

**A Study of  
PHONOLOGY & VOCABULARY  
OF THE ASSAMESE LANGUAGE**

By  
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**JORHAT, ASSAM**

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## PREFACE

A correct understanding of the Assamese language cannot lead to parochialism. For, this language is not an indigenous growth. It was imported to this province by people coming from different parts of Northern India, right from Kāshmir to Mithilā, at different periods. The local dialects that prevailed here from time immemorial had free draughts of the imported vocabulary but contributed very little to the building up of the new language. The process began only two thousand years ago. Different speeches of Indo-European origin blended in a new pattern and developed a variety of grammatical forms that enabled the speaker to express his ideas with perspicuity. Among the N. I. A. languages Assamese is peculiarly rich in formative affixes giving the speakers a wide berth to express themselves in delicate shades of difference.

The indigenous people who were attracted to this new language gave many a twist to its phonology. Words of pure Sanskrit origin underwent such circuitous metamorphosis in the mouths of a composite population that scholars would fain relegate them to non-Aryan obscurity. The language abounds in such distorted Sanskrit words. Many of these have been straightened in this book along new lines of phonetic change that have been brought to light. I have tried to dispel all the haziness and confusion that have been enshrouding the earliest part of Assam's history for centuries and for which the two words 'Prāgyotis' and 'Kāmarūpa' are solely responsible.

My first attempt at a philological study of the Assamese language was made in 1912 when I produced the *Asamiyā Bhāṣār Maulik Bicār*, of not more than 100 pages. A revised and enlarged edition of the same was published in 1933.

My earnest hope is that the younger generation of admirers of the Assamese language will pursue the research which was initiated half a century ago. Study of language is a noble diversion for any aducated person. It widens the periphery of our knowledge and sympathy and is also a source of unsullied pleasure.

Jorhat,

Devananda Bharali.

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# Corrigenda

Page	Column	Lines	Read	In place of
19	1	13	ডহৰ	ডেহৰ
19	1	14	ঢোণ্ডৰ	ঢাণ্ডৰ
19	1	17	পেৰাল	পেৰাল
38	1	17	ব্রক্ষ	ব্রক্ষ
45	...	21	লোঁড়া	লেউৰা
53	2	12	দেছোৰালী	দেচুৰালী
63	1	4	কংকতী	কংকটি
63	2	16	চোতাল	চেতাল
63	1	19	তকু	তকু
63	1	23	ধৰ্ষ	বৰ্ষ
65	1	24	hang	perpendicular
69	1	15	সাক্ষধী	সাক্ষধী
70	2	6	আহিব	আহিব
70	2	12	উকলি	উৰলী
73	1	3	বক্ত	বক্ত
<del>84</del>	<del>1</del>	29	<del>হুৰাই</del>	<del>হুৰাই</del>
90	2	30	ভাগৰ	ভাগৰ
56	2	21	ফিৰিঙ্গতি	ফিৰিঙ্গতি





## INTRODUCTION

ORIGIN OF THE WORDS ĀSSĀM, ASAM, AXAM,  
ĀHOM, etc.

1. From the 'Buranjis', that is, historical chronicles maintained from an early period in the courts of the Ahom kings of Assam, as well as from the Vaishnavic literature of the sixteenth century and downwards it is clear that the terms 'āsām', 'asam' and 'axam' were used to denote the people who are to-day known as 'Āhom'. They are the Shāns of Upper Burmah, a branch of the great Tāi or Thāi race of Southern China. A band of these people under the leadership of Sukaphā entered the valley of the Brahmaputra from the North-East corner with a view to establish a kingdom in the beginning of the thirteenth century.

About the same time another band of these people migrated towards the South-East and colonised the country which is to-day known as Thāi-land. According to P. N. Bose, author of the 'Indian Colony of Siam', the Hindu colonists who had settled there long before the arrival of these Shān people changed the word Shān to Shyām to accommodate it to the colour of the people which was black. The kingdom which the Shāns established here was accordingly called 'Shyāmarāstra' (kingdom of the black people). Shyāmarāstra was shortened to 'Siam' by which name the country came to be known afterwards. The people came to be known as 'Sham' (a compromise between Shyām and Shān), a term which was applied also to their cousins in

the Assam valley, the Ahoms as well as to all the sub races of the Tai family who entered Assam from North Burma in the wake of Sukaphā such as the Pakials, the Hkāmptis, the Aitonias and the Turungs. Educated persons of these tribes to-day use the word 'Sham' as a patronymic after their names.

When the Muhammedan rulers of Bengal came to be interested in this country and to look upon it with covetous eyes they called this country 'Ashām-ki-mulk', that is, 'the country of the Shāms', 'Ashām' being the plural form of 'Shām'.\* This plural form of the word came to be in vogue in place of the singular form 'Shām'. Ashām changed to Asām, axam, āhom and 'asam' from which we get the word 'asamiyā'. The land got its name from the people as is usually the case.

### PRĀGJYOTIṢPURA

2. To any careful reader of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana it is apparent that the Prāgjyotiṣ-pura mentioned in these epics lay to the north of Indraprastha (modern Delhi). In the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata the task of realising tributes from the kings reigning in territories to the north was assigned to Arjuna. Going northward Arjuna first entered Kālakuta which was due north of Hasti-

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\* Compare the following pairs of Persian words :—

singular	Plural
asmār, a fruit	asmār, fruits
asbāb, furniture	asbāb, furnitures
akhbār, a news	akhbār, many news
Türk, one Turk	Atrāk, many Turks.

nāpur, near about Dehradun. Defeating the king of that place he went north-west to Shakala, modern Sialkot. Being reinforced with help from these two places Arjuna attacked Bhagadutta of Prāgjyotiṣpura. After realising tribute from him Arjuna entered Kashmir. Proceeding further north Arjuna reached the famous Manas 'sarovar'. From there Arjuna returned to the capital.

His brother Bhima was deputed to realise tribute from the eastern countries. After realising tributes from the kings of Kāsi, Magadha and Anga, his further progress was stopped by the Lauhitya sea, that is, the vast estuary of the Brahmaputra and the Ganges. This formed the eastern boundary of Bhāratavarṣa at that time.

It is also stated in the Sabhāparva of the epic that the kings who were invited to the Rājasuya Yajna of the Pāṇdavas held in Indraprastha entered that city by the gates which opened towards the direction from which they came. Thus, the kings of Kāsi and Magadha entered by the eastern gate; Vibhiṣana who came from Ceylon entered by the southern gate; those coming from the western states entered by the western gate; and Bhagadutta of Prāgjyotiṣpura entered by the northern gate. This minor incident conclusively proves that at the time that the Mahābhārata was written Prāgjyotiṣpura lay to the north of Delhi and not in Assam.

In the Aswamedha parva of the same epic it is stated that the sacrificial horse after crossing Trigarta entered the country of Prāgjyotisa. Trigarta was far to the North-West of Delhi, beyond the Beas in

the Kangra valley. This is another proof that Prāgjyotiṣpura was near Kashmir at that time.

Bhagadutta had his capital at Prāgjyotiṣpura; but he ruled over a wide rugged country. His influence spread far and wide from the frontiers of Persia to those of China. That is why we find the writer of the Mahābhārata extolling him as surrounded by Chinese, Kirāti and Yavana soldiers.

3. The Mahābhārata is supported by the other epic Ramayana in locating Prāgjyotiṣpura in the north-west region. It describes how Sugriva, King of the Monkeys, deputed his spies to many countries in different directions to search and find out Sitā. The poet took the advantage to give the reader an idea of geography at that time. According to him Prāgjyotiṣpura of Naraka lay to the north-west (Vāyu angle, Vide Rāmāyana, Kiskindhyā Kānda, Bombay edition).

There is another reference to Prāgjyotiṣpura in the Rāmāyana (Ādi parva—35-6). There it is stated that Amurtaraja, grandson of Brahmā of the Hindu Trinity founded the town Prāgjyotiṣpura. This must be a very ancient legend as it related to God Brahmā. The town referred to here must be the Prāgjyotiṣpura of N.-W. India. For, the qualifying adjective 'Dharmāranya-samipastha' means that Prāgjyotiṣpura was near Dharmāranya which according to the Skanda Purāna lay to the North-west of Ayodhyā. Rāma visited Dharmāranya as a place of pilgrimage under the guidance of Vashistha. Rāma first went towards the north and then wended his way to the west and reached Dharmāranya after

ten days march (Skanda Purāna, Brāhma khandā). Dharmāranya is very far away from Girivraja in South Bihar.

The Purānas on the other hand place Prāgjyotiṣpura in the east. The Purānas according to all authorities were written, rather compiled, at a much later date than the epics. Although ancient traditions were compiled into the original Purānas at a pretty early age, later historical facts were added from time to time, sometimes in a prophetic guise, down to the fourth century A.D. Harivamsa considered to be one of the earliest of the Purānas calls Naraka a ‘*নৈঋত*’ —a demon of the South-western region—a direction diametrically opposite to Assam.

The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna which places Prāgjyotiṣpura in the east belongs to the fourth century A.D. Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra which according to Keith was written in the third century A.D. also mentions Prāgjyotiṣa as an eastern country. Poet Kālidāsa of the fifth century also places Prāgjyotiṣpura in the east on the bank of the Lauhitya.

The question poses itself, how to reconcile these two opposite views. It will not be right to assume that the writers of the epics jointly made a mistake when their statements as to the position of the other countries, such as Kāśi, Anga, Vanga, Kosala, Dwārāvati etc. were so correct. Nor can we dismiss the statements in the Purānas and of Kālidāsa.

4. The question is easily answered if we do not forget the fact that the migration of people from one part of India to another part and sometimes to outside India took place rather very frequently in an-

erent times, due to political upheavals, religious persecutions, famines and other causes. In fact the history of Hindu India is one chapter of constant change of dynasties and of the seat of paramountcy. Old empires tumbled down and others arose in unexpected quarters. In the first century of the Christian era the fierce Kushans overthrew the Shakas and the Parthians and established under Kanishka an empire extending from Kabul to Kāsi, with headquarters at Peshwar. Many independent princes of North-West India had to flee from their countries with many of their followers in order to escape subjection, humiliation and other atrocities. They generally went to the East. "Assam lay on the high way for emigrants from Northern India to the Far East"—(Gait's History of Assam, page 14). According to R. C. Mazumder, author of 'Indo-Aryan colonies in the Far East' the land route lay over Assam and Manipur. It is very improbable that some of these emigrants had not settled down in Assam. It is therefore most probable that due to some political or other disturbances, a prince of North-Western India who claimed to be a scion of the legendary Bhagadatta of Mahābhārata fame of old Prāgjyotiṣpura moved eastward with his retinue and colonised the country to the east of the Karatoya which was then inhabited by several small tribes.

These new people came to be known as 'Prāgjyotirah', that is, people coming from Prāgjyotiṣapura of N. W.-India. They afterwards became masters of a territory which became famous as Prāgjyotirah after the name of the people. With the

name Prāgjyotiṣa all the traditions of Naraka and Bhagadutta were transferred to Assam. It is no wonder therefore that all works written or recast after this migration should place Prāgjyotiṣa in north-east India. Conversely, all works where Prāgjyotiṣa is mentioned as a place in eastern India were written after this migration, an event which we think took place within a century before or after Christ. Such a migration is supported by linguistic evidence as shown in the next chapter.

[One may be curious to know where the old Prāgjyotiṣapura as mentioned in the epics might be. As stated above it was situated somewhere between Punjab and Kashmir. Many old sites of townships have been destroyed by Man and Nature and efaced from the earth. Some have also changed their names, from time to time. The Moslem rulers who held the country under subjection for more than six hundred years changed the names of many old cities by substituting Persian names for the original Sanskrit ones, while retaining the sense of the former names in some cases. Prāgjyotiṣapura being a very long name was first shortened to 'Jyotiṣpur' which when Persianised becomes 'Nurpur'; 'nur' or 'noor' being the Persian word for 'jyotiṣ' or light. At present a town by the name 'Nurpur' exists in north Punjab on the border of Kashmir, about twenty miles to the east of Pathankote. Parallel to the two Prāgjyotiṣpurs of east and west there are also two Lakhimpurs, one being in the Jammu valley and the other in eastern Assam. Research on the lines of tradition, culture and language in these areas may

yield rich dividend. It may be stated here that while in N.-W. India the name Prāgijyotiṣa stood for a capital city, in Assam it denoted a district or a region and not a town].

#### KĀMARŪPA.

5. The two great epics, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata make no mention of a Kāmarupa kingdom, although we find in the latter the names of Karatoyā and the Lauhitya in the list of sacred rivers enumerated by Sanjaya to Dhritarāstra. Pānini, the celebrated grammarian of the sixth century B.C., mentions Kosala, Kāsi, Magadha and Kalinga among the Eastern Janapadas, but not Kāmarūpa. Among the towns of Eastern India he mentions Gauḍapura (Pānini Sutra-vi-2-100) identified with Malda of North Bengal. The Arthashāstra of Kautilya written about 310 B.C. while discussing about good elephants stated that the best are available in Anga, Kalinga and further east. According to Kautilya the best Agarū (Agallochum resin) of black colour was available from Pāra-Lauhitya, a country across the Lauhitya and identified by the commentator with Kāmarūpa of a later age. The vast empire of the great Asoka extending from Kabul to the Karatoyā in the third century before Christ did not include Kāmarūpa, simply because it did not exist.

The earliest authentic reference to the Kingdom of Kāmarūpa is to be found in the inscriptions on the pillar of Asoka of Allahabad glorifying the achievements of Samudra-Gupta (c.350 A.D.) as fol-



lows:—"Whose commands were fully gratified by payment of taxes and execution of his orders by the frontier kings of Samatata, Davaka, Kāmarupa, Nepal and other countries.\* The kingdom of Kāmarupa has been mentioned by Kālidāsa (6th century A.D.) in his 'Raghuvamsam' and in several of the Purānas. But these works were written after the beginning of the Christian era. The Manjusri Mulakalpa describes Kāmarupa as a country lying near the Himalayas. The date of Manjusri Mulakalpa is c.800 A.D. according to Jayaswal and V. S. Agrawala.

It can therefore be safely affirmed that the kingdom of Kāmarūpa came into being sometime between the reigning periods of the two great monarchs, viz., Asoka Maurya and Samudra Gupta, that is, around the beginning of the Christian era.

6. The name 'Kāmarūpa' attached to this newly established kingdom is remarkable and it also presents a problem. It is very rare to find a similar name for a place. We may leave out of account the mythological derivation according to which Kāmadeva, the god of Love was restored to his former 'rūpa' or body by Lord Shiva after he had been burnt to ashes by an angry look. Other kingdoms or states of India were named after the names of the tribes that inhabited them, such as, Anga, Magadha, Odra, Vāhlika, Kamboja, Āryavarta etc. Countries were also named according to the nature of the surface, such as, Samatata, Trigarta, Bahu-

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\* R. C. Dutt's History of Ancient Civilisation of India.

garta, etc.; and also after the names or number of rivers flowing through or past them; such as, Sindhu, Pāra-Lauhitya, Tirhoot (Trisrota), Punjab. Sometimes, rather very often, places are named after the name of the mother country from which people came and colonised there; such as, Āyuthiyā (in Thāiland) after Ayodhyā; Madurā in South India after Mathurā of N. India and so probably Madras of S. India from Madra near the Himalayas, Dakshin Kosala after Kosala of N. India; not to speak of New York, New Jersy, New S. Wales etc. The name 'Kāmarupa' should fall under one of the above categories.

In the time of Pānini and after there were towns in North West India ending in 'rūpya' such as Shai-varūpya, Shivarūpya, Vṛkarūpya. So it is quite possible that there was a town named 'Kāmarūpya' too. There was actually a town named 'Kāmaprastha' along with other towns like Kundaprastha, Indraprastha, Suvarnaprastha etc. as can be gathered from the Ganapātha of Pānini commented by Kāshikā. With the people migrating from the old site of Prāgjyotiṣpura, mentioned above, many people from the neighbouring towns and villages including the supposed 'Kāmarūpya' or the actual Kāmaprastha, also migrated to Assam and settled close to each other and gave to their colonies the names 'Prāgjyotiṣha' and 'Kāmarūpya'.\*

\* Other Hindu settlers from N.W. India came and colonised other parts of Assam such as, North Lakhimpur and Sadiya. Ruins of an extensive fort, 24 miles to the north of Sadiya beside the river Kundil, are believed to have once been the capital of King Bhishmaka. But Bhishmaka

7. So there were two states side by side colonised by Indo-Aryan speakers coming from North-West India, viz., one colonised by people under a leader who claimed to be a scion of Bhagadutta of Prāgjyotiṣpura and the other colonised by people coming from Kāmarūpya or Kāmaprastha and neighbourhood. In classical Sanskrit literature both Kāmarūpa and Prāgjyotiṣa occur side by side as the names of two countries. In the story of Raghu's 'digvijaya' as given in the Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa the hero first came to Prāgjyotiṣa and then crossed the Lauhitya to reach Kāmarūpa. Although lived separately the people were the same and spoke the same language which formed the starting point of the Assamese language.

There is no doubt that sometimes these two 'janapadas' merged into one under powerful kings who would call themselves Prāgjyotiṣeswara or Kāmarūpādhipati or both, so that these two places lost their local identity. In course of time the name 'Prāgjyotiṣa' gave way to 'Kāmarūpa' which alone survived.\*

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was the king of Vidarbha (Berar). Perhaps these ruins are the site of settlers from Kulinda a country in also North-West India mentioned by Pāṇini. Kulinda changed to Kundila and gave birth to the tradition of Bhismaka.

\* The capital city of the old kings of Assam shifted from place to place. It is not possible to locate the capital of king Bhaskar Varma where the Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang met him. It should be somewhere in the district of Goalpara or even Mymensing. Coming from Malda eastward he had to cross several rivers. When he says 'after crossing the great river' he certainly meant not the Karatoyā but the Brahmaputra which was the biggest of them all. The capital was therefore to the East or South of the Brahmaputra.

Both these two names of old Assam point to the same region in extreme North-West of India from where people came to Aryanise Assam and laid the foundation of Assamese as a separate race and language. The linguistic peculiarities which these first colonists brought with them may be called the identification marks which distinguish the Assamese language from her kindred sisters of the eastern zone.

## II. THE SOURCES OF THE ASSAMESE LANGUAGE.

8. An examination of the vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation prevailing in the language shows the existence of different layers of Indo-Aryan speech imported at different periods by people migrating to Assam from different parts of India. The present Assamese language is therefore like a river made up of several streams of dialect which had their origin at different places. The study of a language can reveal the story of a people which written history and tradition fail to do. The foundation of the Assamese language was laid by the Indo-Aryan speakers who came from some place in North-West India near Kashmīr where the ancient Prāgjyotiṣpur was situated. Hence we find some linguistic affinity between Assamese and the dialects prevailing in Kashmīr and the country near about it. Below are given some instances:

Assamese	Dialects of N.-W.	
	India	English
zon	zun (Kashmiri)	
	yun (Khaskura)	Moon
āi	āi (Pashai)	
	yāi (Gowarbati)	Mother

Assamese	Dialects of N.-W. India	English
kukurā	kokur, kukur (Gowarbati and Pashāi)	Cock
kimān dur	kimon dur (Kalashi)	How far
khel	khel (N.W. Front. Province)	Social group.
bor, as in 'gāi bor'	bo (Pashāi), as in 'bo gā'	Plural suffix the cows.
gilā, gilāk (in L.A.)	gila (Gowarbati)	Plural suffix
zi gilā (L.A.)	zu gila (Gowarbati)	The daughters

(The plural suffix 'bilāk' in Upper Assam is derived from gilā; see Section 77 below)

tāhon (in L.A.)	tehon (Gowarbati)	They
Bāp han (in L.A.)	Bāp hon (Malvi)	The fathers

These plural suffixes, -jz. gilā, bilāk, bor, hān or hon were in popular use but were not used in Vaishnavic literature as being less dignified than the Sanskrit auxiliary words xab, xakal, to signify the plural number. They are not late developments.

lāthi (kick)	lāt (Punjabi)	leg
ger	ger (N.W.F. Province)	belly
khøj	konz (Manchāti)	foot print
bagā	bagā (Punjabi)	white

The substantive verb 'as' (to exist) remains unpalatalised in Assamese and some dialects of N.-W. India. In the following examples the italicised *n* indicates that the syllable is nasalised.

Assamese	Dialects of N.-W. India	English
mai āson	ā āsam (Kalāshi)	I am
mai āsilon	mo āsilas (N. Kashmir)	I was
parā, pere (L.A.)	pere	from
bāpek bilākar parā	bāb gila pere na	from the fathers
ātā (used by the Gossāins and Mahantas)	ātā (Balti and others)	father

The auxiliary word 'hante' used in Middle Assamese to denote the ablative case of a noun is found in one of the Kohistāni dialects in the form 'hande'.

9. The auxiliary word 'sam' is used both in Kalāshi and Assamese in the sense of 'with' cf. 'Lakṣmi same gailā dhirc dhirc'—(SKD.), went slowly with Lakshmi.

Kalāshi—oh putr *tuz* mai sam āsas

Assamese—oh po tai mor same āsa

English—Oh son you are with me

Kalāshi—ā tai man kai nepelāta

Assamese—mai tor kathā ketiyāo nepelāon

English—I your word ever **not** throw.

Here the same idiomatic way of expressing the sense of 'disobedience' should be noted.

10. Modifying the word of relationship according as the person to whom related stands in the First, Second or Third person, is found in the Pashāi

dialect of N.-W. India and in Assamese; but not in Bengali or Hindi, cf.

English—my father	your father	his father
Assamese—mor bopāi	tor bāper	tār bāpek
Pashāi—menā tātim	tenā tāto	utis tātiyā
Bengali—āmār bābā	tomār bābā	tār bābā

Compare the Personal affixes to verbs in the following examples. They are almost same in the three Persons.

Kalāshi—main mārūn	tuñ mārāi ;	yoh māre
Assamese—mai māron	tumi mārān	xi or teon māre
English—I strike ;	you strike ;	he strikes

11. Cerebral sounds are absent both in Assamese and the Pishāchi Prakṛt from which the dialects of extreme N.-W. India developed. Local investigation may reveal many more points of similarity between Assamese and these dialects in vocabulary, idiom and tradition. This is also the view of Dr. Grierson who says, “Kashmir possesses a language which to the philologist presents many points of linguistic affinity with Assamese” (L.S.I.).

12. There are some words in Assamese which are not traceable to Sanskrit but to Greek and other European languages. These were also brought to Assam by the first band of Indo-Aryan speakers mentioned above, who came from N.-W. India which was under Greek occupation for some time around 320 B.C. Some descendants of the Greek soldiers left behind by Alexander are living even to-day in Citral and some out of the way places. It is not impossible that some of the first migrants to Assam contained in their blood Greek strain.

Assamese	Foreign
kanee (egg)	Greek—goni ; Gothic-konee (egg) cf. Eng. conical : egg shaped.
kusi (a mound or hillock)	Grk. xous (koos, a hillock)
ohār (udder)	Grk. other
selek (lick)	German—schleken, (to lick)
dāku, (a cross bar)	Grk. Dakos' (a bar)
dām (price)	Grk. drachma (a coin)
deri (late)	Grk. deeros (long in time)
pakhilā (a butterfly)	Grk. poikilos (many coloured)
batar (weather)	German—wetter
xalā (change)	Grk. 'alla (different, another way. The sign ' is for aspiration)

These people coming from the North-west are responsible for changing the palatals to supradentals in Assamese. Eg., Gowarbati 'zu' (daughter) for 'ji'. Compare also Pers. 'zada' for Skt. 'jāta' (born); 'zanu' for 'jānu' (knee) etc.

13. After the establishment of a strong regular government, in Kāmarūpa, people from other parts of India far and near, began to pour in either on account of socio-political disturbances or to seek fortune. Kings of Kāmarūpa earned great reputation as patrons of learning as well as for their might. They also induced men of the upper strata of society to come and settle in their dominions by offering land and money. Others followed impelled by adverse circumstances; and artisans, such as goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters etc. came in search of employment.

### THE KALITĀS

14. The Kalitās about whom much speculation has been rife for a long time were a clan of North



Bihar. The word is most probably a degeneration of the word 'kṣatriya'. Any way, the kalitās, kalikās or kaliyās have been referred to by Hieun Tsang, the Chinese traveller of early seventh century A.D. He calls them kṣatriyas of North Bihar. To this clan belonged Yasodharā, the wife of Gautama Buddha and also his famous desciple Moggalana kolitā (Vide page 113, Cultural History of Assam by Dr. B. K. Barua). These kolitās were kṣatriya Buddhists. With the revival of Brāhminism towards the latter part of the first millenium of the Christian era they had to flee their country. They went in all directions except the West. Some went to Nepal and are still living in the Tons valley. Some went southward to Sambalpur in Orissa. But the majority of them came to North Bengal and Assam, to save themselves from the fury of Brahminical persecution. The tradition still prevails in Assam that the Kalitās were forced to conceal their kṣatriya origin in order to escape the wrath of Jamadagni, the Brahmin warrior-god. The Varendra Kāyasthas of North Bengal are believed by some scholars to be originally kalitās. The kalitās came to Assam after Hieun Tsang who did not find a single Buddhist monastery in Kamārupa. The kalitās perhaps tried to propagate Buddhism in some places, such as, Hājo. But they ultimately failed and embraced Hinduism.

15. The Kalitās brought with them to Assam the Māgadhi Apabhramsa Prākṛt from North Bihar. Although used to a language rich in palatal sounds they had to adopt the anti-palatal pronunciation already established in this country. Yet many words

palatally pronounced which they brought with them have come to stay, often replacing a non-palatal indigenous word. The palatal sound in the new word is softened to supradental. They brought the M.I.A. 'acchai' giving rise to the word 'āche' pronounced 'āse' in place of the indigenous 'āsai'\* from √as (to be).

'cecā' from Skt. 'shaitya' in addition to the indigenous 'xital', Skt. 'shītala'.

'buj', to know, palatalised form of 'budh' to replace the indigenous 'bhu pā' from 'bodh pā', get knowledge.

'gach', tree, from Pk. gaccha (see sec. 76,b) to supplant the indigenous 'rukḥ' or 'birikh'.

'bāch' palatalised form of √vrkṣ, to select.

'echāri' or 'acharā' (a switch of the bamboo growing out of a point in the joint which looks like an 'eye' (akṣa) + r.

16. It is not possible now, at a great distance of time since they arrived here, to sort out all the words which they must have brought with them. But it may be presumed with some degree of certainty that most Assamese words which are derived from Māgadhi Prākṛt were brought by them. Some such words are listed below.

Prākṛt.	Assamese.
এউ, give up	এৰ
ওলগ, salutations	ওলগনি, respect
ওৰ beantiful	ওৰ (used in the 'Bargeets')
কন্দল skull	কন্দলী (Tantric Brahmin)

\* There are many words in Assamese which have come directly from Sanskr̥t. The Prākṛt words have been taken from 'Pāia sadda Mahānava'.

Prākṛt.	Assamese.
কৰণ, a prison	কৰণ, prison (eg. যমৰ কৰণ, in Mid. A.)
কণ্ঠ, cloth	কাণি cloth
কুড়, to follow	কুৰ, কুড়, to follow (eg. 'বাটকুৰি বা', follow a track)
খোড়ি, wood	খৰি, fuel wood.
গোণা, a bull	গোনা, bull, eg. গোনা ম'হ, bull buffalo.
গোড, foot	গোৰ, a kick; গুৰি, foot of a hill or tree; গোৰোহা, the heel.
ঘিট্ট, hunch backed	ঘিটিৰা, short and un- developed.
জোই, fire	জুই ।
টোপৰ, head gear	টোপৰ, in Mid. A.
ঠাণ, similarity	ঠান, (in Mid. A.)
ঢাল, to pour	ঢাল ।
ঢেংকি, a crane	ঢেঁকি, a husking machine which resembles a crane.
ডেহৰ, flood, (in Bihari)	ঢল, flood.
ঢান্ধৰ, a loafer	ধোদ, one who avoids work.
পৰা, front, face to face	পৰা, cf 'অন্তকে পাইলেক পৰা, ৰাম হৰি বুলি তৰা', death is face to face, save yourself by utter- ing God's name Rām and Hari.
পম্পুঅ, length	পম্পন, (used by M.K.)
পেৰাল, child	পোৰালি, offspring, calf.

Prākṛt.	Assamese.
বাইআ, mother	বাই, elder sister.
ভলুক, a kind of bamboo (in 'Artha Shāstra')	ভলুকা, a kind of hard bamboo.
মেল, to open	মেল, to open.
মহল, talkative	মহলা মাৰ, to talk uselessly.

17. The nominative case ending এ (e) which is also found in Maithili must have come to Assamese from Māgadhi Prākṛt. This এ occurs in Asoka's Inscriptions.

18. In course of centuries the Kalitās increased in number, spread throughout the whole of Assam and enriched the language that was brought by the former settlers. They with superior intelligence dominated over the local people as petty chiefs known as 'Bhuyān', i.e., Bhumyādhikār (land owner).

19. Several centuries later there came another wave of migration from northern India. The greatest of socio-political upheaval occurred when northern India was harried by the hordes of Mahmud of Ghazni in the eleventh century. According to Alburani "he utterly ruined the prosperity of the country and performed those wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions".\* Many of the fugitives came as far as Bengal and Kāmrūpa, to save their lives, honour and religion. When the country finally passed into the hands of a foreign power highly imbued with a proselytising zeal, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the

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\* R. C. Dutt's History of Ancient Civilisation of India.

tempo of migration increased. Many families belonging to the Brāhmin and the Kāyastha castes found their way to Assam to escape persecution and there ingratiated themselves into the favour of the Ahom rājās who found them very useful as 'katakī' or ambassadors to foreign courts and as writers and book-keepers.

# HINDI AND ASSAMESE.

The above migration accounts for the large vocabulary that is common both to Hindi (including Rājasthānī) and Assamese. This vocabulary consists mainly of remote 'Tadbhava' and rarely found in Modern Bengali. Some are given below and others are cited in their proper places. It is not to be understood that the Assamese form is derived from its Hindi counterpart in every case. The Assamese form is often closer to the original word and its Hindi variant is a subsequent development.

Hindi.	Assamese.
अटकल, guessing	আটকাল ।
अध्क्छर्षा, half ripe	আধাৰ্কেচৰা ।
अड़ाना, to fasten one thing to another	আৰ, to hang anything
औ, and; (Brajabhākhā)	আক, আউৰ ।
औकल, uneasy	আহুকাল, trouble; inconvenience.
उषार, to root out	উষাল ।
उजला 'bright	উজলা, protruding, as teeth
उबस्, bug	উবহ ।

Hindi.	Assamese.
ওড়া, a basket	ওৰা, a big basket; used in ‘Bar Phukanar geet’.
ওৰ, direction; origin	ওৰ, end, source
ওটনী, a woman’s veil	ওৰণী।
কসক, pain	কচকা, sprain
কোলা, black; (kanauji dialect)	ক’লা black
কাজী, industrious	কাজী, adept, industrious
কৰয়ী, a kind of fish	কাৰৈ।
কোঠৰী, a small room	কোঠালি।
কোঁ, why	কিয়।
খেদ্না, chasing	খেদ্।
খটোলা, a small bedstead	খাটোলা, a palanquin
খোল, a hollow	খোল।
খোপ, a fissure	খোপ, a notch serving as a step
গহৰু, delay	গহৰি।
গৰাঁৰু, rustic, (গ্রাম্য)	গোৰাঁৰ, obstinate; rude
গুচী, a bundle of 100 betel leaves	গুচি, 20 betel leaves.
ঘাই, stratagem; decoy	ঘাই, a decoy bird.
ঘাঘ, experienced	ঘাগী, shrewd, cunning
চুড়িয়া, striped cloth	চুৰিয়া, the lower garment of a man
চপড়া, clear land	চাপৰি, a clear high land
জাড়া লগনা feeling cold	জাব লাগ।
টেঁটুৱা, the throat	টেঁটু।

Hindi.	Assamese.
টীক, head ornament	টীকৰ, cf. টীকৰ সুস্বামী মোৰ, my good husband, my head ornament. —M.K.
টীলা, rising ground	টীলা, mound
ঠেকা, to contract	ঠেক, narrow
ঠেলা, a push	ঠেল
ডাহী, spiteful; malicious	ডাঁহী, vicious; venomous, said of snake
টীকট, a mixture of oil and dirt	তেলচিকটি, oily dirt
টল্ জানা, to disappear	তল্ যা, (to sink)
ডন্, the threads of the warp left unwoven	ডহী
ধাৰী, line, row	ধাৰী
ধুন, airs	ধুন, fashion
নাহৰ, a tiger	নাহৰ কুটুকী, a spotted tiger
পসা, a palmful	পোহা
বীৰা, a betel leaf	বিৰা, a leaf (of betel)
বট্, to twist	বাট, to twist; to pound
ৰটী, a string	বটিয়া, twisted thread
বম্বা, a pump	বম্বানল, the spout of a pump cf. 'bambānale rudhira bazāwe', blood flows as through the spout of a fountain.—M.K.
বনৰা-বনৰি, bridegroom and bride	বনৰা-বনৰী, a pair of sexual man and woman.
বব্ৰী, cropped hair	বাবৰী, a kind of wooly herb
বঢ়লী, a broom	বাঢ়নী।
মাড়না, threshing corn	মৰনা।

20. Both in Hindi and Assamese there is a dislike for अ (ā) in the first syllable, especially if there is an (ā) in the second syllable. eg.

Hindi and Assamese	Bengali
kaccā, kecā, unripe	kācā
katārī, katārī, a knife	kātārī
kanthā, kanthā, a quilt	kānthā
batās, batāh, air ; wind	bātās
paglā, pagalā, mad	pāglā

21. In Hindi, Assamese and Oriyā the negative particle is put before the verb and not after it as in Bengali. eg.

Hindi : main nahi māngtā
Assamese : mai nāi khojā
Oriya : mu na cāunchi
Bengali : āmi cāi nāi.
English : I do not ask

Both in Hindi and Assamese the auxiliary word 'log' or 'lok' is used as a plural suffix:—

Hindi : āp log
Assamese : āponālok
Bengali : āpnārā
English : you all

22. The Infinitive case ending '-ibe' which was freely used in Mid A. must have been brought by people who came from Western-Hindi speaking area. eg. :—

Western H. :	suvar carāibe, carābe
L. Mid A. :	gāhari carāibe lāgi
M.A. :	gāhari carābalai
B. :	suvar carāite
E. :	to graze swine.

In E. Mid. A. we find 'ita' used in place of 'ibe', eg, 'mohoka badhita lāgi', to kill me; 'jaisāni khujita moka āilā hanumanta', when Hanumanta came to search for me—M.K.



23. In Western Assam the conditional Past tense is formed by adding 'hay' to the verb (eg, mai galon hay. I would have gone). We find the same in the West Hindi dialect Dāngi (L.S.I.).

#### PERSIAN AND ASSAMESE

24. Close on the heels of the fugitives from northern India came the muslim conquerors to the very border of Kāmarūpa which at that time included the country to the East of the Karatoya (including Cooch Bihar, Rangpur and Jalpaiguri districts). By 1500 A.D. Western Kāmarūpa as far as Hājo came under the possession of the invaders. Then they came into clash with the Ahoms who had their outpost at Gauhati. Naturally there followed not only exchange of shots, but also of prisoners and ambassadors. The Ahom ambassadors had to learn Persian. Towards the latter part of Ahom rule Persian was regularly learnt and studied by Assamese gentry who aspired for higher posts. This opened the door for a large number of Persian and Arabic words to get currency in Assam. At present we have more than four hundred such words.\* In literature they first appeared in the writings of San-kardeva, and Madhavadeva.

#### BENGALI AND ASSAMESE

25. Lastly, there came in the wake of British administration a large number of educated Bengali

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\* They are to be found in the Index at the end of the book, and also in the text.

people to serve the government in various capacities.\* At first the administration was run through the medium of English and Bengali. Bengali books were prescribed in the lower forms of the schools. This had the effect of introducing Bengali way of pronunciation to some extent. As for example, the sibilants (ś), (ṣ) and (s) which are always pronounced as guttural spirant (x) have come to regain their original pronunciation especially in proper names and at the end of the numerals. For example, 'shiva-sāgar' (name of a place) is now pronounced as 'sibsāgar' instead of as 'xiwaxāgar' as was done a century ago. The letter which in Sanskrit and Assamese is pronounced as 'v' or 'w' has now often come to be pronounced 'b' as in Bengali.

In vocabulary also Bengali words came to replace suitable indigenous words. Eg.,

B. tarkāri, vegetables	for	A. pācali
dāl, pulse	for	māh
lankā, chillies	for	jalakiyā
khol, to open	for	mel
garam, hot	for	tapat, zah, ghām
sab, all	for	xaw, xopāi, ātāibor
B. pāgal, mad	for	A. baliyā
ṭhāndā, cold		cezcā, zur
		etc.

The Assamese language contains a large number of remote 'Tadbhava' words which the present generation is trying to forget in favour of their Hindi or Bengali synonyms.

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\* Early Bengali was very similar to Assamese. The Śrī Krishna Kirtan and Shunya Purān may be cited in evidence. This language has been superseded in Bengali literature of 16th century and after, while it developed in Assam.

AUSTRO-ASIATIC, TIBETO-BURMAN ETC. AND  
ASSAMESE

26. As sated above the country was inhabited at the time of Indo-Aryan conquest by such non-Aryan people as the Kachāris, the Daflās, the Gāros, the Kochs, the Mech etc. While the new comers were more valorous, pushing and intelligent than the local people, the latter were more numerous. So both had to live side by side in peaceful co-existence. This led to mutual borrowing of language on both sides. In spite of that, the language of the new comers which was more developed, cultured and rich in ideas, ultimately prevailed over the indigenous dialects which were many and diverse. The borrowing was therefore more to the advantage of the non-Aryan tribes than to the Indo-Aryan speakers. As such the contribution of the non-Aryan dialects to the Assamese language was very small and was chiefly limited to proper names of places and rivers and to some varieties of fauna and flora of the country.\*

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\* The contributions of the Austro-Asiatic and other non-Aryan dialects to the vocabulary of the Assamese language seems to have been overrated by Dr. Kakati in his valuable book 'Assamese, Its formation and Development'. But as regards grammar the present writer believes that the Austro-Asiatic language which once prevailed through a great part of Northern India in the remote past left an indelible mark on some of the languages of that region. He refers to the particle 'l' added to verbs to indicate the Past Tense. According to Bhandarkar and Chatterjee this 'l' is an adjectival suffix added to the Past Participle form of a verb ending in 'ta'. Thus kṛta, done+l=kaḷala; karala, did.

This 'l' is however widely used in dialects of the Austro-Asiatic family of languages; eg, in Khāsi 'u lait', he goes; 'u la lait', he went or gone. For examples in other branches of Mon-Khmer dialects see page 220 of 'Asamiyā Bhākhār Maulik

27. Below are some of the common words for which Assamese is indebted to the non-Aryan dialects already current in the country:

kuri, twenty, of Mongolian origin.

mekuri, a cat, from Mongolian 'meko', a cat.

mecekā, a wild cat, from Mongolian 'mecko'.

mugā, a kind of golden silk, of Bodo origin.

hābi, a forest, supposed to be borrowed from Kachāri.

hāphalu, ant hill, of Bodo origin.

holong, a kind of tall tree, from Singpho 'hlong'.

Here also 'hābi' may be an aspirated form of Skt. 'aṭabi', forest and 'horā' an aspirated form of A. 'orā', a basket.

28. In grammar the use of a definitive particle after nouns to indicate the nature, gender, quality and quantity of a thing may have come from Tibeto-Burman speakers. It is very common in Assamese, to some extent in Bengali but rare in the Western languages. Eg.,

mānuh ṭo, the particular man;

mānuh bor, the men;

mānuh zani, the woman;

mānuh pāt, the disgusting man;

mānuh garākī, the honourable man, or woman;

mānuh zan, the gentleman;

mānuh zanā, the gentle woman;

mānuh kiā, the few men.

In these cases the sub-word attached to the

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Bicār' by present writer. The question is whether it is the adjectival 'I' or the Austric 'I' that has been added to the Past Participle form.

main word is not borrowed from the non-Aryan tribes. What is perhaps borrowed is the desire for definiteness of expression.

29. In Kachāri it is often seen that a conjunctive verb with consequential significance is attached to the main verb. Eg., 'long fāi', take after coming; 'hu fāi', give after coming; 'nu hui', see after going. Corresponding Assamese forms are la-*hī* (la + āhi); de-hi (de + āhi); cā-gai. Evidently Assamese got this form of expression from Kachāri.

30. One certain influence of non-Aryan dialects on Assamese pronunciation is the change of the silent guttural spirant 'x' ( *𑜀, 𑜂, 𑜃, 𑜄* ) to 'h'. Eg., āxam or āxām to āhom; ānxat (< ashvattha) to ānhat;

xoṣā (< Skt. sahaḥ) to hoṣā, etc., etc.

### III. DIFFERENT STAGES OF THE ASSAMESE LANGUAGE.

31. The Assamese language has gone through the following stages of development:—

I. The Prakṛt stage: from about the beginning of the Christian era to 1000 A.D. No specimen of this stage of the language is available. By tracing backward the trend of changes that have since taken place we may make a guess of the language that then prevailed. We venture to give a conjectural specimen of the language of the period, below:—

bahu bassara<sup>a</sup> agge<sup>b</sup> kāmārupatta<sup>c</sup> Bhās-  
kara barmā nāma eta<sup>d</sup> eka dambara<sup>e</sup> rājā āsa-ilā  
(or acchai-ilā)<sup>g</sup> . xe hi rājā eka dinā<sup>h</sup> mṛgayā  
karita<sup>i</sup> nagaratah parā<sup>j</sup> banaika lagge<sup>k</sup> gaa-ilā.  
tatta eko guṭi<sup>j</sup> paxu na pāpita-ilā<sup>m</sup> . bahu khana<sup>n</sup>  
bicaya<sup>o</sup> karittā eka ṭhāhatta<sup>p</sup> daxa guṭi haixa<sup>q</sup>  
kanee<sup>q</sup> pāpittā eka rukha<sup>r</sup> goḍatta<sup>s</sup> joi<sup>t</sup> jālaittā  
kanee daxa guṭi pura (or pula)-ilā<sup>u</sup> , avaru khādita  
ilā,. eham rāttī nīttā<sup>v</sup> prarohe bhūte<sup>w</sup> banatah  
parā nagaraika<sup>x</sup> lagge varti āisa-ilā<sup>y</sup> .

[a. batsara, year; b. agre, before; c. locative ending ‘-tral’ affixed; d. nāma sameta; e. famous, proud; g. Vedic ‘āsa’ meant ‘was’, cf., tasyaha naci-kebā nāma putra āsa’. -ilā was added as a Past Participle; its origin is not known clearly; h. eka dinā, one day, occurs in old Copper Plate inscriptions in place of ‘eka dine’; i. to do, this occurs in writings of M.k.; j. double ablative, ‘parā’ in the sense of ‘from’ is a very old word. It appears in Avestic.

cf. 'parā kawhmād nered', from certain person. In Gowarvati dialect near Kashmir and in L. Assam it appears as 'pere', vide Sec. 8 above; k. modern 'lāgi', 'lai', in the sense of 'to'; l. a piece; m. prāpta+ilā, found; n. time; o. search, modern bicār; p. Pk. 'ṭhāh' means place; q. eggs; r. it occurs in Caryāpada from Skt. vṛkṣa; s. Pk. 'goḍa' means leg, foot; here it means at the foot of a tree; t. mod. zui from Skt. jyoti; u. burnt; v. nītvā, having passed; w. mod. pohar haonte; x. nagaram. 'k' (comes as phonetic glide), to nagar; y. mod. ulati, returning; z. āvish+ila or Vedic ā, to come+sva (ātmanepadi imperative āswa+ila.)]

II. Early Assamese: From 1000 A.D. to 1250 A.D. Of this period also we have no reliable representative literature, except perhaps some of the aphorisms of 'Dākar Bacan'. The word 'Dāk' itself is specimen of the language of this period. It means an 'expert' or 'Pandit' being derived from the word 'dakṣa'. The sayings of Dākar Bacan are not available in their original form. But some of the sayings are undoubtedly very old and belong to the pre-Vaishnavic period. The 'Caryāpadas' discovered by Haraprasād Shāstri in Nepal were composed in this period in a mixed language containing Hindi, Maitili, Bengali and Assamese vocabulary and grammar. The characteristic Assamese Locative ending 't' is freely used in the Caryāpadas, eg., 'gaanata' for 'gaganata', in the sky; 'gīvata' in the neck; saṅga-mata, on the bridge; 'hāḍita', in the cooking pot; etc. Words like 'uzu', straight; 'burili', sunk; 'poiāli', offspring; 'sama', with; 'boliā', mad; are

typically Assamese. So is also the use of 'm' in the first Person future tense, eg., 'mārami', I shall strike; 'lemi', I shall take; 'bhaima', I shall be etc.

Some specimens of Assamese words or their older forms which prevailed in this period are also to be found in the commentary of the Sanskrit dictionary 'Amarkosha' by Sarvānanda Bandyaghatia of Bengal in the year 1081 A.D., discovered by Haraprasād Shāstri. Some such words are given below:

*Assamese words and their old forms in the  
eleventh century.*

karata, a saw	karawat
kulā, winnowing fan	kullaka
kencu, earthworm	kinche
khopā, knot of hair behind the head	khopyak
ghorā, horse	ghoṭa
zethi, lizard	jethi
teteli, tamarind	tintili
damarā, a male calf	dambora
nigani, a mouse	lingali
patān, chaff	wātān
pāgul, to chew the cud	pāgul
pharing, grass hopper	phaḍiṅga
phecu, a kind of bird	picca (phinca in E. Mid A)
bobā, dumb	bobba
barāli, a kind of fish	badāli

III. Middle Assamese: This again has to be brought under two subheads, viz—

(a) Early Middle Assamese from 1250 A.D. to 1500 A.D. It is represented by the language of the Rāmāyana written by Mādhav Kandali, a poet of very high order.



(b) Late Middle Assamese from 1500 A.D. to 1650 A.D. The language prevailing in this period is well represented by the writings of Saṅkardeva and Madhavadeva, two great preachers of Neo-vaishnavism in Assam, and other vaishnavic literature.\*

IV. Modern Assamese: This may also be divided into—

(a) Early Modern from 1650 A.D. to 1840 A.D. The language of this period is presented by the 'Buranjis' or historical chronicles maintained in Assamese by Court historians of the Ahom kings. The earliest of them was written in Assamese about 1660 A.D.

(b) Late Modern from 1840 A.D. onwards. This date has been chosen because from this time there came a great change over the political, social and cultural life of the people. It is around this date that the country completely passed under the British rule; the Printing press was established and above all, the European language, literature and outlook was introduced through the establishment of High English schools and printing and publication of news papers—a totally foreign concept. Literature came to its own, being divorced from religion, in the form of poems, dramas and stories. A dictionary and a grammar were compiled giving a standard and stability to the language.

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\* Vaishnavism had been prevailing in Assam side by side with Shaivism and Shaktism since 10th century A.D. as appears from the copper plates of old kings. Sankardeva laid special emphasis on 'Nāma Dharma', that is, the merit of uttering God's name to the exclusion of other forms of worship.

## Chapter II.

### ASSAMESE ALPHABETS AND THEIR VALUES.

32. The sound system of Assamese language consists of six simple vowel sounds and two diphthongs expressed by ten letters. There are twenty six consonantal sounds expressed by thirty six letters and two signs, as shown in the following table:

Vowels	Guttural	Velar	Palatal	Alveolar	Labial
	অ, আ	ā	ই, ঐ	এ	উ, উ
					ও
Unvoiced explosive	—	ক, k	—	ট, t, ত	প, প
Unvoiced aspirate	—	খ, kh	—	ঠ, th, থ	ফ, ফ
Voiced explosive	—	গ, g	—	দ, d, ড	ব, ব
Voiced aspirate	—	ঘ, gh	—	ঢ, dh, ধ	ভ, ভ
				র, r, ৱ	
Nasal (voiced)	—	ঙ, ñ	ঞ, n	ন, n, ণ	ম, ম
Unvoiced spirant	স, s, শ, x	—	—	চ, ch, স	—
Voiced spirant	হ, h	—	—	জ, j, ঝ	—
Liquid	—	—	—	ঝ, ri, ড, ৱ	—
				ল, l	
Semivowel	—	—	য়, y	—	ৱ, w

There are two diphthongs ঐ, ai and ঔ, au; and the double consonant ক্ষ pronounced as 'khy' instead of its Sanskrit value 'kṣ'. In Middle Assamese there was also the letter ঞ which is an aspirated 'z'. But in Modern Assamese the sound has disappeared and so also the letter. The two signs 'ঐ' (ñ) and 'ঃ' (h) are half syllabic. They are affixed to other letters and cannot stand alone. There is also another half syllabic sign '৐' carrying a 't' value affixed to other letters. There is also the

‘candravindu’ ॠ, which gives a nasal twang to sounds represented by other letters. It is placed above that letter.

The Sanskrit cerebrals and dentals have merged and are pronounced as alveolars, a sound midway between dental and cerebral.

श, ष, ण, (x)

The three Sanskrit spirants (palatal, cerebral and dental) have lost their values in Assamese. Here they are alike pronounced as a silent guttural spirant represented by the International Phonetic sign ‘x’. This is a very distinctive sound in the language. It is not to be found in the neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages, such as, Bengali, Oriya, Bihari, Hindi, nor in the surrounding non-Aryan indigenous languages. But it is prevalent in some dialects of N.-West India, such as, Chamba, near Simla and Bhili in Rajputana. It was prevalent in Avestic (Proto-Iranian). cf. Avestic ‘xur’ for Skt. Sura (surya), the sun; Avestic ‘xar’ for Skt. ‘khar’ (ass). According to philologists some people of the Iranian branch of the Aryan race crossed over to Kāshmir and the surrounding country to mix with the local people.\* The ‘x’ sound, therefore, must have been brought by the first band of Indo-Aryan speakers who migrated to Assam from those parts as stated above.\*\* The Sanskrit letters श, ष, ण are retained as there is no separate letter for the ‘x’ sound. This has led to

\* The dialects that have grown up in these places are classed under the common name ‘Dardic’ (Piśāci in Prakṛt).

\*\* There are a few words in which the Sanskrit letters have retained their sibilant sound. Such words were imported lately eg, বাচণ for वाचन, vessel.

some anomaly as in many cases, especially in Proper nouns and in the numerals these letters are pronounced as in Sanskrit.

(During the last fifty years this 'x' sound is losing ground to the sibilant sound of শ, ষ and স . eg., সৰ, (all) is pronounced as 'sab', not as 'xab'. If we want to retain the 'x' sound of these letters then we can do it by placing a dot below these letters to represent the 'x' sound. Where there is no dot below the letters they should be pronounced as in Sanskrit.)

34. The question may be posed, how far back in the history of the language can this sound 'x' in these letters be traced; or is it only a recent development. Evidence on this point can be gathered only from old literature.

The oldest literature are, of course, the inscriptions on the Copper Plates issued by the Kings of ancient Kamarupa (7th to 11th century). But these were in Sanskrit. Here we find especially in the later ones that the letters শ, ষ and স were indiscriminately used. This shows that they lost their original values and were pronounced alike, most probably as in present day Assamese, i.e., as 'x'.

The earliest literature in Assamese is the Prahlād Carita by Hem Saraswati and Aśwamedha Parva by Harihar Vipra. Both wrote during the reign of Durlabhanārāyan of Kamatāpur, towards the end of the thirteenth century. Hem Saraswati wrote ব্ৰিগি for ঋষি, (sage); বংশ for বংশ, (lineage). This shows

that for want of a separate letter for the 'x' sound the writer used খ (kh) which is a near approach.

At the time of Saṅkaradeva this 'x' sound was more conspicuous than at present. For, the letters খ (kh) and হ (h) were also sometimes pronounced as 'x'. He (or his copyist) wrote 'আঞ্চলে মুচিলা আসি মুখ' 'with the end of the garment (she) wiped (her) eyes (আখি) and face'; (Bhāgavata 10th Chapter by Saṅkaradeva); সংস for শংখ, (conch); গ্রাস for গ্রাহ, (sea monster); নিগ্রসি for নিগ্রহি, (keeping in check); লাসে লাসে for লাহে লাহে, (slowly, derived from Skt. 'helā'); পোসৰ for পোহৰ, (light); গোৰখ for গোৰস milk. Here খ has been used in place of স, and স in place of হ and খ. It shows that স was not pronounced as 's' but as 'x', and both খ and হ were also sometimes pronounced as 'x'.

Ananta Kandali who wrote about a century later used পৰি, (entering) to rhyme with আখি, (eye); দোষ, (fault) to rhyme with মোহ, (ignorance) at the end of couplets. This shows that শ and ষ were not pronounced with their original sibilant sounds.

ক্ষ (khy)

35. This was originally a double consonant (kṣ). In Pāli, Prākṛt, Hindi, Oriyā and Bengali this double consonant changed to চ (c) and ছ (ch)—palatals. Assamese stands out as a pro-guttural language by always changing it to ক (k), খ (kh), হ (h) or

‘x’.\* The following examples show the different sounds of this letter ক্ষ:—

Original.	Pro-palatal.	Pro-guttural (Assamese).
শিক্ষা, to learn	—	শিক্
কক্ষ, side	B. কাছ	কাষ
কতিক্ষণ, when	কৈছন	কৈসানি, কাহানি
ক্ষণ, moment	H. ছন	খেন
ক্ষণিক, momentary	H. ছনিক	খন্তেকিয়া
ক্ষণকাল, short time	—	সোনকাল
ক্ষমহস্ত, able hand	—	সোঁহাত
ক্ষৰ, cough	ছেপ	সেপ্
ক্ষৰ, to fall	—	সৰ
কটাক্ষী, sidewise glance	—	কেৰাহী
ক্ষাৰ, alkali	ছাৰ	খাৰ
ক্ষুদ্র, small	Pk. ছদ্দ. ছোট্ট	সৰু
মক্ষি, fly	B. মাছি	মাখি
ভক্ষ, bhrakṣa, hypocrisy	—	ভুৰ্কাঁকয়া

\* The Indo-European languages are classified by linguists into two groups according to their treatment of certain guttural sounds. In one group (pro-guttural) these sounds remain as k, kh, g, gh, whereas in the other group (pro-palatal) as sh, c, ch, j. The former is called the ‘Kentum’ (Latin centum) group and the latter the ‘Satem’ group from the Sanskrit word ‘shatam’. It is generally believed that the Kentum group of languages is confined to Europe while the Satem group came to India. This theory is questionable, since in India words belonging to both these groups are found side by side. Sanskrit was originally a Satem language; when it developed outstripping its rivals by producing lasting literature it absorbed to advantage words of the opposite group also. The following pairs of words may be cited in evidence of the fact that people speaking Aryan language with both Satem and Kentum bias migrated to India.

36. Repugnance to palatal sounds is conspicuous in Assamese. The Sanskrit palatals 'c', 'ch', 'j', and 'jh' have been softened to supradentals or alveolar sibilants 's' and 'z'. Skt. चन्द्र moon; छत्र chatra, umbrella; जीव living thing, are pronounced as 'sandra', 'satra', 'ziwa'.\* The Skt. palatal sibilant श 'sh' has been changed to 'x' as already stated except (1) when it combines with another sound as in 'īswar'; (2) when it comes at the end of a word as in 'Rames', (name of a man); 'āthāis', twenty eight. Even in such cases it is pronounced not as a palatal but as a supradental sibilant 's'. The Skt. palatal semivowel य (y) is also pronounced as 'z' in initial positions. In other positions its original palatal value 'y' is retained, in which case a dot is placed below. eg., य in बिय (biyā, marriage); but 'यदि' (zadi, if); यत्न (zatna, effort).

Guttural form.	Palatal form.	Meaning.
कश्चु	শশু	the conch shell
कर्ण	অরন	the ear
কত, (Delhi language)	চত্বর	courtyard
ক্রথ	অথ	cut, injured
কর্ম	অম	work, labour
কৈলাস, (a certain mountain)	শৈলাঃ	hills, rocks
কর্দ, B. কাঁদা	শাদ	mud

\* In Persian also Skt. palatals are sometimes changed to supradentals; eg., Skt. jānu, knee P. zanu; Skt. jāta, born P. zada; Skt. prcha, P. purs, to ask. It is therefore clear that the first band of Indo-Aryan speakers who came to Assam from N.W. India is responsible for this tendency to change palatals to supradentals. Their language was influenced by old Persian.

37. This aversion to palatal sounds is responsible for the changes in the words below:—

Sanskrit.	Assamese
आयुस् āyus, duration of life	আউ, āu, (used by S.K.D.)
आयुस बट āyus baṭa, pipul tree	আউবৰ, āo bar (used in Buranjis)
উচ্ছিত, ucchrita, high	উশ্ৰিত, usrita (used by S.K.D.)
জ্যোতি jyoti, lustre	জোতি, joti (used in old copper plates also jeuti (Mod. A.)

Guttural form.	Palatal form.	Meaning.
কাকা (B.)	চাচা (H.)	uncle
কোব (A.)	চোপ (B.)	a blow with whip etc.
কবৰ	শবৰ	variegated in colour
কৰভ	শৰভ	young of elephant or tiger
ক্লান্তি	শ্রান্তি	fatigue
কিকট	চিকটা (A.)	miserly
কণ	শ্বন	scund
গণ	জন	people
মুকুটি (A.)	মুচুটি (Skt.)	blow with fist
দংক (Pk ), দাক (A.)	দংশ	bite
পকল	পচল	wind
ভিগা (H.)	ভিজা (B.)	wet
ওখ (A.)	উৰু (Skt.)	high
ফৰকাল (A.)	ফৰ্চা (H.)	fair weather
গল্প (B.)	জল্প	talking. story telling
কৰ্ষ	চাষ (B.)	to cultivate



Sanskṛt.	Assamese.
জ্যোতিষ্কৰ jyotiṣkar, bright	জাতিষ্কৰ jātiskar, illuminating
জলচৰ jalacar, aquatic	জলস্বৰ, jalasvar (used by S.K.D.)
ত্ৰংচ্ nyanic going downward	নেওচা যা, neocā jā (an imprecation)
ব্যৰ্থে vyarthe, in vain	ব্ৰেথ্, brette (used by S.K.D.)
ব্যাম vyāma, a measure of length with extended arms	beon, বেওঁ

### CEREBRALS AND DENTALS.

38. Cerebral sounds are produced by pressing the tip of the tongue against the hard palate. These sounds were absent in the original Aryan language. They are rare in Vedic Sanskrit; but are profuse in Pāli, Prākṛt, Hindi and Rājasthāni and to some extent in Bengali—The Assamese language is absolutely free from this sound. This has to be accounted for.\* Here the cerebrals and Dentals have been confused and are pronounced alike as alveolars or supradentals. But in orthography the Sanskrit way of spelling is maintained and therefore the cerebral letters are used. Usage is given more importance than to the actual sound of the letter, or than to the origin

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\* The cerebrals are absent also in the Dardic group of languages. As the first settlers of Indo-Aryan speakers came to Assam from those parts where the Dardic speakers prevailed as stated above, Assamese is therefore singularly free from cerebral sounds which were introduced into India by Dravidians who came from the West.

of the word which is often obscure. eg., টান , to stretch should be written as তান according to the origin of the words, ভন্ So ডেউকা, the wings of a bird, should be written 'দেউকা' (দেহ কোষ) and দুৰাৰ ডলি should be written দুৰাৰ দলি (দেহলি) ' Words of obscure origin and words of foreign origin are as a rule written with the cerebral letters.

### LABIALS.

39. The Sanskrit labials have retained their values in Assamese except that the labial semi-vowels ব (v) is pronounced as ব (b) in the initial position of a word, eg. বেদ (Veda) is pronounced as বেদ (bed), বৰ্ষা (varṣā, rainy season) as বাৰিষা (bārixā), বিল (vil, to divide) becomes বিলা (bilā, to distribute).

### LIQUIDS.

40. The liquids ব (r) and ল (l) are pronounced as supradentals. So is also pronounced the Sanskrit cerebral sound ড (ḍ) as ব (r) in non-initial positions. In initial position it is pronounced as দ (d) supradentally. The Sanskrit aspirated voiced cerebral ঢ is changed to an aspirated ব (r) in non-initial positions. In initial position it is also pronounced as ধ (dh). In non-initial positions a dot is placed below as ড and ঢ to indicate the (r) and (rh) sounds respectively. The (rh) sound is absent in Bengali. eg.

Assamese.	Bengali.	Hindi.
কাঢ় draw; (Skt. karṣa)	কাড়ো	काटना
গঢ় construct (Skt. saṅghaṭa)	গড়ো	गठना
পঢ় read (Skt. paṭh)	পড়ো	पठना
বুঢ়া old (Skt. vṛddha)	বুড়ো	बुढ़ा
বুঢ়ী old	বুড়ী	बुढ़ीया

### SEMI-VOWELS.

41. The palatal semi-vowel য (y) has retained its original value in Assamese in non-initial positions. In the initial position it has changed to (z) written as য (without the dot). The labial semi-vowel ব (v) also retained its original value only slightly changed that is from 'v' to 'w' in non-initial positions. But in initial position has changed to ব (b) as in Bengali.

### NASALS.

42. There are seven nasal signs in the language. ঙ and ঁ (anuswar) have the value of 'ng' in English 'fang', 'hang' etc. ঃ (candravindu) represents a nasal twang when placed above a letter (this will be represented by an italicised n); eg. খক (khank, greed). The other nasal letter ঞ represents a nasalised 'y', eg. ভূঞা = (ভূয়া̃ bhunyã, landlord). ণ and ন represent the 'n' sound in English. ম represents 'm'. A syllable nasalised by the *candravindu* makes a lot of difference in the meaning of the word; eg.

কাই (kāh, cough); কাঁহ (kānh, bell metal)  
 তাত (tāt, there); তাঁত (tānt, loom)  
 শাও (xāo, curse); শাঁও (xāon, black; mucus)  
 বাও (bāo, a kind of paddy); বাঁও (bāon, left)

The *candravindu* is a degenerated nasal occurring in the original word; eg. তাঁত from তন্ত্র (tantra); গাও from গ্রাম (village); শাও from শ্রাম (black).

## THE VOWELS.

আ ( ā )

43. It is a guttural sound with the tongue lying low and lips wide apart, as in pronouncing English 'father' 'part'. When attached to a consonant this sound is represented by the sign 'r'

অ ( a )

It is also a guttural sound like আ but with the back of the tongue very slightly raised so as to make it more backward and with the lips less apart than in pronouncing আ . Its natural sound is that of 'o' in English 'hot', 'pot' etc. But when followed by ই, ঐ (i) or উ, ঊ (u) the sound becomes higher and narrow as in pronouncing 'o' in 'hole', 'note' etc. It is produced by heaving the middle of the tongue upward with the lips rounded. When these two sounds of অ require to be discriminated from the point of sense, then the narrow sound is indicated by an apostrophe placed above the letter, eg. মহ (mah, mosquito); but ম'হ (ma'h, buffalo); মৰা (marā, dead) but ম'ৰা (ma'rā, peacock).

When followed by অ (ā), অ has always the broad sound as in মৰা (marā), কলা (kalā), লৰা (larā) meaning 'dead', 'deaf', and 'moving' respectively. But where the অ is followed by ই, ঐ (i) or উ, ঊ (u), the sound is always narrow, eg. ব'লী (ba'li, strong) from বল (bala, strength); গ'ৰু (ga'ru, cow).

But there are some exceptions. When a nasal sound intervenes between the অ and the following ই or ঐ the sound of অ remains unaffected. কণী (kaṇee, egg), ফনী (phanī, a comb), অমিতা (amitā). In the word গহীন (gahin) the sound of অ attached to গ is not narrow although followed by ঐ. The real word is গহন (gahana). See sec. 46.

In the following words the sound of অ attached to the first letter remains narrow although it is followed by an অ (ā); because an ই or উ has dropped after the অ (a); ক'লা (ka'lā, black) is derived from Pk. কউল (kaula, coudung) a thing black in colour). ম'ৰা (ma'rā, peacock) is from ময়ূৰ (mayur, peacock). ল'ৰা (la'rā, boy) is from লহৰা (lahurā), লেউৰা (launrā) in Kanauji dialect.

এ ( e )

This vowel has two values like অ (a). One is low-mid, produced by heaving the middle of the tongue with spread lips while pronouncing অ (ā). The International sign for this sound is  $\epsilon$ . It prevails in all Assamese words which are not 'tatsama'; eg. (perā, box) Skt. পেটক (peṭaka). The other sound of এ is mid-high produced by further raising

the middle of the tongue. This high-mid sound is prevalent in Sanskrit and Assamese 'tatsama' words like কেশৰ (kexawa).

When followed by ই, ঐ (i) or উ, ঊ (u) the sound of এ is always high-mid, eg. বেলি (beli, the sun), as against বেলা (bēlā, time); এৰি (eri, a kind of silk), as against এৰা (ērā, yes). When attached to a consonant the sound of এ is represented by the sign '৳', eg., কে (kē).

ও ( o )

The sound for which this letter stands is produced with the lips brought close to each other and rounded while pronouncing অ (a). The English 'o' in 'vocative' approaches it. It may be called a gutturo-labial low sound. When attached to a consonant this vowel is represented by the sign '৐', eg. পো (po, son).

উ, ঊ ( u )

In Assamese these two letters have equal value and stand for the sound produced by very close-rounding of the lips and raising the front part of the tongue while pronouncing অ' the higher sound of অ. It is same as 'u' in English 'put'. When attached to a consonant this sound represented by the sign '৑' or '৒', eg. কু, কূ (ku).

ই, ঐ ( i )

Both these letters stand for the same sound in Assamese which is equivalent to 'i' in English 'pin'. It is produced by further raising the front part of

the tongue while pronouncing এ (e). When attached to a consonant the sound is represented by ৰ or ৱ, eg. কি, কী (ki). ই, ঐ, উ, ঊ are high sounds.

### ঐ ( ai )

The original ঐ sound has disappeared in Assamese as in many other modern Indian languages except in 'tatsama' words. Thus তৈল (ta'ila, oil) has become তেল ( tɛl ) দৈতা (da'itya, demon) has become দ'ত (da't). But the diphthong has reappeared in Assamese through a combination of অ and ই, ঐ in consecutive syllables., eg. নদী (nadi) gave rise to নৈ (nái, river), পাত (pati) has given rise to পৈ (pái, husband), ঘৰিণী (গৃহিণী) gharini to ঘৈণী (ghainī, wife) etc. In vaishnavic literature of the 16th and 17th centuries we often come across words like দেখৈ (dekhái) for দেখই ( দ্রক্ষতি, drakṣati, sees), কহৈ (kahái) for কহই (kahai, kathayati, speaks) etc. This newly developed ঐ also degenerated to এ (ɛ) eg. কহৈ > কহে which again changed to কয় . When attached to a consonant the sound is represented by the sign ৐ ; eg. দৈ (dai, curd).

### ঔ ( au )

This diphthong has persisted in many cases, such as শৌচ (xaus, purification after voiding), যৌতুক (jau-tuk, dowry). In others it has degenerated to ও (o); eg. ধৌত (dhauta) changed to ধোৱা (dhowā, washed).

ঔ has also reappeared through the combination of অ and উ in two consecutive syllables; eg. ময়

(madhu, honey) > মউ, মৌ mau; বধু(badhu) > বৌ [(bau, mother). When attached to a consonant this sound is represented by the sign ৌ ; eg. সৌ (sau, that).

(ri)

Although in value it is a consonant it is conventional to treat it as a vowel and as such it is represented by the sign 'r' attached below a consonant letter; eg. ক্র (kri). [N.B. When no vowel sign is attached to a consonant letter in the beginning or middle of a word, it is supposed to be supported by অ (a).]

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### Chapter III.

#### THE LAWS OF STRESS-ACCENT IN ASSAMESE.

44. A perceptible accent is always avoided in Assamese language. Accent in Assamese is therefore very slight; yet it has played an important part in giving particular shapes to 'tadbhava' words which are many in this language and make it look different from the sister languages. The laws governing accent in this language may be stated as follows :—

45. I. Accent induces a strong vowel and a strong vowel induces accent; eg কশিৎ > কাচিৎ (kācit, rarely), অ in the first syllable is changed to আ in the derivative.

II. In modern standard Assamese accent is placed on the second syllable of a word.

Corollary—A weak vowel in the second syllable is, as a rule, replaced by a stronger vowel.

[From the standpoint of accent the vowels may be classified as follows :—

অ — weakest of the vowels.

এ, ও — weak vowels.

আ, ই, ঈ, উ উ — strong vowels.

ঐ, ঔ, ঋ — strongest vowels.]

46. In the following words the vowel in the second syllable is replaced by a stronger vowel :—

Original form.

Present form.

Skt. আত্মন > আপন self

আপোন

অগ্রহায়ণ, আঘন in L.A.

আঘোন a month

Original form.	Present form.
অৰহণা offering	অৰিহণা
Pāli এত্ৰক this much	Mid. A. এতৈক
কপোত a pigeon, dove	কপৌ
কান্দন ( ক্ৰন্দন ) crying	কান্দোন
কুৰব an osprey	কুৰুৱা
খুৰ leg of a bed-stead	খুৰা
খৰ, hot	খৰাং dry
গহন grave, dignified	গহীন
চেলং a cloth	চেলিং
চুল hair	চুলি
চোল a coat or jacket	চোলা
তৰৱাৰ a sword	তৰোৱাল
দৰশন seeing	দৰিশন
দাপন ( দৰ্পন ) a mirror	দাপোন
H. দেৱল a small temple	দেউল
H. নটুৱা a dancer	নটুৱা
নাচন Pk. নচন dancing	নাচোন
নাগৰী a certain script	নাগেৰী
পদম (পদ্ম) a lotus	পতুম
H. পছৰা West-Wind	পছোৱা
পঅ(দ)ভৰ	পয়োভৰ pomp with procession of many people
পাতকী a sinner	পাতেকী
পালঙ্ক a bed stead	পালেং
প্ৰতোলী a road	পদুলী
বামন a brāhmin	বামুন
ভেকলী a frog	ভেকুলী
মেখলা a waist band	মেখেলা, a petti-coat

Original form.	Present form.
লংঘন fasting	লঘোন
যোজনা, connecting together	যোজোনা saying based on similarity of sense
যৌতক, women's dowry	যৌতুক
শাসন, শাহন property covered by royal grant	শাহোন cf. ( বাপতি শাহোন, ancestral property)
সুবন্ধ, subterranean passage	সুকঙা a tunnel

III. Modern standard Assamese has a strong aversion to accent on the first syllable of a word.

Corollary—A strong vowel in the first syllable of a word is replaced by a weaker one.

ও is replaced by অ, অ', ও (o) উ (u) or আ (ā) ;  
 ঐ is replaced by অ', ই (i) or এ (e); আ (ā) is replaced by এ (ɛ) or অ (a) ; ই, ঈ (i) by এ (ɛ); উ, ঊ (u) by ও (o);  
 এ (ɛ) and ও (o) by অ (a).

47.

Original form.	Changed present form.
H. আটা wheat flour	এটাগুৰি
আদা ginger	এদা
ইন্দুৰ mouse	এন্দুৰ
P. উস্তাদ expert	ওস্তাদ
P. উজ্বৰ complaint	ওজ্বৰ
উপচয়, excess, heap	ওপচ to over-flow
Mid. A. উপং to float	ওপং
Pk. উৰ end or beginning	ওৰ
উপৰ, up	ওপৰ
Mid. A. উপজয়, born	ওপজে
Pk. উল্লহ, come out	ওলা come out or go out

Original form.	Present form.
Mid. A. উহনায় উংশনোতি একল, alone	অনায়, ওনায় overhear অকল
H. Brajabhakha ঔক, and ঔশান, a direction of the compass	আক অহিন
H. কাইয়া, cunning and miser	কেঞা a class of traders
B. কাটাৰী, (Skt. কটোৰ a weapon	কটাৰী knife
B. কাঁসাৰ, (কাংসাকাৰ) a brazier	কাঁহাৰ
কিঞ্চুল earthworm	কেঁচু
কুচ্, to contract	কোচ
B. কুম্ভো, gourd	কোমোৰা
Mid. A. কুমৰ, prince	কোঞৰ
H. কোন who	কোন
জম্বক mustachio	গোঁফ
Mid. A. গৈল went	গ'ল, B. গেল
গোধূলি time of sunset	গধূলি
H. ঘুপ dark	ঘোপ মৰা very dark
চলুক hollow of the hand	চলু
চেলী a chip of wood	চলি
চৈত্র a month of the year	চ'ত
H. ছিকুনী a stick	চেকনী a whip
H. চোঁৰা a terrace to sit on and talk	চ'ৰা ঘৰ drawing room
H. ছাৰনী huts for soldiers	চেউনী trunk road made by soldiers south of the Brahmaputra
ছিদ্র weak point	চেলু advantage taken of a weakness

Original form.	Present form.
জুট matted hair	জোটে লাগ get tangled as hair or rope
H. জুতা shoe	জোতা
টোকে to approach	টুকিপা to reach up
টোকিত offered, given as present	টুকা finished, being given away
তাৰা a star	তৰা
তুল to lift	তোল
B. থৈকৰ an acid fruit	থেকেৰা
H. দিৱাৰ, a wall	দেৱাল
H. দিশাৰবী (অপৰদেশীয়) a foreigner	দেচুৱালী an upcountry man
P. দুকান a shop	দোকান
দ্রৌপদী wife of Yudhisthira	দ্রোপদী
দৈৰ্ঘ্য length	দীঘ
ধাৱক a washerman	ধোবা
H. ধাঙৰ a low caste man	ধেঙৰ
পৈন্ধ (পৰিনদ্ধ) dressed in cloth	পিন্ধ
পোণ্ডু a kind of sugar cane	পুঁৰা
H. পুছ to ask; Skt. পৃচ্ছ, পোছ as in শোধ পোছ	
পুঞ্চৰ lake or pond	E.A. পোখৰ
পিনয়তি from পিল, to throw	পেলায়
পোঁষ a month of the year	পুহ
পুত্ৰ son	পো
ফুকাৰ to sob	ফোকাৰ, as in নিশাস ফোকাৰ heaving a sigh
H. বিলগ separate	বেলেগ
P. বাজাৰ market	বজাৰ
P. বীমাৰী illness	বেমাৰ
B. বাঁকা bent	বঁকা
H. বৈঠৰা flat	ব'ঠা, an oar

Original form.	Present form.
ভিত্তি plinth	ভেটি
ভিদ্ to penetrate	ভেজ্
H. ভূখ্ hunger	ভোক
মূল্য value	মোল worth
P. মুষ্কিল difficult	মক্ষিল্
H. মুহানা mouth of a river	মোহনা
H. মোনা a basket	মোনা a bag
P. মোম wax	মম্
P. মুহৰ gold coin	মোহৰ
লিখ to write	লেখ

(It is therefore more natural to write লেখ্ instead of লিখ্, which actually means drawing or picturing).

লিখ্য the egg of a louse	লেখি
লিষ্ট dragged	লেটি ল
P. লিফাফা an envelope	লেখাফা
H. লূতা spider	লেতা chrysalis
H. লোঁড়া boy, Kanauji—	ল'ৰা

লহৰা

লোহিত্য the Brahmaputra	লুইত
শিৰাল moss	শেলায়
সিন্দূৰ vermillion	সেন্দূৰ
সীমন্ত parting line of hair	সেওঁতা
হিংগূল vermillion	হেঙুল
Mid. A. স্মৰ remember	সোঁৰৰ
H. সোঁদাগৰ merchant	সদাগৰ
হিক্কাতি hiccoughs	হেক্কাটি

(Words like হৈছে, গৈছে etc. appear to begin with a strong vowel. But they should actually be written

as হইছে, গইছে according to actual pronunciation, being derived from হই + আছে ; গই + আছে )

48. IV. If a conjunct occurs in the first syllable of a word the accent falls on that syllable. If it occurs in a syllable other than the first, then the accent falls on the syllable just preceding; eg, গৱন (accent on the first syllable); স্থিৰতা (accent on the first syllable); অৱস্থা (accent on the second syllable); অপৱিত্ত (accent on the third syllable).

49. In the following words a conjunct occurs in the first syllable. Hence according to law IV the accent falls on that syllable; but this militates against law III which operates to minimise the accent on the first syllable by destroying the conjunct. One of the consonants forming the conjunct is eliminated eg,

Original form.	Changed form.
গ্ৰাম village	গাওঁ
গুচ্ move, go	গুচ go hence
দ্রোণ a measure of grains or land	দোণ
ত্ৰিনি three	তিনি
ত্ৰট্ to decrease	টুট্
দ্রক্ষতি sees	দেখই, দেখে
( দ্রক্ষ to see occurs in the epics)	
স্তূপ a mound or a pile	টুপ, the summit
স্থগিকা a wooden tray	ঠগী, ঠগা
স্তুতি praying	তুতি
স্তকা the hip	টকা

Original form.	Changed form.
স্তম্ভ to suppress or stop	তস্ত cf. শোকক তস্তায় -S.K.D.
স্থাবৰ fixed	ঠাবৰ
স্থিত standing	থিয় erect.
স্থল large	থুল congregation, large
স্থান place	থান
স্থালী a cooking pot	থালী a large metallic vessel
স্থিতি position, place	থিতি
স্নাপয়, to bathe (transitive)	নোৱা
স্নেহ, affection	নেহা, Mid. A
স্বশাটী, daughter-in-law. (cf. বধুটী)	নেহাৰী, used by M.K.
প্রতি, each	পতি, গাইপতি, per each
প্রলম্ব, late	পলম
প্রসাৰ, spreading	পোহাৰ, a shop
প্রস্তাৰ, flat grassy land	পথাৰ
প্রেষ, to send	পেষ, Mid. A.
প্ৰেক্ষ, to see	পেখ, Mid. A
ফাট, to crack	ফাট
ফুট, to be holed.	ফুট
ফুলিঙ্গ, spark of fire	ফি বঙ্গতি
বা, to open	বা, বেস্ত বা, open the mouth.
ব্যাপাৰ, business	বেপাৰ
ব্ৰড, to sink	বুড, বুৰ
ভাতৃজ brother's son.	ভতিজা

50. In the following words a conjunct occurs in the second syllable thereby inducing accent on the first syllable (law IV). This militates against law III which operates to relieve the accent on the first syllable by destroying the conjunct in the second syllable. One of the consonants forming the con-



junct is eliminated. In the changed form of the word the accent falls on the second syllable.

Original form.	Changed form.
অস্থান, improper place	এথানী having no home
উংকুণ, a louse	ওকনি
উদ্ধান, fire place	উধান supports for a pot on the fire
উষ্ট্র, a camel	ঊট
Pk. উল্লহ, thatching grass.	উলু
Pk. উঠ্ঠ, (উথ), stand up.	উঠ
উৎসাহ, energy, enthusiasm.	উছাহ
উল্লাস, buoyancy, delight.	উলাহ
উংক্ৰোশ, an osprey.	উকহ
ওল্ল, hostage.	ওল
কুলা, a winnowing fan.	কুলা
কুঠ, leprosy	কুঠ, কুঠীয়া
কুকুৰ dog.	কুকুৰ
কুদাল a hoe.	কোদাল, কোৰ
চিকন, glossy	চিকোন, shiny
চিক, musk rat.	চিকা,
চক্ষু, eye	চকু
জৈষ্ঠ, a month of the year.	জেষ্ট
ডিম্ব, egg	ডিম্
তাম্বুল, betel nut	তামোন
তত্ব, true nature, truth	তত, তত ধৰ understand
তিক্ত, bitter	তিতা
তিংত (তিমিত) wet	তিতা
তীক্ষণ, sharp	তিখা
Pk. তুম্হ, you	তুম
তুল্য, equal	তুল, cf. নাহি তাৰ তুল Mid. A.

Original form.	Changed form.
ধাতু, paddy	ধান
নিক (নিক্ত), washed	নিকা, clean
নিঝৰ, a mountain torrent	নিজৰা, a streamlet
নিষ্কাল, drive away	নিকাল, (used by S.K.D.)
নিম্নাঙ্কিত, looked down	নিমাখিত, lowly; humble;
পূব east	পূব
Pk. বিটী, daughter	বেটী, maid-servant
বুদ্ধি, intelligence	বুধি
বড়, great	বৰ,
ভগ্নী sister	ভনী
ভাদ্র, a month of the year	ভাদ
মাত্র, only	মাথোঁ
Pk. মিছা (মিথ্যা) false	মিছা
শিল্পিনী, woman-artist	শিপিনী
H. সাক্ষা (সত্য) true	সচা

51. In the following words a conjunct occurs in the second syllable inducing an accent on the first syllable (Law IV). But this militates against Law III. As a result of this conflict of tendencies the word undergoes a change called anaptyxis (svara-bhakti). In the changed condition of the word the accent on the first syllable is destroyed.

Original form.	Changed form.
অন্য others	অইন
অল্প little	অলপ
B. আংটি, (P. angustari, ring)	আঙটি
আব্রু, (P. ābru, privacy)	আবুৰ
কৰ্ম, religious rite	কৰম
অপ্সৰা, celestial damsel	অপেখৰা

## Original form.

## Changed form.

Arabic. খম্চ, five	খামোচ a grip with all the five fingers
H. গগ্রী, water jar	গাগৰি
নেত্র, silk cloth	নেতৰ (in Mid. A.)
বক্র, bent	বৈকোৰা
বংশ, genealogy	বঙহ
H. বূর্জ, a bastion	বুৰ্জ
বর্ণ, colour	বৰণ
Turk. বুক্চা a load, burden	বোকোচা, a load on the back
ভৎস, to defile, rebuke	ভৰচ
ভিক্ষু, a beggar	ভিকছ (a poor man)
ভক্তি, devotion	ভকতি
P. মর্দ, man	মৰধ
মাংস, meat	মঙহ
মার্জ, wipe	মলচ (Mid. A.)
মুক্তি, salvation ...	মুকুতি
মুখ্য, chief	মুখীয়া, মুখিয়াল
লিপ্ত, to adhere	লেপেটা to sit with cross legs on the ground
সৰ, all	সৰব, সৰব জান all knowing
সিক্য a sling of ropes to hang things	সিকিয়া
স্বপ্ন, dream	সপোন
হন্তে (Conditional suffix used in Mid. A.)	হেতেন

(হন্তে is possibly derived from Vedic হন্ত which means good-luck, gladness etc. eg 'হন্ত আচাৰ্য পৃচ্ছামি' would be glad to ask my teacher. 'হন্ত উদ্গীথে কথং

বদাম, we would like to talk about 'udgeetha'.

Dr. Chatterjee derives হন্ত from M.I.A. সন্ত )

52. In the following words a conjunct occurs in the first syllable inducing accent on that syllable. Here also in order to destroy the accent the word undergoes anaptyxis.

Original form.	Present form.
খ্যাতি, fame	খিয়াতি
গ্রাস, a mouthful	গৰাহ
গ্লাচ glass	গিলাচ
দ্রব, to run	লৰব, লৰ
দ্রব্য, medicine, drug	দৰব
দ্বাৰ, door	তুৱাৰ
দ্রোণ, a kind of herb	দোৰোণ
ধ্বং, sure	ধুকপ
ধ্যায়তি, meditates	ধিয়ায়
জায়, justice	নিয়ায়
H. প্যাস, thirst	পিয়াহ
শ্রাদ্ধ, offering oblation to deceased.	শৰাধ
স্নেহ, affection	চেনেহ
স্মৰ, remember	স্মৰ
স্বাদ, taste	সোৱাদ
স্বীকাৰ, to admit or own	সই কাঢ়
স্ত্রী, woman	তিৰি
স্ত্রীতা, womanhood	তিৰোতা
শ্লথ, slack, untied	সোলথ, সোলক

53. In the following words the vowel of the syllable preceding a syllable with a conjunct is

strengthened owing to the accent induced in that syllable.

Original form.	Present form.
কৰন্তা, doer	কৰোঁতা
দেখন্তা, one who sees	দেখোঁতা
বিচাৰন্তা, one who seeks	বিচাৰোঁতা
দেখন্তে, শুনন্তে, while seeing and hearing	দেখোঁতে, শুনোঁতে

54. In the following words Laws II and III operate to weaken the vowel in the first syllable and to strengthen the vowel of the second syllable.

Original form.	Present form.
আলস্ত্ৰ, idleness	এলাহ
গ্রাম্য, belonging to village.	গঞা
জাল, eyelet	জলা
Pk. ডল্ল, a wooden or bamboo tray	ডলা
Pk. ঢিল্ল, slack	ঢিলা
তাল, a lock	তলা
ধূম, smoke	ধোৰাঁ
ধাক, a support	ঢোকা
ধোত, washed	ধুতি
নাল, a tube	নলা
পুল, a bundle	পোলা
পট্ট, slab of stone	পটা
পৃষ্ঠ, back	পিঠি
ৰাচ, a kind of fish	ৰচা
বাঢ়ম, very well, be it so.	বাৰু
ৰাতঃ, wind, air	বতাহ
ৰন্ত্ৰ, the foot-stock of a fruit	ৰেঁটু

Original form.	Present form.
ৰুক, the heart	বুক
ৰুচিক, scorpion	বিছা
ভিও, a wall	ভেঁটা a dam
সংস, a skeleton	সঁজা a cage

54(a). In some cases only the vowel of the second syllable is strengthened to support an accent there. eg, খৰ, sunshine, changes to খৰা; cf মাৰ মাসে খৰা পোআই ৰাজা গোঁড়েশ্বৰ, —Gopichander Gān, (the King of Gaur basks in the sun in the month of Māgha).

55. When there is a conflict of stress-accent owing to the operation of the above laws, a sort of compromise is arrived at. In the following words the strong accent on the first syllable induced by a conjunct in the second syllable is on the one hand reduced by destroying the conjunct by eliminating one of the consonants; on the other hand, the weak vowel of the first syllable is replaced by a stronger vowel by way of compensation. Accent induced by a strong vowel is less than that induced by a conjunct.

In the following words অ in the first syllable is replaced by আ, এ or ও ; and ও by উ .

Original form.	Present form.
অন, to-day	আজি
অন্ত, end	আঁত
অন্ত্ৰ, entrails	আঁত
অষ্ট, eight	আঠ

Original form.	Present form.
অগ্র, front, first	আগ
অন্তৰ, distance	আঁতৰ
কংকটি, a comb	কাঁকৈ
কচ্ছটী, cloth	কাচুটি
কৰ্ম, work	কাম
কল্য yesterday	কাৰলি
খল্ল, ditch	খাল
গ্রস্থি, knot	গাঁঠি
গগু, pillow	গাৰু
গণ্ডি, trunk of a tree	গাঁড়ি the body
গল্ল, cheek	গাল
গৰ্ভিনী, pregnant	গাভিৰী
ঘাট্ট, landing place, steps on river-side.	ঘাট
চত্ৰৰ, a quadrangle	চে তাল
চৰ্ৰ chewing	চোৰা
Pk. ঢংকণ, a cover	ঢাকোন
তক্ৰু, a spindle	তাকুৰী
তত্ৰ, there	তাত
দন্ত, teeth	দাঁত
দৰ্পণ, mirror	দাপোন
বৰ্ষ, violating	ধাহ
Pk. নচনী, a female dancer	নাচনী
Pk. নত্তি, (নপ্ত) grandson	নাতি
পৰ্ৰ, a joint	পাব
পত্ৰ, leaf	পাত
প্রোষ্ঠী, a kind of small fish.	পুঠী
পঙ্ক, mud	পেঁক (in L.A.)
পল্যঙ্ক, bedstead	পালোং

Original form.	Present form.
Pk. পথৰ (প্ৰস্তৰ), stone	পাথৰ
বক্ত্ৰ, the mouth	বেক্ত্ৰ, বেঁত cf. 'বেক্ত্ৰ বাইল', opened the mouth, —Mid. A.
H. বৰী, cropped hair	বাবৰি, bushy hair
H. বন্দুহা tempest	বানাহ (in L.A.)
H. বঢ়নী, a broom	বাঢ়নী
Pk. ভত্ত (ভক্ত), boiled rice.	ভাত
Pk. ভাল (ভদ্র); good	ভাল
H. ভব্কি; threat	ভাব্কি
ভদ্র, good	ভোদা, simpleton
মণ্ড, gruel	মাড়
মন্ত্ৰ, to call	মাত
মৰ্ষ, condone	মোষ (Mid. A.)
লক্তক, tattered cloth	লেটা cf. লেটাকানি
সৰ্প, serpent	সাপ
সকয়, to store	সাঁচ
সপ্ত, seven	সাত
সন্তৰ, swim	সাঁতোৰ
সকৰ, transmit contagion	সোঁচৰ

56. There are some exceptions to this compensatory lengthening of the first syllable.

(a) When the second syllable is supported by অ (ā) then the অ (a) of the first syllable is not lengthened to অ (ā). The language does not tolerate two consecutive অ (ā) in the first two syllables. eg:

Original form.	Present form.
H. কট্টা a measure	কঠা, not কাঠা
কঙ্কাল, skeleton	কঁকাল. not কাঁকাল



কৰ্পাস, cotton	কপাহ, (not কাপাহ )
কৰ্মাৰ a smith	কমাৰ, (not কামাৰ)
চণ্ডাল, a low caste man	চড়াল
মন্দাৰ kind of tree	মদাৰ
প্ৰস্তাৰ low grassy land	পথাৰ, a field,

(b) When compensatory lengthening may cause confusion of meaning. eg; গগু means both 'a boil' and a 'rhinoceros'. গাঁড় is used to denote a 'boil' and গঁড় to denote a 'rhino'. পখ means both a 'wing' and a 'fortnight'. পাখ is used for the 'wing' and পখ for 'fortnight'. মণ্ডল gives both মৰল and মাৰল; the former is applied to mean 'halo of light' and the latter to the 'sitting room'.

57. In the following words the accent is on the first syllable. In order to avoid it a vowel আ, অ, ও or উ generally, is prefixed, so that the accented syllable automatically becomes the second syllable. Thus—

বল, to stretch	becomes ওবল, torn by stretching
P. বাৰিছ, guardian	ওবাৰিছ
থৈ, parched grain	আঠৈ
ঘাতিন, killer	অঘাইতং dreadful
ছৰ্দ্, to throw	আছাৰ (to throw with jerk)
লম্ব, perpendicular	ওলম্ব, ওলোম, to hang perpendicularly
স্ফায়তে, swells	উফায়
নাহক without cause	অনাহক

মদ্য, wine	অমদ্য, Mid. A
A. লেতিয়া adhering (লিপ্ত) আলতীয়া, sticky	
বালব্রহ্ম, god-like child,	অবাল ব্রহ্ম
innocent	
কুমাৰী, a virgin	অকুমাৰী
মূৰ্ত্ত, embodied	অমূৰ্ত্তক (fierce)

Law V. A syllable preceeding or following an accented syllable tends to drop off.

58. In the following words the first syllable has dropped off as the succeeding syllable is accented:—

অহুমান, inference	উমান, indirect knowledge
অপক্ৰব, the anus	পোকৰ
Pk. অপাগড, abnormal	পাগল, mad
(অপ্রকৃত)	
অপস্মৰ, to forget	পাহৰ
অভ্যন্তৰ, inside	ভিতৰ
অৰহৰ, kind of pulse	ৰহৰ
অসৌ, that	সৌ
অমামসী, no-moon night	আউঁসী (মামসী)
উচ্চাৰ to utter	চাৰ (eg. চাৰ ৰাম নাম)
	—S.K.D.)
Mid. A. ইহাক্ৰ, him	আক্ৰ, আক (Mid. A.)
আমৰ্ঠ (অমৃষ্ট) unpleasant	মৰ্ঠ, obstinate
H. উধাৰ, loan (উদ্ধাৰ)	ধাৰ
উপানহ, slipper, shoe	পানৈ (Mid. A.)
Pk. উবৰ্জ্জেশ, to sit	
(উপৰিষ )	বহিস*, বহ

একুনিব্বিংশ, nineteen	উনৈশ্
Mid. A. এহিমান, this much	ইমান
Pk. তেতিমান, so much	তিমান
ৰিটংক. loftiest place	টং, টঙি (a lofty platform in the field).
বিবাহিতা, married	বেইতা
B. মাচান (মঞ্চ), a raised platform of wood or bamboo	চাং

58(a). In the following words the syllable following the accented syllable has been dropped:—

গাত্ৰ, body (accent on first syllable)	গা
অসাবধান, careless (accent on the second syllable).	অসোধন, used by M.K.
দেখিয়, seen, in early Mid. A.	দেখি
পানীয়, water, (accent on the second syllable)	পানী
প্ৰহৰ, a period of 2½ hours (accent on first syllable)	পৰ
বাহ, to push; (H) to push the plough	বা to push
বুঝিয়, understood; early Mid. A.	বুজি
ব্যৱসায়, business, (accent on first and third syll.)	বেহা
অৰাচ্য, not worthy to be uttered	অৰাইচ্, অভইচ্ (only two syllables)

## 59. Emphasis on the sense of a word.

In the language there is a habit of drawing special attention to the sense of a word when it is used to convey a sense of the 'undesirable' or 'excessive'. In order to draw this attention the privative অ prefixed to a word is intensified, that is, changed to a stronger vowel, namely, আ (ā). Sometimes an অ is prefixed to the word.

A. অগঢ়ী not shapely or good-looking	আগঢ়ী
অথট্টি, childish pranks	আথট্টি, trouble by children
অবেলি, untimely	আবেলি, afternoon
অকাল, bad times	আকাল, famine
অতিকৈ, excessively	আতিকৈ
অতিশয়, too much	আতিশয়, (Mid. A.)
অপাশ, not worthy to be seen	আপাশ ugly
অপৰিণত, unripe	আপৰিণত
অপূৰ্ণীয়, not existing before	আপূৰ্ণীয়, rare
অবিরাহিত, unmarried	আবিরহৈ
অলয়, homeless	আলৈ, homelessness
অস্থান, having no place	এথানি state of homelessness
A. অভূৰা, not understanding	আভূৰা ভাঁড়, pretending not to understand
অভোক, want of appetite	আভোক
E.A. অসোধন, careless	আসোধন
অসদৃশ, not similar	আসদিস quaint Mid. A.
অস্থান, improper place	আথান delicate part of the body
অজনা, ignorant	আজলা, very simple
অত্যাদ্ভূত, অস্বভাবিক, unusual, unnatural	আচহুৰা, strange

অলব, unable to move	আলব
বিহীনে, without	অবিহনে (accent on second syllable caused হী to হ

60. No accent is perceptible even in the second syllable of a word where the first syllable is supported and the second syllable is not supported by a strong vowel; as in the following words:—

ইকৰা, কাৰণ, বৈতৰনী (reed, cause, river in Hades).

### CONTRACTION OF WORDS.

61. Many long words in the language become shorter by dropping off one or two syllables either at the end or beginning.

গৰ্ভৰূপ, grown up, juvenile	গাভৰু, গভুৰা
বাল্গ্নিখৰ, shoulder blade	বাউঙ্গী
সম্প্রদী, mother-in-law	শাহ
পৰিচিনোতি, recognises	চিনে
জলাবিল, a lake	বিল
জলায়ুক, a leech	জোক
বৃক্ষমৰ্কটিকা, the squirrel	কেকেটুৰা

62. Sometimes two words are joined together to form a new word. In such cases the last consonant of the first word or the first vowel of the second word is dropped to form the new word. If the second word begins with a consonant the last vowel of the first word is dropped. The new word is a contracted form of the two words put together.

আকাশ জৰী, a sling from the roof to hang things on	একাজী
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এক জন, one person	এজন
নৱ গুণ, the sacred thread	লগুণ
বীজ ধান, seed-paddy	বীধান
মাধৱ দেৱ, well-known saint of Assam	মাধদেউ
সত্ৰ কৰি, speedily	সতকাই, বববৰুৱাবোলে “ভাল যাওক কিন্তু সতকাই আহিব” Buranji

গোমা অৱস্থা, angry state	গোমোঠা, sullen, glowering.
খাই আছো, I am eating	খাইছো
খামআহি, I shall eat after coming	খাম্হি
জুই শাল, fire place	জুহাল
জয়কাৰ, triumph-shouting	জোকাৰ, cf. উৰলা জোকাৰ
দুই প্ৰহৰ, two periods	দুপৰ, mid-day
হাতে এৰে, with the hand*	হাতেৰে

In the following combination the second word loses the first two syllables;

আদ (অৰ্ধ) বয়সীয়া (middle aged) giving আদহীয়া  
The word আখল (cooking place) which shortened to আখা in Bengali is most likely from অক্ষ শালা which in the Arthashāstra means fireplace where goldsmiths work.

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\* The source of the instrumental suffix এৰে, is not definitely known. Dr. B. Kakaty derives it from কেৰ (কৃত) and cites in support a line from Rukminiharan Kāvya of Sankardeva as follows:— “হেন শিশুপালকেৰে দিবো আমি বিহা” —with such a Sisupal I shall give in marriage (my sister). But the correct reading of the line in the text is— ‘হেন শিশুপাল কেছে দিবো আমি বিহা’ it is only to such a (heroic) Sisupal I shall give my sister in marriage. Sankardeva

In Bengali the words আমাদের and আমাদিগের are the results of the combination of the pairs; আমি আদির (myself and others of my class); and আমি আদিকের

### PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES UNDERGONE BY CONSONANTS.

64. The consonants began to undergo changes and decay since the earliest times, notably since Pali appeared on the scene (circa 550 B.C.). These changes have been continuing unhindered since then until they have been arrested by the growth and spread of modern literature. The principal changes undergone are the following :—

- (1) Assimilation of consonants in conjunct.
- (2) Voicing of unvoiced consonants.
- (3) Loss of consonants.
- (4) Aspiration of the explosives.
- (5) De-aspiration.
- (6) Decay of the aspirates.
- (7) De-voicing.
- (8) Interchange of the gutturals and the

labials.

never used কেৰে in his works, nor did any other Vaishnavic writers of Assam. They always used এৰে in the sense of 'With'. এৰে is most likely derived as follows: সমেত (with) > এত > এড, এৰ plus Instrumental এ, cf. সৰ্মৈ used in Lower Assam in the sense of 'with'.

(9) Interchange of the gutturals and the alveolars.

(10) Palatalisation of the dentals.

(11) Nasalisation and De-nasalisation.

(12) Metathesis and Miscellaneous changes.

### ASSIMILATION OF CONSONANTS IN CONJUNCT.

65. This was the first step in phonetic decay that came over the Sanskrit language and gave rise to Pali and the other Prakṛts. The first consonant in the conjunct is in many cases assimilated to the second so that the same is doubled. This doubling of consonant in place of a conjunct which was a characteristic of the Middle Indo-Aryan stage of the Indian languages, was simplified in the modern period. In the process the preceding vowel is often strengthened. Where য়, ব, ল, র combines with another consonant to form a conjunct, these are generally assimilated to the other consonant.

O.I.A.	M.I.A.	N.I.A.
অগ্র, front, before.	অগ্গ	আগ
আশু, got	অট্ট	আট, to suffice
উষ্ট্র, camel	উট্ট	উট
কর্ম, work	কম্ম	কাম
কুন্ড, hump	কুজ্জ	কুঁজ
চক্র, wheel	চক্ক	চাক
নক্ৰ, nose	নক্ক	নাক
পত্র, leaf	পত্ত	পাত
ভক্ত, boiled rice	ভত্ত	ভাত



O.I.A.	M.I.A.	N.I.A.
বক্ৰ, bent	বংক	বেঁকা
বক্ৰ, the mouth	বংত*	বেন্ত, বেঁত,
শিষ্টে, what is left	শিট্টা*	শিটা, refuse after squeezing
সপ্ত, seven	সত্ত	সাত

## VOICING OF THE UNVOICED CONSONANTS.

66. Voicing of the unvoiced consonants, especially the explosive ones was very common in late M.I.A. Many words so changed have come down to modern period. Here are some instances:—

ক (k) changing to গ (g).

Pk. কুচ্, to follow

গুড়, cf. খোজ গুড়ি ভালুকৰ  
গৰ্ত প ইলা হৰি  
(following the track  
of the bear etc.)  
—S.K.D.

পাক, to cook

পগা, to boil milk etc.

শোক, sorrow

শোগ

বক, crane

বগ, বগলী

শকুন, vulture

শগুন

শূকৰ, a hog

শূগৰী ( kind of small  
deer)

খ (kh) to ঘ (gh)—

H. উখাৰ (উংখাত)

উখাল, to uproot.

ছ (ch) to জ (jh)—

ছুপ, a shrub

B. ৰোপ > A. জোপা

ত (t) to দ (d)—

হুৰাহুৰি, in haste	Mid. A. দৰদৰি
প্ৰতৌলী, a road	পদলী
ৰাতুলী, a bat	বাহুলী
P. দফ্তৰ, office	দোপদৰ, (used in Buranji)

ট (ṭ) to ড, দ (d)—

হুপুট, up and down	Pk. থউড, up and down
খেট, chase, hunting	খেদ, drive away.

থ (th), to ধ, ঢ (dh)—

Pk. থউড, up and down	ঢউ, ঢৌ, wave
মেথি, a pillar	মেধি, the principal officer in a monastery (Satra)

প (p) to ব (b)—

Mid. A. পাঘ (প্ৰগ্ৰহ)	বাঘজৰী, the reins
সংপুট, to embrace	সাবট

শ, ষ, স (x) to হ (h)—

আশু, quickly	আহু ধান, a kind of paddy that matures early.
পশু, animal	পহু, deer
আষাৰ, third month of Indian Calendar	আহাৰ
মাস, pulse	মাহ

### LOSS OF CONSONANTS.

67. The gradual enfeeblement of articulation resulted in the loss of many consonants in the late M.I.A. (Apabhraṁśa) period, so much so, that words

became unintelligible. Modern languages emerged as a challenge to stop this rot.

(a) Loss of ক (k)—

আকুল, dishevelled, as hair	আউল
উদক্যা, woman in her courses	Mid. A. উদয়া, cow in heat. cf. 'উদয়াৰ ষাণ্ট' a bull following a cow in heat—S.K.D.
কেকৰ, squint-eyed	কেৰা
জহক, a kind of wild cat	জহামাল, odoriferous wild cat.
ডাকিনী, female imp	ডাইনী
নকুল, mongoose	নেউল
মুকুল, blossoms	Pk. মউল > A মল
মাক মৰা, whose mother is dead	মা-মৰা
বধকী, carpenter	বাটৈ

(b) Loss of খ (kh)—

গাইমুখা cow-faced	গাইমুৰা beardless face
মুখকৰ, turn the face	মু-কৰ turn the face towards a certain direction

The word আমুৰা is basically used for “distaste in mouth” and is therefore probably derived from ‘আমুখা’ and not from ‘অম্বাপয়’ which means ‘causing acidity’ (Vide Section 733, Dr. Kakaty’s Assamese: Its formation etc.).

(c) Loss of গ (g)—

Mid. A. ষাগী experienced	ষাই, chief
প্রসুগ, straight	পোন
ভগ্নী sister	ভনী, younger sister

Mid. A. লাগি from লগ্, to have an effect on, eg; যাইবাক লাগি, to cause going. লগ্ also means 'coming in contact'. eg; ঘৰক লাগি to come in contact with home, that is, to home. লাগি changes to লৈ dropping গ

লগুৰ, a cudgel

লক, stick.

সুগন্ধা, sweet-scented

সোন্দা a kind of plantain.

(d) Loss of চ (c)—

পঞ্চদিন, five days

পান্‌দিন, পাঁদিন (collq.)

দ্বিচত্বাৰিংশ, forty-two

বিআলিশ্

(e) Loss of জ (j)—

খুজিছে, he wants

খুইছ, he wants (collq)

মাজনিশা, mid-night

মা-নিশা

মাজতোলা collector of

rations for the abbot

of a monastery

সাতোলা

(f) Loss of ড

Pk.খউড, up and down

টউ, ঢৌ, waves.

বড়, big

বড়, বৰ

(g) Loss of ৰ্ণ (n)—

ঘূৰ্ণ, to whirl

ঘূৰ, to turn round

(h) Loss of ত (t). This is very general; here are a few instances:

অশিতি, eighty

আশী

অন্তৰ, impediment, screen

আঁৰ

কতিমান, how much

কেইমান, কিমান

খাতি, digging

খাই, moat cf; গড়াখাই

embankment and

ditch.

চতুঃষষ্টি, sixty four

চৌষষ্টি

তাতব্য, father's equal	তাঁৰে, father's friend
পতি, husband	পৈ
পিবতি, he drinks	E.A. পিৰৈ, পিয়ে (Mod).
ৰাত, wind	বা
শত, hundred	শ

(i) Loss of দ (d)—

আদৃশ (আদর্শ) model	Mid. A. আৰিস, Mod. আৰ্হি
কদল, plantain	কল
কেদাৰিকা, land overgrown with grass	কেৰাৰী, unfit for cultivation
ক্ষুদ্র, small	সক, (xaru) small
ছদ্ to cover roof with thatch	ছা
ছেদ. to cut, a section	ছেও
পদস্থান, the foot of a bed	পথান, (generally ভৰিপথান)
মদি, a kind of harrow	মৈ, a ladder
সদৃশ. like, similar	Mid. A. সৰি, equal similar.

(j) Loss of ধ (dh)—

গোম্বি, iguana	গুঁই
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(k) Loss of ন (n)—

মাৰণী, a killer goddess	মাৰৈ, goddess of snakes
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(l) Loss of প (p)—

আতপী, dried in sun	আৰৈ, not parboiled
উপকাৰিকা, royal tent	ওৰাৰি
কপাদিকা, cowrie, shell	কড়ি
নপাৰ, can not	নোৰাৰ
পিপাসা, thirst	পিআহ, পিয়াহ
বপ্ৰী, high land	বৰি, বৰি মাটি

বপ, to weave	ব
স্বপ, sleep	শো
সৰিপষ (সর্ষপ), mustard	সৰিয়হ

## (m) Loss of ফ (ph) and ব (b)—

কণ্টাফল, the jack fruit (used in old inscriptions)	কঁঠাল
Arabic অৰ্বা, four	অঁৰা
B. সবুজ, green (P.Sabz)	সেউজীয়া

## (n) Loss of ম (m)—

পস্মৰ (অপস্মৰ), to forget	পাসৰ, পাহৰ
আত্মা, self	আতৈ, term of addressing a God's devotee

## (o) Loss of য় (y)—

এল্লয়, (এহি নয়), this method এহেন, হেন such	
ছায়া, shadow, shade	ছাঁ
ময়ূৰ, peacock	মউৰ, ম'ৰা

## (p) Loss of ব (r)—

ৰিজু (ঝজু) straight	উজু
কৰ্মাৰ, (blacksmith)	কমাৰ
কৰি, having done	কৈ, (adverbial affix)
গৰ্ব, pride	গপ
ভদ্র, good	ভোদা (too simple and good)
ভ্রম, a fountain	ভোম, a hole

## (q) Loss of ল (l)—

কালিলৈ, tomorrow	কাইলৈ
গুলা, cluster	গোম, গোমা, (cf. বতৰ গোমা weather thickening with cloud.

Mid. A. মলছ (মাজ্) to wipe মছ

Mid. A. আলোজ (আৰ্জ) to bend আওজ to recline

(r) Loss of ৰ (w)—

উৰী, earth

উই white ants that  
generally live in  
anthills made of  
earth.

অবস্থান্তৰ, altered condition অখন্তৰ, misfortune.

আমাসৰাৰ, of us all

আমাৰ

তোমাসৰাত, in you all

তোমাসাত

তোমাসৰাক you all (in the  
accusative case)

তোমাসাক (Mid. A.)

(We need not go to the inscriptional সংক  
(Satka) for the derivation of the above forms (Vide  
Dr. Chatterji's O.D.B.L. sec. 504 and Dr. Kakati's  
Assamese: It's formations and development sec.  
626. Sripuria and Purnea 'hamsār' (our) is from  
'ham savār', of us all; Bhojpuria 'ghorāsā' (horses)  
is from 'ghorā sava' all the horses).

কৰত a saw কৰপত্ৰ

কৰত

কৰক, headless ghost.

কক

পলৰ, basket for catching  
fish

পল

প্ৰৱেশ + ইল, entered

পশিল Mid. A.

ৰাক্ষৰী, kinswoman

ৰাক্ষৈ

বেসৰাৰ, mustard condiment

বেহাৰ, mustard

ৰোদা, wet

ওদা, moist

ৰাজন, condiment

আঞ্জা, curry

নৰ, new

ন

লৰৰ, to run (Mid. A.)

লৰ

## (t) Loss of হ, (h)—

In many cases O.I.A. শ, ষ, স changed to হ and this হ disappeared in Modern Assamese.

Pk. অম্‌হে, we, (Vedic অস্মে) আমি, we

Pk. অমহাৰ, our (অস্মদঃ) আমাৰ

Mid. A. এহৌ (এষাম্) এওঁ, this person  
honourific

Mid. A. এহি (এতদহি) this এই this  
very one

E. Mid. A. অহিত্ৰ (অশ্বিন্ + ত্ৰ) here ক্ৰৈত here (Mid. A.)

P. আলহাদা, separate H. আন্দা, A. আলাদা

Mid. A. ইহাক্‌ him (denoting ইয়াক him  
proximity)

Pk. উল্লুহ thatching grass উলু

Mid. A. কহয়, says কয়

E. Mid. A. কহিৰ, of where? Mid. A. কৈৰ Mod. ক'ৰ

H. গহৰা (গহৰৰ) deep গৰা precipice.

Mid. A. চিঁহৰ, to scream চিঞৰ

E. Mid. A. তাহান (তেষাং) his তান (Mid. A.)  
(honorific)

E. Mid. A. তহিত (তস্মিন্ + ত্ৰ) তৈত, ত'ত  
there

Pk. H. তুম্‌হে, you তুমি (singular)

H. তেৰহ (ত্ৰয়োদশ) thirteen তেৰ

Pk. দেহৰ, temple দেউৰী, priest of a temple

Pk. দাহক, (দাত্যুহ) ডাউক, the gallinule

Mid. A. নাই (Pk. নথি নাই is not

বহ, the shoulder of an ox ব

বাহ, to exert বা, to push boat, plough  
or anything.



বাহুশিখৰ, the shoulder-blade.	বাউসী
Mid. A. বিহা, marriage	বিয়া
বহি, carrier	বনি, exciting cause of illness
Mid. A. যাহা go	যা
মহাৰ্ঘ; costly	মৰগ
Mid. A. বহ, বঞ্চ, wait	ব
লৌহ, iron	লো
শিহা, roots	শিয়া, শিয়াৰ
সহিত (সহ ইতঃ), gone together	সৈতে, with
Mid. A. শুহায়, adorns.	শুৰায়

68. Loss of Double Consonants—

এৰণ্ড, castor plants	এৰা
গাত্ৰ, body	গা
চত্ৰাৰি, four	চাৰি
ধুত, floating	উট to float.

ASPIRATION OF THE EXPLOSIVES.

69. In Prakṛt explosives in conjunct with শ, ষ, স changed to aspirates. Words so formed have come down to Modern languages.

আসুত (spread)	Pk. অথুঅ
(a bed)	আঠুৰা, a mosquito curtain
স্তবক, a bunch	থোক
স্তবক, Pk. থড্‌ট, paralised	থৰ, stiff
স্তম্ভ, pillar	থম, থাম, থম-থমকৈ (without motion)
স্থূপ, a collection	থোপ; থূপ, gathered together.

পুস্তিকা, book (Pk. পোৎখিআ)	পুথি
প্রস্তাব, grassy land	পথাৰ a field
অষ্ট, eight	আঠ
দৃষ্ট, seen	দিঠ, দিঠক (woken state)
পিষ্টক, cake	পিঠা
পুষ্ট, nourished	পুঠ
Cf. তপউপবাসে দেহা আছিল সুখাই।	
ভোগ ভুঞ্জিলাত যেন আপুনি পুঠায় ॥	

“Like the human body which had withered through penance and fasting became fat after eating regular food”.—S.K.D.

মুষ্টি, the fist	মুঠি
স্প (sp) changed to	ফ (ph)—
স্পন্দ, to throb	ফন্দ, ফন্দিয়া ধৰ (to throb)
স্ক, স্ক (sk) changed to	খ (kh)—
পুষ্কৰ, a lake or pond	Pk. পোক্খৰ, A. পুখুৰী (diminutive form)
ভাস্কৰ প্রিয়, ruby	বাখৰ
শুক, dry	Mid. A. শুখান, (dried)

70. Sometimes an explosive combines with a শ, ষ, স or হ in the vicinity to form a corresponding aspirate.

H. উম্‌কানা, lifting	ওখোন, a stick to lift the straw while threshing paddy
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এগাশদ\* eleven (একাদশ) এঘাৰ

Mid. A. কংহ, anger (ক্ৰোধ) খং

Mid. A. কংহাল, angry (ক্ৰোধাল) খঙাল

Cf.; “কংহাল গোমৰ নয়” like an angry snake—M.K.  
also cf. “কংসাল সাপৰ যেন লেজে দেস পাৰ” as if  
you are treading on the tail of an angry snake.  
—S.K.D.

গদহ*, ass (গৰ্দভ)	গাধ
গৃহ, house	ঘৰ
গৃহিনী. house-wife	ঘৰিণী, ঘৈনী
গ্রহণ, acceptance	ঘেন, to accept
পৃথং, a drop	ফোট, a drop of any liquid or its mark on the body.

বাহগত, getting pain(বাধগত) ভাগৰ, fatigue

বিবাহ, marriage Mid. A. বিভা

বোধ, sense,

knowledge (বোধ) ভূ-পা to understand  
ভূ, knowledge

H. পগহা, reins (প্রগ্রহ) পঘা, a rope to tie cattle

Mid. A. পেহলা, to throw.

(পিল) B. ফেলা

বহতী, a flowing stream ভাটী; H ভাঠী, down stream.

Bihari ডহৰ, flood (হুদ) ঢল, inundation.

Mid. A. নাহিকে (is not) Bihari নাইখে

70(a). Aspiration is often due to too much  
stress being placed on a syllable, in pronouncing  
a word.

অৰাচ্য, not proper to be  
uttered

অভইচ্, obscene

অৰূপেশ্বৰ, formless God;  
Shiva

হাৰূপেশ্বৰ, a capital town of  
old Assam

আকটী\* অৱকট, downward হাকুটী, a hook to pull  
down with.

ঈপ্সা, longing

হীপ্সা\*, হেপাহ

উৎসৱ, merriment

হুচৰি, merry making on  
New Year's day

H. ওৰা, a basket

হোৰা, (basket)

কৰল, mouthful

B. খাবলা

কীলক, a wedge

খিলা খিলি, a bolt, wedge.

Cf. “ভকত সৰু ভকত ডাঙৰ, ভকত মাজৰ খিলা ।

চাঙৰ তলত ভকত আছে দেখি নেদেখিলা ॥

—saints there are small and big; others in between as a wedge. But saints are even in lowly stations whom you see but fail to recognise”—Mystic Vaishnavic sayings.

ক্ৰীড়া, play

খেলা

ক্ৰোড়, the hollow in a tree খোৰোং

কুৰ্চিকা, coagulated milk

খিৰিচা খিৰিচীয়া

Cf. সত্য সন্ধ্যা বোলে অৰে চণ্ডৰী শুনিও;

শঙ্কৰক লাগি ঘন খিৰিছা কৰিও ।

—Life of Sankardeva.

গুণ্দিচা, daughter of king

Indradyumna

ঘুহুচা,

H. টাংগ, the leg (টংগা)

ঠেং

ত্ৰোটী, bill of a bird

ঠোট (beak) থুতৰি, the chin;

থোৰা the pestle of a  
Dhenki

দণ্ড কাক, the raven

Mid. A. ডোণ্ডা কাক; চোঁৰা  
কাউৰী

দুৰাহ, violent wind

ধুয়াহ > ধুমুহা

পৰ্ম্মুক্তি\* (প্ৰমুক্ত) hurled

কৰ্ম্মুঠি, any missile



ত, ট, (t, t) changed to থ (th) and ঠ (th)—

কট, grass (H. কটেয়া)	কঠিয়া, paddy-seedlings
কট, a mat	কঠ
পূৰ্ত, full	পুৰঠ, mature, as a fruit.
ভিত্তি, plinth, foundation	ভিঠা, ভিঠি (in L.A.)
মাত্র, only	মাথোন
H. মোটা, only	মঠা, coarse, said of rice.
সত্ত্ব, Swim	Mid. A. সাছোৰ
হাৰীত, green pigeon	হাইঠা
হাৰাশান্তি, loss of peace	Mid. A. হাৰাশাহি
ত্ৰোটা, bill of a bird	খুতৰি, chin

ড, দ (d, d) to ধ (dh)—

জড, dull	জধামূৰ্খ, stupid
P. মৰ্দ, man	মৰধ

Cf. “বাহে বলধ, ভাতে মৰধ;” a bullock thrives on grass and a man on rice.

হাৰদী* (হৰিদ্ৰা)	হলধি, yellow turmeric
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### DE-ASPIRATION.

72. De-aspiration is a feature of Modern Assamese. It is also the characteristic of some people who find it difficult to pronounce an aspirate; such as the Miris and the people of East Bengal.

ক্ষ (kṣ), খ (kh) change to ক (k)—

Mid. A. চখ্ (চক্ষ) eye	চকু
Pk. চক্খ, to taste	চাক
H. চোখা (চোক্ষ) sharp	চোকা
H. খাংখাৰ, phlegm	খেঁকাৰ

Mid. A. খিলিংকাৰ disgrace কেলেংকাৰ, scandal

দক্ষ, expert

ডাক, a wise man

ভূ-মুখ, water-spring

ভূমুক, a spring ভূমুকি, appearance

শিক্ষা, teaching, learning শিক্ষা, learning

Mid. A. শুখা, to dry (শুক) শুকা

P. সখত্., strong

শকত, stout

খ (kh), ঘ (gh) to গ (g)—

বৈশাখ, first month of the

Hindu calender . . . ব'হাগ

মহাৰ্ঘ, costly

মৰগ

Pk. ঘোল, to mix

গোল; to mix in water.

72(a). ঝ (jh) to জ (j)—

Mid. A. ওঝা, teacher

(উপাধ্যায়) ওজা

ঝৰ, heat

জহ

H. ঝক, emotion

জঁক

Pk. ঝাংখ, to tease

জোকা

H. ঝগৰা, quarrel

জগৰ, offence

ঝম্প, jump, leaping

জাপ মাৰ, to leap

H. ঝাঁক, a flock

জাক

Pk. ঝম্প, to cover

জাপ, fold; জপা, to close

H. ঝলানা, to repair

জাল, to solder a rent

ঝিলিকা, light of sunshine

জিলিক্, to shine

Pk. ঝাপুৰ, a cottage

জুপুৰি, a hut

ঝিলি, cricket

জিলি

নিঝাৰ, a spring or

waterfall

নিজৰা, mountain stream

ঝাট, forest, thicket

জাৰ, জাৰনি, tangled forest

ঠ (th) to ট (t)—

Pk. পইঠ, a path	পটি, a path beaten by use.
কঠোৰ, hard	কটুৰ, hard, harsh
H. কঠৰা, a wooden tub	কটৰা, the fulcrum of the ‘dhenki’
H. ঠাঠ, pomp	ঠাট

72(b). ক্খ (kth), স্থ, (sth), থ (th) change to ত (t)—

H. লথৰ-পথৰ, besmeared	লেতেৰা-পেতেৰা, dirty
শপথ, swearing	শপত
সিক্খ, bees-wax	মৌসিতা, (misspelt) সিটা
হস্ত, hand (Pk. হথ)	হাত
হস্তী, elephant (Pk. হংথি)	হাতী
শিবস্থান, the head of bed	শিতান

ধ (dh) to দ (d)—

আধিক্য, excess	আদিকা
ঔষধি, medicinal herb	আহুদি, herbal medicine to influence the mind.
শুদ্ধ, pure	শুদা, without anything else.

ঢ (dh), ৱ (rh), হ্র (hr) to ব (r)—

বাঢ়ম, very well	বাক, well, be it so
H. ওঢ়নী, a veil	ওৰণী
বেঢ়, to enclose (ৱেহু)	বেৰা, anything with which a place is enclosed.

ফ (ph) to প (p)—

শিক্কা, fibrous roots	শিপা
P. গিলাফ, a sheath	গিলিপ, pillow-cover

ভ (bh) to ব (b)—

ভাস্কৰ প্ৰিয়, ruby	বাথৰ
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হ্ৰ (hn) to ন (n)—

চিহ্ন, sign	চিন
Pk. কন্ধ, Krisna	কানাই
Pk. জোন্‌হা, moon-light	
	(জ্যোৎস্না) জোনাক
এহুয়, like this	এনে
তেহুয়, like that	তেনে
যেহুয়, like which	যেনে

[এহুয়, তেহুয়, যেহুয় are old Assamese forms most likely derived from এহি নয়, তেহি নয় and বেহি নয় where নয় means ‘manner’, method, instead of from ‘aiśaṇa’, ‘taiśaṇa’ ‘jaiśaṇa’; as these words convey a temporal sense being derived from ‘ehikṣaṇa,’ ‘tehikṣaṇa,’ ‘jehikṣaṇa.’ Vide Sec. 238, 698 of Dr. Kakati’s ‘Assamese : Its formation’ etc.

### DECAY OF THE ASPIRATES.

73. Sometimes an aspirate disintegrates into an explosive and the glottal fricative হ (h).

ভ (bh) to ব (b) and হ (h)

ভগ্নীশ, husband of one’s sister > বহিনীহ > বৈনাই

B. ভানে (ভনক্তি), hulling paddy > Mid. A বহানে > বানে

cf. “বহানে পতান যেন তওলক আশে” —S.K.D.

সভা, meeting. সভাহ, assembly to offer prayer to God.

74. The aspirates ফ্ৰ, খ্ৰ, ষ্ৰ, ঝ্ৰ, ঠ্ৰ, ঢ্ৰ, ঞ্ৰ, ধ্ৰ, ফ্ৰ, and ভ্ৰ were replaced by হ (h) in the M.I.A. stage. This

process has continued since, to be arrested only in the Modern period. Eg;

ভৰতি, is, becomes	Pk. হোতি
লোভ, greed	Pk. লোহ
নাথ, lord, husband	Pk. নাহ
বক্ষ, wait	বহ > ব
উথোৱা (উথ), parboiled in a pot	উহোৱা boiled

Pk. থকুট, rough	থহটা
দ্বিখণ্ড, two pieces	দোহাৰ (Mid. A)

cf. “কৈক যাবি নৰসিংহ কৰিবো দোহাৰ” —S.K.D.

শিখৰ, to stand on end, as hair শিহৰ

Pk. ঘাভ to be defeated	হাৰ
H. চিংঘাৰ to scream	Mid. A. চিঁহৰ > চিঞৰ
লঘু, লঘুৱী, not heavy	লাহী, not thick
লঘুক, light	লেহুকা pliant
B. ঝাপসা, force of wind	হাপাস

Cf. “হাপাস লাগিল ঘুমতি ভাগিল” —S.K.D.

Pk. ঢল, to incline	হাল, হল
Mid. A এখাত, (Pk. অংথ)	এহেত, near here.
কথয়তি says	কহয়
কথানিকা, short story >	H. কহানি, কাহিনী, narration
যাথ, you go (plural number)	যাহ > যা
Mid. A তথাত, Pk. তংথ (তত্ৰ), there, double locative	তেহেত

Pk. নংথি (নাস্তি) is not	Mid. A নাহি
B. থৰথৰি trembling	থৰহৰি (কম্পমান)
ক্ৰোধাল, angry	কংহাল, (Mid. A)
দধি, curdled milk	দহি, দৈ
ৰাধগত, getting pain	বাহগৰ* > ভাগৰ

74(b). ধ, (rdh) > ঢ (rh)

ৰধ'কি, carpenter	বাঢ়ৈ
ৰধ'নী, a broom	বাঢ়নী
শিফা, fibrous roots.	শিহা
কুকুভ, a wild cock	কুকুহা
নিভাল, to see	নিহাল

cf. “উঠিল পৰ্বতে তাৰ খোজক নিহালি”—S.K.D.

প্ৰভাত + ইল, dawned      পোহাইল > পুৰালে

(Mid. A). ভৈল, became

(ভৰতি + ইল) হৈল, হ'ল

ভাৰাতুৰ, perplexed      হাৰাখুৰি perplexity

শোভতে, adorns      শুহায় (Mid. A).

## DE—VOICING

75. Devoicing of voiced consonants came to prominence in the modern period. It is due to the influence of speakers of non-Aryan origin some of whose dialects are devoid of voiced consonants; eg, the Āhom language.

গ (g) > ক (k):

Pk. উগ্, to rise      উক্ দে, to relapse, as a disease.

Pk. উগ্গাল, to vomit      ওকাল

H. শুদুদা, to tickle      কুৰকুৰা

B. মাগী, woman (মাৰ্গ + ইন্) মাইকী, female, wife.

P. বাজীগৰ, magician      বাজীকৰ,

ঘ (gh) > খ (kh): ঘুণ,  
a kind of insect that  
damages timber

খুন, defect

cf. “একে অঙ্গে নাহি খতি খুন”  
—S.K.D.

জ, য (j) > চ (c):

তিৰ্যক, oblique    তেৰেচা, তেৰেচীয়া

মজ্জা, the marrow

মুচ, the womb

cf. “শচতো নাই, মচতো নাই”  
neither in the seed,  
nor in the womb

H. বিজ্ঞা, a fan (ব্যজন)

বিচনী

প্রাজন, a goad

(a) ଆଜ୍ଞା an agent deputed  
to urge people.

(b) પાઠ્ઠનિ, a whip (Mid. A)

(c) পাঞ্চনি, bidding

cf. “কংসৰ পাঞ্চনি পাই যত দৈত্য আছে”

—all those demons who received bidding from Kansa.  
—S.K.D.

75(a). ନି (d) > ଡ, ତ (t):—

P. আনাড়, to throw

আন্তাজ, to guess

আদায়, finished

আটাই, all, leaving nothing.

ছদ, to cover

ছাট, to overcast

6 (dh) > f (th) :—

দৃঢ়, firm.

ଢ଼ାଢ଼ି, firm, thick.

cf. “ইকাৰ্শে জানিবা মই ডাঠ” kuow that I am firm  
in this business ... S.K.D.

જુ, વ (w,b) > પ (p):—

P. কিতাব, book

কিতাপ

P. খেতাব, honour

যিতাপ

ବର୍ଷ, to burn (Sindhi)

পোষ

बन, to burn (H)

পোল (Mid. A).

cf. “শুন হেৰ কুলি, তই সি মাৰ পুলি”

Hear oh cuckoo, it is you who kill me burning  
—(with your melody)—S.K.D.

Pk. থকুল, mouth	খোপ, a step, notch
গৰ; pride	গপ
জীৱা, water	জীপ, moisture for plants.
ধাৱ, to run	ধাপলি, running
ধুৱ, sure	ধুকপ
নিতম্ব, the buttocks	তপিনা
ৰেপ, tremble with fear	পেপুৱা, terrified.
ৰাতান, chaff	পতান

(For ৰাতান see list of eleventh century Assamese words under section 31 above)

সৰ'এব, all	সোপাই
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হ> (h) স (x):

গ্ৰাহ, seamonster	গ্ৰাস, (used by S.K.D.)
নিগ্ৰহি, keeping in check	নিগ্ৰসি (Do Do)
লাহে লাহে, slowly (হেলা)	লাসে-লাসে (Do Do)

### GUTTURALISATION OF LABIALS.

76. The interchange of gutturals and labials occurred in the different branches of the Indo-European language in the remote past. It is curious to find this tendency very strong in Assamese language. Here it is more in favour of gutturalisation than the opposite, although the latter often occurs. We find it in Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Hindi, although very rarely. Compare the following pairs of words:—

Greek .Bous; Latin Bos	Skt. গো, cattle
Do Barys	Do গৰীয়স্, heavy
Do Boukolos (herdsmen)	গোকুল, cattle rearing tribe

Skt. পঞ্চ, five	Lat. Quinque
Do বিস্তাৰ, (to spread)	Persian, Gustar
Do বক্তৃতা, (To speak)	Do Gaftan (to speak)
Do পুৰীষ, (cowdung)	Skt. কৰীষ

76 (a). প (p) changed to ক (k):—

আত্মতৎপৰী, careful of one's  
own interest. আটোমটোকাৰী, thrifty and  
tidy.

পূৰ্বীয়, easterly	কুৰুৱা, easterly wind.
A. ঘোপ, dark	ঘোক, out of the way place
A. ঘোপ, to scoop	ঘোক, to dig
B. পটোল,	
a creeper yielding	কোৰোলানতি (mis-spelt
a fruit for vegetable	কেৰোলানতি)
A. লেপেটা, (লিপ্ত)	লেকেটা, sticky, not brittle
ক্ষেত্ৰপৰ্ণি, a kind of herb	ষেতকপৰা

ফ (ph) changed to খ (kh):—

ফোপ্‌ডাং, vain boasting	খোক্‌ডাং, also ডাংকোপ (occurs in Buranji)
উফি, dandruff	উখি, (in L.A.)

ব (b) and ৰ (w) changed to গ (g).—

B. বুটাম, a button	গুদাম
অপূৰ্বীয়, not existing before	আপূৰ্ণগীয়া rarely available
ডম্বৰ, famous, proud	(ডাঙ্গৰ) ডাঙৰীয়া, noble man
ভুৰ'হ, heavy	বহু'হ* > গধুৰ
Pāli. বৃক্ষ, tree (বৃক্ষ)	গছ (গছ, late Skt)
বৈৰী, enemy	গৰীয়া, a Muslim (cf. H. গৈৰ)

B. বো আনা, bringing home

the bride H. গৌনা

ব্যাবৰ্ত, to turn round বাগৰ, to turn, to roll

বিবৰ্ত, to alter in condition বিগৰ, to deteriorate

B. A. বোবা dumb

H. গুঁগা,

The Hindi Future particle ग (g) is only a gutturalised form of the Assamese-Bengali Future particle ব (b). Thus,

Mid. A. কৰিবোঁ, I shall do H. কৰুঁগা

Mid. A. যাইবোঁ, I shall go H. জাউঁগা

ভ (bh) changed to ষ (gh):—

উভা, erected (উৰ্ধ্ব)

উষা, a spindle stuck erect  
on earth to spread the  
warp from.

ভ্রষ্ট, lost, deprived

Pk, ঘট্ট, ঘাটখা, defeated,  
cheated.

ভ্রমন, travelling

H. ঘূমনা, roaming

অদ্ভূত, strange

H, অজ্জুৎ. (de-aspirated).

ম (m) changed to ঙ (n):—

কামৰতী, lustful

কাঙৰী, কাউৰী

তিগ্ৰ্ম, very sharp

টেঙা, sour

তমান, withe of bamboo

তঙাল

B. লম্বা, tall

লেঙা, very tall

A. স্মৰে, remembers (স্মৰ) সোঙৰে, (Early Bengali)

শিমলুগুৰি, (name of a place) হিঙলুগুৰি, (in Buranji)

## GUTTURALS CHANGED TO LABIALS.

77. This reverse process also often operates:—

ক (k) changed to প (p)

ক্রোধ, anger পোন্দা, to look angrily

B. টাক, baldness (Skt. ত্বক) তপা, bald

H. ফোক, hollow ফোপ. a hole, the anus.

H. ফোকলা, hollow ফোপোলা

A. থোক (স্তরক) a bunch থোপা

H. ঢক্না, to cever H. ঢাপ্না, to conceal

H. চিংকবৰা, variegated in  
colour চিংপখৰা

গ (g) changed to ব (b):—

গিলা, (plural suffix in L.A.) বিলাক, (plural suffix).

গুণ্ডা, powder বন্দা মাৰ, beating to dust

গোস্থান, a place for cattle বাধান

Pk. গোণা, a bull বোন্দা মেকুৰী, a male cat

A. গৈ থাক, go on বৈ, go on

নাগৰ-নাগৰী a dandy of H. বনৰা-বনৰী groom and  
town and his his bride  
female counterpart

ঘ (gh) changed to ভ (bh)

\* ঘেদাইলতা ভেদাইলতা

অংঘৰি\* leg (অংঘ্রি) ভৰি, leg

A. উঘাল, to uproot (Skt.

(উংখাৰ) উভাল

ঙ (ṅ) Changed to ম (m):—

A. সেঙেতা, (সিক্ত) moistened সেমেকা, moist



# GUTTURALISATION OF ALVEOLARS

78. ত (t) changes to ক (k):—

উত, woven	উকা, plain woven without embroidery
চমং (কাৰ), surprise	চমক্, চক্, startle
B. তেছা, oblique (তিবশ্ৰী)	কেৰেচীয়া,
জিত্, winning	জিক্, to win
ধীত, soaked, sucked.	জেকা, water-sucked H. ধীকা
স্থিত	ধিক
দাহত (দাহতু), the gullinule	ডাউক,
কৃতচ্যুত, dropped, finished	H. কৰচুকা,

The Third Personal suffix 'tu' in the Singular Number, Imperative Mood (O.I.A.) has changed to 'uk' in Bengali, to 'ok' in Mid. A. and 'ak' in modern Assamese. It is not a mere pleonastic accretion.

কৰোতু, let him do	B. কৰক্, A. কৰোক, কৰক
যাতু, let him go	B. যাউক, A. যাওক্, যক্
ভৰতু, let it be	B. হউক, A. হওক, হক

থ (th) changed to খ (kh):—

Pk. থংভ a pillar (স্তম্ভ)	H. থংভ
Mid. A. এখাত, at this place	এখেত, the honourable person here.
Mid. A. তখাত, at that place	তেখেত, that honourable person.
এখাত যখাত, তখাত, were used as Adverbs of	place in Mid. A.
B. উথল, bubbling up	উথল-মাথল, bustle, hubbub

B. এই থানে, (স্থানে), in this B. এখানে  
place

B. সেই থানে, in that place B. সেখানে

থাম (স্থামন), stamina থামি, courage. Eg, থামি ডাঠ  
(courageous)

শ্লথ, untied শোলথ, শোলক, to become  
untied, loose.

79. ড, দ (d,d) change to গ (g):—

ছিদ, to break asunder ছিগ্

Pk. চড্ড thunder চৰগ, lightning-stroke.  
(চৰগ পৰ)

ছিদ্র, vulnerable point ছেগ্, opportunity.

তণ্ডক (tandaka), a cheat টেঙ্গৰ, টেঙৰ (tengar, tenar)  
cunning.

দণ্ড, a staff or wand Pk. ডংগা, a bar. (A. ডাং)

নির্দট, slanderous নির্গত, shameless.

পদ, foot H. পগ্

বদৰি, plum বগৰি

ভিদ, to pass through H. ভিগা, soaked, wet

হদন, evacuation of ordure হগন, হগা

ধ (dh) change to ঘ (gh):—

Pk. ধাভী, leader ঘাগী cf. আছে এক নন্দ

গোৱালৰ ঘাগী, Nanda the  
leader of the herdsmen.  
—S.K.D.

ন (n) change to ঙ (ñ):—

H. ঝুল্‌না, to hang জোলোঙা, a wallet hanging  
from the shoulder

দোলন, hanging দলং, a bridge.

পতন, fall পতং, fall, death

বিতান, spread বিতং in detail

গ (gn) changes to ঙ (ng):—

নগ্নতা, nudity নঙ্গঠা, নঙঠা, naked B. ন্যাংটা  
অগ্ন্যবস্থা, state of fire অঙ্গঠা, অঙঠা, live charcoal

# GUTTURALS CHANGE TO ALVEOLARS.

80. Here are some cases of gutturals changing to alveolars.

ক (k) to ট, ত, (t):—

Cf; Skt. মাতলি and মাকলি (both names for Indra's charioteer)

কিবীট, diadem Pk. তিড়িড

গোক, cast off skin of  
snakes etc.

মোট

চাকি, a lamp H. চিবাগ চাটি (in L. A.)

শলিকা, the wick of a lamp শলিতা (Sec. 192 of Dr. Kakati's "Assamese: Its Formation.")

খ (kb) to ঠ, থ (th):—

Pk. থিলিআ(কীলক) ঠিলা

a wedge or pin or bottle stopper

A. থোলা, hollow fragment ঠোলা, a cup made of leaf.

নিমাখিত (নিম্নাঙ্কিত)

looked down B. নিমাখিত, humble.

গ (g) to দ (d): P. গালিচা দলিচা  
carpet

ঘ (gh) to ধ (dh):—

ঘুনীয়া (defective) ধেনা

ঙ (ñ) to ন (n):—

মৎগ, in company (সঙ্গে) B. সনে

গ্ন (gn) to গ্ণ (ṇḍ):—

নগ্ন, naked

লগ্ণা, Cf. “লগ্ণা টিকা পাৰি”

—Mid. A with buttocks  
uncovered.

## INTERCHANGE OF GUTTURALS AND PALATALS

For illustrations see section 35 (Foot note) above.

### PALATALISATION OF DENTALS.

81. This began in the M.-I.-A. period. Words so formed have come to present times, but pronounced supradentally.

ত, ত্য, (t,ty) change to

চ, (c):—

তক্ষ, to pare

Pk. চংছ, A. চাঁচ

Old Bengali তাউল,

চাউল

(তঙুল) rice

নৃত্য, dance

নাচ

প্রত্যায, coming back

Pk. পচ্চায়, A. পচা, bury

(to life)

under ground a seed for  
germination.

ৰত, to exist

B. বাঁচ, to live

শৈত্য coldness

চেচা

সত্য, true

সচা

থ্য (thy) change to ছ (ch):—

মিথ্যা, false

মিছা

দ, দ্য (d,dy) change to জ, (j):—

ক্ষুদ, to tread upon

খোজ কাড়, to walk. খোজ,  
foot print.

দ্যত, gambling.

জুৰা

দাহ (দগ্ধ)

জাহা, get burnt.

*ডুবুৰ, to sink (ক্ৰড্)	জোবোৰা, plunging
বাদ, sound	বাজ, to sound.
বিদূল, a kind of reed	বিজুলী বাঁহ
ৰিডাং, lightning	বিজুলী
সদ, good (সং)	সজ
ভিদ্, to penetrate	ভেজ, enter into, be soaked.

81(a). ঢ, ধ, দ্ধ, ধ্য (ḍh,dh,ddh,dhy) change to ঝ (jh), then to জ (j):—

উদ্ধা, to go up	উজা, to go up stream, or upward.
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উপাধ্যায়, teacher	ওজা
Pk. ধীআ, daughter	জী
ধীলটী, daughter	জীয়ৰী
H. ঢাপ্‌না, to cover	জপনা, a gate; জাপ, জপা to close
ধ্যম, become fade	জামৰ, to shrink, be reduced
H. ঢাবৰ, filth, dirt	জাবৰ, refuse
প্রধ্যায়তে, meditates	পৰায়, takes rest and thinks

cf. “সুতিয়া পৰাৱে সেই তুনৰ ওপৰে”—Lying—on the same grass (of which the cows ate their fill) they chew the cud with closed eyes as if they are thinking something.....S.K.D.

H. ধীকা, Watery (ধীত)	জেকা, moist
বুধ্যতে, understands	বুজে
ৰেধ, piercing	বেজী, a needle
মেধি, pillar (Pk. মেধি)	মেজি, pile of fuel set on fire on a ‘Bihu’ day.
যুপ, to fight	যুজ
শোধয়তে, pay off	শুজে, pay off debt.

## METATHESIS

82. Metathesis, that is, the interchange in the positions of sounds in a word, has played a very important part in altering the shape of words, often beyond recognition. Such instances are abundant in Assamese.

## PLACE—CHANGE OF VOWEL SOUNDS.

P. আক্ৰ, honour	আবুৰ, privacy
Mid. A. আৰিস, model (আদৃশ)	আহি cf. “নাহিকে আৰিস যাক চাহিয়া লিখিবো” —Dwijabhushan
P. আৰে, yes	এৰা
ইক্ষুৰ, sugarcane	B. কুসিআৰ; কুহিয়াৰ
Pk. উক্কৰ, to dig	ৰোক
উট, to carry burden	H. ঢো
Pk. কিন্হ, cloth	কানি
Pk. কচ্ছাটি, end of cloth tucked behind	কাছুটি, loin cloth
কোকিল, the cuckoo	কুলি
(গৰ্ভ ৰূপ,) গাভৰু, grown up (said of a girl)	গভুৰা, (said of a boy)
H. গাউৰানি, driving of oxen	গাৰোৱান, a cartman
চুম্ব, kiss	চমু, proximity
চন্দ্রাতপ, shamiana	চন্দ্রতাপ
Pk. ছাৰ (শাৰ), young of an animal	ছৰা, ছৰাল, (boy)
B. জোৱাৰ, tide	জাউৰ, overflow
*ধুম্বাহ (ছৰাহ)	ধুম্বাহ, (tempest)
তলাচী, a mat	তলিচা, thick bed-cloth

পুণ্ডু, silkworm  
 ৰাসি, an adze  
 বড়িশা, fishing hook  
 ক্ষুদ্র, small  
 সাধু, merchant  
 সন্ধিল, a breach in

পলু  
 বাইছ  
 বৰশী  
 সৰু  
 সাউদ

the wall

B. সিঁধ; A. সিন্ধি

বীয়, of one's own

সক্ৰি, (Mid. A)

cf. “সক্ৰি হাতে বধি আছে আপন মামাই” —killed his  
 uncle with (his) own hand—S.K.D.

হৰিদ্ৰা, turmeric  
 এলুয়, such (Mid. A)  
 ঈপ্সা, longing

হালধি  
 এহেন, হেন  
 \*হীপ্সা, হেপাহ

## PLACE CHANGE OF CONSONANTS.

৪৪. আলোড়, shaking,  
 stirring

আওড়াল, shaking  
 something in water

আলোক, to see  
 মাতৃৰা, mother's equal  
 ৰংক্ৰী, a rib

আকল, to perceive  
 আৰ্মৈ, mother's friend.  
 কামি, Mid. A. কাম্বি, a hori-  
 zontal piece in a fencing.

কাংক্ষা, appetite  
 তিয়ক, oblique

খক, voracious appetite  
 কতি, slanting, lying  
 কতীয়া, on side.

ঈৰ্ষা, envy  
 দুৰ্ভৰ, heavy  
 কুটিকা, coagulated milk  
 পাটলি, a cover (পটল)

\*ষিআৰ, থিয়াল  
 \*বহুই > \*বধুৰ > গধুৰ  
 চেকুৰা বান্ধ, turn to solids.  
 টাপলি, overlaid piece  
 of cloth.

H. পোটলা, bundle	টোপোলা
লেটেৰু, a kind of plum	টেলেকা, protuberant (said of eyes)
H. গদৰা, half ripe	ডকৰা, half ripe or half dry
ৰাৰদ, cloud	ডাৰৰ
ক্ৰড্, to sink	B. ডুব
দাত্যুহ, the gallinule	ডাহুত্যা > ডাউক
নিভম্ব, the buttocks	তপিনা
ক্ৰোটি, the beak	খুতৰি, the chin
H. পৰ্তা, layer	তৰপ
ৰসোন, garlic	নহৰু
নাগৰ-নাগৰী	বনৰা বনৰী
প্ৰবোহ, a shoot of light	পোহৰ
ৰাৰ্তা, information, message	বতৰা, বাতৰি
H. অম্বুদ, guava	*মধুৰ আম, মধুৰি আম
মৰ্ষ, to rub	মোহাৰ
মৃণাল, the root of lotus	মোলাল
দল, a piece or fragment	লডা, a clod
দ্রব, to run	B. দউৰ, A. লৰৰ, লৰ
লডহা, beautiful	লাহৰ, লাহৰী
H. লচক, flexible	লেকেচি, a switch of bamboo.
তকু, spindle	তাকুৰি,
হেলা, ease	লাহে-লাহে, with ease, slowly (Cf. হেলয়া)
হেঠ, vexatious opposition	ঠেহ, crossy obstinacy.
লঘুক, light	H. হাল্কা, thin
*হগৰ, hog (শুকৰ)	গাহৰি

Cf. শৃগবী পহ, a deer of the size of a hog.



84. Sometimes the aspiration is transferred from one syllable to another.

কোঠালি, a room (কোঠ) খোটালি

প্ৰ. বড়, to make গড়  
(Skt. সংঘট)

H. গুফা, a cave ঘোপা, dark

A. পোহৰ, light East. B. ফঅৰ, B. ভোৰ

অভিলাস, longing হাবিলাস, হাবিয়াস

A. আঠু, knee, (অণী or অস্থি) B. হাঁটু

### NASALISATION

85. Nasalisation developed in India in the M.I.A. period. It is found profusely in Middle Assamese. It has worn off to a great extent in Modern Assamese.

86. In most cases as a rule, we find that a ৰ (r) in conjunct with a consonant is often replaced by a class nasal. In modern Assamese this class nasal has been reduced to a mere nasal twang represented by the *cāndravindu* (৳) placed on the preceding syllable. Sometimes the class nasal is retained and the consonant to which it was conjoined is dropped. Sometimes the ৰ (r) in conjunct is replaced by the *anuswar* (ং)

অক্ষ, tears

H. আঁশু

উৰ্বী, the Earth

উই, white ant.

উটু, the camel

উট

কৰ্কট, crab

কেঁকোৰা

ক্ৰোধ, anger	Mid. A. কংহ (Cf. কংহাল গোম, angry serpent)
ঘৰ্ষ, to rub	ঘঁহ
ক্ৰোড়ী, beak of bird	ক্ৰৌড়, ক্ৰৌট
নিদ্রা, sleep	H. নীদ
তে সৰ্বাঃ, they all	তাসম্বা
দূৰ্বাহ, high wind	*ধূম্বহা, ধুমুহা (H. বন্দুহা) L. A. বানাহ
প্রাজন, a goad	পাঁকুনী, a whip.
বক্ত, mouth	A. বেস্ত, বৈত
Cf. “মাহৰ মাব দেখি তিলে বৈত মেলিলে” —seeing the beating meted out to pulse sesamum opened its mouth.	
বক্র, curved	বৈঁকা
মহাৰ্ঘ, costly	মহঙা
মাত্র, only	মাথোঁ
মার্গ, seek	H. মাংগ
মার্গ, path	মাং
স্রোত, current	সৌত
প্রতি, towards, to	(Oriyā) পাই; cf. দিবা পাই (to give).

87. There are many cases of nasalisation independent of a (r) in conjunct:—

Pk. অট্ট (আপ্ত), got	আঁট, suffice
অশ্বখ, Pipul tree	আঁহত, আঁশত
ওষ্ঠ, lips	ওঁঠ
কু + অধস, bad and low	কুদ্ধস, ugly
কুহেলিকা, fog	কুৰ্ণি
কোশ, a bud	কৌহ

ক্ষুদ, to pound	খুন্দ
গোধি, the iguana	গুঁই
ঝটিতি, quickly	ঝাণ্টে
H. ডাহ, spite, malice (দাহ)	ডাহী সাপ (vicious serpent).
পুষ, pus	পুঁজ
বিধ, to pierce	বিদ্ধ
ফট, expanded hood of serpent	ফেঁট
যুক্ত, yoked	জোঁট
স্বীয়, one's own	সঞি, (Mid. A)
সত্তৰং, speedily	সেঠৰে, (Mid. A).
হাসিকা, laugh	হাঁহি

88. The change of ক, (k) to ঙ (ñ), of প, ব, ভ, ঝ to ম (m) and of ল (l) to ন (n) is the effect of nasalisation :—

(a) ক (k) to ঙ (ñ) :—

A. চোৰাক, stealthily	চোৰাং, smuggling
টোকোন, a thick stick	টোঙোন, টোঙোন
পাক, twist	পাং, to scheme
বিপাক, calamity	বিপাং, dilemma, calamity
সেকেতা (সিক্ত), moist	সেঙেতা, dampness
A. সেৰেকা, tasteless	সেৰেঙা, thin

(b) প (p), ব (b), ঝ (w) ভ (bh) > ম (m).

প্রোংছন, wiping	মোছ, to wipe
Mid. A কৰিবো, I shall do	B. কৰিমু, A. কৰিম
H. তৰ্বুজ, water melon	তমুঁজ
বিনতি, bowing	মিনতি, entreaty
ৰেঠনী, girdle	মেঠনী, cloth wrapped by women below the arms.

ৰেঙৈ, to twist round, roll. Mid. A মেহ্ৰা, Mod. মেৰা

Cf; “ যদাচৰ্মৰদাকাশং রেঙৈষিযান্তি মানবাঃ ” when men shall roll up the sky like a sheet of leather!—Upa.

H. ভবক্, sudden burst ভমক্, burst of sentiment of flame or flame.

B. নিভা, to be extinguished নুমা Mid. A নিমা

উভৌ-স্বীয়, under control উমৈ হতীয়া, belonging to of both two or more people.

(c) ল, (l) > ন (n):—

H. লছাঁ, a skein of thread নেচা

A. লড়ে, moves

B. নড়ে

লাঙ্গল, the plough

নাঙল

লাঙ্গ, tail

নেঙ্গ

Pk. লোঠ, to gin cotton

নেওঠ

লংগুল, the tail

নেঙুল

পলাঙু, onion

পনক

89. A consonant in conjunct with a nasal of its own class is sometimes dropped resulting in complete nasalisation.

ক্ (nk) to ঙ্ (ñ):—

পৰ্বক্, the posture of sitting ফেৰেঙ + নি, a fork of with thighs wide apart branches on a tree.

[পৰ্বক্, gives two derivatives, viz, ফেৰেকা and ফেৰেঙা

পল্যক্, a bedstead

পালং

Mid. A বেঙ্কা, (বক্) bent

বেঙা one who distorts his mouth when speaking.

ঙ্গ, (ng) to ঙ্ (ñ):—

অঙ্গ, the body

আং, vital part of the body

অঙ্গিকা, a bodice	এঙা, short coat
H. ডোঙ্গা, a trough	ডোং, a trough; ডোঙা, a little pool of water
H. চোঙ্গা, a tube	চুঙা
লগ্ন, connected	লানি, continuity
জ্ব (ñkh) to ঙ (ñ):	
পুঙখা, feather	পুঙা, float made of hollow stem of feather, quill.
জ্ব, (ñgh) to ঙ (ñ):—	
শিজ্ব, to smell	জ্বং
ঙ (nd) to ন (n):—	
কৰঙী, flower basket	কৰণি
ন্ধ (ndh) > ন (n):—	
সন্ধা, mixing together	সান্ H. সন্ (mix together).
ন্ত (nt) > ন (n):—	
আছন্ত, কৰন্ত	B. আছেন, কৰেন্
ম্প (mp) > ম (m):—	
চুলুম্প, a goat	চুলুম্ > চুলুং light brained.
ম্ৰ (mr), ম্ব (mb) > ম (m):—	
লম্ব, to hang	ওলম্
আম্ৰ, mangoe	আম
আলম্ব, to depend upon	আলম, support
চুম্ব, kiss	চুমা
ডোম্ব, a low caste	ডোম
তম্ব, a tent	তামি ঘৰ, used in 'Buranji'
তাম্বুল, areca nut	তামোল
শম্বুক, a bivalve shell	শামুক

শম্ব, ploughing a second শম্বাৰ  
time

সম্বন্ধ, relation সমন্ধ

স্ত (mbh) to ম (m):—

কুস্তকাৰ, a potter কুমাৰ

### DE-NASALISATION

90. While nasalisation was noticeably strong in Middle Assamese, de-nasalisation gradually prevailed in Modern period. First a class nasal in conjunct is replaced by the *candravindu* ৮ which stands only for a nasal twang. This is also gradually disappearing. Following are some cases of reduced nasalisation:—

অন্তৰ, distance	আঁতৰ
অন্তৰ কৰ্পট, a screen	আঁৰ কাপোৰ
কম্প, to tremble	কঁপ
Mid. A. কৰন্তা doer	কৰোঁতা
কাংস্ত, bell-metal	কাঁহ
কামৰতী, passionate woman	কাৰঁৰী
গুণ্ডিকা, powder	গুঁড়ি, গুৰি
গণ্ড, rhinoceros	গঁড়
চমক্, surprise	চঁক startling
চণ্ডাল, a low caste	চঁড়াল
Pk. ঢংক. to cover	ঢাক
Mid. A. ঢোগা কাক a raven	ঢোঁড়া কাউৰী
দণ্ড, penalty	দঁড়ী, compulsory.
দণ্ড, a pole	দাঁড়
দোখণ্ড, two pieces	দোখৰ, piece
Mid. A. দেখন্তে while seeing	দেখোঁতে

পুণ্ড্র, variety of sugarcane	পুৰী
বগ্নী, unchaste woman, বগ্নী বাঁৰী a widow	
বংকা the pommel of a saddle	বাঙকা a bent pole to carry load
সৰু, leaf to write on	সাঁচি পাত, bark of trees used as paper.
সঞ্চয়, storing	সাঁচ, to lay up.

90 (a). In the following instances the nasal in conjunct with another consonant is completely eliminated.

অগ্নিকুণ্ড, basin of fire	জুই কুৰা
Mid. A. খণ্টা, a dacoit	খটাঙ্গুৰ, mischievous fellow
Pk. বাখ, to tease	জোকা
Mid. A. তিস্তা wet (তিমিত)	তিতা
পাৰংগম্, surmounting	পাৰগ, capable
ভগ্ন, broken	ভগা
লঙ্ঘন, fasting	লঘোন
লুণ্ঠ, to rob	লুট্
হন্তে, (ablative suffix in Mid. A.)	B. হইতে
Mid. A. হণ্ট, market place	হাট
	(হট্‌ট)

The change of ন (n) to ল (l) is a case of de-nasalisation.

অজনা, not knowing	অজলা, stupid
P. কাৰ্খানা workshop	কড়খলা, (used in Buranji)
উন্নগ্ন, naked (উৎনগ্ন)	উলঙ্গ
নবনীত, butter	লবনু
লানি, continuity	লালি
বৰ্ণ, colour	বোল

Change of ম (m) to ব (b):—

যমনিকা, a screen                      যবনিকা, screen on stage

মাতৃ, mother                      Pk. বাই, mother.

(বাই in the sense of 'mother' is used in Western India; A. elder sister.

### DECAY OF THE LABIALS

91. Decay of the Labials in the Assamese language began in the Middle period. In Modern period it became more pronounced.

(a). প্র (pr), প (p), ব (b), ব (w), decayed to উ, ও.  
প্রজাগৰ, waking state                      উজাগৰ, without sleep

প্রশ্বাস, breathing inward                      উশাহ

উপমোদ or প্রমোদ delighting                      ওমল, to play.

Mid. A সপটে, immediately সাউং কৰি

(সপদি)

cf. উপজিলা পুত্ৰ পাচে দেখি গোপ নন্দে,

সপটে কৰিলা স্নান পৰম আনন্দে —S.K.D.

ক্ষেপ, to throw

থেও, a throw of the net  
or oar.

অঙ্কপালি, embrace

আঁকোৱাল

নপাৰ, not able

নোৱাৰ, cannot

Mid. A নপৰা, sickness

নোৱৰা > নৰিয়া sick

স্নাপয়. to bathe

নোৱা

(transitive sense)

P. সবজ্, green

সেউজীয়া

অবনী, the Earth

আউনী পাণ, a kind of

betel creeper that trails  
on earth.



আবর্ত, melting of metals	আউট, melting metals.
আবর্ত, deliberation	আউট, think over and over.
বত, to turn round	ওলট, to return
ব্যক্ত, revealed	ওকট, to divulge
বর্ষ, raining	উকথ, to leak (as a roof)
বৰিষ* বৰ্য, kidney bean	উৰহি
বক্ষ, to swell	উথহ
বিপ্রতি, wickedness	উভতি
চেলারতী, like a centiped	চেলাউৰী, eyebrows which looks like a centiped 'চেলা'
দেৱ, god	দেউ, priest
দেৱতা, god	দেউতা, father
ধাৱত, running	ধাউতি, longing
নৱ মুকুল, new bud	নোমল, the last born
পুত্ৰবৎ, as to a son	পুতৌ, pity
মাঠৰতী, like a road	মঠাউৰি, embankment serving as a road.
যাৱতযুগ, as long as a 'yug	যাউতিযুগীয়া, ever lasting.
লৱণ, salt	লোণ
শাপ, curse	শাও
স্বপ, to sleep	শো
স্বকীয়, one's own	সুকীয়া, reserved, separate
স্বৰ্ণ, gold	সোণ
তৰ, yours	তো (cf. "তো মুখ চুহি" —Caryāpada).

93. ম (m) decays to অঁ (an), উঁ (un), ওঁ (on),  
ব (w) and বঁ (wan).

অমামসী, no-moon blackness আঁউঁসী, no-moon night.

মাংসীয়, pertaining to raw flesh	আঁহীয়া, অঁহীয়া, smelling like raw meat
আত্মাণ, repetition	আওঁৰা, learn by repetition
আম, not ripe	এৰাঁ, quite immature
P. আমদানি, income	ওৰাদানি, plenty
কুমৰ prince (used in Mid.A.)	কোঙৰ, কোঞৰ
নাম, name	নাও
গ্রাম, village	গাঁও
জামাত, son-in-law	জোৰাঁই
বাচম, alright, well	বাৰু
ভূমি, land	ভূই
ৰ্যাম, a measure of length	বৈঁও
মা-মৰা, one whose mother is dead	মাউৰা
Pk. মজ্ঝিম, middle মধ্যম	মাজিউ, মাজু
স্থামন, stability	থাউনি, bottom of lake, river etc.
শ্ৰাম, black	শাওঁ বৰণ, light black colour

94. The prefixes অপ, অৰ, উপ degenerated to আ, আও and ও

অপকাষ্ঠ, inferior wood    আওকাষ্ঠ

অপমৰণ, unnatural death    আওমৰণ

অৰক্ষালন, purificatory  
washing    আওখাল

Pk. অপহৰিঅ stolen (অপহৃত) আহৰি, finished, spoiled

উপচৰ, approach    ওচৰ, nearness

উপাধ্যায়, teacher    ওজা

অৱট্ট, hole in the plinth	ওটা
উপকাৰিকা, royal tent	ওৱাৰি,
উপবৃত্ত, return	ওভত

95. The Cerebrals ট, ড and the Dentals ত, দ changed to ড, ব (r).

Pk. কপ্পড, cloth (কৰ্পট)	কাপোৰ
Pk. কড, done (কৃত)	কৰা
কপাট, door	কোৱাৰি, the jaws
কুকুটী, hen	কুকুৰী

cf. কুকুৰী আৰাৰ কৰে,” the hen crows  
—Mādhavadeva

আতপী, sun-dried	আৰৈ
ইকট, reed	ইকৰা
উজ্জ্বট, abandoned	উজ্জৰা, উজ্জাৰ
উদ্ভূতি, upside down	উবুৰি
A. উদং, empty, not enclosed, uninhabited	উৰুঙা, lonely
দ্বাদশ, twelve	বাৰ (হ)
Pk. এড্, part with	এৰ্, release
খটক মুচুটি, a blow with half closed fist	খকৰা মুকুটি
Pk. খোডি, wood	খৰি, fuel
গঙ্গী, a cart	গাড়ী
Pk. গোড, foot	গোৰ, গুৰি, (foot of a tree etc.)
গামতে, in village	or. গ্ৰামৰে,
গোটক, horse	ঘোৰা
গড, to flow	নিগড়, to ooze out
ঘটিকা, measure of time	ঘড়ি, clock.
ঘটিকা, a bird	চৰাই
চপট, slap with the palm	চৰৰ, চৰ

চেট, servant	চেৰ, চেৰী, (Mid. A.)
95.(a). চড্, to mount	চৰ, to ride, to exceed.
চেলারং, like a centiped	+ ই চেলাউৰি, (eye brows)
Pk. ছোড্, to give up	ছোড
জাড্, cold	জাৰ
তট, shore, bank	তৰ, land
তত, to spread	তৰ
হুডি, small tortoise	হুৰা
হুগ্ধ বতী, milky	হুদৰি, (said of unripe corn).
Pk. ডব পটল, cover at the beginning	দবা পৰলি, the first layer of thatch on the roof.
H. নৈয়াতা, invitation	(নিমন্ত্ৰণ) নেউৰি, invitation by a relative.
পটল, chapter	পৰাল, the different stages in husking paddy.
পলাতক, fugitive	পলকৰা
প্ৰতিসৰ, retinue	পৰিসৰ
পংক্তি, line, array	পাৰি, a row
ফুলবতী. flowering	ফুলৰি
বণ্ড, bachelor (+la)	বৰলা
বাটী, homestead	বাৰী
ব্ৰড্, to sink	বুৰ, বুড়
বাধ গত, harassed, pained	ভাগৰ, fatigue
বধুটী, daughter-in-law	H. বহৰী, বহৰিয়া, বোৰৰী
ভদ্রৰং + ই, goodness	ভালৰি, friendliness
মাঠৰং, like a road + ই	মঠাউৰি, embankment.
মণ্ডল, assemblage	মাৰল ঘৰ, drawing room
বুট্টি, twenty (used in Tezpur inscription)	বুড়ি, (বিশতি)

ৰেষ্ঠ, to enclose	বেঢ়া
দ্র > ব; ক্ষুদ্র, small	সৰু, (vowel matathesis).

95.(b). The following are possible derivations:—

অস্বাদঃ, ours	>	আহ্মাৰ > আমাৰ
যুস্বাদঃ, yours	>	তুম্হাৰ > তোমাৰ
মদঃ, my	>	মৰ, মোৰ
মদীয়, belonging to me	>	মেৰ
ত্বদীয়, yours	>	তেৰ, তেৰা

The ব (r) in these Pronouns in the Possessive Case was subsequently isolated as a Possessive Case ending and applied universally to all nouns and pronouns, in the Eastern Indian languages. The Possessive Case endings—-অৰ,-ৰ,-এৰ, according to Grierson and Chatterjee are derived from -কৰ, কেৰ, -কাৰ all derived from √(কৃ),

ঢ, (ḍh)	>	ঢ়, (ṛh)
Pk. পঢ়, to read (পঠ)		পঢ়

95(c). দ, দ্র, ড, (d,dr,ḍ) change to ল, (l) :—

আমোদ, sweet scent	আমোল -মোলা to emit
উপমোদ, to play	ওমোল [sweet scent]
কোড, lap	কোল

H. গৰগু, enclosure of mud গঁৰাল

ছিদ্র, vulnerable point, lapse ছেলু

ভদ্র, good ভোলা, too good

পুণ্ড্র, silk worm পলু

বদ, to speak B. বল, A. বোল

Pk. মুকুড (মুক্ত), free, মুকল, মুকলি  
unfastened

দ্রব, to run লৰব, লৰ

Pk. ডক্ৰব, left hand লেবেৰা (হতীয়া), left handed.

96. ল, (l) changes to ড, দ, (d,d) :—

A. উলঙ্গ, naked (উৎনগ্ৰ) উদং

উদং, also secondarily means 'unrestrained', 'empty'.

Pk. ঘোল, mixed

ঘোদা, mixed with dirt

খেলা, play

খেদ্, (collq), to play.

লজ্য, to go by leaps

B. ডিঙ্গা, to step over

A. ডে, ডেগ also ডেওনা,

a low fence to cross over.

97. ব, (r) changes to ল, (l) :—

আবৰ্জ, to bend down

Mid. A. আলোজ > আওজ

বৰ্ত, to return

ওলট

কতিবাব, how many times

কেই বেলি

গ্, to swallow

গিল্

ঈৰ্ষা, envy

খিয়াল

P. গদান, back of neck

গল্ধন

চত্বৰ, a quadrangular space

চোতাল

চত্বাৰিংশৎ, forty

চল্লিশ

P. জওৰ force

জোৰাল

(cf; “হুহাতে জোৰালে থাকুৰে হিয়া” S.K.D.)

ডোৰ a string

ডোল

Bihari ডহৰ, flood (ব্ৰহ্ম)

ঢল

তৰ্ক, to ascertain

তলক

দীঘৰ\*, long (দীৰ্ঘ)

দীঘল

নীশাৰ, blanket

নিহালি

পৰিবাৰ, family,

পৰিয়াল

বগুৰ, eunuch

ববলা, (bachelor)?

ভাণ্ডাৰ, store house

ভঁৰাল

মূৰ্জ, to wipe

মলছ, (Mid. A).

Pk. মিসৰ, mixture (মিশ্ৰ)

মিহল

বজ্জু, rope                      লেজু  
সাৰিকা, a common bird      শালিকা

98. There are also a few instances of ল, (l) changing to ব, (r).

উৰা, a shooting star              উক্ৰা a lump of  
burning grass that  
sometimes rises from  
jungle fire to the sky.

খল, the sun                      খৰ, খৰা, sunshine.

পীলক, a large ant              পৰুৱা

লাঙ্গুল, tail                      নেণ্ডৰ

Pk. বোল, multitude              বোৰ, (plural suffix; eg.  
গৰু বোৰ)

পঙ্গুল, lame                      পেঙুৰা

P. লিহাফ, upper              ৰিহা  
garment of women

### MISCELLANEOUS CHANGES.

99(a). ত্ম, (tm) changes to প, (p).

আত্মন, self                      আপোন

উৎমগ্ন, to float (cf; উন্মগ্ন      Mid. A. উপং  
rise from water)

তৎমন, mentally absorbed + ই টোপনি sleep

99(b). প, (p) changes to ভ, (bh) :—

ৰিপ্ৰতি, wickedness              উভতি, vexation

পীড, to press                      ভিৰা, to bend (as a bow).

উড়ুপ, a raft                      ভুঁৰ, (by Metathesis)

তুমপি, you also                      H. তুম্ভি

99(c). ম, (m) changes to ন, (n) :—

বীতোপম, matchless                      বিতোপন, excellent.

মূৰ্, to encircle                              ভূৰা, roll; ভূৰিয়া

99(d). ধ্ব (rdhv) > ভ (bh) :—

উধ্ব, erect                                      উভ, to erect.

উভহা, with fibres

erect, therefore not  
smooth

99(e) হ, (hy) to জ, (j) :—

বহ, to be carried                              বোজা, load

বাহ, external                                      বাজ, outside.

Interchange of the Semi-vowels, the Liquids and of হ, (h).

100. The interchange of these sounds commenced in the Mid. Assamese period, but became pronounced in the Modern period.

ব, (v) replaced by য, (y) :—

পৰিবাৰ, family                              পৰিয়াল

শৰাব, a dish with a stand                      শৰায়, শৰাই

শৈৰাল, moss                                      শেলায়, শেলাই

ব, (v) replaced by ব, (r) :—

A. কাহ+উৰা, suffering                      কহৰা,  
from cough.

A. তিকতা সেকিক, much                      তিকতা সেকৰা  
attached to wife

দেব গ্রাম, a Brahmin village                      দেবগাঁও

ধাব, to run                                      ধাব, chase.

(cf; ছিহ্ন পাইয়া দানবে দেবক দিলে ধাব

—getting an opportunity the Dānavas gave chase to  
the Devas—S.K.D.)



- A. ভাং+উৰা, adicted to hemp      ভঙুৰা  
 ৰঙী, unchaste woman      ৰাঙী, widow.  
 (cf. ৰঙা)  
 উৎসৱ, merrymaking in 'Bihu' festival (+ হৈ)

ৰ (v) replaced by ল (i) :—

- আৱেশিক, guest      আলহী  
 Pk. বিৰহি calamity (বিপদ) বিলৈ

ৰ (v) replaced by হ (h) :—

- গৰ্ব, pride      গহ  
 দানৱ, demon      দানহ, (collq).

100(a). ল > হ > স

- পলল, mud      পলস, silt

ল > ৰ

- পলাল, straw      পোৱাল

ল > ৰ (see section 98)

য় > ৰ

- বিচয়, to search      বিচাৰ

য় > ল

- Pk. অপাগয় (অপ্রকৃত)      পাগল, mad.  
 abnormal

- য়ষ্টি, a stick      লাঠি, Pk. লট্টি

য় > হ

- Pk. খলিয়া, oilcake      খলিহৈ  
 ক্ষয়ৰোগ, consumption      খেহৰোগ  
 Pk. গোয়ৰি, begging      গোহাৰি, entreaty.  
 ছায়া, shadow      Pk. ছাহা, ছাহ, (colloq).

Pk. নিয়ৰ (নিগড) chain	নিহল
√চায়, to see	B. চাহ, চাহনি, glance
H. চায়, tea	চাহপানী

100(b). ব > য :—

কবল, did	কয়ল, (vaishnavic)
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ব > ল — (see section 97)

ব < ব :—

কুৰৰ, osprey.	কুৰুৰা
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হ > য :—

নিহাৰ, fog	নিয়ৰ
*বলিহা (বালিশ, fool)	দলিয়া, mad
হ > য :— কুহেড়ী, fog	কুবলী. Mid. A. কুহৰি
বহতী, flowing stream	বোৰতী
পহাতী* (প্রভাতী) dawning	পোৰতী, পুৰঁতী
শুহায় (শোভতে) adorns	শুৰায়
হেলি, the sun	ৰেলি > বেলি, sun
অহনিশি, day and night	অৰনিশি, (Mid. A.).

100(c). হ replaced by ই or উ :—

Pk. ঠাহ, place	ঠাই
H. অথাহ, unfathomable	অথাই
দেহকোষ, the wings of a bird	ডেউকা, ডৌকা
কটাহ, cauldron	B. কড়াই
H. ধাহ, yelling	ধাউ

(cf. “হেন দেখি ভয়ে ধাই ধাউ গেৰি দিলা”

—Seeing this the ‘āyāh’ called out yelling—S.K.D.)

## CHANGES UNDERGONE BY VOWELS

101. An অ (a) in the first syllable is often changed to ও (o). It is due to various causes. In some cases—

(a) ও being a stronger vowel than অ is induced by the accent on that syllable in the original word:—

গন্ধ, smell	গোন্ধ্
ক্ষণকাল, soon	সোনকাল
ক্ষমহস্ত, able hand	সোঁহাত, right hand
প্রসাৰ, spreading	পোহাৰ, shop.
বদ, speak	বোল
ভ্রম, a water hole	ভোম. a hole,
ভ্রমৰ, black bee	ভোমোৰা,
সঞ্চৰ, infects	সোঁচৰ
চৰ, chewing	চোৰা
চত্বৰ, court yard	চোতাল

(b) Due to a labial sound in the first or second syllable.

সম, equal	সোঁ (as in সোঁমাজ)
সমায়তে, to be contained	সোমা, enter
নপাৰ, can not	নোহাৰ
বহতী, streaming	বোৰতী

(c) Due to general preference of a forward to a backward sound in standard Assamese:—

শটা, matted hair	শোটা, a broom of straw.
মৰ, my (মদঃ)	মোৰ
কৰক, coconut-shell	কোৰোকা

102. When followed by আ, ই, ঐ, উ, ঊ (ā, i, u) in the second syllable অ, আ (a, ā) in the first syllable change to এ (a) in standard Assamese :—

আন্ধাৰ, charcoal	এঙাৰ
B. আঁধাৰ, dark (অন্ধকাৰ)	এন্ধাৰ
কটাহ, cauldron	কেৰাহী
কৰীৰ the shoot of bamboo*	B. কেৰল
গল, to become soft	গেলা, rotten
*কণ্ডুলিকা, coil (কুণ্ডলিকা)	কেৰেলুৰা the millepede which coils when touched
কতিমান, how much	কেইমান, কিমান
কণ্ডল, ear ornament (কুণ্ডল)	কেৰ (ল dropped).
ততিক্ষণ, so much time	তেতিক্ষণে > তেখনে
ধলা (ধৱল), white, pale	ধেলা
H. লটাই, hand roller of thread	লেটাই
যতিমান, as much	যেইমান > যিমান
B. লম্বা, long	লেঙা, tall
A. ঢউ, wave	B. ঢেউ
ধনু, a bow	ধেহু
মকুল, the mongoose	মেউল
নলি, tube	নেলু, the throat.
পঙ্গুল, lame	পেঙুৰা

\* কৰীৰ actually means the tusk of elephant which the bamboo-shoot resembles. কৰীৰ is from কৰী (elephant) and ইৰ (tusk). cf. 'ঐৰাৱত', the great tusker of Indra. The word 'ivory' is from ইভ (elephant) and ইৰ (tusk).

বজ্জু, rope	লেজু
লঘুল, tail	নেণ্ডৰ
লঘুক, light	লেহকা, pliant.
B. সবুজ,	সেউজীয়া
A. দহিছে, burns	ডেইছে

103. Two consecutive অ (ā) in the first and second syllables are not tolerated in standard Assamese. In such cases, as a rule, the first অ is reduced to অ or এ. Present writers often ignore this inherent character of the language, and write নানাগে instead of নেলাগে; স্বভাবিক instead of স্বভাবিক; আদা instead of এদা; etc.

This characteristic of the language is responsible for the difference in the first syllable of the following pairs of words:—

কণা, blind (< কাণা < কাণ), but কানী (fem).
কলা, deaf (কানা < কল) but কালরী, (fem).

104. অ (ā) in the third syllable has the effect of reducing an অ (ā) in the first syllable, provided there is no strong vowel in the second syllable.

আঁকৰা, a stupid, becomes অঁকৰা, but আঁকৰী (fem).  
 আজলা (না) not knowing,

becomes অজলা, but আজলী (fem).

কাজলা dark blue, becomes কজলা but কাজলী (fem).

দামৰা a male calf, becomes দমৰা but দামুৰী (fem).

পাগলা, mad, becomes পগলা but পাগলী (fem).

বাৰতা, news, becomes বতৰা but বাতৰি (dinu).

105. When the suffixes আ, ঈয়া, উৰা, and উৰা are added to a word to form an adjective or a verb of it, then the preceding আ (ā) is reduced to অ or ও; and the preceding ও (o) to উ (u).

ভাজ, to fry	+ আ	ভজা, fried
সিজা, to cook	+ আ	সিজোৰা, cooked
আন, to bring	+ আ	অনা, bringing
কাতি, name of a month	+ ঈয়া	কতীয়া, born in Kāti month.
কাহ, cough	+ উৰা	কহৰা, affected with cough
খাৰ, alkali	+ উৰা	খৰুৰা, alkaline
পানী, water	+ ঈয়া	পনীয়া, watery
বাঁৰী, widow	+ ঈয়া	বাঁৰীয়া, born of widow
ফাট, fissure		ফটা, split
লোন, salt		লুনীয়া, salty
ঢোল drum		ঢুলীয়া, a drummer
খোৰ, a scroll	+ ইয়া	খুৰিয়া, make into a scroll
জোল, liquid		জুলীয়া, liquid

### ই, ঈ (i) and উ, উ (u)

106. These two vowels are interchangeable in all positions. But the language appears to prefer the labial 'u' to the palatal 'i' sound.

অষ্টীৰং, the knee	আঠু
খিদ্, to strike	খুট > খোট, to strike with fang or beak.
গিলা, (plural suffix, L. A.)	গুলা, (Mid. A.)
তিংখং, name of a place	তুংখুঙীয়া, belonging to তিংখং

নৰনীত, butter	লৰতু
Mid. A. নিমা, to be extinguished	নুমা
(cf; “বনৰ নিমাইলা জুই বৃষ্টি জলে” —S.K.D.)	
নৈৰামিষ্য, without meat	নিৰামুহি
*পলীকা, ant (পীলক)	পৰুৱা
Pk. ফিৰ্, to roam about	ফুৰ, walk about
বিপ্ৰতি, wickedness	উভতি
শিঙ্ৰ, to smell	শুং
শাল্ললি, the silk cotton tree	শিমলু

107. This bias for the উ (u) sound is responsible for changing the Sanskrit adjectival suffix —‘ইক্’ to ‘উৱা’

জাতীয়, concerning the nation	জতুৱা
জালিক, net thrower	জালোৱা*
তালিক, palm of the hand	তলুৱা
ৰাজসিক, belonging to king	ৰাজহুৱা, belonging to public
স্ত্ৰীতা সৈৱিক, attached to wife.	তিৰতা সৈকুৱা, henpecked.
হালিক, plough man	হালোৱা*

উৱা, as an adjectival suffix is very popular and is added to nouns to convey various shades of meaning. Eg:—

কঠুৱা, hard as wood	< কাঠ
ঘৰুৱা, homely	< ঘৰ

---

\* not changed to জলুৱা and হলুৱা lest the meaning is lost.

ভতুৱা, great eater of rice. < ভাত  
 ধৰুৱা, a debtor < ধাৰ  
 etc. etc.

108. The change of উ, (u) to ই, (i) is also not uncommon.

খৰু, white	খৰিমাটি. chalk
তুঙ্গ, summit	টিং. peak
পুতেক, his son	পিতেক, (collq)
বালুক, sand	বালি
পৰশু (পৰশ্ব), day-before- yesterday	পৰহি
মনুষ্য, man	মনিষ, (collq) > মূনিহ, male.
স্তকা, the hip	টিকা, buttocks.
তম্বু, tent	তামি, (used in Buranji).

109. A following ই, (i) changes a preceding ও (o) to উ (u).

আপোন, self + ই	আপুনি
কেঁকোৰা, bent + ই	কেঁকুৰি, the turn of a road
শোভন, beauty + ই	শুৰনী
কোচ, (a certain caste) + নী	কুচুনী, woman of that caste.
শো, to sleep + ই	শুই. sleeping
সোঁত, current + ই	সুঁতী, streamlet.
প্রতোলী, front road	পদুলী
গোধি, iguana	গুই

110. When immediately followed by ই, ঐ, উ or ও এ (e) is generally changed to অ, (a).

আলোহী* guest (আৱেশিক)	আলহী
কুহেলিকা, fog	কুৰলী



দেহলি, threshold (দেহলি)	ডলি
দেউল, temple দেৱকুল	দউল, দৌল
or দেহুৰ	
বসদেৱী, woman's name	বহদৈ
মঙ্গলা দেৱী, daughter of Koch king Parikṣit	মঙলদৈ, name of a place.
দিনে ও every day	দিনৌ
নিতৈ ও always	নিতৌ

### FINAL VOWELS.

111. The vowel অ (a) attached to the last single consonant of a word is dropped, that is, not pronounced, in most cases. Thus, কমল (kamala) is pronounced 'kamal'; প্রমাণ, (pramāṇa) is pronounced 'pramān'; নাৰায়ণ (Nārāyaṇa) as 'Nārāyan'; etc.

112. With the dropping of the final অ (a) the consonant it supports is also lost:—

আৰেশিক, guest > আৰেশী (আলহী)  
cf. “হাঁড়িত ভাত নাই নিতে আৰেশী” —Caryāpada

আফু, opium	আফু
বাহ, boar	বৰা
Mid. A. দেখিষ, seen	দেখি
শত, hundred	শ
হাস্য, laughter	হাঁহি

113. The final অ is retained when attached to a conjunct. Eg; অন্ত is pronounced as 'anta' and not as 'ant', as in Hindi.

114. The final অ is also retained at the end of two syllabic *tatsama* words which are not used in spoken language. Eg. গত বৎসর (gata batsar), শত অপরাধ (śata aparādh), গৃহ নির্মাণ, (griha nirmāṇ) etc

In words like শিৱ, থিৱ, the final অ is retained so otherwise the words will be unstable.

115. When the last syllable of the original word has already dropped off due to contraction, then the अ attached to the penultimate syllable which has become the last syllable, is not dropped.

এগারহ (একাদশ)	>	এঘাৰ, (eghāra)
বারহ (দ্বাদশ)	>	বাৰ, (bāra)
Mid. A. কৰস, you do	>	কৰ, (kara)
Mid. A. জানস, you know	>	জান (zāna)
কচ্ছপদ (কক্ষপদ, side-footed)	>	কচ্ছপ > কাছ, (kāsa)
গর্দভ < গাদহ	>	গাধ (gādha)
পলর. (fishing basket)	>	পল, (pala)
পাৰাৰত > পাৰাৰ	>	পাৰ, (pāra), pigeon

116. Final vowels other than অ are generally retained. There are some words where the final অ has been dropped.

ঘৃণা, disgust, hate	ঘিন্
P. গালাহ, heap	গাল্,
জীরা, water	জীপ্, moisture.
মুদ্রা, seal	মদ

(cf. "মুদ ভাঙি সকলোকে দিল;" breaking the seal  
Sajikardev) gave (Lord's name) to all—Madhava  
সিবা, artery                                  সিব

117. The language prefers an adjective word to end in আ or ই, ঈ than in অ Eg.

অত্ৰপ, shameless	অতপা, impudent.
Pk. কউল, cowdung	ক'লা, black.
কল্ল, deaf	কলা
কাণ, one-eyed	কণা
H. চনক্, bursting of husks etc.	চনকা, brittle
জোং, a spike	জোঙা, pointed
তংকন, miserable person	টোকোনা, poor
নিক্ত, washed	নিকা, clean
পৃষত্, a drop, a spot	ফোটা, having a mark
P. বদ, bad	বেয়া
P. মদ, male	মতা
ৰুন্ত, the foot-stalk of fruit	ভোতা, blunt.
গ্রাম্য, belonging to village	গঞা

118. This preference for a final আ in adjective words changed the Sanskrit adjectival suffix ইক্—ইট্ to ইয়া, 'iyā'.

নাগৰিক, town-born	নগৰীয়া
মাসিক, monthly	মাহেকীয়া
সঞ্চিত, stored	সাঁচতীয়া
স্বকীয়, one's own	স্বকীয়া, separate

119. The language prefers an abstract noun, a verbal noun and a noun signifying the result of an action to end in ই (i).

আমন, listlessness	আমনি, state of ennui.
অবসৰ, leisure	আহৰি
অজড়িত, not engaged	আজৰি, spare time.
উৎসৱ, festive occasion	হুচৰি, merriment in 'Bihu'.
গৰ্জন, roaring	গাজনি
জাক, a flock	জাকি, flight of many birds.
তৎমন, absorbed mentally	টোপনি, sleep.
তৰণ, crossing over	তৰণি, safety, respite.
স্থামন, fixity	থাউনি, stability, bottom.
পাতন, laying	পাতনি, introduction to a book.
বাঢ়, to increase	বাঢ়ি, interest on loan.
বুজন, understanding	বুজনি, instruction.
বাপেক, father	বাপেকি, fatherhood
মাক mother	মা-কি, motherhood.
বেলা, time	বেলি, lateness
P. শনাথত্, acquainted	চিনাকি, acquaintance (contaminated by চিহ্ন, sign)
সিয়ন, act of sewing	সিয়নি, the seam
হমন্, yawning	হামি, a yawn

This ই is also added after the Sanskrit suffix ত্ব which nouns and adjectives in that language take to form abstract nouns—

খৰ্জুত্ব, state of itching	খজুৰতি
পিতৃস্বত্ব, paternal aunthood	পেহীয়াতি
মাতৃস্বত্ব, maternal aunthood	মাহীয়াতি

শাশুৱা, mother-in-law-hood শাশুৱতি

also by analogy

ৱুমন্ত, sleeping

ঘুমতি, period of sleep

ধাৱত, running

ধাউতি, longing

120. In the following abstract nouns we find the ই added to the adjectival suffix আন্ which is added to nouns to form adjectives.

লৰাল, boyish

লৰালি, boyishness

পুৰুষাল, manly

পুৰুষালি, manliness

The লি, at the end of these words is isolated and used as an ending implying quality. Eg.

অতপা, shameless

অতপালি, excessive

misconduct

বেজ, doctor

বেজালি, doctor's profession

ধাম, dirty

ধেমালি, playing of boys.

121. ই is also added to a noun or adjective to convey the diminutive sense:—

গাল, a heap (p. গালাহ)

গালি, a small heap

ছাল, a cover

ছালি, a temporary cover

ডাল, branch of tree

ডালি, twig.

তিতিক, bitter (তিক্ত)

তিতিকি, slightly bitter

সোৱাদ, sweet

সুৱদি, slightly sweet

122. Forming nominal verbs by adding an আ (a) at the end of a word, noun or adjective is peculiar to the Assamese language.

উতল, boiling up

উতলা, bring to boil

গৰম, hot

গৰমা, make hot.

তপত, hot	তপতা, make hot.
টোপনি, sleep	টোপনিয়া, go to sleep.
থু, spittle	থুৰা, to spit
ধাৰ, edge of knife	ধৰা, to sharpen
ফেন, foam	ফেনা, to froth
খুৰ, a razor	খুৰা, to shave.

123. Vowels at the end, middle or beginning of a word are sometimes changed to make a new word with a meaning allied to the sense of the original word:—

কুন্দু, mouse	কুন্দা, trap to catch mouse.
খেত, a field (ক্ষেত্ৰ)	খেতি, cultivation.
গছ, tree	গছা, a stand for many lights.
জল, water	জোল, > জুলীয়া, liquid.
জুট, twisted hair	জুটি, trap made of twisted hair.
দাৰা, wife, bride	দৰা, bridegroom
জুৰ, cooling < জুড	জিৰা, to take rest.
ফুৰ, walk about	মুৰ ফুৰা, to feel giddy.

#### CHANGES DUE TO ASSIMILATION.

124. Words are often changed to give them a more familiar sound to the ear:—

কুকুল, a lump of burning grass that rises from forest fires, is changed to 'কুকুহা', (a jungle bird), the same word being used for both. P. নাবালিষ্ (a minor) changed to 'নাবালক' to assimilate with the familiar word বালক, 'নাবালক' now means a minor.

কোষীয়, (tepid warm) is changed to কুহ্মীয়া,  
to assimilate with কুহ্ম, (yolk of egg).

P. নিশানা, (having the sign of) is changed to  
নিচিনা, (similar to) because চিনা, means 'recognising'.

পৰোষ্টি, (cockroach) changed to 'পইতঁ চোৰা'  
which means 'stealer of stale rice', whereas the  
original word is apparently meaningless. Portuguese  
'sontrā' (orange) changed to স্মুথিৰা, (স্মিষ্ট)

H. অম্বুদ, (guava) > মধুৰি আম (sweet mango).

প্রমুক্তি, (a missile) > ফৰমুঠি (মুঠি means grip).

নাৰিকেল, (coco-nut) > নাৰিকল (plantain is  
more common)

দুৰ্জয়পুৰ, (capital city > তেজপুৰ (তেজ means blood;  
of Ratnapala) but দুৰ্জয় is a difficult word.

124(a). The need for differentiating a transitive  
from an intransitive verb is strongly felt by the  
speakers of standard Assamese. Hence we get the  
following pairs of words, whereas the same word is  
used in Bengal and Lower Assam. Eg; ভাগ (in-  
transitive) and ভাং (transitive) to break (ভগ্ন)  
ছিগ, (intransitive) and ছিং (transitive) to tear off.

N.B. In many cases the intransitive sense is  
expressed by adding the word 'খালে' (eaten) to the  
main verb. Eg; দুৱাৰ মেল খালে, (the door opened  
of itself); খিৰিকিখন জাপ খালে (the window shut  
up of itself) etc.

124(b). Words are also sometimes changed to mean another thing having some relation to the meaning of the original word. Eg;

Pk. অংথুঅ ( আন্ত ) means 'bed'. But the derived Assamese word আঠুৰা, means the 'mosquito curtain'.

Skt. 'উদ্ধান' means a 'fire place'. But the derived word 'উধান' means the supports of the cooking vessel over the fire.

Skt. 'ৰাণি' means 'weaving' or the 'weaving loom'. In Assamese the same word means 'breadth wise', as against 'দীৰ্ঘ' which means 'lengthwise', on the loom.

### PHONETIC GLIDES

125. Extra sounds are sometimes introduced at the beginning, middle or end of a word in order to facilitate pronunciation, to adjust the vocal apparatus while passing from one position to another, to fill up a hiatus caused by the loss of a consonant or to close a word with a consonantal click.

126. In the following words which begin with a conjunct containing a sibilant an ই is inserted at the beginning to adjust the tongue in proper position.

স্কুল, school is pronounced ইস্কুল

ষ্টেশ্যন, station ইষ্টেশ্যন

ষ্টাম্প, stamp ইষ্টাম্প্



127. য় is inserted while passing from ই, ঐ to অ, আ, এ and ও.

দি, give + অন্, (affix) দিয়ন্, act of giving

দি, give এ, (affix) দি়ে, he gives.

পিঅন্, peon পিয়ন্

দি, (he) ও (also) দিয়ো

128. ৰ is introduced while passing from উ, ঊ, ও to অ, আ and এ.

থু, spittle + অা থুৰা, to spit

ধোা, to wash + অা ধোৰা, act of washing.

H. বন্ধুঅা, captive বন্ধুৰা, hereditary servant.

শোা to sleep + অন্ শোৰন্, act of sleeping

শোা + এ শোৰে, he sleeps.

129. Void caused by the loss of a consonant at the middle or end of a word is filled up with a glide which may be either a semivowel, a liquid or a হ, (h):—

য়, introduced as a glide in

পঅভৰ, trampling

of many feet (পদভৰ) > পয়োভৰ, pomp.

পিঅাস, thirst (পিপাসা) > পিয়াহ

শিঅাল, jackal (শৃগাল) > শিয়াল

ল, introduced in

আঅাস, sky (আকাশ) > আলাস, space, air.

cf. আলাসৰ লাডু (sweets made of air, (airy nothing) also means very delicate.

cf. “আলমুৰা “আলাসত চাং পাত” means ‘build castle in the air’. Also, “আলাসত ফুৰাই পাক হামিলাহা দলি” —swinging him in the air etc.—S.K.D.

ৰ introduced in

কূপ, a well

কুৰা

130. Consonants generally ক (k), ব (r), ল (l) are added at the end of a word ending in a vowel to close the word with a consonantal click.

ক is added in:—

আদি, etc.

আদিক্, (used in  
North Bengal)

কিন্তু, but

কিন্তুক্ Do

জামু, a berry

জামুক্

Pk. জোন্হা, moon light

জোনাঙ্ক্

In Mid. A. যাইবে, shall go

যাইবেক্

খাইবে, shall eat

খাইবেক্

এল্লয় > হেন, such like

হেনেক্

এল্লয় > এনে

এনেক্ > এনেকুৰা

In the same way তেনেক্ > তেনেকুৰা, যেনেক্ > যেনেকুৰা  
'উৰা' being an adjectival suffix added.

131. ব, is added in:—

মেকো, cat (Mongolian)

মেকোব, in East Bengal.

মেকুৰী, in Assam (fem).

ধ্যাম, to fade,

জামব, to abate or shrink.

খাইয়া, having eaten

খাইয়াব, (in East Bengal)

দিবো, I will give

দিবোব, (in Mid. B.)

দেখনীয়া, worth seeing

দেখনিয়াব

মগনীয়া, beggar

মগনিয়াব

ভগনীয়া, refugee

ভগনিয়াব

খোজনীয়া, one who asks  
alms

খোজনিয়াব

শিয়া, roots (শিফা)

শিয়াব

শমা, ploughing (শম্ব)

শমাৰ, ploughing a  
second time

132. ল, added after the words:—

Mid. A. ছৰা, young of

an animal (শাৰ) ছৰাল, (boy) ছোৰালী, (girl)

তেজা, bloody তেজাল, fullblooded.

East. B. পোৰা, young of পোৰালী, calf.

an animal (পোত)

ফৰ্কা, clear, fair (H. ফৰ্চা) ফৰ্কাৰ, clear.

ভিতৰুৱা, relating to

interior

ভিতৰুৱাল

ভেক, frog

ভেকোলা, ভেকুলী

গৰমীয়া, affectionate

গৰমিয়াল

H. মুখীয়া, chief (মুখ্য)

মুখিয়াল, of leadership

মাজুলীয়া, islander

মাজুলিয়াল

লাগতিয়া, useful

লাগতিয়াল

মুখ, mouth

মুখাল, having a sharp  
tongue.

133. When a vowel is added to a vowel at the end of a word, a consonant comes in between them as a glide.

ৰ, comes in—

কাঅ, a crow (কাক) + ঐ

কাউৰী, (fem.)

B. কাল, deaf + ঐ

কালৰী, (fem.)

অৰ্ধ, half + উৰা

আধৰুৱা, by half.

ডিক, grown up + ঐ

ডেকেৰী, (fem.)

নাও, boat + ঐয়া

নাওৰীয়া, নাৱৰীয়া boat man

পলা, flee + ঐয়া

পলৰীয়া, fugitive.

ভাও, acting on stage

ভাওৰীয়া, ভাৱৰীয়া, actor

134. ল comes in—

গাঁও, village + ঈয়া	গাওঁলীয়া belonging to village গাৰাঁলীয়া
মিছা, a lie + ঈয়া	মিছলীয়া, liar
মাজ, middle + ঈয়া	মজলীয়া, of the middle

135. When a consonant is added to a consonant at the end of a word, a vowel comes in as glide.

কোচ, (koc) a class of men + নী (fem.)	কুচুনী
ডোম, (dom) class of men + নী (fem.)	ডুমুনী
নাপিত্, (nāpit) barber + নী (fem.)	নাপিতনী
কমাৰ, (kamār) smith + নী (fem.)	কমাৰনী
চোৰ, (cor) thief + নী (fem.)	চুৰনী
ভূত, (bhut) ghost + নী (fem.)	ভূতুনী

136. In the following words ঈয়া or উৰা is added to words ending in consonants. No glide comes in :—

বনৰ, of forest	+ ঈয়া > বনৰীয়া
বাটৰ, of the road	+ উৰা > বাটৰুৱা
হাটৰ, of the market	+ উৰা > হাটৰুৱা
বিজাতৰ, of low caste	+ ঈয়া > বিজতৰীয়া
আগত (হোৱা), at the beginning	+ ঈয়া > আগতীয়া, happening early.
শেহত (হোৱা), at the end	+ ঈয়া > শেহতীয়া happening late.
ঘৰত (থকা), at home	+ ঈয়া > ঘৰতীয়া, ঘৰচীয়া, domestic
তলত (থকা) under	+ ঈয়া > তলতীয়া, subordinate

137. Sometimes a consonant comes in as a glide to combine with a nasal of its own class, either in the middle or end of a word:—

ত, দ, combines with ন :—

খান্, dig	> থান্
ক্ষণেক্, one moment	> ক্ষন্তেক্
বানৰ, monkey	> বান্দৰ
পীন্, to swell	> ফিন্দ
ফান্, hair of horse tail	> ফান্ snare made of horse tail hair.

ড combines with গ :—

গোনা, bull	> গোণ্ডা > বোন্দা, male
দ্রোণকাক	> ঢোণ্ডাকাক, Mid. A.

ব, combines with ম :—

আচমিত, (চমৎকৃত)	আচমিত, suddenly
সমায়, enters	সমায় cf; “মোৰ কানে নাসমায় তোৰ এ দুষ্ট বানী”—শ্রীকৃষ্ণ কীর্তন

It is therefore highly probable that the Accusative or Objective case-ending ক (k) in most of the modern Indian languages is but a glide that comes in to combine with the ‘anuswara’ at the end of nouns and pronouns in the Accusative Case. Subsequently the ‘anuswara’ was dropped, leaving the ক alone as the Accusative Case-ending. This ক took different forms; eg, কে, কু, কো, ক . The following examples are in the Accusative Case.

ত্বাম্ > (Apa) তুমাং	> তুমাঙ্ > তোমাক (you)
তং > তাক্	> তাক, (him)

ଗୃହ > ସବକ > ସବକ ଯାଉଁ, we go home

বামঃ > বামস্থ > বামক, বামকে

In Oriya the 'anusvar' is often retained; eg, সেমানঙ্ক, (them) < সেমানং. At present scholars differ as to the origin of the Accusative ক, According to some it is derived from কক্ষ, (side). Others are of opinion that it is derived from the Genitive ক in Hindi and কেৰ in M.I.A. But none of these theories appear very satisfactory.

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