tītiki, slightly bitter, (tiktā-).
cināki, acquaintance, (cīhna-).
mālki, a female; O. mārāṇāvā: (?) to be connected with mātr-, or referred to Austric source.
garāki, lord, owner, (gurī > garu > *gar, Bloch.).
melekī, a member of a sitting, (mēla-).
nāi-kiyā, non-existence, (nasti- > natthi- > *nāthi- > *nāhi- > nāi-).
jalakīyā, a chilli, (ṇāla-).
sts. padakīyā, a descendant, (pada-).
khānik, a little, (khaṇḍa-).
khariṅkā, a straw, (khaṭa-). etc.

In khantrakiyā, momentary, for *khanekiya (kṣapa), -t- seems to be intrusive and corresponds to Bihārī (Kurmāli Ṭhar) euphonic -ta-; cf. gharītēk, of about twenty minutes (L.S.I. V. II, p. 147). In urantekiyā, full-fledged (as a bird), uranta- is the present participle base of As. √ur, to fly.

(69)

562. -kur. It forms the second element of a few compound verbal roots, the first element of which seems to be either onomatopoetic in origin or worn out phonetic variations of some O.I.A. formations; e.g.

phēkure, soaks with a muffled sound.
Cf. B. dhēkur, the sound of belching.
A.—33
bhēkure, gets mouldy, mildewed. (Bd. bhūkundī, froth). cēkure, runs fast in frolic, as a young calf or a horse. (Bd. v/satēng, go speedily).

In all these, -kur seems to be a mix-up of several verbal roots listed in the Sanskrit Dhātupāṭha; e.g. kūrati,√kur, to utter a sound, (cf. phēkure, sob, kudati, √küṣ, to play like a child (cf. cēkure); kruḍati, √kruḍ, to get thick (cf. bhēkure). Assamese mekuri, a cat, (Bg. mekut, mekur) probably of onomatopoetic origin, belongs here. Dr. Bloch suggests possibility of connection with *kur-ī, action of doing. (a-i > u-i by vowel harmony). In that case Bg. mekur will have to be differently treated.

(70)

563. -kuri. Derived from O.I.A. kūṭa, mass, heap, multitude. (Specifically Assamese) e.g.

bāṭ-kuri, walking over a long way; going over rough and smooth. (varīna- + kūṭa-).

hāṭ-kuri + bāṭ-kuri, going over hill and dale.

phēc-kuri, concrete mucus in the eye (piča-, inflammation of the eye).

thūṭ-kuri, spittle, (*stumbhanta, √stumbh, to eject, connected with spitting by Pischel).

lāj-kuriyā, shy, bashful, is from lajjā + kūṭita, confused by shame. In hīnasā-kuriyā, malicious: Bg. hiskutc, the latter element is connected with kuṭa-, crooked. The formation daho-kuri, without fail, at any cost, found in making an earnest appeal to do something on the speaker’s behalf, seems to be equivalent to dohāi-kuri, “dohāi” for twenty times:

hāmkuri, hāmkhuri, falling with the face downwards, seems parallel to Bg. hāmāguri, crawl on all fours. In early Assamese is found the expression khoj-guri, scanning the foot-steps.

The sources of kuri, guṛi, seem obscure. The following Sant. roots may however, be compared: √guṛ, to fall from a standing, sitting or kneeling position: √guṇḍ, to ponder, think over; √kunḍel, to lie prostrate.
564. -ca, -cā, -ciya. Pleonastic, nominal and adjectival. Derived from O.I.A. -tya, forming adjectives from participles and pronominal derivatives. Extended also to nouns; e.g. ap-tya, ap-tya, watery. -tya > M.I.A. -cca > -ca. e.g. kundha, cadaverous, (kunapa + kbandha + tya).
gaci, heavy, (gabhi- cf. gabiha + ucca, ? Dr. Bloch).
khāva, voracious eater, (khādaka + (i)tya).
dābā, a kind of grass, (darbha + ).
hāla, hālca, a certain measure of land, (hāla).
kharicā, condiment from tender bamboo shoots, (khata + ).
gharaciya, domestic, (M.I.A. ghar-).
The varied pleonastic implications of this affix will be clear from the following examples:
rāuci, a loud scream, (rāv-).
bācā, bāca, a boatman, (vāhika > vāhia > -ca-).
bāna, price for making a thing, cf. As. vbanā, to prepare.
sts. oparāni, supplementary, (upara), etc.

As an affix of connexion, this affix is found also in Mārathi. Cf. gharicā, domestic.


Definitive, pleonastic and enclitic. (Discussed in extenso in O.D.B.L. § 436). It represents a M.I.A. vṛtt-, from the O.I.A. formations varta, vartika, vartikā: vṛtta, vṛttika, vṛttikā from vṛt (O.D.B.L. ibid): e.g.
kēheṭā, slightly acrid, (kasāya + vṛttata + ).
khahatā, slightly rough, (khasa + ).
ghuma, sleep, (*ghurma, vghur. to snore).
lālāti \{ saliva, drivel, (lālā + ).
lelāuṭi
phiringa, spark, (O.I.A. spulinga + ).
peṭgā, crippled, (pangu + ).
hikati, hicough, (hikkā + ). etc.

The definitive and enclitic sense is illustrated by examples like the following (§ 586): —
mānuḥa-tō, that man (referred to in the context).
eṣṭi, one. (eka + vrītta-).

(73)

566. -ṭā; -ṭi. Connected with O.I.A. paṭṭa > M.I.A.
    -vaṭṭa > N.I.A. -ṣṭa, -ṣṭā. (Specifically Assamese); e.g.
    beraṭi, waist-band. (veṣṭa- + paṭṭikā).
    camatā, leather-thongs, (carma +).
    pāḥatī, a bamboo platform. (parva- +).
    bārata, a scooped out bamboo for supporting a partition,
    (vāṭa + paṭṭa-). etc.

(74)

567. tha; (-tha). represents O.I.A. avasthā, indicating
state, form, appearance. > M.I.A. avasthā, avasṭhā (cf. M.I.A.,
avasṭhanā) > N.I.A. -ṣṭha, -ṣṭha; -tha, -tha.
    e.g. nāyaṅgaṭha, naked. (nagnā-).
    pūρaṭha, mature. (pūra-).
    ceröṭha, dirty, As. √cerā, to void loose stools, cf. D. cīrīcīra,
    shower: downpour.
    āmaṭha, obstinate, inflexible, (? amla-).
    cālaṭha, sifting investigation, (cf. cāla- in cālani, a sieve).
    gomoṭṭhā, gloomy, not bright. (gulma, a thicket).

(75)

568. -tē, abstract. Derived from O.I.A. -tva e.g.
    sts. māmaṭa, affection, (mamattva).
    tāṭ, inner significance, (tatva).
    E. As. bīrāṭ, heroism, (virattva).
    māhāṭa, greatness. (mahattva).

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    (Cf. ajja-uttā).
    jeṭhot, husband’s elder brother, lit. elder son of the father,
    (jyeṣṭha + ).
    ekutī, a woman with only one child (eka+putrikā>ekka-
    uttā, *ekoti > ekuti, by vowel harmony § 264).
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(77)

570. (sts.) -tālī. This sts. affix is included here because of its wide use. This indicates a region or locality. Connected with O.I.A. tàla + -ikā.

e.g. kāhātalī, arm-pit, (kakṣa + tālikā).
dhānātalī, paddy-field, (dhānya + talikā).
māhātalī pulse-field, (māṣa + talikā). etc.

(78)

571. -nā and extensions. Pleonastic and adjectival. In O.I.A. an adjectival -nā has been noted by Whitney (§§ 1223 g; 1245 f). A pleonastic and intrusive -n-, (in Vedic. gen. pl. gondm. stem gay) has also been noted (Whitney § 360, c). In early M.I.A. (Pāli), this -nā- established itself as a part of the stem (guna) itself (Geiger § 88).

guna continued down through Prakrit (jādhā gona jādhā; Mrćchkatikā) and survives in Assamese in gona, a male buffalo. Thus in O.I.A. there were the adjectival -nā and also traces of a pleonastic -n-. This affix seems to re-appear in N.I.A. Assamese e.g.

karaṅgan, thigh, (karayka + -).
gāhin, steady, deep, (gabhī-, cf. gabhīra).
baraṅgan, bāraṅgan, subscription, share, (varga, class).
Cf. Mārāthī, varānī.
hātinā, bellows, (bhastri-).
țemunā, a tumour, swelling, cf. also țemā, țemūrā.
chāna, the young of an animal, (śūva).
āngani, a spark of fire; the branch stem of a cluster of fruits, (āṅga).

In tapinā, tapilā, buttock, the -nā- and -lā- are parts of the original O.I.A. words talpana, talpala, the flesh on the back-bone.

(79)

572. -ni, -āni, -inī; feminine affixes. (Also cf. §§ 515 a; 544).

These are common to both Assamese and Bengali and their origin has been thoroughly discussed in O.D.B.L. § 445. They
seem reminiscent of O.I.A. -nī, -anti but they are derived from a different source. Practically no form in N.I.A. has come down with -nī, -anti of O.I.A. The O.I.A. attributive suffix -iṅ, giving the feminine nominative singular -iṅī, supplied to M.I.A. numerous fem. forms differentiated from the masc. only by -iṅī, especially when the nominative came to be used for all cases in the masculine, the -iṅ- of the base being totally lost. This -iṅī (iṅi), was partly generalized and came to be attached to nouns to which it did not properly belong and when added to masculine nouns in -a, the -i- was dropped, making it -a-anti. N.I.A. thus inherited this -iṅī, -anti (iṅī, anti), although more restricted in use than -i from late M.I.A. (ibid.).

In Assamese, -anti is chiefly used after nouns indicating caste, trade, profession, rank etc.

e.g. nāpit-anti, wife of a barber.
   kumār-anti, female potter.
   kamār-anti, wife of a black-smith.
   baruwaṅi, wife of a bāruwā (rank).
   phukan-anti, wife of a phukan (rank).
   kucuni, woman of a koc caste.
   dumuni, woman of a dom caste.
   bāghini, a tigress.
   nātini, a grand daughter. (naptrka-).
   mitini, a female friend. (mitra-). etc.

(80)

573. -ra (earlier -rā) and extensions.

It goes back to late Skt. -ra and extensions > M.I.A. -da with extensions. e.g.

śiyār, root, (śipā + -rā).
kāśar, side, (kaksā + -rā).

-ra: damarā, a male calf, (damya).
batarā, bātari, news, (vārā + ).
nāoro, a boat-shaped cistern to carry off water (nāvā-).
ri: gāhari, pig, (cf. Austr. gāhu).

-rī: ṭākurī, a spindle, (ṭarku + -tikā).
cāngēri, wood sorrel. (cāṇya).
kālarī, a deaf woman, (kalla + ūkā).
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(81)

574. -rā: adjectival, connected with O.I.A. -ra e.g.
latharā, destitute of hair, bald; (cf. H. lāth, a stick, M.I.A. lāṭṭhī).
lotharā, flabby, fat, (loṣtra).
-ri: pleonastic;
khaḍgari, reed, (khaḍga + ).

(82)

575. -lā and its extensions. This affix goes back to O.I.A.
-lā (adjectival and pleonastic); e.g.
dīghal, long, (diryha + le).
ākhāl, kitchen, cf. Bg. ākhā (? ukhā).
lā: ucalā, prominent as teeth, (ucca).
pakhilā, butterfly, (pakṣi -).
cakalā, a slice, (cakra + ).
bāralā, a bachelor, (vaṅṭa + -lā + ).
dololā (cf. also dolā), a reservoir in a field made for irri-
gation purpose; cf. M.I.A. ṣūṭūv.
-li: -adhālī, half-a-rupee, (ardha + -lika).
kharalī, a kind of alkaline sauce, (ksāra-).
-li: sts. bagali, a crane, (baka + ).
sts. chāgalī, a goat, (chāga + ).

(83)

576. -hā and extensions.

This is connected with O.I.A. -ṣa adjectival and pleonastic
(earlier -ṣa). Cf. sōbhanaṣā, beautiful.
Examples:
rupah, beautiful, (ṛūpa + śa).
sarāh, much, many, cf. H. sārā, whole.
jalahu, simple, silly, (jaḍa, jal + -ṣa + -uka).
(L.W.) bhacahu, simple, childish, cf. H. bhasāri, (bhasma-.
T.).
ukahū, rash, thoughtless, (utka-).
ādah, middle age, (ardha + śa).
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kurīhā, a kind of fish, (Lex. Skt. kuḍīśa).
iḍīh, hilsa fish, Lex. Skt. iliśa.
patahā, a thin slice, (patra + ).
gadahā, heavy like a club, (gadā-).
gorohā, hinder part, (M.I.A. gōṭā).
calihā, a thin slice, (cf. M.I.A. ṣhalla).
bhūtohā. dull, blunt, (cf. Austr. bodoh, foolish).
bherēhā, scum, flabby (cf. O.I.A. bhēṣa, a raft).

(84)

576a. ahi; -āhi; -āh + -i, (pleonastic) ; -i adjectival.
  melāhi, also melā, open, cf. ṭmil, to open.
sts. phitāhi, vanity, (spīta).
  kharāhi, a basket containing a certain measure  
    (khāraka).
  kerāhi, also kerā, oblique, squint-eyed, (kekara).
  cupahī, cupī; an oil-vessel, a capsule, (D. cuppa-).
  chalāhi, tricky (chala-).
  dhādahī, a sluggard woman, cf. As. dhod, a sluggard.

This suffix corresponds to Bihāri -ās. The derivation of
Hoernle from vāṅchā and of Platt from -āsā does not seem
convincing (Hoernle § 283; Platt. P. 208).

The suffix -āh, -āhi seems to be related to -āa, and to cor-
respond to Bg. -ās (O.D.B.L. § 450).
CHAPTER XIII.

THE ENCLITIC DEFINITIVES OR NUMERATIVES.

577. The enclitics are post-positional affixes or words which are added to nouns or numerals to define the nature of the object or article referred to. They are commonly described as articles and have the value of the definite article "the" (O.D.B.L. § 510). Pronouns other than those of the first and second persons take on these post-positions. The use of the enclitics is a feature of early Assamese also, cf. \textit{ratha-khanda}, the chariot; \textit{kanyā-khāni}, the little daughter; \textit{keśa-gachā}, the hair etc. There are enclitics in Bg. & O. also, and these usages are probably common to all Gaudians (Hoernle § 426). But the idiom can not be traced back to earlier periods. Most probably the idiom owes its origin to non-Aryan influences. (For further discussion cf. § 842).

To express the force of the indefinite article "a", the same post-positional words are used with \textit{e-} (<\textit{eka}) prefixed. The formation so constructed may then be used as in Bg. and O. either before or after the principal word which it qualifies: e.g. \textit{kāpor-khān}, the piece of cloth: but \textit{ekhān kāpor} or \textit{kāpor ekhān}, a piece of cloth. With \textit{e-} prefixed, the same words that serve as enclitics acquire the value of independent words and have the force of adjectives. But even then their function is that of enclitics with \textit{e-} (<\textit{eka}).

The following are the principal definitives in Assamese:

\begin{itemize}
  \item (1)
\end{itemize}

578. \textit{kān}: diminutive \textit{kāni}. Connected with O.I.A. \textit{kāna}, a particle, and used after nouns to shew endearment by emphasising smallness, e.g. \textit{lora-kān}, the little boy; \textit{pudali-kān}, the little one; \textit{dāmuri-kān}, the young calf etc.

The diminutive \textit{kāni} (originally feminine) indicates still greater fondness.

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(2)

579. khan; dim. khani.

It is generally used after nouns indicating some thing broad and flat, e.g.
calani-khan, the sieve.
dharikhan, the mattress.
nai-khan, the river.
nō-khan; the boat etc.

In E.As. it appeared as khān, khāni: e.g.
kanyā-khāni, the little daughter. Connected with O.I.A. khanda.

(3)

580. khar: Used dialectically in Western Assam in places where dāl is used in St. Coll. e.g. sāp-khar, the serpent; jari-khar, the rope. khar seems to be connected with O.I.A. khaṭa.

(4)

581. gach: dim. gachi (O.I.A. gaccha).

It is used after nouns indicating something long and flexible; e.g.
dol-gach, the rope.
bātiyā-gach, the thread, etc.

(5)

582. garāki. Used after masculine and feminine nouns indicating human beings to shew respect or consideration, e.g. mānuh-garākī, the man.
ghāmi-garākī, the wife.

It is used also after numerals to respectfully indicate the number of persons referred to e.g. e-garāki manuḥ, one person.
du-garākī tirotā, two ladies.

Dr. Bloch suggests connection with O.I.A. guru > M.I.A. guru > N.I.A. gar-. In Skt. guru is used as an honorific appellation of a preceptor and in the feminine, gurvi may be applied to a venerable woman.

(6)

583. got: In E.As. got was frequently used after living beings; mānuh-got, the man; paśu-got, the animal, etc.; got
ENCLITIC DEFINITIVES

is generally connected with gośtha, the de-aspiration remaining unexplained. It may be better linked with gotra, having similar meanings with gośtha.

(7)

584. caṭā: dim. caṭi. Used after nouns indicating something long and flat, especially that has been split and made into strips. Probably it is connected with O.I.A. (tvaṣṭa- > *tvaṣṭa- > caṭṭha, caṭā.), e.g.
  bāḥ-caṭā, the split bamboo strip.
  kāṭh-caṭā, the split wooden strip.
  pāṭi-caṭā, the tablet, etc.

(8)

585. jān: jānā (honorific): jānī (fem.).

Used after nouns, pronouns and numerals to indicate human beings, e.g.
  mānuḥ-jān, the man.
  mānuḥ-jānī, the woman.
  tirotā-jānī, the woman.
  i-jān: i-jānī, this one (man); this one (woman).
  e-jān, one (man); e-jānī, one (woman).
  rājā-jānā, the king.
  rāni-jānā, the queen, etc.

(9)

586. -tā, -to, -ti. This is the same as the formative affix -tā, -to, -ti. (Discussed §. 565).
  -tā is used only after numerals.
  e.g., duṭā, tiniṭā, pāḍoṭā, sātōṭā, āṭhoṭā, etc.
  two. three. five. seven. eight.
  -to is used only after noun substantives in a particularly definitive sense, e.g.
  mānuḥ-to, the particular man.
  gora-to, the particular cow.
  ghor-to, the particular house, etc.

In As. -to, there is the influence of the M.I.A. particle hu, (kkhu, khalu), cf. Bihāri. -tho: ekṭho, doṭho, tinṭho, etc. Bengali -to is the result of vowel-harmony (O.D.B.L. pp. 480, 780).
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The type of vowel-harmony which changes final -ā into -ō in a Bengali word is absent in Assamese.

(10)

587. țăr: dim. țări. It indicates something long and loose tied into a bunch or bundle, e.g.

culi-țăr, the bunch of hair.
bārḫani-țăr, the broom-stick (many long pieces of thinly split bamboo are tied together to make a broom).

țăr is probably akin to H. ṭāra, a line of cattle;
N. țăr, a platform of bamboo for sitting on. Dr. Turner considers its derivation from Skt. ṭanda-, a row, doubtful.

(11)

588. dāl: dim. dāli. It is used after nouns indicating something long but round and solid; e.g.
bāh-dāl, the bamboo.
kāṭh-dāl, the piece of wood.
sali-dāl, the spear, etc.

Contrast the use of țāl with that of catā (discussed above:). dāl indicates something whole. catā, something split out of a whole thing.

dāl may be derived from desī, dāla. a branch, part of a branch.

(12)

589. pāṭ: (O.I.A. paṭṭu). It indicates something long, flat and narrow; e.g.

bothā-pāṭ, the oar.
sar-pāṭ, the arrow.
khāpar-pāṭ, an instrument shaped like a flat spear.

(13)

590. pherā. Used after material nouns to indicate a small quantity; e.g.

lon-pherā, the small quantity of salt.
e-pherā lon, a small quantity of salt.
gur-pherā, the small quantity of molasses, etc.
phera is a word of unknown origin, but found in most N.I.A. languages. Cf. O.H.P. phera, a circle (Turner).

Plural Definitives.

591. In E. As., -hanta, -santa (M.I.A. santa-, Pres. Part. of √'as) was used as enclitic post-positions after numerals and oblique forms of pronominal stems to indicate definiteness; e.g. diu-hanta, both of them; tini-hanta, all three; e-santa, this person, etc. In modern Assamese -hanta > -hāt disengaged itself from the context and became a plural affix. (§. 624).

592. In such colloquial expressions as ekoti-hāt, definitely one; ekokhal-hāt, definitely one piece, the enclitic -hāt seems to be a modern development and an extension of E. As. forms like e-santa, this person, etc.

In guri-hāt, the householder, master of the household; the enclitic sense has been practically lost and the whole expression is looked upon as a compound giving the feminine form giri-hātāni, the mistress of the household. In developing this idiom, analogical influence of sts. grhaṣṭha, *grhaṭhāṇi may be suspected.

593. In Western Assam Colloquial, -hān, -hun function both as definitives and plural affixes; e.g.

bāpā-hān, bāpā-hun, my father; tā-hun, they;
ā-hun, these, etc. (See below, §§ 634-636).

Indefinitives.

594. Indefinitiveness in a collective unit of time and number is often expressed by suffixing -ek after a word, e.g. māhek, a month or so; paśek, a fortnight or so; bacharek, a year or so; sts. šatek, sahasreκ, a hundred; a thousand or so, etc.

Unlike as in Bengali, -ek is not attached after ordinary and tūh. numerals; e.g. Bg. gotā-tinek, three or so; but As. tinīṭa-mān, three or so.

-cerek (ciāri (≢ catvāri) + ek); -diyeκ (di + ek) are used specifically as indefinite plural affixes in the sense of “a few”, e.g.
XIII. MORPHOLOGY

gushi-diye kob cintā, a few thoughts.
jan-cerek la’rā, a few boys. (§ 630).

PERSONAL DEFINITIVES.

Or

Personal Affixes of Nouns of Relationship.

595. This is the proper place to examine a strange morphological phenomenon in Assamese, viz., that of affixing personal endings on the model of verbs to nouns of relationship. In this respect Assamese seems to stand out alone amongst all N.I.A. languages. Other morphological phenomena may be shared in one or another respect by other N.I.A. languages also, but this peculiarity marks out a form as distinctly Assamese.

596. This affixation of personal endings seems to go back to the earliest period when the language was fully characterised. It is not noticeable in a fully developed form in the Rāmāyaṇa of Madhava Kandali, supposedly of the early fourteenth century beyond which no distinctively Assamese writings have been discovered.

597. This separative instinct has coloured all terms of reference to relationship. Thus different words are used with reference to the same relation according as he or she is senior or junior in age to the person with whom relationship is indicated. Thus, “my elder brother” is kākā or kakāi; “my younger brother” is bhāi; “my elder sister” is bāi; “younger sister” bhanī; “my elder sister’s husband” is bhīnihi; “younger sister’s husband” is bājīnāi; the elder one of two sisters is referred to as āi-kān; the younger one as māi-kān, etc. Thus in Assamese there are no generic terms equivalent to such English words as brother, sister, etc.

598. It is to be observed that though different words are used to indicate different aspects of the same relationship,
they can all be traced to O.I.A. words having the same original meaning; e.g. āi (in āi-kan) can be equated to ārynikā > ayyū > āi. So also mai (in māi-kan) < O.I.A. mātṛkā. Similarly bhinihī (earlier bhinisī) can be traced back to *bhaginikā > *bhīnī + -ssīā (§. 385) and baināi to *bhaginikā-pati.

599. This separative habit has been carried on also to the persons of nouns. Words of relationship take on different personal affixes according as the relationship indicated is with the first, the second or the third person. In the case of the second person, the rank of the person also is taken into consideration.

The principal forms of some characteristic words are presented below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>My</th>
<th>Your (Inf.)</th>
<th>Your (Hon.)</th>
<th>His.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father:</td>
<td>bopāi</td>
<td>bāperā</td>
<td>bāpek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother:</td>
<td>āi</td>
<td>mār</td>
<td>māk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son:</td>
<td>po</td>
<td>puter</td>
<td>puterā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>putek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter:</td>
<td>zī</td>
<td>ziyer</td>
<td>ziyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ziyerā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ziyek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband:</td>
<td>pai</td>
<td>paiyer</td>
<td>paiyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>paiyerā</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>paiyek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife:</td>
<td>ghainī</td>
<td>ghainiyer</td>
<td>ghainiyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ghainiyerā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ghainiyek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

600. Sir G. A. Grierson reads in these peculiar forms pronominal affixations with nouns of relationship on the model of Tibeto-Burman pronominal prefixes to nouns of relationship, (Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, § 75); e.g. Bodo: ā-fā, my father; nām-fā, your father; bi-fā, his father. He would accordingly characterise these affixes as relics of some abraded pronouns. Dr. Chatterji differing from Sir George, affiliates -ēk and -āi to the corresponding formative
affixes (O.D.B.L. § 724) and considers -ā and -erā as of obscure origin (ibid., p. 165).

601. It may be added in amplification of Dr. Chatterji’s view that the affixes are of the nature of enclitic definitives and indefinitives examined above. Thus bāpek, means “a father” when the context does not contemplate reference to any grammatical person. e.g. bāpek putekār sādhu, the story of a father and a son (cf. also māhek. paṣek, a month, a fortnight). As the third person falls grammatically within the scope of the indefinite, bāpek is the form that came to be associated with ‘his’; e.g. tār bāpek, his father.

602. The affix -ā of the first person is the same as the formative affix of endearment and is vocative in origin (See §. 527). As the vocative has references only to the first person, the vocative as an affix of endearment came to be attached to the first person; e.g. bopāi, O father, O my father = my father.

603. The second personal -er is pleonastic and is connected with M.I.A. kera (kela) used in a definitive sense, e.g. ajassā kerao. vessā-jana kerako, vappa kekake (Mṛccha-
katikā). Thus bāper may be equated to vappa-kera. The pleonastic nature of -er is shown by the fact that in the second person (honorific), relationship is also indicated by adding only ā (-ā) to nouns ending in high vowels, e.g. powā, powārā; ziyā, ziyerā, your (Hon.) son, daughter. This -ā is the same as the honorific -ā in enclitic janā (§§ 585, 619). Pleonastic -er becomes -erā as an honorific definitive.

604. As Pleonastic definitives, -er. -erā are parallel to dialectical -hān. -hun (§§. 634-636) which are associated with the first person.

605. Some side light will be thrown on the nature and function of the terminations -er, -erā when they are compared with the variations, the O.I.A. vocative particle he under-
goes according to the nature of the rank of the person with reference to whom it is used. The bare particle he is used as a vocative in addressing only equals. But the following affixed forms are used according to the rank of the person addressed;

(a) he-rā, he-ray: used in calling to inferiors.
(b) he-rā: used in calling to equals (hon.).
(c) he-ri: used in addressing superiors.
(d) he-rai, he-rei: terms of address with endearment.

606. The following formations are used as terms of familiar address to a woman of equal or inferior status;

hañi, hañe, hañerā (O.I.A. hañjo > Mg. haññe > hañe, hañi). (§. 414).

607. The affixing of -er, -r to he in addressing people (grammatically in the second person) hardly leaves any room for doubt about the pleonastic origin of -er. As a vocative affix of endearment -ái appears in he-rei (he-rāi > herāi, and also by vowel-assimilation, he-rei).

608. The identity of the separative affixes being thus established, the whole question resolves itself into accounting for the rationale of the association of some particular formations with different grammatical persons. In this respect the question is on a par with the use of distinct and separate words having originally the same signification to characterise different aspects of the same relationship. Cf. bhiniṅī (*bhaginikā + -ssiā) = sister’s husband⇐elder sister’s husband; but baṅnāi (bhaginikā + pati) = sister’s husband⇐younger sister’s husband. The use of bāt (*varyikā > Mg. *vayyā > bāi) to refer to the elder sister (as worthy of respect) is imaginable, but why bhānī (*bhaginikā) should only refer to the younger sister, passes one’s comprehension. Similarly there is nothing in the formations di-kaṇ and maī-kaṇ to cause differentiation in use with reference to the senior and junior respectively of two sisters. The same absence of principle seems to be at work with reference to the specific uses of

A.-89
formations like bōpāi, bāper, hāpek with reference to different grammatical persons.

609. It is very likely that behind the multiplicity of conjugational verbal forms in Maith. and Mag. with reference to the varying grades in the ranks of the subject and the object, there is a similar absence of principle working.

610. Taking the suffixed nouns of relationship by themselves, Sir G. A. Grierson (as noted above §. 600) has attributed this phenomenon to Tibeto-Burman influences. But in Tibeto-Burman, especially in Bodo, which may be said to have influenced Assamese most, the pronouns are prefixed and not suffixed. Sir George has not accounted for this reversal. Moreover, Tibeto-Burman does not use different terms of relationship with reference to the age and rank of the person referred to. The principle of differentiation is not carried through to the same extent as in Assamese. The influence of the Mundā language in these regards seems unmistakable. “The Mundā languages belong to that class which possesses a richly varied stock of words to denote individual things and ideas but is extremely poor in general and abstract terms . . . . . . . Nouns denoting relationship are seldom conceived in the abstract but a pronominal suffix restricting the sphere of the idea is usually added. Thus Sāntāli enga-़, my mother: enga-़, his mother, but seldom enga, in the meaning of mother, alone. (Sten Konow: L.S.I. IV, pp. 23, 43).

611. “Similarly the complexity of the conjugation of the Bihārī verb in which different forms are used to denote an honorific or non-honorific subject or object and where the verb changes when the object is a pronoun of the second person singular can be explained from Aryan forms but the whole principle of indicating the object in the verb is thoroughly un-Aryan but quite agrees with Mundā grammar”. (Sten Konow: ibid., p. 10).
CHAPTER XIV.

THE DECLENSION OF THE NOUN.

(A). The Gender.

612. Grammatical gender has disappeared from As. Bg. and O. languages. Sex is generally distinguished in Assamese by the use of some qualifying terms like matā, male, (Persian, mard) and māti or mākti, female, or by the employment of different words like damarā, a bull, (damya-); cērī, a cow, (cf. O. I. A. camūru, a kind of deer).

613. Where, however, it is admissible to use feminine suffixes as after adjectives or other qualifying terms to emphasise the sex, the suffixes used are -i and -āni. (Discussed under Formative Affixes §§ 544, 572). The feminine in -ā does not exist in Assamese, the N. I. A. -ā functioning as a definitive affix; but dialectically the feminine in -ā is found in Western Assamese mādiā, a female, a mother (St. Coll. mākti, cf. O. mādukt). In St. Coll. the only examples of fem. -ā are: tirotā, a woman. (Western As. tirī); āitā, grand-mother.

614. In certain adjectival formations, the affix -rī is used to emphasise the female sex: e.g. čeketi, a youthful woman; (masc. čekā); kālari, a deaf woman, (masc. kalā); bhāīguri, a woman addicted to hemp, (masc. bhānguwā; cf. Bg. bhāngar); kāuri, a female crow. (masc. kowā); zi, ziɣūrī, a daughter, etc.

The -rī is the same as M. I. A. -diā (O. I. A. -qikā) used pleonastically. Where no sex difference is indicated, -rī is written as -rī, e.g. bāturi, news, (vattaṭā) (§. 573).

In establishing -rī as a feminine suffix in the case of some nouns, might some remote influence of Sant. -era (the
feminine suffix) be suspected? There may be a convergence of Aryan and extra-Aryan forms in fixing up -r- as an accompaniment to the definitive As. feminine suffix -i.

(B) THE NUMBER.

615. The Magadhan languages as a rule form the plural by the addition of some nouns of multitude. This is the general rule in Maith. Bg. O. and Assamese, but in Mag. and Bhoj. the plural is generally formed by the addition of -n (M.I.A. -aña < -ánám).

616. The ending in -n occurs as a pl. affix in dialectical Bengali (O.D.B.L. §. 486), and also as a secondary affix added to nouns of multitude to indicate the plural, e.g. gulī-n, -gulā-n, besides -gulī, -gulā. It has acquired the value of an honorific suffix in respectful forms of verbs, e.g. kare-n gele-n, etc.

617. In Western Assamese, -n occurs in the combination -hun used as a respectful definitive to nouns and as a plural affix to pronouns e.g. tāhu-n, they; āhu-n, these (people); bāpāhu-n, my father. (§. 593).


619. Mag. genitive plural in āhā > -ā, -ā has given Assamese honorific -ā; e.g. si-jan, that man; but raja-jana, the king. So also bāper, thy father: but bāperā, your father, etc. The plural in -ā has been extended to the respectful forms of verbs in the second person honorific (orig. Pl.) e.g. kar, do thou; but kara, do you; karili, thou didst; but karilā, you did, etc.

These are all the relics of the O.I.A. genitive plural in Assamese. The formations that function as post-positions to show the plural are discussed below.
PLURAL SUFFIXES

THE PLURAL SUFFIXES.

620. In E.As. the plural was formed by the addition of *ts. words of multitude like *gaṇa, *saṃgha, *cāyā, *saba, *melā or *meleka *bistara or some *deśi words like *jāka (horde); e.g. *śīsū-*jāka, children; *loka-*bistara, multitude of men; *pātra-*mela or *meleka, ministers.

621. In early Assamese, *māne was used as a plural suffix in a specialised sense of “all included”; e.g. *sabe *caturbhujā *puruṣa *māne, all males are four-handed; *jaieka *sundarī *pad-mīni *māne, all beautiful women are padminis; *kaṭaka *māne, all soldiers. The specialised sense is preserved in modern Assamese also, e.g. *lorā *māne *āhā, come all who are boys. In Oriyā, *nāne is an ordinary plural suffix but in Assamese its use is different. It is held to be related to O.I.A. *mānava (O.D.B.L. p. 737). This etymology does not however explain the sense of “all”. (cf. § 702).

622. Mod. Assamese has discarded the use of the above *ts. words. Their place has been occupied by three other new suffixes,—*bor (colloquially also *bhor, *borāk, *bolāk); -*bilāk, and -*hāt. Of these, -*bor is used as an ordinary plural suffix in a contemptuous sense: -*bilāk is used to show respect and -*hāt is used in restricted senses. The origin of these suffixes has not been fully discussed. Dr. S. K. Chatterji suggests connection of -*bor with O.I.A. *bahula or *bahala (O.D.B.L. Vol. II. p. 738). This derivation is supported by the fact that there is a dialectal form -*bolā-k. There is a plural suffix -*bolā in Mārwar (Kellogg: Hindi Grammar, §. 255). This is the same suffix as Assamese -*bolā-k, from O.I.A. *bahula > *baūla > bola, to which the modern definitive affix -*ā and the pleonastic -*ka have been added. Modern Assamese -*bor, -*borāk, -*bhor may be regarded as phonetic variants of bolā, bolā-k; or -*bor with variants may be derived from O.I.A. *bahu + O.I.A. suffix -*ta > M.I.A. *bauḍa (*bhauḍa), N.I.A. *bor (bhor), *borā-k.
623. -bilāk; it came into literary use much later than -bor. It is not met with in Mid. As. of the prose chronicles where -bor, -hāt are freely used. It makes its first appearance in literary compositions in the monthly periodical *Arunodaya* of the American Baptist Mission, published in 1846. Originally it was looked upon as a mere substitute for -bor, but in modern times it is used in a respectful sense.

Its origin has been regarded as obscure. It falls in a line, however, in point of formation with -bolāk (Western As. coll. gilāk) and may be taken as a blend between visāla + bahula; or, might it be related to Khāsi, byllāi, "in great numbers", used also after other nouns of multitude to emphasise the Pl. e.g. Khāsi bun-byllāi, many, in large numbers; bun=many? (Cf. § 642).

624. -hāt. This is an example of an originally present participial word functioning first as an enclitic suffix indicating connexion (cf. § 591) and then as a plural suffix. It appears in E. As. as -santa, -hanta and is used after numerals and oblique forms of pronominal stems; e.g. duh-hanta, both; tini-hanta, all three; sābe-hanta, all included; e-santa this person (honorific); tehenta, tenta, they, he (honorific). sānta (hanta) is the M.I.A. present participle of O.I.A. ṣtās, and its use as an affix of connexion goes back to insessional Prākrit and it was later introduced in insessional Sanskrit, e.g. anha-sa(n)taka, our; pitu-sa(n)taka, of the father (Senart: *Nasik Cave Inscription*; E.P. Ind. VIII pp. 73, 78; quoted in O.D.B.L. p. 753); also, voṭa-santika, nāgadiya-santaka, asmat-sataka (Fleet: *Inscription of Early Gupta Kings*; pp. 113, 118, 237). E. Assamese sānta (hanta) seems to be allied to Mārwāri handa, Sindhi sando and Kāshmiri handu. Its restricted use in Kāshmiri after plural masculine nouns indicating living beings, bears some resemblance to the Assamese use of hanta after numerals (other than one) and of -hāt (<hanta) after nouns indicating human beings. (Grierson: *Manual of Kāshmiri*; Vol. I, p. 34).

The use of hanta after oblique forms of demonstrative pronominal stems to shew respect (ehenta, enta, this person; tehenta, tenta, that person) has been referred to above.
625. Occasionally in E.As. *dui-hanta*, *tini-hanta*, etc. were preceded by strengthened forms of the genitive cases of the pronouns; e.g. *torā duhānta*, both of you; *tārā tini-hanta*, all three of them. Because of its use after numerals, *hanta* (> *hāt*) seems to have been regarded as a plural suffix, and in Mod. As. it has been transferred from the numeral to the pronominal base, e.g. *si-hāt dui-o*, both of them; *i-hāt tini-o*, all three of these; *tāhāt sakal-o*, all of you. The adjectival nature of *hāt* has been preserved in the uses referred to above, so that Mod. As. forms like *si-hāt*, they; *i-hāt*, these, are elliptical genitival expressions after which some numerals have been dropped.

After nouns, *-hāt* as a Pl. suffix indicates only members of a trade, caste or group; e.g. *chātar-hāt*, students; *kāhār-hāt*, bell-metal workers; *dom-hāt*, people of the *Dom* caste, etc. It is used also after nouns of relationship in a respectful sense, e.g. *deutā-hāt*, fathers; *kakāi-hāt*, elder brothers, etc.

626. *-sa*. Used in E.As. only after oblique forms of the pronouns of the first and second persons (āmāśā-k, to us; āmāśā-r, of us; toṃāśā-r, in you). It is found also in Bengali (Siripurā. Purnē). hams-ār, our; tuns-ār, your (L.S.I. Vol. I. p. 354). In this connection cf. Bihārī (Bhojpurī) -sa (ghorā-sa, horses) (L.S.I., V. II. p. 224).

* The origin of this *-sa* seems obscure. Dr. Chatterji taking the Assamese dative form in *-sāk* (āmāśā-k; toṃāśā-k) alone, affiliates *-sāk* to inscripational *-sat-ka*.- (O.D.B.L. §. 504). In slight modification and further development of Dr. Chatterji’s argument it may be added that *-sa* may be referred back to inscripational *-sataka < -santak*, both of which forms are attested (§. 624). In that case āmāśā may well be held to be related to asmat-sataka > *amha-saa*.

The use of *-sa < -sataka* after pronouns of the first and second persons would thus fall in a line with the use of *hanta* (*-santa*) as definitives after demonstrative pronominal stems. (§. 624).
627. It may not be out of place to add that inscrip-
tional -santaka has its progenies in Mār. handa, Sindh. sando,
Kāshm. handu, all gen. post-positions, and in As. hāt (hanta),
Kāmrūpi hān (§ 636); whereas -sataka has its progenies in
Bhoj. -sa, Bengali (Purnea), -s- in ham-s-ār, tum-s-ār, and
E. As. sa.

628. -saba. -samba: (O.I.A. sarva > M.I.A. sabba,
* samba).

Used in E.As. as Pl. suffixes after oblique forms of the
second and third person pronouns: e.g. tomā-sab, you all;
tā-sambhār, of them all.

Dr. Chatterji registers an E.As. form samha (which I
have not met with) but omits samba, which is very common
(O.D.B.L. § 493). Is samha a mis-print for samba?

629. -lok. Used after oblique forms of the first and
second person pronouns (āmā-lok, we: tomā-lokar, of you)
cf. Bihāri. ham-log. we: tu-log. you.

630. -di̯ek. -cerek. These as Pl. suffixes indicate a
small indefinite number, e.g. puti-di̯ek cintā, a few thoughts;
jan-cerek mānuk, a few men. These two suffixes are com-
pounds of di (dvi) + ek > di (y) ek and cāri (ciāri preserved
in early Oriyā) > cer- (§§ 239b. 594).

631. -khen. As a plural affix it is used in a contemp-
tuous sense: lorā-khen, the boys, lunkur-khen, the dogs, etc.

-khen is connected with O.I.A. khanda (a group,
assemblage) > * khanna, * khanna > khena: in khen, the change
of -a to -e- is due to dialectical influence (cf. e-khan; e-khen:

632. -ār; is found only in E.As. āmi-ār, we. This seems
to be the same as Bihāri (Chhikā-Chhiki) -ār (ham-ār, we)
(L.S.I. V. II, p. 99). It may be traced to O.I.A. aparā.
THE DIALECTICAL PLURAL SUFFIXES

633. The following plural forms are used exclusively in the Kāmrūpi dialect of western Assam. Some of them are met with also in early Assamese writings which were greatly influenced by the Kāmrūpi dialect. Of these, -hān is a phonological variation of -hanta, and -hun and -the-, are of different origins.

634. -hun. In western Assam (Kāmrūpi) there are forms like tāhun, tahnai, they; āhun, āhna, āhna, these, etc. There are also forms in Eastern Hindi like dūn-hun, don-hun (I. S. I. Vol. VI, pp. 143, 150); saha-kāhun, all; vēhun, these (Kellogg § 241). The suffix -hun is a double genitive made up of gen. Pl. suffix -na (< -na) added to the gen. Singr. suffix -su (cf. Ap. tāsu, jāsu) > N.I.A. -hu. Both the forms jāsu and jāhu are found in the Braja Bhāsā (Kellogg § 266a).

635. In western Assam. -hun is added after nouns of relationship in a definitive sense but the definiteness indicated is with reference to the first person, e.g. bāpā-hun, my father; māmā-hun, my uncle. The demonstrative pronominal form (Pl.) ā-hun, these, is also used as a plural suffix after proper names of persons and nouns of relationship, e.g. Hari-āhun, Hari and others; bāpā-āhun, my father and others; bāpe-āhu, your father and others. Might this be related to Kashmiri gen. post-position -unu used after singular proper names of persons? (Grierson: Manual of Kāshmirī, Vol. I, p. 34).

636. -hān. This is an exactly parallel form to -hun and is a phonological modification of hanta (santa) (§ 470). It survives in Western Assamese forms like tāhnāi (tā-hānāi), they, he (hon.) : āhnā-i (ā-hānāi) these, this person; tehnāi (te-hān-), they; he (hon.) ; -hān is also found, though rarely, in E.As. e.g. duḥ-hānu, both of the two. It is used also after nouns of relationship in a definitive sense, e.g. bāpāhān, my father.
637. Of restricted use there is another Pl. suffix -tha-, (-tha-), used after nouns of relationship, proper names of persons, and pronouns, with case-endings (-thek, -ther, -thet). It is parallel to Bg. -dek, -der, -det. It is never used for the nominative. It is found in early Assamese and it survives in western Assamese colloquial. After proper names and nouns of relationship, it has the specific sense of indicating a family group suggested by the person or the relation referred to; e.g. âmâther, of our family, tâther, of their family; mâmâthek, to uncle and his family; Gopâthet, at Gopâl and his family. This -tha- (-tha-), seems to be related to O.I.A. stavaka, M.I.A. thavaya. The cerebralisation in -tha seems to be due to some vague association with thâi, place.

The forms -the-k, -the-t seem to be back-formations from -ther.

638. -hâmra, -hâmlâ. Used after proper names of persons and nouns of relationship. It obtains only in Western Assamese colloquial, e.g. Râm-hâmra, Râm and others; bâpâ-hâmra, father and others. This suffix seems to be the same as the North Bengali (Dinajpur) remote demonstrative plural amrâh, they (L.S.I. V. I. p. 355) used as a Pl. suffix like As. âhun discussed above. Cf also Hâijong omrâ, omlâk.

In St. Coll. we have hâmâr-bhâre, in large quantity, “by wagon-loads”. There is also the dialectal expression hâmâlâ-hâmâlî, eating something in large quantities at a time. The formations seem to be related to Santali hamar, granary; hamram, abundant, copious.

639. bhêlâ. In western Assam there is a dialectal word bhêla, numerous. There is also the Koc word bhêlela, much, many, (Hunter: Non-Aryan words of India and High Asia; p. 80). This harks back to M.I.A. vbhela, to mix, collect (H. G. Sheth: Prâkrit-Hindi Dictionary). Mârâtî bhêla, Râjasthâni bhele, bhelo, collection (L.S.I. Vol. IX, Part II, p. 89). Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (Wilson Philological
DIALECTICAL PLURAL SUFFIXES


640. -gilā, -gilāk, -gilān; -ηγλά, -ηγλάn.

These are Pl. affixes very commonly used in western Assam dialects in preference to St. Coll. -bor, -bilāk. Of these -gilā, -gilāk, -gilān are sub-joned to noun substantives, e.g. gōru-gilān, the cows; puthi-gilā, the books, etc., -ηγλά, -ηγλάn are affixed to pronouns, e.g. i-ηγλαν, these; also i-ηγλά; si-ηγλά, si-ηγλάn, those, etc.

641. The suffix -gilā has been explained as a phonetic variant of -gulā, supposed to be affiliated to O.I.A. kula-, (O.D.B.L, §. 488). But this derivation seems to be based upon a wide assumption. First, there is the phonetic variation to account for, which may be quite local but when the corresponding forms gulā, gilā spread over a wide area covering Orissa in the west and Assam in the east (gulā being in use in Bg. and O. and gilā in Bg. & As.), such a variation should have been as widely recognised as the three-fold treatment in M.I.A. of O.I.A. r. Secondly, a sts. form like gulā < kula-, supposedly dated from the early Middle Bengali times (O.D.B.L. p. 727) could not have spread over the areas covered by three different provincial languages.

Most probably gulā, gilā are entirely different forms and of different origins. gulā seems to be of deši origin and affiliated to Ą. guliyā=stavakah (Desināmamālā: II, 103) = a quantity, a multitude.

642. As to gilā, it seems to be hardly related to gulā. There are the three dialectal Pl. suffixes in Bg. (-pā, -lā, -gilā, L.S.I. V. 1. 372); and Western Assamese in addition to -gilā, has also -ηγλά. They all seem to be of non-Aryan origin. The following Austric forms may be compared.

lu, lo = many, much (M. 46).

Also, biga, bigā, bi ga=many, much (M. 42).
Also, ma'-git, mu-git, how many, (W. 78).

Also, ingoy = many (M. 44).

(C). The Case.

643. In As. as in Bg. case-relationship is indicated by two devices: (1) by independent post-positions, (2) by agglutinative case-endings which are archaic survivals of the old locative and the instrumental.

The post-positions are put on and off according to the nature of the construction and the sense meant to be conveyed. Only in the case of the gen. (-ra) and the loc. (-ta) the post-positions are inseparable from the case-formations.

The noun often takes the post-position -e in the nominative, when it is the subject of a transitive verb. In the case of the intransitive verb the bare stem itself is used to indicate relationship in the nominative. There is no agent case, nor is there any oblique base except in the case of pronouns.

While the elision of the case-ending represents one stream of development, the use of the -e ending in the nom. of trans. verbs points to another line of development. The passive construction with the past-participles of O I A. verb-roots came much into vogue in latter day Sanskrit, and in M.I.A. periods, this method of expressing the past became almost a common rule (Hoernle §. 371).

644. In Sanskrit the past participle passive of intrans. verbs could be used in an active sense with the subject in the nom. case. In the case of trans. verbs, the real passive construction was used with the subject in the instrumental case. In the Western N.I.A. languages, the passive construction is retained in the agent-case, but in the Eastern languages, out of the contact of both these constructions in M.I.A. has emerged something like a passive-active construction. Originally passive in construction, a sentence like bāne hānile, the arrow struck. (< *vāgna hānita + illa- = vāgna, > vāṇem, > vāṇé hāṇida + illa-), has received an
active force and the construction is looked upon as active. In the establishment of such an idiom there must have been considerable influences of constructions like vānāh patitāḥ > *vāṇe paḍida + illa. The Assamese idiom bān paril, the arrow fell, represents the natural phonological development of nom. vāṇe, > vānti, > vaṇa paḍida + illa, whereas bāne hānile represents a blend between the passive and the active constructions.

645. The Assamese case-ending -e retains its two-fold characteristics; (1) active-passive and (2) past-present, in constructions with finite and participial verbs respectively; e.g. Gopāle likhē, Gopāl writes; but Gopāle likhā puthi, the book written by Gopāl.

The post-positions used to indicate other case-relations fell in a line with those of other N.I.A. languages and hardly present any difficulty in derivation.

THE CASE-ENDINGS.

The Nominative.

646. From the earliest times Assamese has the characteristic nominative ending in -ē. After nouns ending in -ā, -ā and -ū, this -ē becomes -ī. In certain circumstances to be noticed below, the case-ending remains also quiescent.

The case-ending -i seems to be of recent development. In middle Assamese (of the prose chronicles), the characteristic affix is -e even after nouns ending in -ā.

Examples are: kanyā-e ; mahārājā-e, etc.

647. The case-ending is invariably dropped when the subject is related to an intransitive verb except when special emphasis is laid upon it. But the subject of a transitive verb must always take on the characteristic inflexional ending. In establishing this -ē as the characteristic affix used to denote the nominative, there was the influence of the -ē, -e affix of the instrumental, so that -e may be regarded as the instr. -nom. case-ending. In passive construction, the
instrumental -e is invariably used both in early and modern Assamese; e.g. Râghâhe dâbârâ astra, the weapon given by Râghava; āpuni nirmila āâstra, the scripture composed by yourself; Gopâle likhâ cîishi, the letter written by Gopâla: hâte bowâ kâpor, the cloth woven by hand, etc.

648. The constant use of instrumental -e in the passive construction of transitive verbs might have influenced the habitual use of -e with the subjects of transitive verbs; e.g. mānuh mare, man dies; but mānuhe māre, a man beats. Moreover, as the dative-accusative post-position -ka is never used except when special emphasis is laid upon the accusative, the nominative case-affix is absolutely necessary in the subjects of transitive verbs to remove confusion between the subject and the accusative, e.g. mānuh māre, man dies: mānuh māre, beats a man; but mānuhe māre, a man beats.

The nominative case-ending in -e is shared also by Bengali and Oriya.

The Instrumental.


The use of -e in passive constructions has been noticed above. It is used also to form adverbs from nouns and adjectives and to indicate accompaniment, e.g. bege, rapidly; anâyâse, with ease: lâhe lâhe, slowly; Râme saite, with Râma. In expressions like the following, -e has an ablative force: e.g. târ mukhe âunilo, heard from his lips; târ hâte pâlî, received from his hand.

650. But when the instrument or means by which something is accomplished is meant, the instrumental -e is added to the pleonastic -er-, and -ere suggests the instrument or the agent; e.g. hâterâ, with hand, by means of hand; bâtere, by the way. In Chittâgong dialect, genitive -âr- is
CASE-ENDINGS

used with instrumental -di; put-ar-di, with the son. (L.S.I, V. I, p. 298).

In early Assamese, the use of -ker-e, -ere to suggest accompaniment is very common; e.g. henā śiśupāla-kere māi dibo biyā, I shall give (her) in marriage with Śiśupāla of such merits (Sankara Deva: Rukmini Haranā); jamai-ere, with my son-in-law; tumi-ere, with you; Kṛṣṇa-ere also Kṛṣṇa-ere, with Krishna.

The instrumental -ē. -ē is found also in the Magadhan dialects; Maith-Mag. ghore, by a horse; Bhoj. ghore. The characteristic instrumental ending in Bengali is -ē.

651. The sense of instrument is conveyed also by the instrumental -ē followed by the conjunctive participle di, giving, or by the conj. part. alone; e.g. hātedi, with the hand; bāṭedi, by the way.

The instrumental di (dā) is noticeable in St. Bengali and also in some East Bengal dialects; e.g. dāri diā bāniā, having tied with a rope; Chittāgong: putar-di, with the son (L.S.I. V. I. pp. 214, 293). It occurs also in Orīyā in the form dēi.

652. The post-positional word hatuvā-ī (connected with hasta > M.I.A. hattha, > hat-) suggests the instrumentality of a person by or through whom something is accomplished; e.g. tār hatuvā-ī. by means of him. Cf. Rangpur dialect: hātā-ī.

The Locative.

653. The characteristic locative affix in Assamese from early times is -ta. It seems to go back to O.I.A. secondary derivative in -tra > M.I.A. * -tta > -ta. > -tā. This -tra > * -tta > -tā seems to have given Assamese derivative in -tiyā (āgaṭiyā, growing early; schāṭiyā, growing late, etc. (§. 513) having a local implication. There is another derivation suggested from antah, within. (O.D.B.L. §. 750). But the loss of the nasal would remain unexplained in Ass.
654. The affix -ta has an ablative force in expressions suggesting comparison; e.g. mot kai sāru, younger than I; gachat kai okh, taller than the tree, etc. This use is noticeable also in early Bengali.

In the ablative use of the locative, there seems to be the convergence of M.I.A. ablative affix -atto from O.I.A. ablative affix -āt + tas; cf. vačhatto, rukkhatto < vṛkṣāt + tas: rukṣāt + tas (Pischel § 365). The locative -e survives in certain repetitive phrases in Assamese; e.g. apade-bipade, in adversity and like circumstances: sukhedukhe, in prosperity and in adversity: ghāre-ghāre, house to house; bāte-bāte, on every road, etc. (Cf. also §. 187).

The Genitive.

655. The characteristic genitive affix in Assamese is -ra. Early Assamese used several imported forms like -kerā, -erā, -karā, -kā: (e.g. bhājākeri dukha: brother's sorrows: tākara guna: his merits: nāmaka sari: the equal of (Lord's) name; āmāthera Kṛṣṇa: our Krishna, etc. (forms like āmāther, tumāther, etc., survive dialectically). These imported forms did not catch on and -ra established itself as the characteristic post-position.

This -ra post-position occurs also in Oriya and the dialects of North Bengal and Sylhet amongst the Magadhan dialects, and in Mārāṭhi amongst the Western languages.

656. The origin of the genitive post-positions in the various N.I.A. languages has been discussed very exhaustively (Grierson; Hindustāni: Encyc. Brit.; Chatterji; O.D.B.L. §. 503). They are all related to the derivative formations of √kar like kara, kāru, kārya, kṛtya, already yielding adjectival affixes in M.I.A. amhārā: mahārā: amhakera; pārkera; amhekera: tumhekera. There are extended applications of these affixes in M.I.A. literature. cf. mahaccin mane, in my mind; mama-kera, vappa-kera, etc.

Amongst N.I.A. languages, -rā, -erā are the characteristic affixes of Assamese and Bengali respectively and -ca of Mārāṭhi, while Sindhi -ja is a modern form related to kārya > M.I.A. kajja, > -ajja, -ja. The Magadhan languages have
the gen. post-position in -ka. This seems to be a blend between M.I.A. -kā < kṛta and the adjectival -kka which has also a genitival force.

The Dative.

657. The -ka genitive of the Magadhan dialects is used for the dative in Assamese and in North Bengal dialects. The use of the genitive for the dative is in conformity with O.I.A. uses. (Whitney. § 297, a).

658. In the group -ka+li (lāgi), -ka functions as a gen. to indicate direction, purpose, etc., e.g. Kṛṣṇārā pāśākā lāgi, to Krishna's side; jātanākā lāgi for the purpose of punishment etc. (Cf. Bg. Rāmer lāgi). In modern Assamese, -ka is dropped before lai: ghārā-lai, in the direction of home; mo-lai maram, affection towards me, etc.

659. As a comprehensive source of the dative post-position in the N.I.A. languages and specially to account for early Eastern Hindi forms like kaha, kahā, kahu, kahū and Sindhī khe, Beames suggested O.I.A. kakṣa, side, as the probable form from which N.I.A. affixes like Bg. -kr, O. -ku, Br. -ka, H. -ko etc. have sprung. Bengali kāche is no doubt related to kakṣa but kāche has never been regarded as an equivalent of Bg. dat. -ke.

Bhāṇḍārkār objects to this proposed derivation from kakṣa. To be "the original of the dative case-affix in nearly all the languages, it is necessary that it should have been used extensively in Skt. or Pkt. or in the old literature of the modern languages." (Wilson Philological Lectures, p. 246). Moreover derivations from kakṣa would not account for O. -ku, Br. -ka, H. -ko etc. It has been suggested that these are all to be connected with an Apabhraṃśa form for the ablative in *kakkhaḥu, *kakkhaḥū etc. (O.D.B.L. p. 761). But the ablative does not seem ever to have been used in a dative sense in O.I.A.

In early Assamese specimens shewing influences of the Brajubuli style, we meet with both genitival and dative ḍī.
uses of kahū, kahō; e.g. saba-kahū hṛdaya, the heart of all; Hari-kahō caraṇā, the feet of Hari; also saba-kahū mārī, killing all; kuea-kahō dhāri Hari, Hari touching the breast. These are also used after conjunctive participles; e.g. śuni-kahō, having heard; khadai-kahō, having driven away etc.

The E. As. uses of -kahū, -kahō both as dative and genitive post-positions seem to be extensions of early Eastern Hindi use of -kahā, -kahū as only dative post-positions, e.g. janma hetu saba-kahā pitu mātā (Tulsidās); with reference to all, the father and the mother are the cause of birth: saba-kahū sakhada Rāma abhiṣeku (ibid.), with reference to all, pleasing is the installation of Rama.

660. The extension of the genitive to the dative is well attested by M.I.A., and that of an affix of relationship (functioning as gen.) to the dative is warranted by N.I.A.; but there is one category of forms observed by Sir G. A. Grierson which seems to point to the genitival origin of -kahū. “Through all the Indo-Aryan vernaculars the sign of the conjunctive participle is always related to one of the signs of the genitive (L.S.I. VI, p. 159). In the early Assamese expressions quoted above, there are uses of -kahō both as dative and genitive post-positions, and also as a conjunctive participle. If -kahū, -kahā are genitival in origin, they can be explained as M.I.A. adjectival-genitival -kka + gen. -hā, -hū, where the nasalisation may be due to analogy with the loc. -hi which was frequently used to form the oblique base. cf. Old Awadhi kaha-i (without the nasal) = kahā (Baghelī) (L.S.I. VI, pp. 22, 39).

In Caryā (35), appear the forms maku=mama, and mo-kakhu = mahyam, as the commentary explains. The -kū in maku may be short for *makahū, and -kakhu in the sentence Bājule dīta moha-kakhu may be related to kakṣa = Mod. Bg. kāche. The forms -kū and kakhu may not have a common origin.

In any case As. -ka, Bg. -ke, may be derived either from kṛta or M.I.A. -kka without postulating kakṣa as the root source.
CASE-ENDING S

The Dative in -e.

661. There are traces of a dative in -e in early As. Though this is common to both early As. & Bg. its use was restricted in As. to pronouns only, e.g. moke ībār karunā karā, shew mercy towards me this time. uddhārā more, save me (lit. as far as I am concerned). In the sentences samaste tyāgīta, gave up all; āpuni sakale jāna, yourself know all; ekowe namāne, does not regard anything, the termination -e seems to be emphatic; (< Skt. particle -hi).

This affix is held to be the same as the oblique in -ahi, -ahi of Eastern and Western Hindi (O.D.B.L. § 499) and it has been traced back to M.I.A. -ahi of the locative. (Grierson: Encycl. Brit. Hindustāni). This oblique in -hi, survives in Mod. As. pronominal derivatives a'rh henceof: ta'r thereof (a'ra=d̐) etc. earlier āra, āhira (§. 711).

The Ablative.

662. Assamese like Bengali does not possess any organic affix for the ablative. In E. As. the ablative sense was conveyed by various devices: (a) by the genitive in -rā with verbs implying removing, going away, descending etc.; (b) by placing the post-position pārā after the gen.; (c) by subjoining hante (earlier sanār) to the bare nominal stem or to the genitive or locative of the stem. e.g. āgir āntārā, remove from here: garuṇārā nāmi Hari, Hari, getting down from Garuda etc. The use of the gen. for the ablative with certain classes of verbs is warranted by O.I.A. and M.I.A. traditions (Whitney §. 297. 4; Hema Chandra: iii. 134).

663. The post-position pārā (O.I.A. pare), primarily meaning 'beyond', 'further', 'subsequent' etc. has suffered an extension of meaning in its use as an ablative indicating particle. Its primary significance is retained in certain contexts when sequence of events or procedure from a cause or occasion is indicated; e.g., pānir juddhar pārā āru juddhā nāhāl, after the water-fight, there was no more fighting (Burañji: K.A.S. p. 149); darab khowār pārā ṭopāni āhil, fell asleep after (by
reason of) taking the medicine. parā is the strengthened form of par (O.I.A. pare > *pari, par).

The meaning of ‘from’ seems to have developed out of ‘after’. The use of an ablative in the sense ‘after’ though rare, is not altogether absent in O.I.A. (Whitney § 291, b). Dialectical (Kāmrūpi) peren, perē, from, seems to be connected with Skt. pareṇa, used with the ablative in the sense of “after.”

664. hante (earlier sante) is the locative absolute of present participle santa. (\'as). The ablative sense seems to have developed out of the absolute. In certain constructions, the absolute and the ablative senses seem to be inseparable, e.g. bhāya sante nrpaṭirā śharila gāva: from fear (fear overcoming) the (hairs of the) body of the king stood on end; etā hante tānā dui caranaṭa dhar: : such being the case, grasping both his two feet.

In such examples the absolute sense is unmistakable. In a border-line sentence, like Mantharāta hante pālā jātā dukha, from (by reason of) Manthara, all the sufferings (you) received, an ablative sense seems to have developed out of the locative absolute. Such transition in meaning is intelligible because in O.I.A. the ablative is used to express both removal and procedure as from a cause or occasion (Whitney §§ 290, 291a).

hante occurs in Mid. Bg. as hante, honte, hāte, hane, indicating the ablative with the base. It is found also in dialectical Bengali as hāte (Khariā, Thār). hote (Maldah).


The uses of hanta- to express the plural and the conditional past have been noticed under respective sections. (§§ 624, 786 ff).
CHAPTER XV.

THE PRONOUN.

665. Except in the nominative, the pronoun in Assamese takes the same affixes and post-positions as the noun, but unlike the noun it has a definite oblique or common form (sāmānyā-rūpa) to which the affixes or post-positions are added. This oblique form is generally the old genitive in M.I.A. In M.I.A. the genitive case-form could be substituted for all other cases except the nominative (Hema Chandra: iii. 134) and hence perhaps it came to be looked upon, when more distinctive and individualized forms were thought necessary, as the base to which other case-endings could be easily added. Even in O.I.A. the genitive "often bears the aspect of being a substitute for other cases as dative, instrumental, ablative, locative" (Whitney §. 291. b).

The Pronoun of the First Person.

666. Like nouns in the instrumental-nominative -e, Assamese pronouns also are capable of both active and passive constructions with the past participles of transitive verbs; e.g. māi karō, I do; māi karā kām, the work done by me. So also teō kārē, he does; teō karā kām, the work done by him etc. This leads to the supposition that the present-day pronominal nominatives of Assamese are either the products of two confluent forms or they were originally instrumental later used as the nominatives.

The pronoun of the 1st person Sg. is māi. It affiliates itself to M.I.A. instr. mar, mai, (Ap) mai and not to M.I.A. nom. Sg. ahaṁ, haṁ : hage, hagge, or (Ap.) haṁ.

The Carīkās illustrate the passive construction of māi with the past or future (in -il-; -ib-) of a transitive verb e.g.

etā-kālā haṁ acchilē sva-mohe

ēbe māi bujhi tās-guru-bohe.
"For such a long time I was in my own ignorance; Now by me it has been understood through the good master’s instruction.” (quoted from O.D.B.L. p. 808).

There was a confusion between the active and passive constructions and in Prākṛta paṅgala (1. 5) the active construction with instr. tai, thou. (O.I.A. tāyā : M.I.A. tae, tai) occurs:

arere vāhahi Kaṇha nāva choti
daga-maga kugati na dehi :
tai ithi nadihi sāiāra dei
jo cāhāsi so lehi.

"Row on, O Kaṇha. this small boat unsteady, and put me not into distress;
You ferrying (me) across this river, take whatsoever you desire (from me) ".

It appears that in late M.I.A. there was a free use of māi, tāi etc. both in the active and the passive constructions.

The dialectical Bihārī forms are māi, moe, moi : dialectical Bg. and As. mui. The nasalisation in i, ē is inherited from the AP. and seems due to the influence of the instrumental affix -ena. of the nominative : māi moe < as if *may' ena. In moē. mōi, the instrumental -ē -i (< i.) has been extended to the oblique base mo-

The As. and Bg. dialectical mui is from moi, the change of -o- to -u- being due to vowel harmony.

667. The oblique base mo- to which post-positions are added with the value of different case-endings (mo-k ; mo-r ; mo-t) is derived from the genitive mama, which serves as the oblique base in M.I.A. (acc. mama-m : abl. mam-dō ; gen. mama ; loc. mama-mmni) : mama > *mavā, māi, mō, mo. A dialectical form in mā- also occurs derived from mama > *mavā-, mā-, mā-. In the early Assamese oblique base mōho, the -ha (-ho) is an extension of the Mg. gen. affix -ha (AP. -ho) of nouns (cf. puttahā, puttaho).

668. The 1st person Pl. is āmi, we. It goes back to O.I.A. (Vedic) asme, we > M.I.A. amhe > *amhi, āmi.
THE PRONOUN

In AP. Pl. amheih, the -i seems to be an extension of the instrumental -i to the M.I.A. oblique base amha.-

There is also a regular instrumental Pl. in amhehi. This seems to establish the instrumental origin of the nom. case-ending.

In forms like As. and Bg. āmi, O. ambhe, āmhe, the -i, -e seem to be the result of the fusion of M.I.A. -e, Mg. -e and the instrumental -ē, -e.

669. The oblique base āmā- represents O.I.A. asma, M.I.A. oblique base amha- strengthened by an -a < -āha, of the genitive sufiix of the noun. "In M.B. there is a frequent use of the base āmāh without the genitival -rā for the genitive." (O.D.B.L. p. 812). Cf. also Assamese āmā-lok, we.

The Pronoun of the Second Person.

670. The nominative Sg. is tāi (inferior; orig. Sg.); tumī (superior; orig. Pl.).

The inferior tāi is a parallel form to mai and derived from M.I.A. instr. te, tai, (Ap.) tai. The active construction with tāi in late M.I.A. has been noted above.

The oblique base to- (dialectical tā-) represents O.I.A. gen. tava.

The formation of the E. As. oblique base toko-, corresponds to that of moko-

The superior tumī, you, represents O.I.A. yuṣme, M.I.A. tumhe (a blend of tu + yuṣme) and is a fusion of M.I.A. nominative and instr. -e.

The instrumental use occurs in the Caryās: tumhe jāiba (O.D.B.L. § 550).

The oblique base tomā- is derived from M.I.A. oblique base tumha- plus -ā < genitival -āha.

E. As. honorific genitive tuwā. tāju, (loans from Brajabuli) are connected with M.I.A. genitive tuva, tuha, strengthened by -ā, and tujja: tujjha > *tuja, *tuja, > tāju (by vowel transposition).
671. There are dialectical (Kâmrûp) Pl. forms tuhun, tohnai, tahnaï, you. Oblique forms are tu-, to-, tâ-.

The origin of -hun and -hân as Pl. suffixes has been already discussed (§§ 634, 636).

672. In early Assamese there are oblique bases āmâsâ-, tomâsâ-, in the 1st and 2nd person Pl. Their sources have been already discussed. (§ 626).

The Pronoun of the Third Person.

673. The nominative singular for the 3rd person (masc.) is si corresponding to M.I.A. so; Mg. se; O.I.A. sah. In all probability the Mg. Ap. form was 'si and Assamese si seems to have been an inheritance from the Mg. AP. form. The pronoun occurs in Bg. and O. as se. Both in si, and se, the vowels -e and -i, seem to represent a fusion as in āmi, tumi etc. of the nom. and instr. -e (-i).

674. The oblique base tâ- is connected with Mg. gen. Sg. tâha > *tâa- > N.I.A. tâ-. The oblique in tâhâ- is a strengthened form of the original genitive tâha.

The dialectical Pl. forms are tâhun, tâhnai, tehnai; oblique bases being tâ-, te-; the Pl. suffixes -hun, -hân having been added to the bases (§§ 634-636).

In E. As. forms tâhârka, târka; tâhânta, tânta etc. the oblique base in -âhây-, -âhân-, seems to be connected with gen. Pl. affix -âham > *-âhâm; also shortened into -âm.

675. The honorific Sg. is teô; early Assamese tehe, teve; teho, tehô; Pl. tehente, tente. All these forms can be equated to AP. *tehâ. (O.I.A. teṣâm > tesâm, tesâ, tehâ) cf. § 176.

Corresponding to masculine si, there is also a feminine tâi in Assamese which may be traced to M.I.A. instrumental tâe (Pischel § 425).

The honorific genitives tâna, tâhâna are the M.I.A. gen. Pl. tâna, and gen. Sg. tâha plus Pl. âna (-âna).
THE PRONOUN

E. As. honorific Pl. tehente = tente is made up of te-hante (§ 624).

The Proximate or Near Demonstrative.

676. The near demonstrative is masculine i (this man); fem. ei (this woman). Both the forms can be traced back to the stem eta-; ei being connected with M.I.A. instrumental ete, of feminine stem ei—O.I.A. *etē- (Pischel § 426). The masc. i (E. As. e; Bg. and O. e) can be similarly traced back to some M.I.A. form like instr.-nom. *etē > *ete > *ēē, e, > i. (O.I.A. etena).

677. The oblique base is masc. iyā-, fem. ei-. The formation is parallel to that of tā- (tāhā-) and tāi.

678. The honorific eō (E. As. eho, eho) parallel to teō (E. As. teho, tehō) of the demonstrative, may be connected with late M.I.A. (AP.) *ehā (O.I.A. esām > *esam, *esā, *ehā) (§ 176).

679. The dialectical (Kāmṛūp) Pl. forms āhun, āhnāi, ehui; oblique bases ā-. e-. are parallel to tāhun, tāhnāi etc. of the demonstrative; and the base ā- can be connected with late M.I.A. (AP.) stem āa- (Hema Chandra : iv, 365). Cf. āena = anena; āaho = asya etc. (Pischel § 429).
E. As. ak, ār, āt are connected with M.I.A. base āa-.
E. As. ehente, ente are parallel formations to tehente, tente.

The Remote or Far Demonstrative.

680. The far demonstrative o of Bengali, and o, u, of the Bihārī languages do not exist in Assamese and Oriyā.

In both the languages the ordinary demonstrative se, stāhā, tā serves the purpose of the far demonstrative. In some Eastern Bengali dialects too, se, tār are frequently used in place of o, or.

A.—38
The Relative Pronoun.

681. The relative pronoun in Assamese is ji, jone: the oblique form is jā-; neuter jih; dialectical jāy.

The source of this pronoun is the O.I.A. relative ya-. It is derived on the same principle as the demonstrative si.

The formations jone, jāy, jih, are parallel to kone, kāy, kih of the interrogative (discussed below).

The form jāy occurs also in the Raigpur dialect of Bengali.

The Interrogative Pronoun.

682. The interrogative ki, what? (undefined), obl. kā-, is derived exactly on the same principle as si of the ordinary demonstrative, from the pronominal stem ka-. It occurs as ke in other Magadhan dialects.

The forms used to indicate sentient beings are kon, who, and (dialectal) kāy.

683. The pronoun kon (kaun, kawan of the Bihāri dialects) can be affiliated to Western Ap. kavanya- which has been traced to O.I.A. kaḥ punar (Kellogg: § 285; Bhāndārkār: Wilson Philological Lectures, p. 206; Chatterji: § 583). The suggested derivation seems to be supported by the fact "that kaun, kon is found only in the nominative in the Northern Indian languages, although the oblique use is found in Gujarāti and Mārāthī". (O.D.B.L., p. 842).

684. Dialectical kāy, who, may be connected with M.I.A. base *kā-. (cf. kāi = kiṅ, why, wherefore; H.C. iv, 367). It may be derived from instrumental *kāena > *kāē, *kāi, kāy.

685. The neuter base kih-, as in nom. kihe; instr. kihere; loc. kihat, etc. (E.As. kisa); Bg. kisa; "goes back to early M.I.A. gen. kissa or kissā (Mg.) = O.I.A. *kisya (kasya). During the early M.I.A. period this form extended its sense to the ablative and became stereotyped into the
neuter nominative as well, in the sense of "what". O.D.B.L. § 584).

686. The ablative sense is preserved in E.As. kisā-kā (why, for what reason); kisākā kāṇḍaha, why do you weep? Cf. Mg. kisā kālanādō = kasmāt kāranāt.

Modern Assamese adverbial kiyā, kelaj (kiyā+la), why, wherefore, is connected with E.As. kisa; M.I.A. kisāa. (kisa>kīha>kīya. all forms being attested in E. As.). kelaj, < kiyā + laj (-iya > -e in As. § 239b.).

The forms jāy, tāy, jih are built upon the analogy of kāy, kih.

The Indefinite Pronoun.

687. The indefinite pronouns in Assamese are keo and kono. keo (E.As.) corresponds to Bg. keha, keho, keu. Dialectical kāyo. They are all constructed with negative verbs and mean "no body."

"It is a nominative Māgadhī form. coming from O.I.A. kāh api > *Mg. *ke'pi > *ke'ri > *ke'-va > *ke'-va, ke-o > keha, keho (with influence from the emphatic particle hu, ho) " (O.D.B.L. § 588). Oriyā has kei. The Bihāri dialects have (Maith) keo: (Mg.) keu: (Bhoj.) kēhu, keu. Eastern Hindi has both kehī, kehī. Western Hindi has the proper Sauraseni form koi (Kellogg: § 292).

In kono (Eastern Hindi. kaynay: Bhoj. kayno) "affix -api has been originally added to the compounded form kāh + punar; the -api being reduced (as above) to au or o". (Kellogg: § 292).

688. The oblique form of keo is kā (ha)-, or kā (hā) + case affix or post-position + o (< * ava, < * ava. < api). Dr. Chatterji (§. 563) connects this -o with the emphatic particle hu and ho. But the derivation from api conveys the sense better.
689. The affix -bā is often added to pronominal derivatives expressing manner or quality to suggest an indefinite sense; e.g. kene-bā, kono-bā, jene-bā, ki-bā, etc. With -bā, the forms kono-, kāyo-, give an affirmative sense “some body”. It has been suggested that this bā is the same as the Skt. particle vā (cf. Bg. kebā, keibā).

690. The neuter indefinite kichu is found also in other Magadhan dialects. In Oriyā it occurs as kichi. It represents O.I.A. kim + cid. appearing as kimchi, kichi: kichi in the Central and Eastern inscriptions of Aśoka and kīmichi in the West. The aspiration has been explained as due to contamination with the masculine kaścid > *kaecchi. (O.D.B.L. § 589).

The final -u (in kichu, O kichi) seems due to addition of api (cf. keo : O. kei). as explained above.

In negative constructions, there is also the indefinite eko, meaning “nothing” added: < eka. ēkka. eka. ek + o. (§. 688).

The Reflexive and Honorific Pronoun.

691. The reflexive pronoun in Assamese is āpuni, by oneself. O.I.A. ātman. self. gave two forms in M.I.A. ātta-, and āppa-; which are both preserved as noun substantives in As. ātā, father. grandfather. ātāi, a revered person. āpā, a boy. a son.

Assamese adjectival -āpon, one’s own, is connected with M.I.A. appanā-. < *O.I.A. ātmanaka-.

The reflexive āpuni is in the instrumental case-ending of the bare stem āpon- (ātmanah = appana-). Both the forms, adjectival āpon, and instrumental āpuni, have been in use since early times; e.g.

“āpunā āpona bandhu, āpunā āpona sattru, āpunā āponā rākhe māre; One is one’s own friend. ope is one’s own enemy; one preserves and kills oneself.” (Mādhava Deva: Nāma Ghoṣā). In modern Assamese the reflexive āpuni has the sense of “by one self”, “voluntarily”.
692. As in Bengali, so in Assamese the extension of the sense from the reflexive to the honorific second personal pronoun is a recent phenomenon. Neither in early nor in middle Assamese (of the chronicles) is it found in this construction.

The ts. word niжa, in the instrumental form нiже, is also used reflexively in modern Assamese.

693. The other honorific pronouns in As. are ekhet, а’т; this person; tekhet, та’т; that person. Originally locatives in form (cf. E. As. ахi-тa, ажiтa; тахi-тa, тажiта), а’т тa’т are used as honorific pronouns of the third person (also of the second person in a highly honorific sense), and they are regularly declined in the singular in all the cases (except the accusative), the declensional base being а’т, та’т; e.g. instr. а’тe; gen. а’т; loc. а’т. So also тa’тe; тa’т; ta’t. The transfer of the locative а’т, тa’т to the nominative in an honorific sense takes place through semantic extension; a’т = here. belonging here, the person belonging here, this presence.

694. ekhet, tekhet are similar in formation. In middle Assamese (of the chronicles) are found the forms ekhet, in this place: ekher. of this place; ekhelgi, to this place. (Puroni Assam Buraнji, K.A.S.). The extension of the locative ekhet to the honorific pronouns of the third and second persons took place in the beginning of the modern period. In Mod. As., ekhet is regularly declined both in the singular and in the plural in all the cases: the bases for the Singr. being ekhе, ekhet-. In the Pl. sакiл is added to the stem ekhet; e.g. instr. ekhere, ekhetere; gen. ekher, ekhetår, etc.

The use of tekhet, to indicate place, is not met with in E. As. It must have owed its origin to analogy with ekhet. This is also shown by the fact that the declensional base of tekhet in the Singular is tekhet, and not tekhe- also.

Originally supposed to be locative, ekhet, tekhet shew double forms in the locative: ekhet, ekhetat; tekhet, tekhetat.
695. In the evolution of ekhet, this honoured person, (earlier, “in this place”), there is the influence of analogy with a't (here: this honoured person). The -t (organic) in ekhet was confounded with the loc. in -t, and ekhet was construed as equivalent to “in this place”. The back-formations ekhe-r, of this place; ekhe-lai, towards this place, etc., were made on that popular assumption. There is another line of development in modern times with ekhet- as the base. That explains double forms like ekhet, ekhetat; ekher, ekhetar.

ekhet thus looks back as origin to some form like etat-ksetra.

THE PRONOMINAL DERIVATIVES.

Demonstrative and Multiplicative Adjectives.

696. The demonstrative adjectives are, ei, eiyā; sei, seiyā: say, sayūdā.

The demonstrative adjectives ei, sei are the same as the demonstrative pronouns e, se as preserved in Bengali and other Magadhan dialects, plus the emphatic particle hi. Thus sei is parallel to O.I.A. sohi. M.I.A. (Mg.) śehi; say, that yonder; < * su + hu (O.I.A. suḥ + khalu).

The extended forms seiyā, sayūdā, etc., are obtained by adding the definitive affix -ā.

697. The multiplicative adjectives are, kei, how many; keibā, many; jei, as many.

kei may be traced back to O.I.A. kati plus emphatic hi. So also jei is connected with yatī.

keibā, many, a certain number, is an indefinite form of kei. The affix -bā has been explained (§. 689).

698. Adjectives of manner or quality.

These are ene, this-like; tene, that-like; kene, what-like; jene, which-like (E.As. enaṅā, ehnaṅā, henaṅā, tenaṅā, jenaṅā, etc.).
These are related to Bg. hena, jena, tena; Bih. (Maith.)
e-han, te-han, ke-han, etc. Dr. Chatterji traces them
(O.D.B.L. § 600) to Mag. Ap. sources like *aihaṇa, *taihaṇa,
*jaihaṇa, *kaihaṇa, which would represent earlier *aiśaṇa,
*taiśaṇa (Mag.) < M.I.A. aisa, taiśa, etc., (preserved in
E. As. § 703). The earlier forms in -saṇa are not traceable.
The final -e in As. forms is due to emphatic hi > i.

The extended forms in -kuva (enekuva, tenekuva, etc.)
are obtained by adding pleonastic -ka + adjectival -uva.

The early Assamese forms kaicēhana, jaicēhana may be
traced back to O.I.A. forms in -dikṣa (yādikṣa, kīdikṣa, etc.)
plus pleonastic -na.

699. Forms in mata, mána are found in early Assamese
only. They do not occur in modern Assamese.

These have been traced back to O.I.A. -mant-, -vant-
(O.D.B.L. §. 599). Derivatives in -vant-, if formed from
pronominal stems, have the meaning of "resembling" in-
stead of "possessing"; thus i-vant-, so great; ki-vant-, how
far etc. Macdonell. §. 235a). Early Assamese preserves
stray instances of -vant- in the sense of resemblance; (cf.
Rāmāyaṇa, p. 223; Madhava Kandali) : Bālika dekhiḷā gajā,
mūrchiterā wate āche : going, saw Bali, (who was) lying like
one fainting.

In Bengali, -māt ; -man are living affixes. Oriyā preserves
it in the form -manta.

The group -nt- changes to -t- and also irregularly to -n-
(§ 470).

Pronominal Adjectives of Quantity and Number.

700. These can be divided into the following groups:—

(a) etek, tetek, ketek, jetek.
(b) eti-, teti-, keti-, jeti-.
(c) imān, timān, kimān, jimān, simān.
(d) sakalo *keta-(bor), bhale-(mān).

The corresponding Bengali forms are ata, tata, kata,
jata; and Oriyā forms are ete, tete, kete, jete, sete.
701. The sources of form-groups at-, tat-, et-, tet-, etc. have been fully discussed by Dr. Chatterji (O.D.B.L. § 601). These form-groups are related to early M.I.A. (Pāli) etta-ka, kitta-ka; second M.I.A. ettia, kettia, tertia etc. and are traceable to O.I.A. (Vedic) *ayatya, > *ayattiya; *kayatya, > *kayattiya etc. (Pischel: § 153) made up of the pronominal base + the affix -yat (-yat) + an adjectival -tya, > -tiya (ihatya, tatrata etc.). (ibid; and O.D.B.L. § 601). Thus ettaka > *ettaa, > *etta, etā-. Similarly ettia, kettia > *etti, ketti, > -eti-, keti-.

The forms etā, ketā etc. take the plural suffix after them; etā--bor; ketā--bor; so many, how many etc.

The forms eti-, keti- etc. are followed by kṣaṇa to indicate time; eti-kṣaṇa, teti-kṣaṇa; this instant, that instant, etc.

702. The forms in -māṇ, indicating measure, quantity, are made up of pronominal base + the affix -yat (-yat) + ts. māna (measure, quantity). Thus *iyat | māna > *iyam-māna > *imāna, imāna, imān, this much. The forms like timān, simān, etc., are built by analogy. bhālemān, good many, a good quantity. < bāhula- > *bhāda- > bhāla-. sakālo, all, is derived from ts. sakala+hu < -kkhu < khalu.

Adverbs of Time.

703. These also can be divided into several groups:
(a) etiyā; tetiyā; ketiyā; jetiyā.
(b) athani; tāhāni; kāhāni; jāhāni.

Dialectical: ethen; tethen; kethen; jethen,

Also: keihni; jeihni; teihni, etc.

Early Assamese: aisi, taisi, kaisi, jaisi.

(c) ąiz (ebho); jewe; tewe.

704. The first group etiyā, ketiyā, etc., can be equated to M.I.A. form-groups ettia, kettia, etc., (explained above) plus temporal affix -ā. (Cf. also M.I.A. kaiā, when, < *kayidā, < *kayā + dá.)
705. The forms athani (ethen, ethon), can be traced back to M.I.A. ettha; O.I.A. atra > *itra, *etra, > ethha + temporal affix -na- (cf. adhu-nā, now; Vedic a-dhā, then), Macdonell: Vedic Grammar for students, p. 212.) ettha + na > ethen; also variant ethon. So also athani < atra, > *atha + n-. Though atra is a locative formation, it has also a temporal sense in the Vedic language.

The forms kethon, tetthen, etc., are connected with M.I.A. (Ap) ketthu, tetthu, etc., equated to O.I.A. kutra, tatra, etc.

706. Early Assamese aisiñi, kaisañi, etc., are derived from M.I.A. aisa, kaisa, etc., (Explained above) + temporal -ni.

707. The group tāhāni, kāhāni, jāhāni may be said to be related to M.I.A. temporal locatives tāhe, kāhe, jāhe (from earlier locative feminine *tāse. jāse: Pischel. § 425) and early Assamese tāisāni, kaisāni, jaisāni. A form like tāhāni seems to point to *tāse > *tāsi, *tās + -ā (strengthened) + ni.

708. The Western Assam dialectical keihni, keinhni; jeinhni, jeihni: keinhā, keihā: jeinhā, jeihā: represent formations from two sources. There is the M.I.A. (Mg.) inhini, enhinī, now. (the affix -hin being related to locative -smin > Mg. śsim > śim > Mg. (Ap.) -hini) (Pischel. §§. 313; 429); enhin > enhi, enhi extended analogically to demonstrative pronominal adjectives. ei, kei, jei. give einhi, eihni; keihni, keihnī, etc.

The other set of forms, keihnā, keinhā, etc., goes back to E.As. kaisāni > *kesāni, *keihnā > keinhā, keihnā (by metathesis.)


So also from M.I*A. (Ap.) je-va, te-va (yathā, tathā) etc. + temporal -hi, we obtain jebe, tebe, etc.

ebho, now, < *eva + hu < evam + khalu. (Cf. H. ab. abhu, abho).

A.—30
710. E.As. jawe, täwe, ãwe, are related to M.I.A. (Ap.) jämahi, tāmahi = O.I.A. yāvadbhi, tāvadbhi, etc. (Pischel. § 261) ; jämahi > *jäuvūi > jawe, jäwe.

Adverbs of Place, Direction, etc.

711. Adverbs of place kā’t, ja’t, ta’ t, a’ t are related to early Assamese kahi-tā, kajita ; jahi-tā, jajtā ; tahi-tā, tajtā ; ahi-tā, ajitā.

All these forms go back to M.I.A. (Ap.) kahi, jahi, tahi, etc. (O.I.A. kasmin ; yasmin ; tasmin, etc. Pischel. §§ 75, 313, 427) + Assamese locative -ta, = kahi + ta > *kāittā, > kajtā, ka’ t. E.As. tāyā, there, is related to M.I.A. taha < tattha < O.I.A. tatra.

712. There are dialectical forms like kāhē, jāhē, sāhē, tāhē, āhē; also kāhāi, jāhāi, etc.

These forms go back to M.I.A. (Ap.) kaha, jaha, taha (O.I.A. kutra, yatra, tatra : Pischel. § 107) and Mg. ablative forms kamhā. kahē : jamhā jahē (Pischel. § 425, et seq.). Thus kaha-locative i > kahē ; kahā-loc. i, -i > kahāi.

713. Adverbs of direction jeni, teni, keni may be derived from O.I.A. instrumental yena, tena, etc. (also used adverbially) ; *kenena > *kenē. kene, keni. Early Assamese has kene in the sense of 'why'.

The forms kōlai, jōlai, tōlai are compounds of kahi, jahi, tahi plus lai < lagi.

714. Adverbial tehe, (E.As. tewese), 'and then', 'such having been the case' and teo. even then, notwithstanding: correspond to old Bg. tēe, teē ; Ap. teva, tevā, (O.I.A. tathā-) ; and early Bg. tēu (Ap. tevā+hu<khulu) ; tehe, tewese are equivalent to O.I.A. *tathā sati > M.I.A. *teva sati > *tewese, tewese. tehe. The nasal in early Bg. tēu is due to the alternative nasalised M.I.A. (Ap.) form tevā.
CHAPTER XVI.

ASSAMESE VERB ROOTS.

715. The sources of N.I.A. roots have been discussed in extenso in standard works on the subject (cf. Hoernle, pp. 161 et seq.; Chatterji, pp. 870 et seq.; Grierson; Prākrita dhātvā-deśa; Introduction etc.). From the Assamese standpoint there is hardly anything new to be added to the conclusions already established. In the following pages, the principal Assamese roots are arranged according to the scheme of classification drawn up by Dr. Chatterji for the grouping of N.I.A. roots.

Assamese roots may be broadly classified into two groups:
(1) Primary roots; (2) Secondary roots. They fall again into the following sub-groups:

1. Primary roots from causatives in O.I.A.
   (a) Simple roots,
   (b) Prefixed roots.

2. Primary roots from causatives in O.I.A.
   Primary roots reintroduced from Skt. (tss. and stss.)
   Primary roots of doubtful (deśī) and non-Aryan origin.

Causatives in -ā;
- native (tbr.)

Denominatives—,-ts.
-foreign.

Compounded and suffixed.
Onomatopoetic.
Doubtful.
(I). **Primary Roots.**

716. Below is appended a list of some of the primary roots in Assamese. Denominatives derived from M.I.A. are classed amongst primary roots, since they have been inherited as roots by Assamese and behave exactly like primitive roots derived from O.I.A. (Cf. As. *tare*, pitches a curtain or a tent, M.I.A. *taḍai* = O.I.A. *tataṭi*, √*tan* : As. *kāṛhe*, draws, M.I.A. *kaḍṭhai* = O.I.A. *kṛṭṭati*, etc). Roots like these might have been regarded as denominatives in M.I.A. but the nouns and adjectives from which they are derived are in many cases obsolete in Assamese.

717. Many of the roots can be traced back to O.I.A. sources and some only to M.I.A. sources where they were regarded as ḍēcśas or substitutes for O.I.A. roots owing to phonetic irregularities, alterations in meaning, or obscurity of origin.

718. Apart from phonetic modification and decay and the analogical tendency which brought about a general uniformity in conjugation, there are certain other modifications through which M.I.A. roots have passed. In M.I.A. the bases of active roots are frequently derived not from the active form in O.I.A. but rather from the passive, and in some cases apparently from the future, rather than from the present. Causative bases of O.I.A. also supplied the simple root forms of M.I.A. and N.I.A.

719. The cause of the confusion between the active and the passive seems to be due to the great likeness between the active forms of the Skt. *div-* class and the passive. Even in O.I.A. these forms could be distinguished only by the accent which in the *div-* class is thrown on the radical and in the passive on the suffixal vowel. (Höernle: p. 170). Moreover, with the disappearance of the *āttanepada* voice, the personal terminations came to be identical both in the active and the passive, e.g. O.I.A. active *yudhyati* and passive *yudhyate* would alike > M.I.A. *juṭjhái*. 
720. Passive-active constructions were not unknown to parent Sanskrit itself. "By their form, mriyate, dies; dhriyate, maintains itself, are passives from the roots √mr and √dhṛ, although neither is used in a proper passive sense and √mr is not even transitive. With these may be compared the stems ādriya-, heed; and āpriya-, be busy, which are perhaps peculiar adaptations of meaning of the passive from the roots √dr, pierce, and √pr, fill, (Whitney § 770). Active endings are also occasionally taken by forms properly passive, Cf. ādhmAyati, bhūyati etc. In the epics, active endings are by no means infrequently taken by the passive, cf. śakyati, śrūyanti, etc., (Ibid § 771). There was moreover, a greater vogue of the passive construction of sentences in later Sanskrit literature and the third person singular passive was freely made both from the transitive as well as intransitive verbs (Ibid § 999a).

721. M.I.A. verbal formations like callai, laggai, phuttai etc. were derived from the passive.

Some very common Assamese verbs like niye, takes; diye, gives; ruce, is agreeable; rahe, is suitable; cohe, sucks up; game, ponders over, etc. are derivable only from the passive forms niyate, diyate, rucyate, raityate, cūyate. gamyate etc. The corresponding Bengali forms ney, takes; dey, gives, are connected with the active forms nayati, *dayati.

(A).

722. The following is a list of some of the common primary roots. They include some roots illustrating the incorporation of O.I.A. class-signs.

āc, draft, make an outline of; (cf. M.I.A. aṅc, draw a line or figure).
kāp, tremble, (kamp).
kāc, fasten tightly, (kacyate).
kānd, cry, (krānd).
kāh, cough, (kās).
kāc, cut up into pieces, (kaṅcāi, kaccai, kṛtyate).
kāc, attire, (kṛtyate).
kār, husk paddy, (kaṇḍ).
kin, buy, (kṛṇāti).
kud, romp about, (*kund, *kudd, kurd).
kūṭ, chop, (kūṭṭ).
kūc, shrink, (kuṇc).
khap, pass as a night. (kṣapyate).
khān \{\] dig, (khanyate).
khānd \{\]
khel, play, (khel, krid).
khund, pound. (M.I.A. khundadi, O.I.A. kṣunatti).
khōṭ, peck with the bill. (M.I.A. khuṭṭ).
gār, count, (gaṇ).
gam, think over, (gamyate).
garh, fashion, make; (M.I.A. gadhai, ghatate).
gal, melt, (gal).
gāj, roar, (garj).
gāṭh, string, tie, (gaṇṭhai, granth).
gil, swallow, (gil, gir, gr).
gōṭh, string as a garland, (gunṭhai).
gun, ponder, (gun).
guc, be off, pass away (? gluṇc).
ghōṭ, stir up, churn, (M.I.A. ghoṭṭai).
cā, look at, (cāy).
cāk, taste, (cakkhai).
cāc, smooth with an adze, (tvaks > *tyaks).
cār, let go, release, (M.I.A. chaḍḍai, chard).
cop, lie in wait, (cupyate, √cup, to move stealthily).
ce, touch, (chuv, chup).
cīr, be torn, (M.I.A. chindai, chinatti).
jah, decompose, (jas).
jin, be victorious, (jināti).
jor, aim at, (judyate).
jor, clear jungles etc. (M.I.A. jhoḍ).
jāk, be annoyed, (M.I.A. jhamkhai).
jar, ooze out, (jhar, kṣar).
ḍhāk, cover, (M.I.A. ḍhakkai).
thāk, remain, (thakkai).
VERB ROOTS

ḍī, give, (ḍīyate).
deo, cross striding, (ḍīvva, ?):
dho, wash, (M.I.A. dhovva, connected with O.I.A. dhayta).
nī, take away, (nīyate).
pih, rub, pound, (piś).
per, squeeze out, (piḍyate).
phand, throb, (spand).
phir, return, (M.I.A. phirai).
phur, walk about, (sphur).
ba, weave, (varu).

bak, babble, (vak).
bal, blow as wind, (val).
bāc, live, (vaṅc).
bhul, forget, (M.I.A. bhullai).
bhok, bark, (M.I.A. bhukkai).
bhīr, bend, (bhṛ).
maj, be softened as a fruit, (majjati).
mal, wipe as tears, (malai, mradate).
mār, kneed as flour, (maḍḍai, *mardati).
rā, stay, (M.I.A. rahai).
renṛ, be inconsistent with, (cf. O.I.A. riṅ).
lord, gather as fuel, (lunṭh).
suṣ, repay, (śudhyate).
ṣi, sew, (siyva, sivyati).
so, sleep, (svap).
sūn, smell, (Cf. singh).
svār, remember, (sumarai, smarati).

(B).

723. The examples of prefixed roots are:
āuṭ, smelt, (a-vṛṭ); ā-uṭ, recline, (a-vṛṭ); ā-gur, defend, (a-guṇḍ).
ācē, wash after eating, (a-cam); āchār, throw off with force, (a+chard).
ār, deposit, pledge, (a-dhā); ukal, pass over as time, (ut-kal).
ujar, get frightened, (ut-jhat); ur, fly, (ut-ḍā).
urah, be scorched, (ut-dāṅ).
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uphā, be increased, (ut-sphāy); okāl, eject from the mouth, (utkālayati).
opaj, be born, (ut-padyate).
ophand, be puffed up, (ut-spand).
ophar, bound off, (ut-sphar).
obhat, turn back, (? M.I.A. owatt : apa-vṛt).
omol, sport, frolic, (un-√mrad).
olat, turn back, (M.I.A. ullaṭṭai).
olam, be suspended, (aṇa-lamb).
numā, be extinguished, (M.I.A. numai ; O.I.A. ni-√vi).
neḍe, contemn, (ni-aṇe).
pam, melt, wither, (pra-mlai).
pōch, wipe, (pra-uṇch).
pāhar, forget, (pra-smṛ).
sāmar, keep carefully, (sāṁ-bhr).
sōcar, pass from one to another as disease, (sāṁ-car), etc.

(C).

Primary roots of causative origin.

724. Certain O.I.A. causative roots have become primary roots in Assamese. The old causal sense has been lost and they are ranked as ordinary transitive verbs. New causative formations can be built up by adding causal affixes. -ā. -uā. -owā: e.g. māre, he dies; māre, he kills, (mārayati); new causative marāy, he causes to kill. The old causative in māre has acquired a mere transitive force.

725. The following are some of the examples of this class of verbs:

upār, dig up, (ut-pātayati); ughāl root up, (ud-gūṭa-yati).
ubhāl, to root out, (ud-bhārayati).
ucāl, heave, (ut-cālayati).
kāṭ, cut, (kartayati).
cāl, sift, (cālayati).
cār, look over cows grazing, (cārayati).
chā, cover with thatch, (chādayati).
che, cut into pieces, (chedayati).
tiyā, moisten, soak, (*timāpayati).
 tér, pull, (*tānayati).
 tā, blow fire with a bellows, (tāpayati).
 thū, place, (sthāpayati).
 da, reap, (dāpayati).
 dūvā, bend, (damayati).
 nowā, anoint before ceremonial bath, (snāpayati).
 pāc, send forth on an errand, (prāncayati).
 phāl, split, (M.I.A. phālei; sphālāyati).
 bā, row, plough, (vāhayati).
 bāt, pound, (vartayati).
 sts. māp, measure, (māpayati).
 nirā, weed out, (nir-dāpayati).
 ro, plant, (ropayati); hān, pierce, (*hānayati).
 sāngōr, yoke together, (sām-ghaṭayati).
 sts. sōdh, enquire, (sōdhayati); sts. sād, accomplish (sādha-yati).

(2). SECONDARY OR DERIVATIVE ROOTS.

(A). Causatives.

726. The most characteristic of this class are the causatives. In Assamese (early as well as modern), causatives are formed by adding -ā to the primary verb root; e.g. kare, he does; karāy, he causes to do. There are also two extended forms of -ā in -ōvā, -uva, e.g. karowāy, he causes to do; parhu-wāy, he causes to read, i.e. teaches.

The suffixes in other Magadhan dialects are; Bg. -ā, O. -ā, Maith. -āb, Mag. -ā. Bhoj. -āw.

727. The source of this -ā is M.I.A. -āva from O.I.A. -āpa which was primarily restricted in application to roots ending in the vowel -ā, though aberrations are also noticeable. The other O.I.A. causative suffix -ājā which became -e in M.I.A. was largely superseded by -āva which in the main gave to the N.I.A. languages their* distinctive causal affixes.

728. Assamese -ōvā, -uva are double causatives in form, though not in sense. They are composed of -āva plus A.—40
-ā > *-āvā > -awā > -awā > -owā. In respect of double forms, Assamese may be compared with the Bihārī and western dialects which also possess double causative suffixes both in form and meaning; e.g. W. Hindi milanā, to meet, milānā, to cause to meet; milawānā, to cause to mix; Maith. dekhaḥ, to see; dekhāeb, to show; dekhābaeb, to cause to show. Bhōj. dekhal, dekhalawal, dekhalawal, etc.

Most Assamese roots form their causatives optionally with -ā, -owā or -uwā. Primary and secondary roots ending in -ā always form the causative in -owā. There are, however, certain roots ending in consonants that form their causatives exclusively with -uwā; e.g. dekhuwā, √dekha: other roots are √kāndā, to cry, √lar, to move; √bāh, to sit; √hāg, to void stools, etc.

The causatives form their past participle in -owā. Those in -uwā have the past participle in -uwā.

(B). Denominatives.

729. A denominative conjugation is one that has for its basis a noun-stem. (Whitney § 1053). Judged by this standard, a large percentage of N.I.A. Assamese roots should be characterised as denominatives. They are formed from nouns and participles being treated exactly like roots.

730. The denominative affix in As. is -ā (the same as the causative -ā) < O.I.A. -āya. In M.I.A. there was a mix-up between the denominative affix -āya and the causative affix -āpaya (Pischel § 559). The form in -āya was more prominently used, and -āya > -aa, and -āpaya > -āve, -āv, converge and yield the same form in -ā in N.I.A.; and the distinction between the causative and the denominative is practically lost in N.I.A., it being preserved only in the Bihārī dialects (Cf. O.D.B.L. p. 1034).

731. The practice of using some nouns as verb-roots goes back to O.I.A., and even amongst the recognised O.I.A. roots, there are many which are really denominative in origin (Whitney, 1053a). In M.I.A. this practice had a still
greater vogue and a large number of M.I.A. roots are formed from O.I.A. past participles; e.g.

\(\text{pallaśï} (\text{paryasta}-) \); \(\text{piṭtai (piṣṭa)}\) ;
\(\text{taḍ} \text{ai (tata)-} \); \(\text{kaddh} \text{ai (krṣṭa)}\), etc.

732. Denominative roots that have come down from M.I.A. are treated as primary roots in Assamese and these do not take on the characteristic denominative affix -ā; but the denominatives that have been created in the Assamese period take on the suffixal -ā; e.g. M.I.A. denominative form \(\text{piṭtai (piṣṭa)}\) is Assamese \(\text{piṭe}\), threshes, and \(\sqrt{\text{pit}}\) is regarded in Assamese as a primary root. Similarly M.I.A. denom. \(\text{jam} \text{mai, is born. (janma)-, kam} \text{mai, shaves. (karma)-}
might have given the expected forms *jāme, *kāme. But Assamese formed new denominatives \(\sqrt{\text{jōvā}}\), to plant seeds in a nursery, \(\sqrt{\text{kam} \text{ā}}\), to shave, from the bases \(\text{jam} \text{ma-}, \text{kam} \text{ma-} \); and these take on the characteristic denom. ending -ā. Thus denominative roots in Assamese without -ā may be regarded as earlier formations.

733. A selected list of denominative roots.
\(\text{ākōwāl, embrace, (an} \text{kapāla-)}.\)
\(\text{āgyuā, go in advance. (ag} \text{ra} + \text{uka-)}.\)
\(\text{āmuwā, satiate, (am} \text{lāpya-, Dr. Bloch)}.\)
\(\text{ugā, relapse. (ut} + \text{gata)}.\)
\(\text{ukhā, boil slightly, (ukh} \text{ya)}.\)
\(\text{uthan} \text{gā, praise one up. (Cf. M.I.A. utthan} \text{ghai)}.\)
\(\text{ubhī, to erect, (ubb} \text{ha, īrd} \text{ha)}.\)
\(\text{umā, brood on; hatch, (ūs} \text{ma)}.\)
\(\text{okāt, turn up, tear asunder, (apa} + \text{krṣṭa)}.\)
\(\text{ukhāh, swell as a boil or wound, (ut} + \text{kh} \text{asa)}.\)
\(\text{kaḥā, tinge, colour as clothes, (kaṣ} \text{a} \text{ya)}.\)
\(\text{kā, speak, (kath} \text{a)}.\)
\(\text{kār} \text{h, snatch away, (kaddh} \text{ai} < \text{krṣṭa)}.\)
\(\text{kha} \text{jūwā, scratch lightly, (kharju-)}.\)
\(\text{khīrā, milk, (kṣīra)}.\)
\(\text{gōma, be cloudy, overcast, (gulma)}.\)
\(\text{gōṭa, collect, (got} \text{ra, an assembly)}.\)
ghāl, discomfit, abuse, (ghāta + la).
ghuma, sleep, (*ghurma, ∨ghur, snore).
cin, recognise, (cihna).
chān, spread over, cover, (channa).
chānd, lie in wait for opportunity, (chandas).
jurā, cool, refresh (?).
  jhāru, broom-stick, duster (D. jhāḍāvana).
jau, cast seeds to germinate, (janna).

sts. thag, deceive, (sthaga).
dār, punish, (daṅḍa).
tār, pitch a curtain or tent, (M.I.A. tādi < ? tata).
tit, be wet, (*tintā/tim).
thāy, be within depth, (stāgha).
nikaṭā, peel off, (niṣkṛṣṭa-).
nāth, tie together like a post beam, (nasta).
nikā, cleanse, (D. nikka, pure, clean).
pūlaṭ, turn back, (pallavi< <paryasta).
pūdh, put on, (pūddha).
pit, thrash, (piṣṭa).
bik, sell, (vi-kraya).
bolā, colour, (?varṇa).
bhāg, break, (bhagna).
māṭh, smooth, (mṛṣṭa).
māṭ, call, (mantra).
mud, close, (muḍrā).

sts. sepā, khepiyā, to grope, feel with the hand, (kṣepa).
sondā, make sweet-smelling, (saygandha-).
hāc, to sneeze, (haṇji).
hāmi, yawn, (harman).

(C).

Compounded and Suffixixed Roots.

734. Compounded roots are "made up of either two roots combined, or a root preceded by a noun or adverb, or in the majority of cases, of a root primary or denom. modified by a suffix (O.D.B.L. §. 628). The first type seems to be
absent in Assamese, and of the second type, the only examples are $\sqrt{\text{nowr}}$, is unable ($na + p\text{r}\text{ay}-$), and $\sqrt{nah}$, is not, ($na + \sqrt{as} \ast \sqrt{ah}, \sqrt{h\text{a}}$).

735. The large majority of the secondary and compounded roots in Assamese as in other N.I.A. languages are suffixed. The principal suffixes are \(-k, -c, -t, -r (<d), -l, -h (<s)\). "They modify the meaning of the original root or denom. base in various ways as an intensive or continuative, frequentative or approximate affix" (O.D.B.L. § 629).

736. These roots may in a sense be looked upon as denominatives from the nouns subjoined to the several affixes; only in certain instances the corresponding nominal forms are absent in Assamese; Cf. thamak, stop, is both a noun and a verb, but talak, reflect upon, is only a verb. Also the characteristic denom. affix -ā is not added and the personal endings are attached directly to the root.

737. The N.I.A. denominative suffixed roots may be connected with certain O.I.A. suffixed verbal formations with causal values like pālaya-, prīnaya, dhūnaya, bhīṣaya-, etc. where "the causative is palpably the denominative of a derived noun." (Whitney. §. 1042 m.)

In first M.I.A. (Pāli) also occur forms like upakkamalati, to make diligence; santarati, to act well or handsomely (santa-), jōtalati, to make shine (dyotayati) (Duroiselle: Pāli Grammar, pp. 214, 215; Śāstri: Pāli Prakāśa, p. 63). Dr. Bloch points out that these three formations do not occur in the Pāli Text Society Dictionary, and though santa-occurs, it has a different etymology and meaning in the dictionary.

Prof. Śāstri has referred me in a note to the Pāli Dictionary of Childers, 1909. On Pali jōtala (dyotayati) upakkamalati, Childers has quoted "An introduction to Kaccayana’s Grammar of the Pali language by James D’Alwis, Colombo, 1863; and “Kaccayanappa karana” edited by

suntarati could not be traced.

In second M.I.A. there are suffixed roots functioning as causals, Cf. bhamādai, tamādai, (*bhamātati, *tamātati). The only difference between causative formations like pālaya-, bhīṣaya-, etc., and confessedly denominative formations in O.I.A. is in the causative accent -āya, the denom. having the accent on the suffix -yā.

738. The O.I.A. and M.I.A. traditions of forming the causal from suffixed roots are maintained in Western languages like Hindi. Gujrāti, Sindhi, e.g. H. dhonā, to wash; dhulānā, to cause to wash; khānā, to eat; khilānā, cause to eat; G. lagāvā, adhere; lagaḍāvā, cause to adhere; S. sikhānū, learn; sikhāranu, teach.

In the Eastern languages, esp. Bengali and Assamese, suffixed roots are used as simple verbal bases without any causal implication.

739. Roots in -k-

āṭak, be confined, fastened. (aṭṭa, rice-gruel).
khalak, be agitated. (khal, tremble).
garak, trample, tread, (M.I.A. godda).
corok, clear with a hoe. (ksur, to scratch).
chitik, be sprinkled. (D. chiṭṭa-).
ṭulik, reflect upon. (ṭuval).
thamak, stop, (stambha).
pitik, shampoo. (piśta).
poṭak, be dinted. (puṭṭayati, become small or diminish)
polak, slip off, (?) cf. polā, a bundle of reeds, etc.
phicik, whisper.

ophobic, effervesce (onomatopoetic.
bānāk, decorate with a cover of pigment (varna, colour.

Dr. Bloch).

mocak, be sprained (?)
sārāk, pass through, (sṛta).
suruk, steal in, cf. Bg. sur-sur, creep stealthily.
semek, be moist, (śīta + karma-).
solāk, be untied, (M.I.A. sōlā).
kuruk,
    huluk,  } scoop out, (M.I.A. hulai, scour).
hōhāk, recede, (?).
The suffix -k- "indicates suddenness of the action or its continuity. It is intensive". (O.D.B.L. § 630).

740. Roots in -c-;
kārāc, gnaw, (√ kad, to tear).
bec, sell, (vyaya + -).
khamoc, to grasp, (Cf. Khās. √ khām, close the fist).
takacā, put off with promises, (Cf. tarka-).
ṭenugučiyā, limp, (√taγg, to limp).
thekec, crush down, (Cf. √ stak).
mālec, to rub off, (√ mrad + tya).
The suffix -c- is the same as the derivative in -c- and indicates resemblance.

741. Roots in -f-;
ghokāt, stir with a stick, (Cf. As. ghōk).
čikat, pinch, (čika + vittta).
japatiyā, entwine, (Cf. M.I.A. jhampia, entangled).
neotech, separate from the seed, as cotton. (connected with aṣhti, a seed, kernel).
pakatiyā, turn round and round, (Cf. pāka in vipāka, a bad turn).
The suffix -f- indicates continuity of action. (O.D.B.L. § 631).

742. Roots in -r-: -d-:
ājor, bend, twist (√aṅc, to twist).
khōcār, turn up as earth with a rod (M.I.A. √ khaṅc).
gōjar, growl, (√ gajr, to rumble).
yothorā, look displeased, scowl, (grasta).
cēpar, bend oneself, (M.I.A. √ cappa, to press down).
cōcār, move by dragging, (√ caṅ, to move, shake).
sts. jāmār, subside as a swelling, (kṣāma).
bāgar, to roll about, (Cf. varga-)
mocār, to wrench, (Cf. mucūti; a fist; snapping the fingers).
mokār, to crush, (√ mṛṣ, to rub, stroke).
sōṭār, be shrivelled, (√ śuṇṭh, to dry).
Several suffixes discussed under derivatives have converged into this -r-. It comprises M.I.A. -da and -ra.

743. Roots in -l-:
ondolā, darken, (andha + la).
kačāl, shake this way and that as a peg in order to drive it deeper (? √ kačē).
kuhuliyā, to deceive, (kūha + la-).
khejāl, jeer, mock. (khiḍyāte √ khid).
tahal, to move about in a leisurely manner (√ trakh, T.).
takāl, tapāl, [smack the lips after tasting (?)].
mokalā, to loosen, (M.I.A. mukka, D. mukkāla).
ramaliyā, to caw, (rava + karma-).
lerel, be withered, lessened (lista √ lis. become small).

744. Roots in -h-. < -ś-:
cārāh, suck, (√ caṅṭā, √ caṅś).
ḍemeh, be about to maturc, (?)
thereh, be stiff, (sthavira).
The affix -ha- < -śa- indicates resemblance.

(D).

Onomatopoetic Roots.

745. These can be divided into two groups; (a) onomatopoetics proper used singly or duplicated, (b) roots reduplicated or repeated to produce a jingle.

Both these two types are found in the earlier languages (Vedic, Sanskrit and the Prākrit); e.g. single as in Sanskrit nouns: ḷai-kāra, guṇjana, kujana; reduplicated as in Skt. verbs: caṭcaṭāyate, kaṭkaṭāyate, pharpharāyate, etc.
In Skt. the onomatopoetics are treated as denom. in -ṣya, but in M.I.A. we have the direct use of the stem as a root (cf. tharāhara-, caḍaphaḍanta-). In Assamese, onomatopoetics take on the denom. affix -ā.

746. Examples of onomatopoetic verbs in Assamese:
Onomatopoetics proper: single and duplicated:

- phūka, be just born, breathe into life.
- phēkur, sob.
- siyār, mimic.
- phōpā, pant, (as after running).
- phāp, prove efficacious (as medicine).

Dr. Turner connects phāp with M.I.A. phauvihai, is successful in getting.

- goyā, groan with a muffled voice.
- ādā, roar.
- bébā, bleat as a cow or a goat.
- kēkā, groan as in bodily pain, etc.

747. Roots repeated: The same root may be completely repeated, or another root of similar sound and import to echo the sense of the previous root may be added; e.g.

dap-dapā, burst out in anger, (√dṛp).
- tan-tanā, sense of binding pain, (tan—tān).
- jal-jalā, be shining, (jval).

dal-dalā, have a shaky and wavy motion, (Cf. √dul).
- tal-balā, be shaky and moving. (tal, bal < Skt. val).
- dhar-pharā, feel restless and unsteady, (dhar < dхаṭa, a balance; phar=phur < Skt. sphurst).
- kel-melia, noisy chattering, (kel < Skt. kil; mel, Skt. melaka), etc.

For verbal roots of non-Aryan origin, cf. lists under non-Aryan loan-words (§§ 57 ff).

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CHAPTER XVII.

THE CONJUGATION OF THE VERB.

748. In Assamese as elsewhere only two of the O.I.A. and M.I.A. tenses have survived in the finite verb: the simple present and the imperative. The past and the future are formed by adding personal affixes to the old past participle in -illa, and the O.I.A. gerundive in -tavya, -itavya, respectively.

749. There is only one periphrastic tense which functions both as present progressive and present perfect with reference to the setting in which it is placed. The periphrastic in Assamese is formed with the O.I.A. verbal noun in -i+-ka, and not with the participle.

750. Assamese has also a complete negative conjugation for all verbs made by prefixing the negative particle na which is assimilated to the vowel of the first syllable of the conjugated root. (§ 275).

THE PASSIVE.

751. The passive in O.I.A. was formed by adding -ya to the verbal root. This -ya occurs as -ya, -iyya, -iyya, -iya in first M.I.A. and as -iya or -ia in second or third M.I.A. In N.I.A. languages both -iya > -iya, and -ia, -ia are found as inherited from the Apabhramśa, but they have not been preserved in all N.I.A. languages. The analytical mode of forming the passive supervened and the old inflected passive fell into disuse. The languages of the West have preserved the inflected passive but those of the Midland, South and the East have either entirely lost it or have only retained it as an obsolete or archaic form (O.D.B.L. § 65§).

The inflected passive has been retained in Sindhi and is found optionally also in Mārwhāri, Nepāli and Pāñjābī. It is formed by adding the following suffixes to the root; S. -iś;
THE PASSIVE

Mw. -i; Nep. -iyā; P. -i; e.g. S. dije, lije, etc., let it be given, drunk, taken etc. N. Parhiye; P. parhī; Mw. parhījaj etc., (Hoernle: §§ 480, 481).

All other N.I.A. languages form the passive analytically with the verb v'yā, to go, (Hoernle § 480).

Relics of the old inflected passive in early and Mid. Bengali have been fully examined by Dr. Chatterji (O.D.B.L. §§ 655, et seq.).

752. There are relics of the old inflected passive in -iyā in E. Assamese also. They occur as -i, -iya, -iyā. The passive in -ijja does not seem to have left any traces in E. As. e.g.

prabhāla purusā same bibāda na kari; A quarrel should not be struck with a powerful man.
nubhij tomara lilā; your lilā is not comprehended.
Harira nāmesa jānā saṁsāraka tari: Know that the world is overcome through Hari’s name.
bujijā dharma adharma: What is duty, what is not, should be understood.
candrabatī rajani dekhiya bahu dūra. In this moonlit night, a great distance is seen.
Rābanara mātr tāi buliyā Najkasi: She is Rāvana’s mother called Najkasi.

In Modern Assamese the inflected passive is obsolete, but it is retained in a few idiomatic expressions; e.g.
batāh cakure nedekhi: the air is not seen by eyes.
śitar kārane Himalaya-laj jāba novāri: owing to cold, going to the Himalaya is impossible (lit. cannot be performed).
āmto bhāl lāge; the mango tastes well.
juvar hāle gā nodhowe; the body is not washed when there is fever.

753. E. As. preserves an imperative formation in -io, -ioka, which corresponds to E. Bg. -iū (O.D.B.L. §659). It is passive in origin and goes back to M.I.A. -iādu, (O.I.A. -yatām). It conveys the sense of a respectful and emphatic request; e.g.
Harirā nāmarā śunio mahimā; Do please listen to the glory of Hari's name (lit. should be listened).
mokā upadekā diyo; Do please give (lit. may be given) advice with reference to me.
ājñā kariuṣka mokā; Do please give command (lit. may command be given) to me; etc.

(A) The Analytical Formation of the Passive.

754. As mentioned above, the inflected passive survives only as relics. The living method as in Bengali is analytical and periphrastic. In all N.I.A. languages except the ones noted above, the passive is grammatically formed by adding to the past participle of the active verb, the auxiliary verb ञ/ञ, to go. But the passive sense is often more idiometrically expressed by means of verbal compounds; e.g. si mār khāle, he was beaten; si marā paril, he is lost (ruined); etc. (Cf. Hoernle § 479).

The passive with ञ/ञ occurs in the following constructions in Assamese; e.g. mok dekhā jāy, I am seen.
megh dīle suruj dekhā nejāy, The sun is not seen when it is cloudy.

bhakti karile śvarak powā jāy, through devotion God is accessible (lit. is reached) etc.

In the case of intelligent beings the nominative is always put in the dative.

755. The origin of this jā- passive has been attributed to the influence of M.I.A. passive in -ijja. (Hoernle, § 481; Beames, III, pp. 73, 74; O.D.B.L. § 663). It has been said that old forms like parhiūji, karījāi, began to be looked upon as compounds of the past participles parhi, kari= (Pkt. parhia, karia = Skt. paṭhitā, kreta) and the verb jāi (contracted for jāy, Pkt. jāi Skt. yātī). But considering that no -ijja forms are found in the relics of the inflected passive in Bg. and other Mg. dialects (O.D.B.L. p. 924) it is likely that the passive in ञ/ञ might have come from some other source. Moreover, there does not seem to be
any reason as to why -i- of -iṣja should be dropped in the Mg. dialects while the -i- of -iṣya persists in the relics quoted above. In O.I.A. are noticed forms like the following: te suṛāḥ parājītā yanto dyāvāprthivī upāśrayan, those asuras getting beaten took refuge with Heaven and Earth” (Whitney § 1075, a). An O.I.A. expression like “dhautam yāti” may perhaps be equated to an As. expression like “dhowā jāḥ,” gets washed i.e. is washed. A source like this would, of course, be an eastern novelty.

(B). The Passive in -ā-.

756. The passive in -ā- seems to be a distinctive feature of Bengali. (O.D.B.L. § 677). In Assamese there are a few idiomatic expressions. Early Assamese does not seem to shew any trace of it. Mod. As. examples are:

kathāto bhāl nuśunāy; the word does not sound well.
kāpur khāne nuśuwāy; the cloth does not suit well.
kāṇ bindhāy; the ear is bored.

This ā- passive has been characterised as an extension of the denominative -āya- of O.I.A. (O.D.B.L. p. 929).

(C). The Passive-Active Constructions.

757. Assamese like Bengali (O.D.B.L. § 658) shews certain examples of impersonal constructions which seem to have been originally extensions of the inflected passive in -ya; e.g., kāpur chīre, the cloth gets torn; bāh bhānge, the bamboo gets broken; epāt tāle ketiyāo nebāje, one piece of cymbal never emits sound; kālāḥ bhāre, the jar gets filled. Here chīre, bhānge, bāje, bhāre etc have been explained as passive forms derived from earlier, fuller, *bharai > bharde; chiṃdai > chīndie, *bajjattai > *bajjie : *bhangai > *bhāngie etc. (O.D.B.L. § 658).

(D). The Passive in General.

758. Barring these special constructions, the passive sense is commonly suggested with the help of the conjugated form haḥ, of the verb root √hā. The subject of the active voice is
put in the dative and a verbal noun functions as the subject; e.g.

mok diya hāē; I am given; lit. with reference to me.
given i.e., giving takes place
puthi (k) parhā hāē; book will be read; lit. with reference to the book, read, i.e. reading will take place.
kām (a) (k) kara hōē; work has been done; lit. with reference to the work etc.

The (k) represents the dative post-position. It is uniformly dropped after neuter nouns. It appears after nouns indicating living beings in a definitive sense, e.g. rovē bhāt garuk diya hāē; with reference to the cows (and none else), surplus rice is given.

759. The passive construction is, however, very general in phrases indicating relationship between the door and the thing done. The subject is put in the instrumental-nōm. in -ē, or the gen. in -ra: and the verb is put in the past participle in -ā: e.g.

Rāme or Rāmar karā kām: the work done by Rām.
Gopāle likhā cīṭhi or Gopālar likhā cīṭhi: the letter written by Gopāl.

The construction with the instr. in -ē is regarded as more idiomatic.

THE PERSONAL AFFIXES OF VERBS

(1). THE RADICAL TENSES.

The Present Indicative.

The First Person.

760. The suffix of the 1st P. is -ō; (dialectical) -ū. E. As. suffixes were: -aō; -ahu; -ahō; -ohō; -haō (e.g. āchāō; kahaō; jāhaō; karaḥū; karāḥū; nāghō; karō; karū).

The corresponding O.I.A. form Sg. is -āmi; M.I.A. -āmī; -amī; -imi; AP. -aū; (jānāmī; lihamī; karimi; kaḍḍahū; jānāū).
THE RADICAL TENSES

In common with many northern languages, Assamese -ā points to AP. -āū as its origin (cf. E.H. -ō; W. H. -ū; Br. -aū). The forms in -ū, -ō are found in North Bengali also (L.S.I. Vol. I, p. 87).

The extended forms -āhū, -āhō, -ōhō, common to both early Bengali and early Assamese, have been identified with the 1st personal pronoun haū (<*hakam, <*ahakam) agglutinated to a basic form of the root in -a. (O.D.B.L. p. 934). But considering the presence of -h- in the 2nd personal affixes (-aha; -āhā; -ilhi; -ibhi; -ilāhā; -ibāhā), it may be questioned whether the presence of -h- in -ōhō is not due to analogy and added to cause a musical prolongation of the articulation.

761. This derivation of -āhū, (<*hakam) does not explain 1st personal Pl. affix -āhū, -hū found in the Caryās; e.g. ahme dehū, we give; ambhe na jānahū, we know not (Caryās, 12, 22). Unless the plural use of -āhū is regarded as due to confusion between the singular and the plural, which does not seem likely, the -āhū of the Caryās may be traced back to AP. Pl. personal affix -āhū (cf. vaśahū=variāmahe). The origin of -āhū is obscure but some sort of connection with -āmahe is suspected.

The Second Person.

762. With the introduction of the second person comes in an element of differentiation between the inferior second person corresponding to English “thou,” and the honorific second person corresponding to English “you.” It has been found (§ 670) that the inferior and honorific forms of the second person correspond respectively to the singular and plural forms of the pronouns in O.I.A. The same distinction is observed in the conjugated forms of verbs also, originally Sg. and Pl. forms accommodating themselves to the inferior and the honorific second persons respectively.

But the inferior second person affix of Assamese seems to be the same as the honorific second person affix of Bg. e.g.

As. (inf.): tai karā; (hon.) tumi karā.
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Bg. (inf.): tui karis; (hon.): tumi karā.

Bg. -ā obviously goes back to O.I.A. Pl. -tha > M.I.A. -ha > N.I.A. -ā. In E. As. the inferior second person affixes are -sa; -sa (rare); -ha; -ā (e.g. jāsa; karisa; balhānaha; jānā). The corresponding O.I.A. form is -si > M.I.A.-si; AP. -hi. The early Assamese -sa, -ha may be affiliated to M.I.A. -si, -hi, and -ā may be said to represent the weakening of -ha (AP. -hi). Thus O.I.A. -si > M.I.A. -si, -hi > N.I.A. -sa, -ha, -ā would converge towards O.I.A. -tha > M.I.A. -ha > N.I.A. -ha, -ā.

If, however, Assamese -ā (inf.) were to be equated to Bg. -ā (hon.), then this would be the only instance where an originally Pl. form functions as a singular.

For derivation of inf. -is (karis, calis), a form like Mg. AP. *calisi< *calisi< *calasi has been postulated. But the personal suffix -is may perhaps be looked upon as representing a confluence of the present -si>-sa and the future -is (O.I.A. -iṣasi > M.I.A. -iḥisi > N.I.A. -is, -is). Many Pres. indic-verbal forms in M.I.A. are only O.I.A. future forms, e.g. *dṛksyati > *dikkhai > dekhe, he sees; daṅksyati > *daṁk- klai > ḍāke, he bites.

763. The honorific affix -ā is the same in all moods and tenses in Assamese. e.g. karā (indic./imp.) karilā (past); karibā (future); karichā (periphras); karilā hōten (past conditional). The E. As. forms are -āhā; -āhā; -ā (phurāhā; boldhā; karā).

The -ā functions as an honorific affix also with the enclitics (§ 619). It seems to go back to M.I.A. (Mg.) nominal Pl. in -āhā (ibid.). Considering the uniform use of -ā as an honorific affix in all moods and tenses, it seems likely that it is an extension of the honorific -ā of enclitic derivatives to conjugated verbal forms. (Cf. also § 786 c).

The Third Person.

764. The affix for the 3rd person both inferior and superior, is -e. In E. As. there was also an hon. -ṇa, -nī, (āchanta; karanta; jānti; ujjānti, etc.).
The Radical Tenses

The corresponding O.I.A. form is -ti, -ati > M.I.A. -ai; also -e. The Pl. is -nti.

The Sg. form in -e, is the same in all N.I.A. languages except in E.H. and Braj, where it appears as -qi. In O. it occurs also as -ai (an early form). The Pl. in O. is -nti and in Bg. -en (hon.) where -n represents the gen. Pl. used as a Pl. verbal affix.

The Imperative.

The First Person.

765. The affix of the 1st person is an extension of that of the Pres. indicative.

The Second Person.

766. The 2nd personal affixes are: inf. -u; hon. -á. E. As. forms are: inf. -a; -sa; hon. -a; -aha; -ahá; (pará; opajá; kahá; márasá; bolá; ánáhá; jánhá; cahá).

The corresponding O.I.A. forms are: Sg. -á, -hi; Pl. -ta; M.I.A. affixes are Sg. -a, -asu, -esu, -ahi -ehi; AP. -ahi; -u; (vramasu, ãnesu, bhanahi, bhaná. váhehi, jálehi, pekhá).

Pl. -ha, -dha, -edha; AP. -ahu, -ehu. (Same as 2nd person indic. Pl.).

767. O.I.A. -a continues down through M.I.A. to E. As. -a. It is quiescent in modern As. a. The hon. -a is an extension of the Pres. indic., so also E. As. inf. -sá.

The M.I.A. Pl. affixes are also occasionally found in E. As. (sánahá; kurahá; bolahú; bhañahú; smarahu).

The Bg. and O. Pl. -á represents the contraction of the sound group in M.I.A. -aha (O.I.A. -atha).

The Third Person.

768. The Mod. As. Sg. form is -ák; E. As. form is -o; -oka; (acho; āsoka; miloka etc.). E. As. Pl. forms are -nto, -ntoka.

A.—42
The corresponding M.I.A. form is -u (O.I.A. -tu). It appears unaltered in O. -u (karu). In Bg and As. there is a pleonastic -ka following, making the affix appear as Bg. -uk (karuk), As. -ok > -ak (with medial -e- changing to -a-).

The Pl. form -nto, -ntoka (O. -ntu) represents O.I.A. -ntu. In As. and Bg. the Sg. and the Pl. are used without any discrimination.

(2). The Past Base in -I-.

769. The evolution of the I-past has been fully examined by Dr. Chatterji (O.D.B.L. pp. 937 ff). The past base in -il in Bg. As. and O.; in -al in the Bihari speeches, and in -il, -al, in Marathi, and similar -I- forms in the other N.I.A. languages originated from the O.I.A. -ta, -ita plus the O.I.A. diminutive or adjectival suffix -la-, in the extended forms -ila, -ala > -illa (-êila), -alla. (O.D.B.L. § 682). The -I- affix is established for the past tense in Bg. and other Magadhan speeches. (ibid. § 685).

The participial nature of -I- forms persisted in E. Bg. and E. As. side by side with the passive participle in -ô; but in modern Bg. and As. the non-I- form is employed as the adjectival and the -I- form has been restricted to the predicate. Personal affixes were added later.

The First Person.

770. The adjectival sense must have continued for a long time even when -I- forms came to be regarded as verbal bases for the past. In E. As. and E. Bg. there are examples of simple -I- forms without personal affixes in all persons. In E. As. the 1st person had the following forms: -ila (without any affix); -îlaô; -îlo; -îlô; -îloho; (lakhila; karila; bujila; marilaô; pujilo; suniloho; karilohô etc.). In all these examples we find instances of the use of both the bare base and also of the addition of personal affixes which are extensions of the endings for the Pres. indic. These fluctuations of forms point to an unsettled state of the idiom before the addition of personal affixes was fully established.

In O. also the personal affixes -î (singular) and -â (Pl.) are extensions of the Pres. indic.
771. The Bg. form -ām belongs to a new order. It is shared in common by the l-past, the it-habituated past, and the dialectical form of the ḭb-future, (karil-ām; karit-ām; karib-ām). It has been suggested that Bg. -ām is equivalent to Bg. pronoun āmi, I (we), affixed to the past base. It would seem more likely, however, that Bg. -ām is affiliated to smaḥ; calitaḥ smaḥ > *calia + illa + mha. The suffix -ām must have been first used with the past base and then extended to the future. Although in its fully developed form -ām is a modern Bg. affix its earlier forms can be detected in E. Bg. terminations in -am; -om : -āṇa (past habitual); (O.D.B.L. pp. 960, 975).

The Second Person.

Hon. -ile: -ilā -ilāhā; -ilāhā (āile : karilā ; āsilāhā ; dekhillāhā).

The Pl. form (used without any plural implication) is -ilanta.

773. Here also great fluctuation is noticeable before the characteristic suffixes were definitely established. The forms for the 2nd person have not been successfully traced. But the coincidence of the forms for the b- future furnishes a clue about their origin. The forms for both these tenses may be set forth thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>As.</th>
<th>Inf.</th>
<th>Hon.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>karili.</td>
<td>karibī.</td>
<td>karilā.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

774. In As. and Bg. the future has also an imperative-precative force, and it is likely that the O.I.A. imperative-optative had something to do with the evolution of these end-
nings. Hema Chandra enjoined -i, -e, -u as the AP. terminations for the O.I.A. imperative Sg. -hi (IV. 387). Pischel \((\S 461)\) traces -i, -e to the O.I.A. optative Sg.; M.I.A. kari, kare=O.I.A. *kareh \( (=kuryyat)\); cari=careh. Thus imperative in origin these suffixes were added first to the future and then extended to the past in the N.I.A. form in -i.

The characteristic suffix in O. is -u in all tenses and traceable to M.I.A. imp. -u.

Though Dr Chatterji considers -i as of obscure origin (O.D.B.L. p. 978), he has referred dialectical Bg. -u, of Oriyā affinity, to the imperative in -u; thus indirectly supporting the imperative origin of the -i affix.

775. There are extended forms -ilihi, -ibihi (thaqilihi, dekhibhihi) in the past and the future in E. As They are contemptuous in sense and were originally Sg. They seem to correspond to -ilis in E. Bg. (O.D.B.L.\(^*\) \S 708). From the use of -ihi both in the past and the future, it seems likely that it is future in origin and traceable to O.I.A. -isyasi > M.I.A. -ihisi > N.I.A. -is, -is > -isi (by extension of the basic form) > -ihi.

The As. Hon. -ā, -āhā, -āhā are the same as those of the Pres. indic.

776. The Bg. hon. -e (earlier -ehē, -ē) is perhaps the same as the Magadhan -e (M.I.A. imp. Sg. -e + nominal Pl. -hā to shew the plural). Thus *ehā > -ehē (by extension of the vowel) > -ē, -e : (in this respect the addition of the gen. Pl. -na to Bg. verbs may be compared ; karilen, kariben). (Cf. § 785 et seq.)

Dr. Chatterji suggests the possibility of deriving Bg. -e by vowel harmony from -ilā, -ibā; and also from E. Bg. ehē; but considers -ehē itself as of obscure origin (O.D.B.L. § 712).

The Third Person.

777. The affixes of the 3rd. person are different with the intrans. and trans. verbs; being -i (with intrans. verbs)
THE PAST TENSE

and -ile (with trans. verbs); dialectal -ilā, -ilāk with trans. verbs.

E. As. forms are: -ilā; -ilā; -ileka; -ile. In E. As. -ilek is used indiscriminately both after trans. and intrans. verbs; e.g. Trans. (kahila; mārila; dīla; jvalilā; jogāilā; cārilā; erīleka; sahileka; cintile). Intrans. (āśileka; parileka; gaileka etc.).

The Pl. form is -ilanta.

778. Here also the bare base is used along with -ā, -ek, -e, as 3rd personal endings. In modern As. and Bg. a distinction in the 3rd personal affixes has sprung up according as they are added to a trans. or intrans. verb, (sī marīl, he died; but sī mārīle, he beat). In the case of an intrans. verb, the base itself is used without affixation of any personal ending. This peculiarity is shared also by Kurmāli Ṭhar (Bihāri). In the case of trans. verbs, the characteristic ending is -ak (delāk; yuchāolāk). After intrans. verbs all terminations are dropped (gel).

779. The observations of Dr. S. K. Chatterji on this phenomenon seem exactly to the point. The intrans. past is in its origin a verbal adjective qualifying the subject; here no special verbal suffix was necessary, for the adjectival nature remained long with intrans. verbs. Hence the simple -ilā > -il was enough for it. But the trans. past was not like that and its nature developed into that of a proper verb with an object and an affix came to be attached (O.D.B.L. pp. 983, 984). Dr. Chatterji takes this affix -e to be the same as the -e of the radical present extended to the past transitive base (O.D.B.L. p. 984) and the pleonastic -ka was added first to trans. verbs and later extended to the intrans. forms (O.D.B.L. p. 992).

Thus the affix -il satisfying the needs of the active construction of intrans. verbs, -ilek, -ile, came to be regarded as suffixes marked out only for active construction with the transitive. But both in Bg. and As. there are certain intransi-
tive verbs that take on -e in the past tense; cf. Bg. nacel, he danced; kadle, he wept; khâtle, he laboured etc. (O.D.B.L. p. 985); As. kâhîle, he coughed; larile, he ran; śule, he slept. In all these the cognate object is understood.

The Pl. -lanta (also rarely, -lantî) is the extension of the Pres. Pl. -anti > -anta. to the past.

(3) The Future Base in -b-.

780. The characteristic suffix for the future base in Bg. As. and O. is -ib- = -ab- of Bihāri and of Eastern Hindi. It comes from the O.I.A. future Pass. participle (gerundive) in -tavya or -itavya > M.I.A. -avva, -abba, -ībba and other forms (Pischel. § 570). This suffix carries a vague mandatory sense with an express future implication, and in N.I.A. the simple future notion evolved gradually.

The Eastern languages have the verbal noun in -ab-, -ib-, as well as -ab-, -ib- as the base of the future tense with personal terminations added (O.D.B.L. § 697).

The First Person.

781. The future suffixes are in a line with those of the past and the origin of the common affixes has been discussed above. The affixes of the 1st. person are Mod. As. -m; E. As. -ibá; -iba; -ibâ: -ibo: ibôho; (jâibâ: karibâô dekhibâô: dibô: maribo; kariboho).

782. Mod. As. personal ending -m is shared also by some dialects of Bihāri (cf. Kurmâli Thar: pājâm, kaham, I shall get, I shall say) and North Bengali (cf. Rangpur and Dinajpur forms: pâm, balim, dim, etc.). This -m is merely a phonetic change. a softening of -b- in connection with the nasal to -w-. -m-. (O.D.B.L., pp. 967 and 531-32).

The Second Person.

783. The endings for the 2nd person are: inf. -ibi; hon. -ibâ. E. As. inf. -iba; -ibe; -ibi; -ibihi; (câiba; huibe;
maribi; dekhibihii); hon. -ā; ibāhā; (karibā; thākibāhā).
Both the sets are the same as in the past.

The Third Person.

784. The bare base -ibā is used without any personal ending (karibā; jābā). E. As. -ibā; -ibā; -ibekā; -ibc. (karibā; badhibā; chedibā; kahibekā; palāibekā; cintibe; karibe etc.).

These affixes are also in a line with those in the past. Mod. As. does not add -e after future -ib- as it does after the past trans. Mod. Bg. however, adds -e after both the trans. and intrans. verbs in the future tense.
CHAPTER XVIII.

POST-POSITIONS, PARTICIPLES, INFinitives.

(1) Nominal-verbal Post-positions.

785. The following personal affixes have been isolated for a separate treatment as they seem to constitute an eastern novelty and as, moreover, so far as Assamese is concerned, they are optional, i.e. they may or may not be added on to conjugated verbal forms according to the option of the writer. They are added mostly to convey the sense of an emphatic affirmation corresponding to English constructions like "we do go", "you do go". Thus, tumi jowā, you go; but tomolok jowā-hāk, you do go. ami jāō, we go; but ūmi jāō-hāk, we do go.

786. The Eastern languages, notably Assamese, Bengali, and the Magadhan languages present a spectacle of the transfer of plural suffixes from nouns to verbs. The suffixes that lend themselves to such shiftings are mostly connected with the M.I.A. genitive plural endings.

With the increasing sense of the loss of number in verbs, such transfer was often called for to emphasise the plural in verbs. Moreover, with the development of honorific nouns and pronouns in N.I.A. languages, corresponding verbal forms with plural affixes to shew respect were much in demand.

(a) -na- (< -nā). It has been examined as a suffix forming the plural with pronouns. It is used also with Bengali verbs in the third person to shew respect (originally, the plural); e.g. tini kare-ṇ, he (hon.) does.

(b) -hā-; used in early Bengali to shew respect or to form the plural in the 2nd personal verbs. E.Bg. nō-ehē (-hā). The use of -hā- to form the plural
THE CONDITIONAL PAST

with pronouns has been discussed under the section on pronouns. (§§. 675, 678).

(c) -hāk, -hōk; (-hā, -hō + pleon. -kā) ; these have not been traced as plural suffixes in any one of the Magadlian dialects. In Assamese, early as well as modern, they are used after plural verbs in the first and second persons; e.g. khāō-hāk, we eat; gālō-hāk, we went; karim-hāk, we shall do. The form in -hōk (-hōk) is found only in middle Assamese (of the chronicles).

(d) -hāt; discussed above (§. 624) as a nominal plural suffix. It is used also after plural verbs in the first and second persons, e.g. khāō-hāt, we have eaten; jābā-hāt, you will go.

(e) -hār, -hor; these are used in the Western languages as plural suffixes (L.S.I., IX, II, p. 55; and Turnbull: Nepāli Grammar; p. 12). They appeared in middle Assamese (of the chronicles) as plural verbal suffixes in the first and second persons, e.g. dim-hār, we shall give; pātilō-hor, we have established.

(f) -hun; discussed (§. 635) as a pronominal plural affix in Eastern Hindi and Assamese. It obtains as a verbal suffix in the second person honorific (Pl.) in Mag. dokhala-hun, you saw; dekhaba-hun, you will see, (L.S.I., V. II, p. 39).


787. Assamese is the only N.I.A. language which has no form for the habitual past. There is a conditional past tense but it is formed on a different principle from that of other N.I.A. languages. The base of the past conditional in other N.I.A. languages is the present participle or some analogous formation to which are added the different personal affixes. In As, however, from the earliest period the past conditional sense is conveyed by the post-position of the locative absolute hante (earlier sante) of the Pres. participle A.—43
of O.I.A. √as, after the inflected past in -il. The Pres.
participle of O.I.A. √as > M.I.A. santa > N.I.A. santa,
hanta. In loc. absolute it is sante, hante > Mid. As. hâte.
In modern Assamese hêten, which is also derived from hante,
the final -n is pleonastic and hante > hête- owing to the influence
of the nasal which reduces a preceding -a- to -e-. A few
illustrative sentences will make the whole phenomenon clear;

jadi âji yharata âchila hante svâmî,
tebê âni tomâka rakhlô hante âmi:

(Dâjtîyâri : Sâkara Carita).

If my husband had been at home to-day, I would have
taken you in and kept you.

Satrâjitaka dhari ânîbâ pârilo hâte,
kintu mitrâr kâranâho norârilo :

I could have got hold of Satrâjit and brought him, but
I could not do (so) for the sake of (his being) a friend.

si ahâ hêten mai târ lagarei galô hêten.

Had he come, I would have gone with him.

Thus, "in a conditional sentence, the word hêten is added
to the past tense in the apodosis. In the protasis either the
same form is used with the conjunction jadi, if, or else hêten
is sub-joined to the past participle (in -ô) without jadi".
(L.S.I. V. p. 403). In the protasis hêten may often be
substituted by the conjunctive in -ile : cf. tumi kale si âhi!
hêten, had you said, he would have come.

788. Mid. As. prose (of the chronicles) developed a
present subjunctive with hâte, but that did not catch on;
e.g. mok âjînâ kare hâte khucî mîriô pârî (Buraqji, p. 64),
if (he) commands me, I may pierce (him) to death.
lâge hâte ji bastu kaj âhak. âmi diîõ, if necessary, what-

ever thing is asked for, we (shall) give.

Bihâri (Kurmâli, Ŭhar : L.S.I. V. II. p. 151) preserves
the use of hâte as a locative absolute without any subjunctive
sense; tâkare hâte; ekare hâte. that being the case; this
being the case.
THE PARTICIPLES

789. In Western Assamese, ḫāy > ḫāi, (§. 470) is used for hētēn. In E.As. there are stray instances of the use of ḫāy in a similar sense; prāṇaka tejilo ḫāyā tomārā santāpe, (Rāmāyaṇa: Mādhava Kandali), we would have given up lives for sorrow for you.

790. The Cāchār dialect forms the past conditional by adding ane to the past tense; e.g. bhālā pāila ane, would have found it good (L.S.I. V. I. p. 234). This ane is perhaps a highly decayed form of hanṭe > *hanḍe > *hanne, * anne, ane (§. 470).

(2) THE PARTICIPLES.

(A). The Present Participle.

791. The present participle in As. is -ōte, E. As. -antē. Occurring always in the locative it implies "while doing a particular deed". In the strengthened form -ōtā, E. As. -antā (with the definitive -a), it gives attributive adjectives and nouns of agency; e.g. karōtā, karantā, a doer; rākhōtā, E. As. rākhantā, a preserver, etc.

792. The strictly participial sense is preserved only by the locative form; e.g. phurantē rājantī gaṅga kṣaya, (Sankara Deva), while wandering about, the night wore off; jāhantā jena nācante (ibid), walks as though dancing; cāi thākōte nohowā hāl, while looking on, it disappeared.

793. In an unaffixed form, the Pres. participle hardly exists except in a few stereotyped expressions, e.g. jīyat māch, fresh fish; apthurantā bhārāl, inexhaustible treasure. In the form -antā, it is regarded as archaic.

The Pres. participle in Oṛiyā is -antā-, and both the As. and O. forms go back to O.I.A. and M.I.A. active participle in -ant-.

(B). The Past Participle.

794. There are three types of past participle in Assamese: (a) -ā; (b) -ila, -ilā; (c) -ība (-iba). Of these
the type in -ā is the only living form and the last two are preserved only in some sporadic examples in E.As. The form in -ā comes from O.I.A. Past part. in -(i)ta > M.I.A. -a, to which the definitive -ā has been added (discussed under Formative affixes).

795. The form in -ila, -ilā is the same as the base for the -a past. It preserves the participial sense and use in some stray expressions in E. and Mod. As. It seems to have been profusely used in early Bengali (O.D.B.L. § 692).

Some examples as preserved in E. As. literature are as follows:

Rāghabe paṭhaillā Jāmbabanta ka pālanta. received Jāmbabanta, sent by Rāghaba. (Rāmāyaṇa, M. Kandali);

birāila bāghini same kara parihāsa, thou jestest with a tigress just delivered of a calf. (ibid.).

bāchilāto bāchila āchila jata ghori, all the horses that were the choicest amongst the chosen; (Candra Bhārati: Kumar Harana); gaṅa kathā, things past; cf. also ghāila wounded; phutila puwa, morning just dawned; āpuni nirmila sāstra, tāko paṛhā huyā chātra (Śankara Deva), becoming a student, you read the scriptures composed by yourself.

(C). The Past Participle in -ib-

796. There is no instance of the use of the b- past part. in Mod. As. There are some traces of it only in early Assamese. Cf. Jāme dibā śara astre Rābana hānīla, Rābana wounded him with a weapon in the form of an arrow given by Jāma; Indrajite māribāra sabe senā jila, all the fighters killed by Indrajit revived; jāhāra prasāde harāibāra rāja pāilo, through whose favour I have received a lost kingdom; Hanumanta acetane paribāra dekhi, seeing Hanumanta fallen unconscious.

Agasti dibāra dhanu tuliya lajilanta, took up the bow given by Agasti.

Bāsabe dibāra astra guṇata carāila, placed on the strings the weapon given by Bāsaba.
THE PARTICIPLES 341

pākhi gajībāra dekhi haṅlanta uḷāsi, became jubilant on seeing the (lost) feathers grown.
Brahmāra dibāra astra juribāka cahe, wished to fit up the weapon given by Brahmā.
śanāibāra śara jata hāṅanta apāra, endlessly hurled all the whetted arrows.
gurī-gana māje jāhāka likhibā, who was counted (as one) amongst the meritorious.

All these examples are from the Rāmāyana of Mādhava Kandali. As only five cantos of his translation have been recovered till now, it can not be ascertained how many times similar uses occurred in his work. Similar uses are noticeable also in other writers of the pre-Vaishnavite period. The following examples are from the Mahābhārata of Rudra Kandali.

dunāi dhanu chedibāra bege ye laṅī, a second time the bow having broken, swiftly he ran away.
tini śare bhedibāra ṛṭāseka dīlā, three arrows having pierced, he gave out a cry.
prajā māribāra phale jāibā ḍhogati, he will go down as a result of having killed the subject people.

The following is from Hema Saraswatī of the same period.
puribāra prabhābe adhika jale kānti, (his) beauty shines out more owing to (his) having been burnt.

No example of the b- past has so far been noticed in any writer later than the Pre-Vaishnavite period.

797. Amongst other N.I.A. languages, Oriyā, the Halabi dialect of Mārāṭhī and the Hāijong sub-dialect of Bengali seem to be the only ones that preserve uses of the b- past. In Halabi, there are examples of both b- past and b- future; e.g. mai karabe-se, I have done; ham mārabā, we will strike; marabō, dead (L.S.I. VII. p. 335). The b- past has been supposed to be originally a future participle (ibid). In Oriyā the b- past is used in idiomatic constructions with the verbal phrase -thib- to express the past-future conditional, e.g. dekkhi-thibi, I may have seen. It (-thib-) occurs also as a relative participle, e.g. mu-dei-thibā ṭaṅkā, the rupee which I gave,
(L.S.I. V. II p. 381). There are past-future constructions of -bā forms in Bg. and As. also, with the verb root  \( \sqrt{\text{thā}} \) (cf. As. to\( \text{nākā} \) \( \text{šuni thākibā} \), you may have heard).

798. But in the Hāijong and early Assamese -bā with suggestions of a definite past, there seems to be a confluence of Aryan -bā and non-Aryan (Boḍo Past Participial) -bā. All the Boḍo dialects form their past tense and often the past participle with the affix -bā (L.S.I II. pp. 51, 58, 63, 105) and from similarity of sound with the Aryan form, the influence of the Boḍo -bā, may easily be imagined.

799. Its presence in the Hāijong dialect need perhaps cause no surprise. The Hāijongs are a Tibeto-Burman clan settled at the foot of the Garo Hills. And even though they have long abandoned their tribal speech, Tibeto-Burman idioms linger on here and there in certain formations. Thus the full form in -bā-, is retained in the past e.g. māribā-, māribān, killed; thākibār, thākibān, remained; but the Aryan future survives in -bā : e.g. mariba, will die (L.S.I.V. p. 215).

800. Boḍo influence may also be assumed in the case of the As. forms. All the three poets quoted above have mentioned as their patrons some Hindused Boḍo kings. The influence of the court as a passing phase on contemporary idioms will perhaps explain the E. As. forms.

In another respect Boḍo -bā seems to have left a deeper impress. The Boḍo -bā has also other functions. It is the suffix of the present and the past conditional, e.g. nu-bā, if I see or if I had seen. In its implications as a present or past subjunctive, it survives in certain Assamese idiomatic constructions; e.g.

**Assamese** : (present subjunctive):

\text{tumi jadi nu-śunibā, kāk no kām, if you do not hear (lit. will not hear), to whom shall I speak?}

**Assamese** : (past subjunctive):

\text{tumi jadi āhibā, ene nahiā hēten, if you had come (lit. will come), such would not have been (the case).}
THE VERBAL NOUNS

Having once been surreptitiously admitted, it was easily confused with the Aryan -ab, -ib and was furnished with the necessary connecting vowels.

(D). Gerundive or Future Passive Participle.

801. There is no gerundive proper in As. In As. there are relics of the O.I.A. gerundive in -(i) tasya ->iba, -aba; e.g. tvamāma krodhata io svānī mariba/tebe kona jaśa pāiba (Rāmāyāṇa: Kandali). this husband also (of mine) may die due to your anger/what credit then will be got by you? birālira jadi dosaka dhariyā 'nitchi hāndi pelāiba (ibid), if a cat is found fault with (i.e. considered impure), the cooking vessel is to be every day thrown away.

802. This kind of use no longer obtains. But an idiom conveying the gerundive sense has been developed in Mod. As. by subjoining lagiyā to a verbal noun in -ba, -iba; e.g. khāba lagiyā, to be eaten; kariba lagiyā, to be done, etc. lagiyā is a secondary formation <lāg (cf. As. √lāg, be necessary, connected with O.I.A. lagyate).

(3) The Conjunctives or Gerunds.

803. There are three indeclinable conjunctives or gerunds in As. in (a) -i; (b) -ile; (c) -ilat. The i- conjunctive is consequential in meaning and the other two (verbal nouns with loc. endings) indicate a completed act. (§§ 806, 807).

The conjunctive -i is derived from M.I.A. -ia < O.I.A. -ya. In Bg. it appears in the strengthened form -iyā. In E. As. both the forms in -i, -iyā are found.

In Mod. As. the i- conjunctive is used with finite verbs in all tenses; e.g. mai āhi karō, karīlō, karīn, coming I do, did, shall do.

(4). The Verbal Nouns.

804. The verbal nouns in As. are represented by the following forms:
(a) Nouns in -an with extensions in -anā, -ani, -anī (discussed under Formative Affixes § 514).

(b) Nouns in -a which is quiescent but traceable in roots ending in a consonant; e.g. māt-bol; mār-dhār; pāk etc.

(c) Nouns in -ā from passive participles in -ta (§ 524) e.g. aha-jowā; khovā etc.

(d) Nouns in -il- from the pass. participle in -ila. They persist in Mod. As. with loc. endings -e, -ta, in a gerundial sense. E. As. preserves a few examples with other case affixes, e.g. antake āsi dharilekā parā, from death coming and seizing you (Śankara Deva: Kṛtā). antake pāileka parā, Rāma. Rāma, bulti tara, from death overtaking you, be saved by calling on Rāma (ibid).

805. Modern As. has developed a distinction between the uses of -ile, and -ilat (both loc. in form), though no such distinction is recognised in E. As.

806. The -ile conjunctive (locative in -e of past participle in -il-) is used with finite verbs in the future, e.g. mai āhile tumī jābā, on my coming, you will go. Cf. E. As. ei bīrā parilekā sabāro sustha hajā, on this hero falling, everybody will be at ease.

807. The conjunctive in -ilat, (also locative inr-t), is used with preterite verbs, e.g. mai āhilat teō gal, on my coming (having come), he went away. But in E.As. -ilat is used in connection with both the past and the future verbs; Cf. āmi erilatā bhūmi/gitā nāthakibā tumī, on my having left the earth, do not stay on here, (Śankara Deva: Kṛtā); tumī erilatā morā/milibe santāpa ghora, on your having left, a great sorrow will come upon me (Śankara Deva: Kṛtā); ei bulilat gohāṇi boreo kāpar ek jora dile, on (his) having said this, the ministers also gave him a pair of clothings. (Buraṇji K.A.S. p. 163).
808. Sometimes the double locative form in -ilet, -ilate is also found in E. As. tumi erietai mai soka duhkha paśibo, (Rāmāyana, Kandali) on your having left, I shall get pains and sorrows; snānilato sahasra jānmara pāpa nāśa (Rāmāyana: Kandali), on bathing, the sins of a thousand births are purged away. cintilate milībe sukala, everything will be gained at the very thought.

Nouns in -i (discussed under Formative Affixes) (§ 537) e.g. māri; bāri; pāri; gāli; hāhi etc.

(5). The Infinitives.

809. The infinitives in Mod. As. are -iba and the extended form -ibalī. In E. As. the infinitives are represented by the forms in (1) -ibe, -ibāk (to which lägi is often subjoined); (2) -ita, -ite. e.g. prthibika eribe āmāra āche mati, (Śankara Deva: Kirtan) I have a desire to leave the world. sabe sampattika ehi muthi dibē pāre, (Śankara Deva: ibid), this handful can bestow (on you) all prosperity. khandibāka lägi prthibīra mahābhāra (Śankara), to remove the great burden of the world.

810. The infinitive in -ib- is common to other Magadhan dialects and the Western languages. It is much used in North Bengali. It occurs also in Oṛiyā, Bihāri and in Western languages like Rājashāni.

In Bihāri (Khontaī) we find it in the inflected form -ibe; e.g. camma khābe lagalai, began to kiss. (L. S. I. V. II, p. 182).

811. The infinitive base in -ib- is the same as the verbal noun in -ib-, inflected in the various cases; -ibe is the locative and -ibāk is the dative-accusative form of the verbal noun. Often they are followed by the post-position lägi and sometimes they go without it. e.g. etiksaṇe āmi mṛga māri-bāka jāiba, just now I shall go out to hunt a deer. In the Rangpur dialect of Bāg. the strengthened form in -ibā side by side with its inflected forms in the various cases is used as the infinitives; e.g. karibā, karibāk, karibār, pārō; I am able to do.

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812. Mod. As. expresses the simple infinitive sense with the base -ibâ and the gerundial implication is conveyed with the help of the post-position sub-joined to the base.

For the use of the infinitives with varied case-endings in O.I.A. (Vedic) cf. (Macdonell: Vedic Grammar, §§. 583-586). In M.I.A. the base form, alone and also with case-endings, is used in the infinitive; cf. -aṇa; gen. Pl. -aṇahā; loc. Sg. -aṇahi; (Pischel: § 597).

(A). The Infinitive in -itā, -ite.

813. The infinitive in -it- is found in E. As. but its use does not seem to be very popular:

joisāni khujita moka āilā Hanumante, when Hanumanta came to seek after me.

mohoka badhita lāgi utapati bhāila, you were born with a view to kill me.

kona kona biragaṇa, āmāka jujite āse, who are the heroes, who come to fight me?

bajkuntika jāite bhāila kācha pārā, became ready to go to heaven, etc.

The infinitive in -ita, could not establish itself as a literary favourite nor did it catch on in popular use. It became the infinitive proper in Bg. in the locative -ite.

The East Bengal dialects form the inf. in -it; -itām; cf. (L.S.I. V. I. pp. 210, 240); barat, to fill; kaitām, to say.

814. Dr. Chatterji explains -ite as the verbal noun in -i plus the locative affix -te and finds in it a recent formation in Bengali (O.D.B.L. p. 1014); but it is as old as the one in -ibe as attested by E.As. Its appearance in Bg. might have been late. Moreover the formative in -i seems to have a different function in As. cf. § 817.

Dr. Bloch is of opinion that the -t- in -it- is of participial origin and the -i- is due to the mix-up of -a- (in -ant-) and causative -e- (-ent-).
(6) The Periphrastic or Compound Tenses.

815. Properly speaking there is but one periphrastic tense in Assamese. While the other languages of the Magadhan group have, each one of them, a progressive and a perfect compound tense, there is but one tense-form of the type that functions for both and the implication of the progressive or the perfect sense has to be understood with reference to the setting in which it is placed.

In Bg. and the Bihārī languages the present progressive is indicated by subjoining the verb substantive to the Pres. participle. Thus Bg. dekhite-chi; Maith. dekhait-chi; Mag. dekhait- (-at, -it), -hi; Bhoj. dekhait-hani, also dekhatānī, I am seeing. The Oriyā formation is different, being dekhuchī.

The perfect in all these languages is constructed on a different principle. It is formed by adding the verb substantive to the past. participle in -al in the Bihārī dialects, being Maith. dekhal achi; Mag. dekhalai hai; Bhoj. dekhale bānī. In Bg. it is dekhiyā-chi; O. dekhi-chi.

816. For both these types As. has only dekhi-chā. In its perfect implication, the As. form is parallel to the Oriyā form. There are instances of its occurrence in E.Bg. (O.D.B.L. § 755) but it has dropped out of use in Mod. Bengali.

817. Dr. Chatterji traces Oriyā -u to O.I.A. derivative in -uka, having the meaning and construction of a present participle (Whitney. § 1180; O.D.B.L. pp. 678, 1026). He connects also the Assamese periphrastic form in -i with the past participle in -ita, (ibid. p. 1024). But while the past part. in -ta lives in Mod. As. as past part. in -a, the past participle in -ita does not seem to have left any trace in any Assamese formative. The periphrastic form in -i may be better connected with O.I.A. primary derivative in -i, yielding adjectives and agent-nouns (Whitney. § 1155) and forming in the strengthened form -i + *ka, verbal adjectives in modern Assamese (Cf. Formative Affixes § 537). This
derivation is supported by Sir G. A. Grierson’s general observation that the periphrastic tenses are formed with verbal nouns in O.I.A. and not with participles. (*Enc. Brit. 11th edition; Bengali Language*).

The -iyā type passing for the perfect compound in Bg. is also met with in E.As. in the forms in -iyā, -i (<-iyā) followed by the unclipped verb substantive āch, e.g. jono āniyāche Kṛṣṇa sandesa, may hap, has brought messages about Krishna. The form in -i (<-iyā) + āch, has come down to modern Assamese. But the meaning has changed. From the present perfect it has acquired the sense of perfect progressive; e.g. kari āchū, have been doing.
CHAPTER XIX.

PLEONASTIC SUFFIXES.

(I) The Conjunctives.

818. The Magadhan dialects present the strange phenomenon of using conjunctive participles as pleonastic suffixes after fully inflected verbal forms to add a certain emphasis. Let us begin with the easternmost Bengali dialects. The conjunctive participles giya, gai from the defective root *ga, to go, "is often added to other verbs to make them more forcible." (L.S.I. V. I. p. 293). The conjunctive sense having been lost, the participle is added to inflected verbs in all tenses and moods as an emphatic particle; e.g. dūrai bidesh gechil giya, went away to a distant country; Kāchar dialect (L.S.I. V. I. p. 234); lai gece gai, took away; Tippera dialect (L.S.I. V. I. p. 244); gelām gai, I went away; deo gai, give away; Chittāgong: (ibid. p. 294); durai mulluke gel gai, went away to a far country; kari gai, let us make; Noakhāli: (ibid. pp. 309, 313).

The use of gai in this sense is a highly characteristic feature of middle Assamese prose of the chronicles. The following forms are taken at random from Puraṇi Assam Burañji, published by the Kāmrūp Anusandhān Samiti.

dhārīle gai, caught him up (p. 104).
rahil gai, he stayed there (p. 160).
thākil gai, he remained there (p. 107).
behīle gai, he did meet him (p. 109).
dīye gai, he does give, etc.

This use of gai persists in Mod. As. It is used in narrative prose to give a certain swing and a sense of finality to an expression.

In standard Bengali, ge < giya, "added to the imperative expresses the imperative in the immediate future with a slight precative sense." (O.D.B.L. p. 908); e.g. āmi
karige: tumi kôrâge. "With the simple past and the future, it has the force of "though", "nevertheless", "however", "even now", "immediately" (O.D.B.L. p. 909); e.g. ge kôrle ge, and then he did; tumi kôrbe ge, and you will do.

In middle and modern Assamese there is a similar use of the conjunctive ãhi (coming: √ãh, to come) > hi. e.g. Phukanât bari hî. took shelter in Phukan; garh dilehi, constructed a fort: Pânâdu pâlehi, reached Pânâdu, etc.

This use of hi continues in Mod. As. There is just the different between 'going' and 'coming' in the uses of gâi and hi. The former is used to indicate the consumption of the action of the verb further away from the speaker, while the latter denotes the contrary, i.e. towards the direction of the speaker; e.g. pâle gâi. reached, going: pâle hi, reached, coming.

Some East Bengali dialects illustrate a similar use with hâri (§ 823), kâri>âri, e.g. giyâ hâri, having gone; Sylhet (L.S.I. V. I. p. 231); where hâri is not pleonastic but continues the conjunctive sense of the preceding verb. The more characteristic illustration is from the Tippera dialect (ibid p. 244); bôper bâri gelâm âri, went to the house of the father.

819. The standard Bengali pleonastic affix khan, khun, met with in expressions like jábo-khan, I shall go; dîlum-khun, we gave; habe-khun, it will be (O.D.B.L. pp. 997, 998), though connected by Dr. Chatterji with O.I.A. kṣaṇa, instant, is in reality a conjunctive participle occurring in the forms kahan, kohon, khan, khâ in the Bihâri dialects. (For derivation see below § 823). Cf. Pâch Paraganiâ (L.S.I. V. 11).

khum-khan, eating.
dhâir-khan, catching (p. 171).
uiû-kohan, uîû-kahan, having risen (p. 167).
Nâgpuria (ibid. p. 298); ãi-kohon, coming.

PLEONASTIC SUFFIXES

As Sadri Kol where the exact form khan is registered is an Eastern Magadhan dialect and just in the immediate neighbourhood of Bengali, the migration of khan is easily imaginable and a postulate for a separate origin of Bg. khan is uncalled for. The following expressions from the Gospel of St. Mark in Magadhi (quoted in O.D.B.L. p. 998) only illustrate the pleonastic use of the conjunctive participle khan in Magadhi; kari-khan, I do, I shall do; gilai-khan, came; kahal kai-khan, said etc.

(2) The Conjunctions in -na-

820. Bg. -ne, (debo-ne, I shall give; jābā-ne, you will go) and the dialectical Assamese (Kâmrûp) -ni (khâvâ-ni, do cat; javâ-ni, do go) are conjunctive endings used pleonastically.

The origin of the conjunctive participles in -na in the various dialects and sub-dialects of N.I.A. may be briefly indicated here.

The forms in the Bihâri dialects as above noted are; kahan, kohon, khan, khâ.

The Nepali form is -kan (shortened for ke-ne).

In Bengali sub-dialects (L.S.I. V. I) Châkmâ: -inai; jeinai, having gone.

Khâri Thâr (Mânbhum): -nâ; henâ, being; ânâ, taking.
Mâl Pâhâriâ: -henak; guṭi-henak, having collected
Jalpâi-guri: hâne; jâyâ-hâne, having gone.
In Bâjasthâni dialects: (L.S.I. IX. II).
Mârwâri: -nâi, -knai.
Mâlvi: -ne, i-ne.

821. The -n- in all these formations seems related to O.I.A. -na in -tnâna which persists through M.I.A. -ttâna, -coâna, -yâna (Pischel § 592).

822. Bihâri kâhgn; Nep. kan (<ke-ne); Bengali henak, hâne, are double conjunctions. In the Bihâri dialects the termination of the conjunctive participle may be either kai or ke (shortened for kâri>ka(r)i). In this use kai or ke lost
all traces of the verbal significance and became a mere conjunctive suffix subjoined to the conjunctive form of the principal verb. The Rāj. dialects preserve an affix in -nai, -ne parallel to -kai, -ke.

823. The several groups kehen, kahan, kohon etc are the results of the blending of kai+hai+na > kehen. The forms kahan, kohon, khan, khā, etc. are dialectical variants. So also hāri is a blend of hai + *kāri.

(3).

824. con. A pleonastic suffix found in modern As. It is used after nouns, pronouns and also after verbal forms. After imperative verbs, it softens the sense of command and expresses the meaning of English “would please” etc. āhibā-con, you will please come; jāo-con, let me just go.

After indicative verbs it expresses a mild sense of surprise, a little unexpectedness, the sense of English “after all”; e.g. marilei-con, (contrary to expectation) died, died after all; gjichili-con, you went after all.

(4).

825. de; dekhon. Corresponding to the two shades of meaning of con, that of mild command, asking to do something that is only too natural, and that of surprise, there are the verbal formations de, dekhon (also written dekhō), the former expressing a mild request and the latter expressing surprise at something contrary to what is said or expected; e.g. āhibā de, you would please come (the party asked being already willing to come); bahibā de, do please sit down; si dekhon āhil, (contrary to expectation) he has come; darab khouāto āpani nāhil dekhon, even after taking medicine there was no sleep (as was expected) etc.

These formations (con, de, dekhon) are conjunctive participles; de is shortened for */diyā and dekhon seems to be a compound of de + khon, parallel to Bihāri āi-kohon, kāmāi-khan etc.

con, also written cō, seems obscure.
PLEONASTIC SUFFIXES

(5).

Disguised Conjunctive formations as Pleonastic affixes.

826. The above discussions will throw light upon the origin of certain affixes tagged on to inflected verbal forms and so long regarded as pleonastic without any assignable reasons. It will be found that they are highly worn out conjunctive participles added on to emphasise the meaning of the principal verb. The following are the affixed verbal forms:

Noakhali dialect (L.S.I. V. I, p. 307).

\( mari-(y)er \); I am dying.
\( kari-(y)er \); I do.

Cf. E. H. (Baigani) : \( maratha-nā \), I am dying ; \( jāthe-nā \), he goes.

Chittagong dialect (ibid. p. 293).

\( kari-r \); also \( kari \), I do.
\( kara-r \); also \( karaś \), thou dost.
\( kare-r \); also \( kare \), he does.
\( khā-er \), also \( khar \), he eats.

 Háijong of Mymensingh (ibid p. 215).

\( mārib-ār \); \( mārib-ān \), he struck.
\( thakib-ār \); \( thakib-ān \), he remained.

Sylhet (ibid. p. 226).

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{jāi-yār,} \\
\text{jāi-r-ām,} \\
\text{jātt-r-ām,}
\end{align*} \]

I am going.

Early Bg. (Kṛṣṇa Kirtan).

\( ācherā \), he has ; \( berīle-ra \); surrounded.
\( dibō- rá \); shall give; \( hajbe-rā \); shall be.
\( geli-rā \), passed.

In all these examples, -ra, erā have no clearly definable meaning. They are all used in a vague sense of emphasis and obligatoryness associated with English auxiliary verbs like 'do', 'did', 'shall', 'should' etc., and conveying the same shades of meaning as the conjunctive participles examined in the previous sections.

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827. In reality they are only decayed conjunctive participles. In Bihārī, there is also the conjunctive formation kar (L.S.I. V. II p. 39) side by side with kai, ke. In the Western languages kar often appears as -ar. There is also the Nepāli conjunctive in -(y)er, Eastern Hindi, -ker (Turnbull: Nepāli Grammar p. 111; L.S.I. VI. p. 159).

We have already met with expressions in East Bg. with pleonastic use of hāri, āri <*kāri (gelām āri), and a Chittāongoose form like khāi-r may be regarded as equivalent to *khāi kar(i), I do eat. Similarly, Noākhali mari-yer may be equated to * māri ker(i), I am dying (The Māl Pāhāriā dialect has a verbal root √ker; cf. ānand kerib: hāsi-moja kerib; L.S.I. V. I, p. 102).

Dr. Chatterji regards this -r- as a contracted form of kar and a verbal auxiliary added on to the root (O.D.B.L. p. 996). But he has left the history and function of this -r- undiscussed.

(6) Inverted Conjunctives.

828. There are certain analogous formations in early Bg. (Kṛṣṇa Kirtan) and in early As. (Rāmāyaṇa: M. Kandali) in which the position of the characteristic conjunctive ending has been inverted. The principal verb takes on the conjunctive termination, and what in similar contexts pass on as conjunctive participles have personal affixes added on to them. The following are the examples:

E. Bg. \{ di-āra, do give; āni-ārā, do bring.\}
     \{ kahi-āra, do speak; khd-ārā, do eat.\}
     \{ kahi-ārā, I do speak.\}

E. As. \{ kari-erā, do thou do; tāri-erā; māri-erā; do save; kill etc.\}
     \{ lukāi-erō, I shall have concealed.\}
     \{ gucāi-erō, I shall have removed.\}
     \{ hāni-ere, he does strike etc.\}

829. Here -ārā, -erā are clearly related to karā, kerā, and the formations di-ārā, tāri-erā may be equated to expressions like *diā kārā; *tāri kera=giving, do; saving, do;
do give; do save. In this respect they may be regarded as compound verbs with the principal verbs put in the conjunctive forms. ānīrā may be regarded as equivalent to Mod. Bg. āniyā phelā: bring off. This use of -āra, -era may be due to the fact that though originally conjunctive in sense, they were used without the characteristic conjunctive terminations and were perhaps mistaken for finite verbs in the imperative. This notion once established, personal affixes of the other persons also were added on to them. Cf. Western Assam (Kāmrūp) dialectical forms: kha-n-i. do thou eat; khā-n-ā. do you eat. khā-n-ā. let me eat: where -n- is a conjunctive particle.

Dr. Chatterji connects iā with the verbal noun in -ita (O.D.B.L. § 996). But the explanation suggested does not seem to be quite satisfactory.

(7). The Pleonastic -ka.

830. The use of -ka as a pleonastic affix after verb-form is so well established and it has been so fully discussed (O.D.B.L. pp. 989-991) that a fresh discussion seems unnecessary. A few examples will be enough to shew the extent of its pleonastic uses, in N.I.A. languages:

After Pres. indic. early Bg. nore-k. burns:

" imperative Sing (3rd P.): As. dekhā-k; Bg. dekhū-k; O. dekhu.

" imperative Pl. (3rd P.): E.As. māranto: pālanto-k; O. dekhantu.

" passive imp. E As. śuniyo : śuniyo-ka.

" conjunctive in -ile: E. As. parile-ka. on his having fallen.

" infinitive in -u (O.I.A. -tu); (Halabi) jauk, to go; puchuk, to ask.

(8) The Pleonastic -la-.

831. Corresponding to the -ga affix, there is an affix -la- in the Western languages (Rajasthani and Marathi) and in some Magadhan languages like Bengali and Bhojpuri. Its grammatical function is to some extent like that of -ga-. It forms the future in Western languages, and the present definite (also used in the future) in Bhojpuri; it is pleonastic in Bengali; and in the solitary instance haba-la, where it happens to occur, in Assamese.

Early Bengali (Krṣṇa Kirtan) has a suffix -li added to the future imp.

karihā-li; dihā-li: caihā-li, you will do: give; go.

In dialectical Bengali the suffix occurs in -lo; e.g. kara-lo; āiche-lo (Maimansing Gitikā): kaha-lo.

Here -l- is pleonastic. It does not function as a tense-forming affix. It is added to the inflected verbal forms.

832. Assamese preserves the use of -lā with the word haba (habalā), perhaps may be; e.g. āhil habalā: may be, he has come. Cf. Rajasthani: ā ghorai caḥyo ḍvajā, he must have mounted his horse (Kellogg, p 213).

(9) The Pleonastic -tā ; -to.

833. In the Māyān dialect there is the pleonastic suffix -tā; e.g. eil-tā, he came; eilā-tā, they came; peilang-tā, I got, etc. (L.S.I. V. I pp. 419 et seq.).

This affix seems to correspond to Assamese-Bengali -to; e.g. khowā-to, do eat; dharā-to, do hold; āhil-to, he has come; jaṭa-to, he will go. So also in Bengali: jācche-to, he is going; gela-to, he has gone.

It is used to express a mild assertion or to soften a command or an injunction. It is often used after nouns and pronouns also.

Dr. Chatterji affiliates -tā with the enclitic definitive -tā (cerebral). Dr. Bloch suggests connection with tāvat (Hindi to < tau).
CHAPTER XX.

CONCLUSION.

The Extent of Probable non-Aryan Influences.

834. The essay is now brought to a close. As the foregoing pages shew, it is a study in details of sound-changes and of grammatical forms in Assamese. Starting from O.I.A. sounds and forms, these changes have, as far as practicable, been traced through M.I.A. periods to N.I.A. Assamese.

835. By origin an Indo-Aryan vernacular, Assamese is surrounded on all sides by non-Aryan speeches. It may even be said that Assamese is a small island in a sea of diverse non-Aryan languages, and as such Assamese may be regarded as being more open to non-Aryan influences than other N.I.A. vernaculars. But the extent of non-Aryan influences does not appear to be as great as it might have been expected to be. This seems due to two outstanding historical facts. It has been noticed in the introduction (§§ 46, 47) that Assam lay on the high way for emigrants from all parts of India to the Far East, and this kept Assam in constant contact with the rest of Aryan-speaking India, and checked non-Aryan tendencies from making any radical changes in the structure of Assamese. Then there was the rise of a varied popular literature in the early part of the sixteenth century in connection with the Vaishnavite movement of Sankara Deva. Songs, poems and dramas were composed in large numbers and they are as popular even now amongst Assamese-speaking people as the dohas of Tulsidas amongst Hindi speaking population.

This rise of a standard literature exercised a stabilizing influence upon the speech and resisted the inroads of non-Aryan idioms to a considerable extent. But still as pointed out in the body of the text, non-Aryan influences have been large and varied. For convenience of reference, they are
XX. CONCLUSION

Phonological.

836. Bodo influence in imparting alveolar sounds to O.I.A. cerebrals and dentals in Assamese has already been referred to (§ 429).

837. The same influence has been postulated in fronting O.I.A. palatals to dentals in Assamese. (O.D.B.L. p. 79).

838. A certain amount of non-Aryan influence is suspected in causing vowel-mutation and vowel-harmony (§§ 249ff). But to what definite extent the influence might have operated is not known.

839. Non-Aryan influence has been postulated to explain the phenomenon of spontaneous nasalisation by Sir G. A. Grierson (§ 293).

840. A certain amount of non-Aryan influence is suspected in the matter of aspiration of O.I.A. stops (initial and medial) (§§ 366, 375).

Morphological.

841. Reduplication of a word to produce a jingle. The whole root or its first elements can be doubled and in this way the meaning is intensified in many ways. This has been noted as a characteristic of the Kolarian and the Dravidian (Sten Konow: L.S.I. Vol. IV. p. 23). There is a lavish use of reduplicating phrases in the Khâsi language. Reduplication and repetition, regular and with variants, have been noted as frequent modes of word-formation in the aboriginal Malayan dialects. This is now a pan-Indian phenomenon and its origin is extra-Aryan.

842. The origin of the enclitic numeratives is also extra-Aryan. They constitute a characteristic both of the Austric and the Tibeto-Burman languages with some differences in
use. "The aboriginal dialects of the (Malay) Peninsula often annex to their numerals certain words which roughly express the genius or some general characteristic of the things enumerated. The numeral and this numerical co-efficient then go closely together and form an inseparable word-group which may either follow or precede the substantive that represents the things enumerated (Blagden: Vol. II p. 775).

In the Tibeto-Burman languages, generic prefixes are commonly used with numerals which follow the nouns. They are many and various according as they qualify "flat" or "globular" things, "things standing as trees," "persons," "animals," "parts of body" etc. (L.S.I. Vol. III, Part II, p. 385). In the Austric the co-efficient follows the numerals and in the Tibeto-Burman the co-efficient is prefixed to the numerals. In Assamese the definitive is annexed not prefixed (§§. 577 ff).

843. Extra-Aryan influence seems responsible for the use of personal affixes to nouns of relationship. In this respect also contrariness is noticed between the Austric and the Tibeto-Burman. In the Tibeto-Burman, the personal definitive is prefixed, but in the Austric, it is suffixed. In Assamese the personal definitive is suffixed (§§ 599 ff).

844. Non-Aryan influence is noticed also in the use of different words to express distinct aspects of relationship according to the age of the person with whom relationship is conveyed. This is characteristic of the Austric. In Assamese, of the two words used to denote a senior or a junior, one is often of Austric or unknown origin and the other Aryan: e.g. kakāi, elder brother; but bhāi, younger brother; bāi, elder sister, but bhāni, younger sister. Sometimes both the words are of Aryan origin but artificial distinction is drawn in their uses; e.g. bhīmi, elder sister's husband; but bāni, younger sister's husband. (§§ 595-598).

845. Non-Aryan origin is suspected of the Pl. suffixes -bilēk, -pīlā, -ŋlā, -pā, -lā, (§§ 623, 642).
846. *Non-Aryan origin has been suspected of the derivatives in -cā, -mā and of the past participle in -ībā (§§ 79, 80, 816). There may be convergence of Aryan and non-Aryan sounds in the establishment of derivatives in -η-, -aηā -dη (§§ 521-522).

847. Prefixing the negative to the verb-root. Amongst the Eastern languages, Assamese stands isolated in prefixing the negative as an integral part of the conjugated verb-root. In Oriya, the verb-substantive only shews a negative conjugation. But a negative conjugation is a characteristic feature of Assamese from the earliest times. As in the case of the b-past, a fully developed practice in Assamese is found only as an idiom in Oriya.

Amongst the Tibeto-Burman languages of Assam, there is a two-fold use of the negative. In some, the negative follows the root of the word it qualifies, while in others it precedes the root. In Kachari (Bodo) which may be said to have influenced Assamese most, the negative follows the root of the verb, but the imperative negative precedes the root (L.S.I. Vol. III. part II. p. 198). But for Oriya, an extra-Aryan influence could have been assumed. As it is, nothing more than confluence of Aryan and non-Aryan practices can be suggested.

848. In the establishment of the prothetic a-, there is room for suspicion of the convergence of non-Aryan influence with O.I.A. forms (§ 286).

849. In vocabulary similarities between Assamese and non-Aryan words have been noted.
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## Correlations

Certain irregularities that have crept in due to oversight are corrected below:

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