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ASSAMESE,
ITS FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT

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

By

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PUBLISHED BY THE
GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM IN THE
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN STUDIES,
NARAYANI HANDIQUI HISTORICAL INSTITUTE,
GAUHATI, ASSAM.

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"Language, like the rocks, is strewn with the fossilised wrecks of former conditions of society."

—*A. H. Sayce.*

TO

Dr. John Richard Cunningham,

C.I.E., M.A., LL.D., I.E.S. (Retd.)

Director of Public Instruction, Assam,
1912–1931,

with veneration.

Gauhati, Assam,
March 15, 1941.

B. K.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

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

Dr. Kakati breaks an entirely a new ground, and we only hope that the dialects and sub-dialects spoken in the tribal areas of Assam will be subjected to similar scrutiny, and for this we shall require a continuous band of well-equipped scholars, and decades of philological investigation on scientific lines. It can be predicted that the present publication will serve, for many long years to come, as a model, guide and stimulus to such investigation. As far as the Department

of Historical and Antiquarian Studies is concerned it will always consider it a part of its duty if it can in any way inspire the compilation or be instrumental in the publication of scholarly and scientific treatises like the present one of Dr. Kakati.

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

Assam Secretariat,
Shillong,
March 17, 1941.

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

PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

with systematised informations about the formation of the Assamese language.

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

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

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

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

The first draft of the manuscript was presented to Dr. S. K. Chatterji for kind revision. He very patiently read through the entire manuscript and marked out certain faults of omission and commission. The revised manuscript prepared under his guidance and supervision was then sent over under his direction to Dr. J. Bloch (Paris), for such further suggestions and illumination as he only could give. Dr. Bloch

took infinite pains to read through the entire hand-written script and mark certain points that he considered doubtful or uncertain. He condescended also to offer various suggestions. Certain sections have accordingly been rewritten and others newly added under his inspiration. His suggestions on specific points have been duly acknowledged. For the rest and also for the generosity with which he responded to the supplication of an unknown worker, I cherish the abiding gratitude of a humble learner towards the great teacher that he is.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The proprietor (Mr. G. Srinivasachari, B.A.) and the printers of the G. S. Press deserve special thanks. The

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

I have to thank several friends and well wishers from whom I received help and encouragement towards completion and publication of this book. The foremost amongst them are Dr. D. Thomson, M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D., Principal, Cotton College, (1926-1933) ; Mr. S. C. Roy, M.A. (Lond.), Principal, Cotton College, (1933-1940) ; Prof. A. T. Chatterji, M.A., (now retired) ; Prof. P. C. Roy, M.A., (now retired) ; Prof. B. M. Sen, M.A. ; Prof. M. N. Goswami, M.A., B.L. ; Mr. O. K. Das, B.A., M.L.A., Mr. H. C. Barua, B.L. ; the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Mr. H. P. Barua, M.A., B.L. ; Mr. N. K. Dutta, M.L.A.

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

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

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

BANIKANTA KAKATI.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ap.	:	Apabhraṅśa.
As.	:	Assamese.
Austr.	:	Austric.
Bih.	:	Bihārī.
Bḍ.	:	Boḍo.
Bg.	:	Bengali.
Bhoj.	:	Bhojpurī.
Br.	:	Brajabhākhā.
D.	:	Deśī.
E. As.	:	Early Assamese.
E. Bg.	:	Early Bengali.
E. H.	:	Eastern Hindi.
F. L. M.	:	Formation de la Langue Marathe.
G.	:	Gujrātī.
H. C.	:	Hema Chandra.
Hon.	:	Honorific.
Inf.	:	Inferior.
K. A. S.	:	Kāmrūp Anusāndhān Samiti.
Kmpi.	:	Kāmrūpī.
Khas.	:	Khāsi.
L. S. I.	:	Linguistic Survey of India.
L. W.	:	Loan Word.
M.	:	Mārāṭhī.
Mag.	:	Magahī.
Maith.	:	Maithilī.
M. I. A.	:	Middle Indo-Aryan.
Mid. As.	:	Middle Assamese.
Mid. Bg.	:	Middle Bengali.
Mod. As.	:	Modern Assamese.
Mod. Bg.	:	Modern Bengali.
Mḍ.	:	Muṇḍāri.
Mw.	:	Mārwāṛī.
N. Nep.	:	Nepali.
N. I. A.	:	New Indo-Aryan.
O.	:	Oṛiyā.

O. D. B. L.	:	Origin and Development of the Bengali Language.
O. I. A.	:	Old Indo-Aryan.
P.	:	Pānjābī.
P. A. P. D.	:	Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India.
Pl.	:	Plural.
S.	:	Sindhī.
Sg.	:	Singular.
St. Coll.	:	Standard Colloquial.
Sts.	:	Semi-tatsama.
T.	:	Thāi.
Tbh.	:	Tadbhava.
Ts.	:	Tatsama.
W. H.	:	Western Hindi.

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

SIGNS

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

< means *comes from, is derived from,* etc.

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

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

√ means root.

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

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

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

TRANSLITERATION

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

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

In Assamese words, final *-a* has been dropped in transliteration as it remains quiescent in pronunciation. Whenever its presence to the eye has to be noted, it has been shewn as *-ȧ*. It has been transliterated as *-à*, wherever its distinct sound has been preserved ; e.g. *bhok ; manȧ ; pārà*. The letter *a'* shews the elision of a following mutating vowel *i* and has the sound of *ŏ ;* e.g., *ca't* (*cŏt*).

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

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

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

INTRODUCTION.

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

(*A*) "*Assam*" and "*Assamese*".

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

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

The word *Assam* was connected with the Shan invaders of the Brahmaputra Valley. Since 1228 the easternmost part of the valley came under the domination of a section of the great Thāi (Tāi) or Shan race which spreads eastwards from the border of Assam over nearly the whole of further India and far into the interior of China. It seems curious that while the Shan invaders called themselves *Tāi* (Gait : p. 245) they came to be referred to as *Āsām, Āsàm, Asàm* and *Acàm,* by the natives of the province. In *Darrang Rāj Vaṁśābali,* a chronicle of the Koch kings by Sūryya Khari Daibajña, composed in the sixteenth century, the word *Asàm* has all through been employed as a term of reference to the conquer-

ing Shans. In *Śankar Carit,* by Daityāri Ṭhākur of the seventeenth century, the Shans have been variously designated as *Āsām, Āsàm, Asàm.* In *Kāmrūpar Burañji,* of a much later date, occurs the form *Acàm* also.

No satisfactory explanation has yet been offered by historians as to how the term *Āsām* with variants came to be applied to the tribe. Grierson notes that the word *Shan* is a Burmese corruption of the original word *Sham.* (L.S.I., Vol. II. p. 59). Dr. P. C. Bagchi equates Shan with *Sien-Syam* (*Syam* of the Khmer inscriptions and *Sien* of the Chinese sources) and traces *Āhŏm,* the modern Assamese designation of the Tāi people, to *Sien-Syam* (P. C. Pagchi: Foreword to *The Indian Colony of Siam* by P. N. Bose p. vii).

3. The modern Assamese word *Āhŏm,* by which the Tāi people are known evidently goes back to early Assamese *Āsām; Āsām* > *Āsam* > *Āham, Āhŏm.* The last syllable of *Āsām* might very well be connected with *Sham* but the initial vowel *Ā-,* would remain unexplained, *Ā-,* as a prefix having a privative or derogatory significance. Following the tradition of the *Āhŏms* themselves, Sir Edward Gait suggests that the term *Asàm* in the sense of "unequalled" or "peerless" was applied to the Shans by the local tribes in token of their admiration of the way in which the Shans first conquered and then conciliated them. Though the rude Mongolian tribes could not have been expected to be acquainted with a learned Sanskrit derivative like *Asàm,* yet Sir Edward considers it very probable that this derivation is after all the right one,—in whatever way the word might have come into use (*History of Assam,* p. 246). In slight amplification of Sir Edward's conclusion it may be added that *Asàma,* peerless, may be a latter-day Sanskritisation of some earlier form like *Āchām.* In Tāi (*Āhŏm*), √*Chām,* means "to be defeated". With the privative Assamese prefix *Ā-,* the whole formation *Āsām* would mean "undefeated," "conquerors," being thus a hybrid equivalent of the word *Thāi* (Tāi) meaning "free" as opposed to *Camuwā* (**Cāmuwā*<**Chāmuwā*), an Āhŏm subject of a respectable

*Prof. (now Dr.) S. K. Bhuyan notes in his introduction to *Tungkhungia Buranji* (pp. xxix, xxx) that the adult popu-

status.* The presence of forms like *Āsām, Ācām* in early Assamese seems to lend support to this view. Skt. *Asáma* could have given a *sts.* form like *Āsam* but hardly *Āsām.*

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

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

(*B*) *The Affinities of Assamese.*

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

lation of Assam was divided into *Khels* or groups having to render specific service to the state such as arrow-making, boat-building etc. The *Chamuwās* or higher ranks of subjects were exempted from personal service. He further defines the position of a *Chamuwā* as an Āhom subject of a higher status than the *Kāri Pāiks,* the arrow-making subjects. The *Chamuwās* were holders of offices or were employed as goldsmiths and artisans and were ordinarily exempted from manual service. They were also called *Apāikān Chamuwās* (*Ibid.* Glossary, p. 237) evidently as different from other *Chamuwās* or subjects who had to render specific services as *Pāiks.* (An adult male was called a *Pāik*).

powerful neighbour Bengal, the Assamese language is commonly believed to be an off-shoot or sub-dialect of Bengali. This misunderstanding is largely due to the territorial redistribution under the British rule. The whole of North Bengal including Koch-Bihar, Rangpur, Jalpāiguri and also perhaps Dināpur, should have been included with Assam and the modern district of Sylhet which forms a part of political Assam should have been joined to Bengal, if the territorial readjustment were to be made on the basis of linguistic homogeneity. Such territorial distribution would have given a proper perspective to the formation and development of the Asssamese language.

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

When Hiuen Ts'ang visited the country in 643 A.D. he knew it as *Ka-mo-lu-p'o* (Kāmarūpa). Its western boundary was the river Karatoyā in North Bengal. "The pilgrim crossed a large river and came to Ka-mo-lu-p'o". "The river *Ka-lo-tu* (Karatoyā) may be the large river of the present passage" (Watters: Vol. II. pp. 186, 187). According to the authority of Sanskrit *Kālikāpurāṇa* (supposedly of the 10th century) and of *Yoginī Tantra* (supposedly of the 16th. century)—both mainly devoted to giving geographical accounts of the land, the name of the region east of the river Karatoyā in North Bengal to the river Dikkara (Dikrāi) in Eastern Assam, was Kāmarūpa and its permanent western boundary had been the river Karatoyā since the times of Narakāsura and Bhagadatta of Kurukṣetra fame.

7. Whatever be the backward time limit of the river Karatoyā having formed the western boundary of ancient Prāgjyotiṣa or Kāmarūpa, it is certain that in Hiuen Ts'ang's time it marked the westernmost frontier of the Kāmarūpa kingdom. It was of the language of the people of this kingdom when he said that " their speech differed a little from that of Mid-India. (Watters: Vol. II. p. 186). It was under the patronage of kings outside the western limit of modern Assam,—under the patronage of the kings of Kāmatāpur, fourteen miles to the south west of Coch-Bihar, that the earliest Assamese books were written. Even now the spoken language of North Bengal and western Assam (districts of Kāmrūp and Goālpārā) is substantially the same and seems to form one dialect group. The points of difference between this western Assamese dialect and the standard colloquial of eastern Assam have been noted below (§§. 33 ff.).

8. The great author of The Linguistic Survey did not leave unnoticed the linguistic unity of North Bengal and Assam and he pointed to Māgadhī as the common source of all the eastern dialects. " Māgadhī was the principal dialect which corresponded to the old Eastern Prākrit. East of Magadha lay the Gauḍa or Prācya Apabhraṁśa the head quarter of which was at Gauṛ in the present district of Malda. It spread to the South and South-East and here became the parent of modern Bengali. Besides spreading southwards Gauḍa Apabhraṁśa also spread to the east keeping north of the Ganges and is there represented at the present day by Northern Bengali and in the valley of Assam by Assamese. North Bengal and Assam did not get their language from Bengal proper but directly from the west. Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa, in fact, may be considered as spreading out eastwards and southwards in three directions. To the North-East it developed into Northern Bengali and Assamese, to the south into Oṛiya and between the two into Bengali. Each of these three descendants is equally directly connected with the common immediate parent and hence we find North Bengali agreeing in some respects rather with Oṛiya, spoken far away to the south

than with the Bengali of Bengal proper of which it is usually classed as a sub-dialect" (L.S.I. Vol. I, Part I, pp. 125-126).

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

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

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

11. Skeat's conception of a dialect may be accepted as a good working hypothesis. "When we talk of speakers of dialect, we imply that they employ a provincial method of speech to which the man who has been educated to use the language of books is unaccustomed. Such a man finds that the dialect speaker frequently uses words or modes of expression which he does not understand or which are at any rate strange to him; and he is sure to notice that such words as seem to be familiar to him are, for the most part strangely pronounced. Such differences are especially noticeable in the use of vowels and diphthongs and in the mode of intonation (Skeat: *English Dialects.* pp. 1, 2).

12. Judged by this standard, Assamese will not betray any characteristics that may be regarded as dialectal aberrations of Bengali. On the other hand, it will be found that they started on parallel lines with peculiar dialectical predispositions and often developed sharply contradictory idiosyncrasies.

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

(i) Assamese words for *fire* and *water* are from the earliest period *zui* and *pānī*, as opposed to Bg. *āgun* and *jal*. Assamese *pānī* for *water* is common to all the dialects of Bihārī and Eastern Hindi, but *zui* for *fire* has parallels only in *joy* and *jwe* of the Bhatri dialect of Oṛiyā and in the Bhulia dialect of Eastern Hindi respectively, both south of the Vindhyas.

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

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

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

(v) Present part in As. is *-õt-* (*-anta*). Bengali has *-it-*. (§§. 791, ff.).

(vi) The past conditional in As. is expressed by the postposition *hẽten* (earlier *hãte, hante*) after a fully conjugated

verbal root in the past. Bengali expresses the past conditional with the pres. part. base in *-it-* with personal conjugational affixes (§§. 787, ff.).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14. Dr. S. K. Chatterji has often referred to forms and idioms in the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā* as sources of corresponding forms and idioms in modern Bengali though he characterises the language of *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*, as a kind of Western Apabhraṅśa from its *-u-* nominatives, its *aha-* genitives, its *-ijja-* passives and its general agreement with forms with the

literary Western Apabhraṁśa. (O.D.B.L., Vol. I., p. 112). Dr. Bloch characterising the language of the *Dohās* says,—" We may call it oriental because it is found in Eastern texts and because there are some Eastern influences, but it is not so if we wish to find in it the base of the modern Eastern languages." (Quoted from Dr. P. C. Bagchi's article : *The Sibilants in the Buddhist dohās* : *Indian Linguistics* : Vol. V parts I-VI p. 356). It has been pointed out by Dr. G. Tucci on the authority of some Tibetan manuscripts that Mīnanāth, one of the poets of the *Bauddha dohās,* was a fisherman from Kāmarūpa (J.A.S.B. New Series. Vol. XXVI. No. I, pp. 133, 134). All these great authorities agree about the presence of Eastern forms and influences in the language of the *dohās.* Dr. Bagchi places the date of the composition of these texts sometime between the 8th and the 10th centuries A.D. (*ibid*).

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

Assamese and the *dohās* share in common certain morphological characteristics also; viz., dative case-ending in *-lai* (As. *-lai*), e.g., *kula-lai ; meru śikhara-lai ;* Loc. ending in *-ta* (As. *-ta*) ., e.g., *saṇkamata ; bāṭata ; hāṛita.* Gen. ending in *-ra* (As. *-ra*) : e.g. *sasara*; *abidara.* The Pres. Part. in *-ant-* (E. As. *-ant-* ; Mod. As. *-õt-*) : e.g., *paṛante, jāante, buṛante,* etc. Conjunctives in *-i- -ile* (As. *-i, -ile*): e.g. *suni; dekhi; bujhjhile; caṛile* etc.

16. All this proves only that Assamese is not an off-shoot or *patois* of Bengali but an independent speech related to Bengali, both occupying the position of dialects with reference

to some standard Magadhan Apabhraṅśa. Modern Assamese in certain respects shows a closer approximation to the forms and idioms preserved in the *dohās.*

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

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

19. Of the two formations *hãte* (*hante*) and *hàite* used as post-positions to express the ablative sense, the latter (*hàite*)

is a living form in Bengali, and *hante* (*hãte*), a feature in E. As. has now dropped out of use in Mod. As.

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

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

Dr. Chatterji has made certain valuable observations in this respect. Speaking about the Bengali dialects he says,— "The Bengali dialects cannot be referred to a single primitive Bengali speech, but they are derived from various local forms of late Magadhan Apabhraṅśa, which developed some common characteristics that may be called pan-Bengali." (O.D.B.L., p. 139). Again, "Assamese under her independent kings and her social life entirely self-contained, became an independent speech, although her sister dialect, North Bengali, accepted the vassalage of the literary speech of Bengal." (*ibid.* p. 148).

(C) *The Distinctive Assamese Period.*

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

(i) Early Assamese:—from the fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century. This again may be split into (a) the Pre-Vaishnavite and (b) the Vaishnavite sub-periods.

(ii) Middle Assamese:—from the seventeenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is a period of the prose chronicles of the Āhŏm court.

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

23. The earliest Assamese writer is Hema Sarasvatī, the author of a small poem, *Prahrāda Carita*. He makes mention of his patron, king Durlabhanārāyaṇa of Kāmatāpur, who is said to have ruled in the latter part of the 13th century. In the time of king Indranārāyaṇa of Kāmatāpur, the son of Durlabhanārāyaṇa, the two poets Harihara Vipra and Kaviratna Sarasvatī composed *Aśvamedha Parva* and *Jayadratha Vadha* respectively. Another poet named Rudra Kandali translated *Droṇa Parva* under the patronage of king Tāmradhvaja of Rangpur. But the most considerable poet of the Pre-Vaishnavite sub-period is Mādhava Kandali, who rendered the entire *Rāmāyaṇa* into Assamese verse under the patronage of king Mahāmāṇikya, a Kāchāri king of Jayantāpura. Mādhava Kandali belonged to central Assam, now represented by the present district of Nowgong. His date has not been definitely fixed, but Śankara Deva (born in 1449 A.D.) makes respectful mention of him as an unrivalled predecessor. From linguistic peculiarities common to all Pre-Vaishnavite writers and summarised below, Mādhava Kandali can not be placed later than the fourteenth century.

24. In all these writers, the Assamese idiom seems to have been fully individualised. The language bears certain archaisms which are remarkably free from the writings of Śankara Deva and his school. The personal affixation to nouns of relationship is fully established and continues even to-day. So is an anterior *-ā-* shortened before a following *-ā-*. This also is a feature of modern Assamese phonology. But the addition of personal endings after participial tenses in *-ib-*, *-il-*, was not fully established. A good deal of fluctuations is noticeable,—the participial suffixes sometimes standing alone without any personal endings and sometimes taking them on. There is in all these writers a curious use of the conjunctive

participle, e.g., *hāni-ere* (does pierce) ; *kari-erà* (do you do) ; *gucāi-erõ* (I do remove) etc. *Cf.* uses in Bengali *Kṛṣṇa Kīrtana* : *di-ārà ; kahi-ārà ;* (do thou give ; do thou speak) (§§ 828 ff). The past participle in *-ibā-* is also found in all these writers e.g. *māribāra prajā,* the slain people ; *dibāra astra,* the weapons given. (§§ 796 ff).

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

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

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

27. Two grammatical peculiarities are, however, noticeable: (1) The first personal ending in *-m̐-* in the future tense appears for the first time in writing side by side with the conventional *-bõ* in the same discourse and under the same syntac-

tical conditions: e.g. *nu-jujhima,* I shall not fight *likhibõ,* I shall write. (2) The extended forms of the personal endings of participial tenses like *-o-hõ, lo-hõ-, bo-hõ ; ā-hā, lā-hā -bā-hā ; -li-hi, bi-hi* etc., are dropped altogether. It would appear that in verse compositions these forms occur owing to the exigencies of metre (§ 760).

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

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

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

30. With the publication of the Bible in Assamese prose by the American Baptist Missionaries in 1819, the modern

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

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

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

The dialectical forms referred to in the body of the text belong to western Assam (Kāmrūp).

II. POINTS OF DIALECTICAL DIVERGENCE.

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

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

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

The most salient points of difference are grouped below:

(*i*) *Phonological.*

36. The word-stress in the Kāmrūpī dialect is uniformly and dominantly *initial* as opposed to the *penultimate* stress of the standard colloquial.

(a) Medial vowels are as a result rarely pronounced and mostly slurred over.

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

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

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

e.g., *hāulā* for *hāluwā,* a draught ox.
keuilā, a hermit, for *kewalīyā.*

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

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

So also, *indur,* a rat; *sindur,* vermillion; *nimu,* lime-fruit etc., for St. Coll. *endur, sendur, nemu, khāichi,* he has eaten, for *khāiche.*

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

(*ii*) *Morphological.*

37. Both the groups have different sets of plural suffixes. For St. Coll. *-bor, bilāk,* Western Assamese has *-gilān, -gilāk, -hun, -āhun* etc. The Pl. affix *-hāt* is common to both the groups but its use is restricted in Western Assamese.

(a) Pronominal derivatives are often different in both the groups; for Western Assamese temporal adverbs *kethen,*

when, *tethen,* then etc., Eastern Assamese has no parallel formations ; so also Western Assamese *kàhẽ, jàhẽ,* etc., where, wherever etc., are peculiar to it.

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

(c) For St. Coll. *hẽten,* to indicate the past conditional, western Assamese has *hãẏ,* etc.

(*iii*) *Glossarial.*

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

Western As.	Eastern As.
lājetī latā, sensitive plant.	*nilājī latā.*
khābhani, a scraper, rack.	*jabakā.*
jakarā bhāt, rice left over after eating for a next meal.	*paitā bhāt, etc.,*

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

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

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

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

III. ASSAMESE VOCABULARY.

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

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

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

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

(4) Words of Non-Aryan origin.

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

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

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

41. Of the varied groups of words, the *tbhs.* constitute the most preponderating elements in Assamese. This is mostly due to the fact that the foundations of Assamese literature were laid by the Vaishnavite reformers whose chief aim was to appeal to the masses and who composed their books as much as possible in the language of the people. The prose chronicles of the Āhŏm court meant primarily for the education of the children of the gentry carried this tradition further

In the beginning of the modern period, the American Baptist Missionaries translated the Bible and ran a monthly periodical named *Aruṇodaya* in the spoken language of the people and gave a fresh momentum to the traditions of composition in homely language. The first Assamese-English dictionary of the American Baptist Missionary, Rev. M. Bronson, is a unique collection of colloquial Assamese words, and later lexicographers have only followed Rev. Bronson in assigning a predominant place to homely indigenous words in their collections.

42. Side by side with the *tbh.* elements, there is a fairly large class of *sts.* words. These seem to be later formations and often betray a good deal of semantic variations. Thus Skt. *śasya—*, yields genuine *tbh. xāh,* kernel of a fruit, and *sts. xàh,* agricultural crops, and a quite recent formation *xàic,* paddy. So also Skt. *sañca—*, gives *tbh. xāc*, mould, impression and *sts. xãc,* seed for germination. Similarly *thorā,* pestle of a husking-machine (*ḍhẽki*) and *sts. ṭhõṭ,* the beak of a bird, are connected with Skt. *troṭi.* Likewise, *tbh. găr,* boil, and *sts. gãr,* rhinoceros, look back to Skt. *gaṇḍa.*

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

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

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

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

Words of Sanskritic origin which preserve the sibilant sound in the place of the Skt. sibilants which uniformly have an (*x*) sound in Assamese, are loan words from Hindustānī or other Western dialects. *Cf. ticī,* linseed : *cámbhāle,* takes

care of: *bāic, teic,* twenty-two, twenty-three etc. To denote the sibilant sound, (c) is used in Assamese spellings.

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

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

Assamese.	Marathi.
khāk, savage hunger:	*khankha,* savage, miserly.
khaccā, knotty as a tie:	*khacca,* hard and fast.
khābhani, a rack, a scraper:	*khāvani,* a scraper.
(E.As.) *khaṇṭa-cor,* arrant thief:	*khān-cor.*
khāp, a notch:	*khāp*
gāõ-burā, a petty village officer:	*gāṇ-barā.*
jakarā-(bhāt): surplus rice kept over for a next meal:	*jakerā,* surplus articles.
tāṇgaran, edition of a book:	*tāṇgaraṇ,* improvement.
baraṇgani, subscription:	*bargaṇi,* subscription.
beji, needle:	*bej,* eye of a needle.
etc.	

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

Indo-Aryan Colonies in the Far-East. Vol. I. Champa, pp. xi, xiii). Further, the beginning of the Indian Colonial kingdoms is not later than the 2nd century A.D. (*ibid.*, p. xvi).

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

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

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

Non-Aryan elements.

48. The principal Non-Aryan sources contributing loan words to Assamese havē been discussed below in a separate section. They are (1) Austro-Asiatic:—(a) Khāsi; (b) Kolarian and (c) Malayan. (2) Tibeto-Burman:—Boḍo;

(3) Thāi :—Āhom. Specimen contributions from the respective groups have been tabulated under respective headings. One point only need be emphasised : while the Khāsi, Boḍo and Thāi elements may be regarded as loans due to the contact of Assamese with the several languages, the Malayan and Kolarian elements may be said to be due to the facts of a substratum resulting from the unconscious blending of two systems existing amongst the people.

IV. DIALECT SPECIMENS.

The story of the prodigal son.

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

Excepting velars and labials, consonants have an alveolar articulation.

Eastern Assam

(1) *Standard Colloquial (Śibsāgar).*

50. kono ezan mānuhar dutā putɛk āsil. tārɛ xarutowe bāpɛkak kale—"ǫj bopāi, āponār xampattir zi bhāg mai pāũ, tāk mok diyak." tāte tɛũ tɛũr xampatti duyo putɛkar bhitarat bāti dile. alap dinar pāsat xaruto putɛke tār bhāgat zi pāle tāke lǫj dur dexaloj gǫj beissāli kari gotei xampatti nāx karile. tār pāsat xei dexat bar ākāl hol. tāte xi dukh pābaloj dharile. tetiyā xi gǫj xei dexar ezan mānuhar āsray lale, āru xei mānuhe tāk gāhari sarābaloj pathāraloj pathāi dile. tāte xi gāharir khowā ebidh gasar sẽire pɛt bharābaloj bar hɛpāh karileo tāk koneo ɛko nidile. xexat xi setan pāi kale—"mor bopāir kata golāme zorāt kǫj adhik khowā bastu pāise, kintu mai iyāt bhokat marisõ; mai ubhati bopāir tāloj gǫj ei kathā kam ze—'ǫj bopāi, mai issarar osarat āru āponār osarat pāp karilõ, mai āru āponār po buli kabar zoigga nahaũ; mok āponār ɛtā golām buli rākhak.' pāsat xi bāpɛkar osaraloj ubhati āhil, kintu xi durǫjt thākõtei tār bāpɛke tāk dekhi maram lāgi, lari gǫj, tār diŋit dhari sumā khāle. tetiyā putɛke tɛũk kale—"ǫj bopāi, mai issarar osarat āru āponār osarat pāp karisõ; mai āru āponār po buli kabar zoigga nahaũ". kintu bāpɛke bandibilākak kale—"iyāk bɛgāi ātāitkǫj bhāl kāpor āni pindhāhāk; iyār hātat āŋathi āru bharit payzār pindhāhāk; āru āmi bhoz pāti raṅ karõhāk. kiyano mor ei po marisil, ākǫu zile; hɛrāisilõ ākǫu pālõ". tātɛ xakalowe raṅ karibaloj dharile.

tetiyā tɛũr bar putɛk pathārat āsil. pāsat xi gharar osar pāi, nās-bazanār xabda xunile. tetiyā xi bandi-bilākar ɛtāk māti xudhile— 'ei-bor no ki hojse?" tāte xi kale— "tomār bhāyer ubhāti āhise, āru tomār pitāre tɛũk xustha xarilere powā hetuke bar bhoz pātise". tāte tār bar khaṅ uthil, āru bhitaraloj zābar anissā hal, kintu tār bāpɛke olāi goj tāk kākuti minati karilat, xi bāpɛkak kale ze—"mai imān basar āponār xewā kari kono kāle āponār āiggā ulaṅghā nāi; tathāpi kono kāle āpuni mok bandhu-bilākar lagat raṅ karibaloj eti sāgali powālio diyā nāi. kintu āponār zi putɛke bessār lagat āponār xakalo xampatti bhagan karile, xi āhilate tār nimitte āpuni bar bhoz pātile". tetiyā tɛũ tāk kale—"bāpā tumi xadāi mor lagate āsā, āru mor zi zi āse, xakalo tomārei, kintu tomār ei bhāyer marisil, ākoụ zise; herāisilõ ākoụ pāisõ; ei kāle āmi raṅ karā āru ānandit howā usit".—L.S.I. Vol. V, part I, p. 405.

Western Assam:—Kamrup.

(2) *Pātidarang (Eastern Kāmrūp).*

51. ɛtā mānhur dutā putāk āsil. xɛhātor xarutui bāpākok kalāk,—"he pite, xampottir mor bhāgot zikhini parei, tāke mok di". tāte tɛõ nizor xampotti xɛhātok bhāgei dilāk. tār alap dinor pāsotei xɛñ xaru putɛktoi xakaloke gotei loj kombā dexok legi palei gɛl. āru tāte lampat kāmot gotāi urei dilāk. xi xakalo biyay karāõte xɛñ dexot bar ākāl hal. tāte xi bar kasto pābā dhallāk. tɛtɛn xi āru xɛñ dexor ɛtā mānhur āsraẏ lalāk. xɛñ māntui nizor pathārok legi tāk barā sāribāk legi pathei dilāk. tāte xi āru barāi khāwā ɛkbidh gāsor sẽi di pɛt bharābāk legi bar hɛpāh kallāk. kintu kāwei ɛko tāk nedlāk. xehot āru xi gāt ɛd pāi kalāk,—āmār piter kato sākare zorā kori tāt kori besi khāwā bastu pāsi, kintu mai ɛt bhokhote marso. mai uthi piter tāk legi zāi ɛnɛke kam—"he pite xargor ahite āru tai dɛkhāõte mai bar pāp kallo; tor putere buli mātbār zuiggo nahāõ, tor sākai ɛtār nɛsnā mok kar". tār pāsot xi nizor bāpākor gharok legi āhil. kintu xi durate thākā-õte tār bāpāke tāk dekhi bar marām lāgil. āru dāuri zāi galot dhori sumā khālāk. tɛtɛn putɛke bāpākok kalāk—he pite xargor

ahite āru tai dɛkhāõte mai bar pāp kallo; tor putɛre buli mātbār zuiggo nahāõ. kintu bāpāke sākar bilākok kalāk,—bāsāt bāsā kāpur āni ɛk pindhao. ɛk hātot āṅthi āru bhorit payzār di. āru āmi khāndān kori raṅ karoṅgei. kɛno i mor marā bɛtā hoio ākoɥ zilāk. harelio ākoɥ pāwā gɛl. tāte xɛhāte raṅ karbāk legi dharlāk.

xɛñ xomāitei tār dāŋar putɛke pathāror pārāi āhi gharor osar pāi bāznā āru nāsār xabdo xunlāk. tɛtɛn xi sākar bilākor ɛtāk māti xudhlāk.—"iglā ki hasiyei?" tāte xi kalāk—"tor bhāirei āhil. āru tor pitɛrei tāk bhāle kāle pāi bar bhoz pātsi." tāte tār masto khaṅ uthil. āru bhitɛrok legi zābāk isse nakallāk. kintu tār bāpāke olei āhi tāk xaru hoj kalāk. bāpākok xi ɛnɛkei uttar dilāk— "sāuson, mai imɛn din tor xɛwā kori āsõ. āru tor keteo kathā pɛlɛwā nāi. tathāpi tai mor bandhu bilākor lagot raṅ karbāk legi ɛtā sāgal sānāo mok keteo diyā nāi. kintu tor ɛtu putere beissār lagot tār xampotti bhāŋi khāi pɛllāk. xi āhāõtei tar nimitte tai bar bhoz pātli". tetiyān bāpāke tāk kalāk—bāsā tai xadāi mor lagote āsāh; āru mor zikhini āsei, xiglā torei. kintu tor ɛtu bhāirei mori phāleo ākoɥ zilāk; i harei phāleo ākoɥ pāwā gɛl. xei dekhi āmi raṅ karā āru ānando karā usit. —*Lalit Chandra Deka.*

(3) *Dharmapur (Northern Kāmrūp).*

52. ɛtā mānuhor dutā putāk āsil. tāre xarutui bāpākak kalāk—"bāpā, tumār xampottir zɛkhni mor bhāgot pare xɛkhni mok dɛ". tāte tɛũ āpnār xampotti tāhātok bhāge dilāk. tār kei dinmān pāsot xei xaru putāktui xakloke gate ākhān duhrer dexok logi zāi tāte lampat āsaran kori tār xampotti nāx kaillāk. tār xakalkhini xāũ hat xei dexot bar ākāl hal. tāte xi bar kasta pābā dhaillāk. teitā xi zāi xei dexor mānuh ɛtār āsray lat xei mānuhtui tāk bārā sāirbā pathrok khedalāk. tāte xi bārāi kha ākbidh gāsor sei-di pɛt bharābā bar issā karāto tāk kāyo āko nɛdā hal. xexat xi setan pāi kalāk—"mor bāpār kimān sākare tāhātok ātāke āru tātke besi kha bastu pāisi. kintu mai ɛte bhakhate moissu. mai uthi bāpār kāxak zāi ei kathā kam—"bāpā xargar ahite āru tumi dɛkhate mai pāp koillu. tumār pute

buli kabār upazukta mai nahaũ. mok tumār sākar karā". tār pāsot xi uthi āpnār bāpākor gharok legi āhil. kintu xi duhret thākāte bāpāke tāk dekhi maram lāgi dāuri zāi tār galot dhori sumā khālāk. teitā putāke tɛũk kalāk—"bāpā xargar ahite āru tumi dekhate mai pāp koillu; tumār pute buli kabār upazukta mai nahaũ": kintu bāpāke bandhā gilākok kalāk—"xakaloteke bhāl kāpur āni iyāk pindho: iyār hātot āṅthi, bhorit payzār di āru āmi bhoz khāi raṅ koru. kionu i mor pu morio zilāk āru hareo punar āhil". tāte tāhāte raṅ kairbā dhaillāk.

xei xamayot tār dāŋār putāktu pathrot āsil. pāsot xi āhi gharor kāx pāi bāznā āru nāsār xabda xuinlāk. teitā xi sākar gilākor ɛtāk māti xuidhlāk—"ei-gilānu ki hoisi?" tāte xi kalāk—"tumār bhāĕ āhil āru tumār bāpe tāk bhāle kuxale pāi bar bhoz pāitsi". tāte tār bar khaṅ uthil āru bhitrok logi zābār anissā hal. kintu tār bāpāk ale āhi tāk binay koillāk. tāte xi bāpākok uttar di kalāk—"dɛkhā bāpā, mai imān din tumār xɛwā kori kunu kāle tumār āiggā ulaṅghan karā nāi, tathāpi mor bandhugilākor lagot raṅ koirbā ɛtā sāgalor sānāo diyā nāi. kintu tumār ei zi pute beissār lagot bhāŋi nasto koillāk xi āhāt tār nimitte tumi bar bhoz pāitlā. teitā tɛũ tāk kalāk—"bāpā tai mor lagote āsāh āru mor zi āse xakalo torei. kintu tor ei bhāĕ morio āru zilāk, hara hoio āru pa hal. ei kārane āmi raṅ karā āru ānandit ha usit".—*Pratāp Chandra Goswami.*

(4) *Baḍāli* (*North-Western Kāmrūp*).

53. kunbā ɛtā māhnor dutā putɛk āsil. tāre xarutui bāpɛkok kalāk—"bāpā, xampottir zɛkhni mor bhāgot pare, xɛkhni mok di". titte tɛa nizor xampotti tāhāk bhāge dilāk. tār katāmān din pāsot xɛi xaru putɛktui gote xapā loi kaḍār duihrer dexok gusi gɛl. tāte xi xakalo bayo kallāk, dexato masta ākāl hal. tāte tār bar kasta habā dhallāk. titte xi zāi xei dexare ɛtā māhnor āsray late xei māhnutui tāk bārā sārbā pāthrok lāgi pathe dilāk. tāte xi bārāi khāwa ɛkbidh gāsor sei-di pɛt bharbā bar issā karāto tāk kāyo āko nedlāk. pāsot tār ggiān sāpāt kalāk—"mor bāpār ɛtāk sākare ātāke āro agaddeniyāke khāwa bastu

pāisi. kintu mai iyāt bhukhote morsu. mai uthi phɛle bāpār tāke zāi ei kathā kam—" bāpā, tai dɛkhate pāp kori mor parakāl khālu. tor pute buli mātār lāyak āro nahaṅ. mok tor ɛtā sākarar dare kar ". pāsot xi uthi phɛle tār bāpɛkor gharok āihlāk; kintu xi durete thākāte tār bāpɛke tāk dɛkhā pāi maramate dāuri zāi tār galot dhori sumā khālāk. titte putɛke tɛũk kalāk—" bāpā, tai dɛkhate mai pāp kori parakāl khālu. tor pute buli mātār āro lāyak nahaṅ ". titte bāpɛke bāndhā katāk kalāk—" gotɛte kori bhāl kāpur āni iyāk pindho; iyār hātot āṅthi āro bhorit payzār di, āro āmi bhoz pāti ānanda koru, kiyonu ei mor po morio zilāk. hāra satteo pālu ". titte gote gilākhɛne ānanda korbā dhallāk.

xei pastot tɛũr dāŋār putɛktui pāthrot āsil. pāsot xi āhi gharor guri pāi bāznā āro nāsār xabda xunlāk. titte xi bāndhā katār ɛtāk māti xudhlāk—" iglā khɛn ki hoisi e "? xi kalāk—" tumār bhāĕ āihsi. āro tumār bāpe tāk xustha xarile pāwar nimitte bar bhoz pātsi ". titte tār bar khaṅ uthlāk āro bhitrok zābār logi issā nakallāk. titte tār bāpɛke ole zāi tāk kābo kollāk āro xi bāpɛkok uttar di kalāk—" sāu, mai atak basar tor xɛwā kori kono kālote tor āiggā phɛlā nāi. tɛõ mor bandhu gilakhɛnor lagot ānanda korbā ɛta sāglor sānāo tai kono kāloto diyā nāi. kintu tor ei pute beisār lagot tor ei xampotti bhāŋi khāi phɛllāk, itā āhā mātrake tār nimittee tai masta bhoz pātsāh ". titte tɛũ tāk kalāk—" bāpā, tai xarbadāi mor lagot āsāh, āro mor zi zi āse xɛi gote-gilākhɛn tore. tor ei bhāĕ morio āro zilāk; hāra hoi pāwā gɛl. ei kāranor dhori āmi raṅ āro ānanda karā usit.—*Raghunath Chowdhury.*

(5) *Palāsbāri (Southern Kāmrūp).*

54. kunbā ɛtā mānhur dutā putāk āsil. ɛkdin xorto putāke bāpiyākak kalā-" bāpā wā, āpunār xampottir mai bhāgot zɛmān khēni pām tɛmān khini mok diyā." tɛthāne bāpiyāke nizor xampotti duwo putākak bhāge dilā. kei din mān pāsot xorto putāke tār bhāgto loj kunbā ākhān durher dekhok gɛl, āru tāte gundāmi kori tār gotāi mākhā xampotti nahavrā koillā. tār pāsot xiāi dekhot masta ākāl hal. tethiyān

xi bar dukh pābā dhoillā. tār pāsot xi tārei ɛtā mānhur asārok zāi āsray lalā. mānhtoi tāk bārā sārbā pathārok khɛdālā. tāte xi bārāi khāwā ɛkbidh gāsor sɛṅ khābā dhoillā. tɛo tāk kāyo āko khābā neidlā. tār pāsot setan pāi xi kalā-"āmār bāpār gulām-hāteo agārdenike pɛt bhare khābā pāisi, kintu mai ɛte bhukhot xukhe morbā lāgsu. mai eithiyāne gharok ulti zāi bāpār āgot yey buli kam-" bāpā wā, mai isarar asārat āru āpunār asārat bar pāp koillu. mai āru āpunār bɛtā buli kabār zoigga nahāũ. mok āpunār ɛtā gulām buli dhori rākhā." tār pāsot xi bāpiyākar asārok legi ulti āhil. kintu xi bohut durhet thākāõtei bāpiyāke tāk dɛkhā pālā āru burhār maram lāgi tār asārok legi lori zāi tār galot xāmtā māri dhori sumā khābā dhoillā. tethiyā putāke tɛũk kalā-" bāpā, mai bar pāpi, mai mok āpunār bɛtā bulbā noru". kintu bāpiyāke sākar gilākak kalā-"arāito thāki bhāl bhāl kāpur āni yɛk pindhou. yɛr hātot āṅthi āru bhorit payzār pindhou, āru āmi bhoz pāti tāmsā koru de. kāran mor ɛto bɛtā mori zamor gharor pɛre ulti āihsi ". tethiyā xakalowe tāmsā koirbā dhoillā.

tethiyā burār dāŋar putākto pathārot āsil. tār pasot xi gharor kākh pāi tāhator gharot nās bāzānā hawā xunlā. tethiyā xi sākar hātar ɛtāk māti xudhlā,—" āzi ikhān ki hosi oi "? sākartoi kalā-" tumār bhiyāke ulti āihsi. tɛũk bhāle bhāle pāwā dekhi bāpere bar bhoz pātsi." tāke xuni tār bar khaṅ uthil, āru tār gharok zābār man nahāwā hal. kintu tār bāpiyāk ale āhi kābo kākoti karāõte xi kalā-" mai ɛmān basar koko nāzāwāke āpunār lagot thāki āpunāk sāwā sintā kori āsu, tɛo āzik legi mok lag-xamariyār lagot tāmsa kori khābā ɛtā sāgālor sānāo diyā nāi. kintu āpunār zito bɛtāi beisār lagot āpunār xakalo xampotti bhāŋi khāstāṅ koillā, xɛto bɛtā ulti āhār thāki āpuni masta bhoz pātilā ". tethiyā tɛũ tāk kalā-" bāpā tai xadāi mor lagote āsā āru mor zigilā xampotti āse, xakalo tore ; kintu tor ei bhiyāre mori uthi āihsi, xi haresil, tāk āru pālu. xɛidh-dhori āmi tāmsā karā āru ānandit hawā usit.—*Santadev Goswami, B.A.*

(6) *Barpetā (Western Kāmrūp).*

55. kunbā ɛtā mānhor dutā putɛk āsil. ɛkdin xarutu putɛke bāpɛkok kalāk-" pitā, āmār xampottir mai zikhini mor

bhāgot pāũ, xikhini mok diyā". tɛthɛn bāpɛke nizor xampotti tāhāk bhāge dilāk. tāre kei din mɛn pāsote xei xarũ putɛktui tār gate xapāke loi ɛkhɛn duhrer dekhok gusi gɛl, āro tāte xi lampat hoj tār gate xapā xampottike ure phɛllāk. tār pāsot xei dekh-khɛnot masta ākāl hal. tɛthɛn xi xei dekhor ɛtā mānhor asrot zāi āsray lalāk. manuhtui tāk bārā sārbāk login pāthārok khɛdalāk. tāte xi ɛkbidh bārāi khāwā gāsor sēi khābā dhollāk. tāke dekhio kāyo tāk ɛko khābā nedĩāk. tār pāsot tār setan lāgil. āro xi kalāk–" mor pitār sākar gilāneo agaddānike pɛt bhare khābā pāwe, kintu mai iyāte bhukhote xukhe morbā lāgsu. mai ɛthɛne pitār tāke zāi ei boli kam– "pitā, tumi, dɛkhante mai pāp kori nizor parakāl khālu. mai tumar bɛtā bolbā lāgā pute nahay. mok tumi ɛthen etā sākaror dare rākhā. tār pāsot xi uthi bohil āro bāpɛkor gharok login āhil. kintu xi duhret thākantei bāpɛke tāk dɛkhā pālāk. tɛthɛn bāpɛkor maram lāgi dāuri zāi tāk galot xāptā māri dhori sumā khālāk. tɛthɛn putɛke kalāk–" pitā, tumi dɛkhante mai pāp kori nizor parakāl khālu. mai tumār bɛtā bolbā lāgā pute nahay." kintũ bāpɛke sākar-gilānok kalāk- " khob bhāl bhāl sāi kāpur āni iyāk pindho. iyār hātot āṅthi di, bhorit payzār di. āro āmi khāi dāi raṅ tāmsā koru āh. kionu ei mor bɛtā marā hojo zilāk; mai tāk houreo pālu." xikhunti tāhun tāmsā korbā dhollāk.

tɛthɛn mānuhtur dāŋār putɛktu pāthārot āsil. pāsot xi gharok āhi nās bāznār xabda xuni tāhār ɛtā bāndhāk māt di āni xudhlāk–" iglān nu ki hojse we " ? tɛthɛn bāndhātui kalāk- " tumār bhāĕ āise, āro tumār pitɛ tāk bhāle kāle āhā dekhi masta bhoz pātse." iyāke xuni tār bar khaṅ uthil āro bhitrok zābār anissā hal. kintu bāpɛke tāk kābo korbā dhollāk. tɛthɛn xi bāpɛkok kalāk–" sāwā, pitā, tumāk mai imɛn basar xɛwā kori āsu. ɛkdināk login mai tumār kathā phɛlawā nai. tathāpi mok tumi lag-xamariyār lagot tāmsā korbāk login ɛtā sāgālor sānāo diyā nāi. kintu ei tumār pute beissār lagot tumār xampotti pāni kori phɛllāk āro i āhantei tumi masta bhoz pāti phɛllā." tɛthɛn bāpɛke putɛkok kalāk-" bāpā, tai xadāi mor lagate āsāh. mor zikhini āse gate-gilān tore. kintu tor ei bhāĕtu marā hojo zilāk; tāk mai houreo pālu. xikhunti āmi raṅ tāmsā karā usit.—*Achyutananda Das.*

WESTERN ASSAM :—GOALPARA.

(7) *Sālkosā. (Rāj-Baṅgśī dialect).*

56. Kuno ɛkzàn mānsir duizàn sāowā āsil. tār sotatāẏe bāpàk kŏil-bābā sampttir ze bhāg mor haĕ, tāk mok de. tāt aĕ nizer sampotti umāk bātiyā dil. tār alpa din pāsote oj sota sāowātā sok goteyā dur desat gel. are lampat bɛbahārat ar sampotti uzār karil. aĕ gotāy kharas karār pāsot oi desat bàrà ākāl hoil. ate ayā kasta pābā dhoril. selā àĕ zāyā oi deser ɛkzan mānsir āsray lowāt oj mānusi àk suyār sarābā pāthārat patheyā dil. ate àĕ suyāre khāowā ɛk rakam gāser sāl diyā pɛt bharabā sāileo ak kāh kisu nādil. tār pāsot àĕ setan pāyā koil-'mor bāper kata golāme besi besi khāowā bastu pāise, kintu mui ɛte bhokate marisuṅ. mui oithe zāyā ei kathā koim-" bābā sarger birudhdhe ār tūi dɛkhāt mui pāp karilu̇ṅ. tor sāowā buli kabār ār zoigga nahaṅ. tor ɛk zan golāmer mata mok kar." pāse aĕ uthiyā bāper gharàt gel. kintu aĕ durāit thākte or bāpe ok dekhiyā dayā lāgiyā dāuri zāyā or galāt dhoriā sumā khāil. selā sāowātā ak koil-" bābā, sarger birudhdhe ār tumār asarot pāp karilu̇ṅ. tor sāowā buli kabār zoigga nahaṅ." kintu bāpe golām gulāk koil-" sakaler sāite bhāl kāpur āniyā ɛk pindhāo. ar hātat àṅthi de ār pāwat payzār de. ār āmi bhoz pātiyā raṅ karu̇ṅ de. kāran mor ei sāowātā morisil, āro bāsil ; hārāisilu̇ṅ āro pāilu̇ṅ." ate umurā (sagāĕ) tāmsā koribā dhoril. Selā ar dāŋar sāowātā pathārat āsil. pāse aĕ āsiyā gharer asar pāyā bāzi ār nāser sabda sunil. selā ar golam-gulār ɛktāk dākeyā pusil-" ei-gulā ki hojse ? " tāte aĕ koil- " tor bhāyā āsil, ār tor bāpe ok sustha sarile pāyā bhoz pātil." ate ar bara rāg uthil : ār bhitarot zābār anissā hoil. kintu ar bābā aleyā zāyā minati karāt aĕ bāpak koil-" dɛkhek, mui ɛta basar tor sebā koriyā kuno kāle tor āiggā amāinna karu̇ṅ nāi ; tathāpi mor lag-lagariyār lagat raṅ tāmsā koribā ɛktā sāgaler bāssāo tui kuno kāle mok dis nāi. kintu tumār ei ze bɛtāy beissār lagot āpnār sampotti bhāŋiyā khāyā phɛlāil, aĕ āsāte ar bāde tui bara bhoz pātili." selā aĕ ak koil-" bābā tui sadāi mor lagot āsis, mor ze ze āse, sok tore. kintu tor ei bhāi morisil, āro bāsise ; hārāisilu̇ṅ āro pālu̇ṅ, ei bāde āmi raṅ tāmsā karā usit.—*Birājmohan Chakravarti, B.Sc.*

V. THE NON-ARYAN LEXICAL CORRESPONDENCES IN ASSAMESE VOCABULARY.

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

Austro-Asiatic Influence.

(a) *The Khāsi element.*

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

59. Other representatives of the Austro-Asiatic stock are the Muṇḍā languages that occupy the eastern half of Central India. It has been said that the domain of Muṇḍā, Mon-Khmer and other connected lannguages are much more con-

siderable than it is at present and that it is only in late times that this domain has been reduced and cut into pieces by the Aryan and the Dravidian on the West and the Tibeto-Burman on the east. The people, however, who spoke those Austric dialects have now merged into the Hindu and Muhammedan masses of Northern India; they have become transformed into the present-day Aryan speaking castes and groups of the country. The absorption of the Austric speaker into the Aryan fold explains the presence in the Indo-Aryan speeches of a considerable number of Austric words (P.A.P.D. pp. VII and XIX).

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

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

kābay, supplication (*kabo,* to request).

king-khāp, a kind of cloth (*kem-khap*).

√*khāmoc,* grasp. (√*kham,* close the fist).

khaŋg, anger. (*khong-khong,* irritated).

kamā, wander about aimlessly. (√*kma,* wander, roam about).

ḍiŋgā, a boat (*dieng,* wood or tree).

ḍoŋg, a channel (*dong,* abbr. of *tyndong,* a tube).

heno, it is said, so they say (*hana*).

jāpā, a bamboo clothes basket (*jāpi,* a basket in the shape of a round trunk for depositing precious articles).

jeng-jeng, protruding (*jing,* high up).

jañjāl, trouble (*jinjār,* trouble).

jahā, a kind of sweet scented rice (*juhai*).

do-mācā, a half-breed, esp. a cow (*māsi,* a cow; Aust. *sia,* a buffalo).

methon, a wild bull (*mythen, mythun,* big and muscular as a calf).

enei, "to boot," for nothing (*ianoh,* a little quantity in excess of that sold or bought).

cokorā, the shell of a nut or egg; a scab.

(*soh-khroh,* having pock marks, e.g. *soh-khliang,* a scar).

sāl-man, pimples on the face; (*sulom,* dandruff on the face).

nodokā, stout and sturdy (cf. *sup-dok,* short and stout: *sup,* a big basket; **nud,* the heart+*dok*).

sañjāt, sājāt, trust, confidence (*synjat,* a pledge).

cūṭ, a bullock's rump. H. *cūtaṛ* (*syntai,* a hump).

ṭakanā, wretchedly poor, Skt. Lex *takka,* niggard.

(Cf. *takhaw,* wretchedly poor).

ṭāri, an oil-vessel; an abandoned bed of a river (*thāriā,* a shallow bed of a stream; Cf. Muṇḍ. *ṭariā,* low land).

bhur, a raft, Skt. *bheḍa* (? *bur,* a raft, √*bur,* to creep).

bhurā, a male wild boar (*bhur,* one of a herd of wild boars).

(b) *The Kol (or Muṇḍā) element.*

62. Considering the present habitation of the Kols (Kherwaris) in the Chota Nagpur Plateau and Central Provinces, a direct Kolarian influence upon Assamese seems to be a far cry. Dr. S. Levi refers to the Vāyu Purāṇa which shews the Kol in its list of the peoples of Eastern India between Prāgjyotiṣa (modern Gauhati) and Videha (Tirhut). There are references also to the Mahābhārata which shew the Kol as a tribe living in Eastern India (P.A.P.D. pp. 87, 88). It is in the regions north of the Ganges and east of Bihar that the Assamese language in its formative period seems to have been individualised. A direct Kol influence thus becomes easily conceivable.

63. The influence of the Kolarian languages seems to be more deep-acting than that of any other non-Aryan language. The most distinguishing feature of Assamese is the addition of suffixes to nouns of relationship.

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

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

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

65. The lexical elements present a difficulty. Both the Santali and the Muṇḍāri dictionaries contain scores of words that bear striking similarities to Assamese formations of unknown origin in sound and sense. The correspondence extends even to onomatopoetics on a large scale. The Kolarian languages have borrowed so freely from other languages of India, that even the compiler of the Santali Dictionary made no attempt to distinguish between words of Kolarian origin and those adopted from other sources. "With our present knowledge of the non-Aryan languages of India, living or dead, which have influenced the present Santali vocabulary, any such attempt would have been mere guess work, and would have served no useful purpose." (A. Campbell: Preface to the first edition, *Santali-English Dictionary,* 1933).

A select list of Kolarian-Assamese correspondences is given below to shew either the nearness of contact of both the languages, or the extent to which they were indebted to common sources. A few words in the lists seem to be of Kolarian origin having Austric affinities. In the forms and meanings quoted, most of the words do not occur in lexical Bengali.

66. The Muṇḍāri Correspondences.

√*atā*, to prepare, parch as a cake (Mḍ. Sant. *ātā*, fry, parch).

āṭom-ṭokāri, within limit, economically (Mḍ. *āṭom*, brink Austr. *ṭak.* be full to overflowing).

√*uṭe*, floats (Mḍ. Sant. *atu*, to float, Cf. Austr. *uit.*).

√*bilā*, to distribute (Mḍ. √*bil*, to spread.
Austric. *bila*, separate (Sem. Buk. Max).

ḍaŋguwā, bachelor, solitary (Sant. *ḍanguwā*).

erā, a particle expressing assent (*elā*).

gedrā, hard and unripe (*gādar*, *gādra*).

hũṭā, hard, obstinate
√*huṭ-huṭā*, to clash } (*hoṭā*, attack with horns erect).

hũkari, growl, bellowing (√*hukur*, low growl or moan).

junā, introductory stanza and chorus of a song.
(*jonokā*, parable, example).

jũṭi, a bird snare (√*juṭi*, to seduce).

kadu, a gourd (*kaduā*).

lāṭum, a spinning top (Mḍ. √*lāṭum*, to fold up.
Khās. *lāṭom*; Austr. *bu-lat*, round. R. 191. *lueh* R. 160).

leṭhem, slow, lazy (*letho*).

lukmā, fat (*lukum*).

māi, a term used in addressing females.
māikī, a female (*māi*).

√*meṛhā*, twist, coil (*meṛhāo*).

mugā, silk cocoon (*muŋgā*, coral).

muṭhan, measure of distance from the elbow-joint to the palm, closed up (*muṭh*).

√*uburiyā*, turn upside down (√*obor*, lie down on the belly).

utaŋguwā, urge a person to any course (*oṭāngāo,* be carried away by the wind).

serekā, watery, tasteless (? √*ser,* to dissolve).

cikarā, a tick, a skin-louse infesting animals (*siku,* louse).

√*coŋgā,* make a mere outline as of a road (*soŋghā,* a narrow path).

sõṭā, a broom-stick, (*soṭā,* stick).

ṭupurā, round and small, (Cf. *tāprā-toprā,* small).

ṭheṭuwai, numbness with cold, (*ṭāṭāi,* to benumb with cold).

āriyā, a wide-mouthed bamboo basket (*uṛia*).

kākh-lati, the arm-pit (Mḍ. *lātā,* a pit, hole).

-lekhīyā, like, similar, as in *ei-lekhīyā, sei-lekhīyā,* this-like, that-like (Mḍ. *lekā,* like, similar; Orāon: *lekhā*).

67. The Santali Correspondences.

āko-gojā, obstinately sticking to something, (*akor,* difficult).

ālā-bādu, worthless, inefficient, (*alua-basua,* ignoramus).

√*ãṭ* (E. As. *āṇṭ*), be sufficient (√*aṇṭao*).

āṭhkuriyā, (E. As. *ānṭhu-kuṛi*), childless, barren (*atkura,* childless).

bhirā, (E. As. *bhiṇḍā*), a lump of earth; (*bhind,* a lump of anything).

bhõdā, foolish, (Sant. *bhondo*: Austric. *bodo*).

bhut-kurā, dwarfish, stunted, (*bhutka*).

buc, (obscene) female organ, (Sant. *buya, cucu*).

bõkā, mud, (Sant. *bakal,* muddy; Austric, *buko,* muddy water).

cahal, easily passable as a road, (*cahla,* slushy).

caphal, full of vigour and health as a young man, (*caphel,* smooth and unruffled as shallow water).

cikehi, a sudden and involuntary start due to cold, fear etc. (*cihik, cihkan*).

ḍobolā, a patch of land marked out by earthen embankments to contain irrigation water, (*doblak*).

ḍhip, a boundary mark, (*dhipi, dhiph,* a mark of boundaries).

ḍhãk, fainting due to weariness, (*dhak,* weariness).

ḍhop, a ball of cloth tossed about by children in sport, (*dhopo,* a hillock).

dhumā, big, (*dhuma,* big, fat).

dodhor-mor, dilemma, brink of a precipice, (*dodhor,* a hole).

ḍāk, to expel, banish, (*danka,* to out-caste).

gāb, stain, (*gab,* colour).

ghuṭ-muṭ, short in stature, (*ghutla*).

gohāri, petition for help, (*guhar,* shout for help).

hatī-paṭi, milky-way, (*haṭ dahar,* milky-way).

pāhār, a hill (Austric. *pāu ;* H. 93 ; Sant. *hara,* a hill).

ṭapā, ṭopā, a wicker basket in which seed grains are stored (Sant. *tapa,* Austric. *tapa*).

jugut, ready, (Sant. *jugut,* circumspection. Austr. *jug.*).

leŋga, tall and slender, (*leñ,* to creep, Austric. *lengak-lengak,* slender).

tej-pīyā, a species of chameleon ; (Sant. *tejo,* creeping insect : Austr. *taju, tijo,* snake. S. 311).

goŋgorā, cross tempered, glum, (*gonga,* dumb).

jañjāl, embarrassment (Sant. *jañjāl* ; Khas ; *jinjar*).

(c) *The Malayan element.*

68. This section is based entirely on the materials furnished by Skeat and Blagden (*Pagan races of the Malay Peninsula,* 2 Vols. 1906). For want of a comprehensive racial name designating the Austric speakers of the Malay Peninsula, the contributions made by their speeches are tentatively called the Malayan element here.

69. After the dissertations of the French Indologists,—Przyluski, Bloch and Levi about the interaction of the Austro-Asiatic languages and Sanskrit, and the subsequent extension of the scope of the discussions to explore Austric elements in N.I.A. vernaculars by Drs. Chatterji and Bagchi (*Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*: P. C. Bagchi, 1929), there is hardly any necessity to add a preface to account for the presence of Austric elements in Assamese. In addition to the few observations made under the two previous sections (Khāsi

and Kol), it may be stated that the Austric elements seem to constitute an essential substratum of Assamese vocabulary. The N.I.A. Assamese seems to have been foisted upon an Austric speaking people, and while the grammatical structure of the language remained substantially Aryan, the non-Aryan languages made inroads into the speech in several directions. The vocables that are regarded as indigenous in present-day Assamese seem to have been mostly taken over from the Austric speakers. The various words for the sex-organs which are hardly registered as being indecent in current dictionaries, the terms of relationship according to varied grades of life, the names of various descriptions of animals, seem to go back to Austric sources.

The idiom of using specific terms to indicate relationship with persons according to their rank and age (§§ 595 ff) seems to have been derived from Austric sources.

70. In the case of some words, there are Skt. counterparts to the Austric forms. The parallel formations have simply been noted down below without any attempt at finding out the relative positions of the lender and the borrower.

71. Words of relationship.—The Assamese words of relationship bear a striking similarity to Austric words. Most of these words in slightly modified forms and meanings occur also in other N.I.A. languages. The ultimate source of all these formations in the various languages may be non-Aryan Austric. It has been noted that words of relationship are often so similar in different languages that the inference from similarity of form is often worthless (Blagden. p. 663, M. 192). But when they extend over all the varying grades of relationship and when they cannot be traced back to parent O.I.A. source, the suspicion about loan from Austric can hardly be resisted.

72. The parallel forms are quoted below in the following table. It has been pointed out that the names of *father* and *mother* are alike in many languages (Blagden. p. 598 F. 40).

Examples :—

Assamese.	*Austric.*
ātā, grand-father.	*ator, ata,* grand-father, ancestor (G. 86)
ābu, grand-mother	*abuh, abu,* father. (F. 40).
bopāi, bāpā, father	*bapai, bapa,* father. (F. 44 a).
āi, mother	*ai,* father. (F. 45).
kakāi, kākā, elder-brother :	*kaka,* elder-brother (B. 426).
bāi, elder sister ; a term of address to an elderly lady.	*bhai, ibhai,* (Mon). elder sister.
	ba, bii, mother (B. 413).
āmai, mother's equal :	*amai,* mother, aunt. (M. 194).
bau, mother (dialectical) :	*bo, bu, beau* } mother. (M. 194).
tāwai, father's equal	*tata, ta,* grand-father.

As against *kakāi, bāi,* elder-brother, elder-sister etc. there are Aryan *bhāi, bhanī,* for younger brother, younger sister.

73. Miscellaneous words.

akaṇ, akaṇi, term of address to young children. Cf. (*awa kanit,* young child, (U. Kel.) C. 101.

ālaŋ, a scaffold hanging from the roof or a beam of a house. Cf. *alang* (Sak. Ra). B. 101.

ātā, grandfather : Cf. *ata,* ancestor ; *ator,* grandfather. (Sak. Ra. U.) G. 86.

ācu-sūtā, coloured threads to weave embroidery figures into a piece of cloth. Cf. *achu,* pattern, picture (Sak U. Kam) P. 42.

ã-kar, to open the mouth widely. Cf. *ang,* to gape ; (Bes. Sep.) M. 199.

bagā, white. Cf. *bak,* (Bah). *biog* (Temb). W. 98 (*b*).

bār, partition wall of a house. Cf. *bara* (Sak. Ra.) B. 100.

beṭī, girl, daughter. Cf. *betina,* girl, woman, (Mantr. Malac) F. 72.

bõkā, muddy, mud. Cf. *buko,* muddy water (Sak. Kerb) W. 36.

bej-bej ; itching sensation ;
also *bej-kacu* ; a kind of yam causing itching sensation. Cf. *bej, bij,* tickle ; (Sem. Buk. max) T. 124.

bāi-√di, to thrust something long and round into a hole or cavity (slang). Cf. *ya bai,* dig, bore through (Sem. Jar) D. 107.

√bilā, to distribute. Cf. *bila,* to separate (Sem. Buk. Max.) S. 105.

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

bāu, bamboo lath attached to the brim of a basket. Cf. *pau,* rib; (Sem. Plus). *bā-pau.* R. 100.

bāṭalu-guṭi, a clay pellet shot from an arrow. Cf. *telian,* round. (Sem. Buk.).
ba, boh, fruit. R. 190.

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

bhŏdā, silly, foolish } Cf. *bodo,* foolish (Ben. New)
baduwā, blunt. } *bodoh.* (Sem. Buk) F. 219

bĕt, mouth (slang). Cf. *beto,* face (Sem. Pa. Max). F. 228.

√butal, to pick up. Cf. *but,* pick up. (Bes. Songs). *boht* (Bes. Lang). C. 52.

buṭī, blunt, worn out Cf. *buta,* blind (Sak. U. Kam).
bheṭ-cakuwā, dim-sighted. B. 245.

carā-cāul, unhusked rice. Cf. *charoi,* unhusked rice.
also *√càr,* shine unfolded (Sak. Br.) R. 122.

celāuri, eye-brow. Cf. *chelāu,* to see. (Bes. Malae) S. 78.

√ciyār, to cry out Cf. *serhoi,* cry out (Mant. Bor)
E. As. *cihar* C. 10

cet, penis (slang). Cf. *set seit,* mons veneris. (Sem. Pa. Max.). N. 18.

ceŋgā, very hot, burning. Cf. *chekngek,* heat. (Bes. Sep). H. 150.

cāpar, thatched roof of a boat. } Cf. *sapo,* slats of thatch.
xăphar, cover, lid. }
(Law. Siang) H. 159.

cĕcā, chill. Cf. *chengak; chngac;* (Cuoi). C. 205.

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

coŋg, a den, a resort of wild animals.
Cf. *cheong, chong,* belly. (Sem. Buk. max.) B. 159.

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

dăhekīyā, half-ripe. Bg. *dăśā.* Cf. *da-ching,* unripe; (Khmer. *chhan,* raw). U. 19.

diŋgi, neck. Cf. *teng-kok,* (U. Kel) ; *djagn, denkok.* (Sem. K.) N. 29.

dalaŋg, a bridge ; also *Daraŋg,* the name of a district. Cf. *dorr,* bridge. (Sem. Cliff), B. 391.

ḍhekīyā-patīyā, the royal-tiger. Cf. *pato ;* (U. Kel).

diagign (Or. Hn. Joh) T. 129. T. 130 (b)

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

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

gerehā, half-dried fuel.

gerekani, a place where filth and rubbish are thrown. Cf. *gerong,* wood; (Sak. Sel. Da) T. 207.

gàhàri, delay, slowness. Cf. *gehe,* tired, feeble ; (Pa. Bel). T. 145.

gid, anus. Cf. *kit, kid,* anus. (Sem. Black. Max) A. 118.

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

gorā, heel. Cf. *gor,* lower part of leg. (Sem. Plus) H. 69.

holā, a pool of stagnant water. Cf. *ho,* water : (Sem. Bes) W. 29.

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

hābi, wood, forest. Cf. *bi* (Sem. K.); *bā, bāk,* (Sen. K) *hop* (Pang. K.) forest, jungle F. 231, 234.

hāpā, } wild cat. Cf. *hāpā,* cockroach. (Sem. Pa. Max).
hepā, } *hampet,* flying-fox (Bes. Songs). C. 193, B. 74.

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

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

jahā-māl, a kind of wild cat. Cf. *juho,* tiger (Som). Cf. Lex. Skt. *jāhaka* T. 129 (b).

jugut, ready, prepared. Cf. *jug,* ready. (Pang. Sam) R. 47.

jilu, a small thread-like earth-worm also *kum-jelukā,* snail, Cf. *jelo,* leech (Sen. Cliff) L. 46.

jå, crest of fowl: cox-comb. Cf. *juo, joa,* cock's crest. (Shom. Pĕ) H. 1.

√*jul,* to be suspended. Cf. *jol, jetjol,* hang. (Sen. Cliff) H. 25.

jeng, small twigs of tree. Cf. *je-ang,* bone, (Serting) *jahang* (Ben. New) B. 336 (a).

√*jop,* lie in wait, look closely, Cf. *ya-jop,* to search. (Peng. U. Ar.) S. 62.

khaŋg, anger. Cf. *kheng, khing,* angry (Khmer). A. 80 (b). Khāsi; *khong-khong,* irritated.

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

koŋgā, having crooked fingers. Cf. *keng-kang,*

keŋgā (coll), bandy-legged. (Sem. Buk. Max) B. 50.

kaṇ, small, used in addressing a young person (e.g. *kaṇ bopāi*).

Cf. *kanet, kaneh,* small. (Sem. Buk. Max) S. 280.

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

tilā-kani, kilā-kani, kilā-kuti, elbow. Cf. *kamong,* elbow (Sem. K. Ken). *kulakut,* nail, (Sem. Klapr.) *telako,* nail (Sem. Buk. Max). E. 42, N. 3 (b) Cf. Skt. *kīla,* elbow.

kapiŋg, a girdle round the privities. Cf. *klao* penis; *penyali,* woman's girdle; Khās. *jym-pien,* woman's girdle, P. 52. C. 171. Lex. Skt. *kaupīna.*

khāri, lightning. Cf. *karei, kharei,* thunder: (Som) T. 166.

kukur-necīyā, a wolf. Cf. *nyah,* tiger. (Pang. K. Aring) *chinnih*; (Sem Beg). T. 129, 129 (d).

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

√*korok, kuruki,* approaching with a hesitating and trembling movement. Cf. *krūk,* tremble, move (Bes. Sep). T. 228.

keti, clitoris (slang). Cf. *ketŏ ;* exterior skin. (Sem. Pa. Max) S. 236 (b).

kelā, penis (slang). Cf. *klau,* penis, (Bah Stieng) *klao.* P. 52.

kapau-phul, a kind of flower.
kapau,-māh, a kind of pulse Cf. *kapoh,* egg (Sert) E. 35.

kelebāŋg, a wretched nondescript person.
kelehuwā,
Cf. *kelbong* bent, crooked (Sem. Buk. Max) also, *kelpum* hollowed. B. 175 (a).

kerkeṭuwā, a squirrel. Cf. *ker; kekah: tăbā,* a squirrel. M. 145, 146.

kelau-kecau, uproar. Cf. *kelong,* noise. (Sem. Pa. Max N. 90.

kāwai, a kind of fish. Cf. *kaa,* (Sak. Br.) fish, F. 138 (u) Lex. Skt. *kavayī.*

kām, kāyem, a kind of water-fowl. Cf. *ayam,* fowl (Sak. Tam) F. 258. Khās, *ka* is an article placed before singular nouns.

kākh-pilā, a tumour in the armpit. also *pilāi,* spleen. Cf. *pleh,* stone of a fruit. (Sak. Cliff) F. 282. Lex. Skt. *plīhā.*

kalā, deaf, Cf. *kela,* dumb. (Pang. Sam); *kalo,* (Ser). D. 186.

kāni, rags, Cf. *khain.* (Or. Lant); *kain* (Jak. Semb); *ni* (Bes. Bell).

√*kāmor,* to bite as an insect. Cf. *kemor,* insect. (Sak. Kerb) B. 143 (a).

latā-mākari, a leopard. Cf. *lataik,* wild cat.
lātā-phuṭuki (Sem. Pa. Max). T. 129.

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

lepetā√*kāṛh,* to sit on the hams. Cf. *lempao,* thigh; (Sak. U.L.) *lempar,* buttocks. (Tembi). T. 61.

lep, pincers, tongs; also *lep-lepīyā,* glib.
celepu, glib Cf. *le-peh,* tongue (U. Cher). T. 163.

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

lek-sek, soft and pliable. Cf. *lekoy,* soft. (Sem. Jarum.

Seken. Sem. Beg). S. 333, 334.

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

lin, abysmal depth. } Cf. *lien*, (kran. Tem.)
also *lindā-gārā*, a very deep hole } hole. H. 109.

leṭ-, *leṭi-*, √*là*, wallow in the mud. Cf. *laṭak*, mud (Som). M. 215.

√*marah*, to be dry and crumbled. Cf. *marah*, angry, (Mal). A. 87.

mej-mej, feeling uneasy in body. Cf. *miji*, *meje*, sick (Sem. Jur. Pa). S. 187.

mĕcā, curved, bent. Cf. *menchas*. bent, low (Sem. Pa. Max), L. 150.

maiḍām, a heap, a burial mound. Cf. *midap*, *maidap* (Sem. Beg. Jur). hill. H. 85.

māikī, a female. F. 64.

mākari-ghilā, a round pebble-like fruit of a creeper with which children play at marble. Cf. *maku*, *mako*, egg. (Sem. Bux) E. 34.

nomal, young. Cf. *nyom*, young. (Bes. Sep).

nānān, *nānā*, diverse, various, Cf. *nana-ner*, other. (Sak. Kerb) T. 42.

nāhar-phuṭukī, a leopard. Cf. *menāhar*, tiger; (Sak. Em) T. 136.

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

√*ũkiyā* } to make a sound in retching; noise made in
õk, } retching. Cf. *ya-ko*: (Sem. Plus.), Kol. *om-kūwe*, to vomit. V. 22.

palax, sap-wood. Cf. *palo-osh*, wood partially burnt. T. 214.

√*pot*, to plant, bury. Cf. *petom*, to plant, bury; *potam* (Bah), P. 132.

pokar, anus; vagina. Cf. *puki*, vagina; (Sem. Buk. Max). P. 222.

pagalā, mad. Cf. *gila*, mad. (Sak. Ra) M. 3.

pàl, alluvial deposit on land. Cf. *palao*, island. (Sem. Jur) *pulao*. (Sak. Kor) J. 42.

pel, testicle; Cf. *pelokn* (Sem. Cliff). *peluk* (Sak. Blau) egg. E. 37.

rāŋg-kukur, a wild dog. Cf. *rāakn,* (Jel). *raag* (Sera). T. 132.

śuŋg, awn of corn: (Bg. *Śuk. Skt. śuka, śuŋga*). Cf. *sung,* thorn, *sok, suk,* hair. (Sem. Buk. Max). H.1.

śakat, fat, stout. Cf. *cheke,* fat. (Som). F. 35. Prob. contaminated with Skt. *śakta.*

solā, toothless, *sola* bald: (Mantr. Malac) B. 20.

√*salā,* to exchange, to change. Cf. *selek,* exchange. *sileh* (Sem. Plus.) B. 485.

ṭelekā, large and prominent eye. Cf. *telek,* see. (Plant. Kap. Lem.) S. 77.

ṭakon, a stick. Cf. *tokn,* hand; (Sak.) H. 15.

ṭiyā, a parrot: Bg. *kākātuwā,* Cf. *tiong,* minah-bird. (Ser.) *tiokn,* (Jel). M. 105.

tel-telīyā, greasy, clayey. Cf. *te; liat.* soft clay. (Sem. Pa. Max.) E. 12.

ṭeki, cold, chill } Cf. *tekõ,* cold, wet;
tek-tekīyā, moist, wet (place) } (Bes. Her.). W. 74

ṭu-kurā, a piece. Cf. *tio, tiu,* piece; (Sem. Buk. Max.). P. 70.

ṭiŋg, a peak, summit: Cf. *tinggih,* high. (Ben. New). H. 83.

ṭik, } endure, last, Cf. *tego,* firm, durable:
Bg. *ṭĕk,* } (Sem. K.) H. 31.

ṭilā, a mound, a hillock. Cf. *tul,* mountain, (Pang. U.). M. 100. *tenlā,* rocky hill. M. 199. also, *til, tel,* place. P. 118.

ṭapā, a wicker bag in which seed-grains are stored.

ṭopolā, a bundle. Cf. *tapa,* bag for betel (Som.). *tabok,* rice-bag (Sak. Jap.) B. 13.

ṭok, to snip off as the leaves of trees, to shed as tears. Cf. *tok, netok,* (Bes. K. L.) to cut the heads of rice with a reaping knife. C. 299.

ṭak, to be full to over flowing. Cf. *toko,* increase, augment (Mant. Bor.). A. 185.

ũṭ, to float, Cf. *uit,* float, (Sem. Max.) F. 173.

√*ukiyā,* to shout, to scream.
Cf. *ya-kukeau,* to shout (Sem. Jarum) S. 175.

uwai-kāth, a kind of inflammable wood. Cf. *ui,* (Kon, Tu). *uiñ,* (Stieng) fire. J. 124.

ũi, white ant, Cf. *yui,* fly (Bes. A.) F. 199.
Khās. *u wieh,* a worm.

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

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

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

Tibeto-Burman Influence.

The Boḍo element.

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

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

contribution to the vocables of the people with whom they lived in close neighbourhood.

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

76. The verbal roots of Boḍo origin.

celek, lick, (*salao,* lick).

cebā, feel an uneasy sensation, (*saiba,* insipid. tasteless).

(?) *gam,* get lost as money in a transaction, (*gamā,* to disappear, perish).

jirā, to refresh oneself (*jiri, jirā,* to entertain, feed: √*ji,* to eat : *-ra, -ri,* causative suffixes).

rep, cut with a drawing stroke (*rep,* strike as a match)

ā-gac, to obstruct, hinder, (*gaso,* hinder).

gacak, to trample under foot, (*gaseng,* to put the foot down upon anything).

cẽkur, run at full speed as a horse or calf of an animal, (*saing,* go speedily)

bhẽkur, get mouldy , (*bukhundi,* foam, froth).

bakhaliyā, peel off the skin or covering of a tree or a fruit; (*bokhong,* the shell of a fruit, Cf. also, *bo-khalai,* hew down).

gorā, season by putting under mud and water as bamboo withes or jute plants, (*goro,* hatch).

cep, press, squeeze, (*sep*).

Compound Verbs.

khām-√*bāndh,* co-agulate, get into a lump, (*khām,* settle in one place).

gabā-√*mār,* clasp, embrace, (*gabao,* to embrace).

bir-√*di,* to part as hair to find out lice, or make a way through a crowd by displacing people.
(Cf. Bḍ. √*bir,* to scratch.)

thālāmuri-√*mār,* slap on the head, (*thālāmdi ri,* to slap).

77. Other Assamese words of Boḍo origin are :—

hāphalu, a mound, an ant-hill (Boḍ. *hā-phlāü*).

ābrā, a simpleton ; (Boḍo).

māi-hāṅ, a rice-plate with a pedestal on which food is served to a respectable guest, (Boḍo, a pile of paddy-hay).

hābāṅ, silly, (Boḍo).

cereŋgā, interval of sun's rays in a cloudy day, (Boḍo, *srāṅ,* light).

hāmāhi, laziness, (Boḍo. *hāmāsu,* to sigh).

jakhalā, a ladder, (Bḍ. *jāṅkhlā*).

joṅ, a point, (Bḍ. *joṅ,* a spear). Austric, *ujong* (Sak. Ra), point of arrow, E. 65.

lāŋgi, a kind of fish net, (Bḍ. *lāṅ,* to take).

khamalā, co-agulated, clotted, (Bḍ. *khām-lai,* do together).

hādām, a pile of mud and other useless things, (Bḍ.).

hojā, simpleton, (Bḍ. *hojāi*).

heŋgār, a temporary fence, (Bḍ. *heṅrā,* obstruction).

bondā, the male of a cat, (Bḍ. the male of an animal).

khokā, a kind of fish trap, (Bḍ. *khau-khā*).

menā, bent, crooked, (Bḍ.).

hāo-phāo, lungs, (Bḍ. *hām,* breath ; *fāi,* to come).

cāŋg, a scaffold, a platform (*basāng*).

bijaluwā, a playful, jesting person (*bijala,* joke).

dokhar, a piece cut off, (Cf. Bḍ. *dokhao,* to separate by beating or knocking).

gakaṭā, bitter, acrid, (*gaka, gakha*).

holoŋgā, flabby, corpulent, (*holom*).

laphā, a vegetable plant of the class of the mustard plant, (*laiphang*).

lāmakh, a net spread across an animal's path in the jungle (*lāmkhong,* a wild animal's path in the jungle).

lāo-kholā, skull (*lao-khrong,* a skull ; Cf. also *khoro,* head).

silikhā, myrobalam, (*slikathai*).

uwai-kāṭh, a kind of inflammable wood used as a torch (*wai,* fire). Cf. Austric. *ui*.

ukhi, dried skin on the head, dandruff, (*waikhi,* ashes).

ḍāuk, a gallinule ; (Bḍ. *dāo,* a bird).

In Skt. *ḍāhuka* is a late formation. Boḍo *dāo* is a generic term. Does this shew borrowing from a common source ?

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

Formative affixes of Boḍo origin.

78. The Boḍo affixes *-ma, -sa,* indicate something big and small respectively. The affix *-ma* suggests biggishness in an object and *-sa* suggests smallness, *e.g. rung,* a boat; *rung-ma,* a big boat ; *rung-sa,* a small boat ; similarly, *dikhong-ma,* a big stream ; *dikhong-sa,* a small stream ; so also *thamphi,* a mosquito ; *thamphi-ma,* a gnat ; *dao,* a bird, *dao-sa,* a chicken etc. The affixes *-ma, -sa* (> *-ca*) with extensions exist as derivatives in many Assamese words.

79. *-ma* and extensions :

balla-m, a spear, (*bhalla-*). The de-aspiration is due to Boḍo influence, Boḍo having no sonant aspirates.

jala-m, shining decoration, (*jvala-*).

pekha-m, dance of a pea-cock with spreading plumage (*?prēŋkhā-*).

lehe-m, dilatoriness.

leṭhemā, loṭhomā, lodhomā, dull, heavy, corpulent.

luru-mā, rolled up, bundled up, (Cf. *luṇḍikā,* a round mass).

sts. jugamīyā, juga-m-īyā, long lasting, (*yuga-*).

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

The Boḍo *-sa* > As. *-ca* persists in a diminutive sense in Assamese adjectives indicating "a little ", e.g.,

kālcā, blackish. As. *kŏlā,* black.
rāŋgcā, reddish, As. *raŋgā,* red.
bagcā, whitish, As. *bagā,* white.
dhepcā, a little flat. As. *dhepelā,* flat.

kerecīyā, oblique, slanting, As. *kerā,* squint-eyed.
dāhecīyā, also *dāhekīyā,* half-mature, Cf. Bg. *dāśā.*
kharacīyā, a little coarse or rough, (*khara-*).
sts. lakacā, lakacīyā, a thin bamboo twig, (Cf. *laka-* in *lakuṭa-*).

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

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

Thāi (or Āhŏm) Influence.

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

Grierson quotes the following opinion of Mr. (now Sir) Edward Gait concerning the remarkable completeness about the supplanting of Āhŏm by Assamese. " The reason probably is that the Āhŏm people always formed a very small proportion of the population of the Assam Valley and that as their rule expanded and other tribes were brought under their control, it was necessary to have some *lingua franca.* The choice lay between Āhŏm and Assamese. The latter being an Aryan language had the greater vitality and the influence of the Hindu priests was also strongly in its favour. The latter alone would probably not have sufficed. In Manipur, where there was no indigenous population speaking an Aryan language, the people became enthusiastic Hindus without giving up their native language, although that language unlike Āhŏm, was unwritten and a character in which to write it had to be invented by the Brahmans " (L.S.I. Vol. II, p. 63, foot note). This, however, does not explain the whole point. A language

may cease to be spoken but it may leave traces of its former vitality in the shape of a large number of loans supplied to the current language of the province. The Austric and the Boḍo languages seem to have fared differently. It would appear that the Āhŏms even when they preserved their language lived in circumstances which forbade diffusion of linguistic influences by contact. Unlike the Boḍos, the Āhŏms do not seem to have been a colonising people spreading in groups of villages over different parts of the province. Neither does it appear that they were ever given to trade and commerce which bring varied dialect speakers together and make linguistic borrowings possible. As it is, even now the Āhŏms live in a concentrated mass in the Śibsāgar sub-division of the same district. An examination of the place-names also shews that the places which bear Āhŏm names mostly belong to the same locality (§ 89). The exigencies of the Āhŏm state in favour of a common *lingua franca* combined with the social habits of the Āhŏms themselves may explain why their contribution to the Assamese vocabulary is so small.

Some of the miscellaneous words are :—

kāi, a particle used after a proper name as a mark of seniority (T. *kāi,* elder).
khāṅ, a wicker-basket (T. *khāṅ*).
ṭakāli, a click with the tongue against the palate (T. *ṭak*).
√*ṭaṅ,* attend to (T. *taṅ*).
√*pāṅ,* to plan (T. *pāṅ,* to plan).
pokhā, a sprout (T. *pu-khā,* small thatch).
puṅ, a spring, water-hole (T.).
phāṅ, a trick (T. a false statement).
pheṭā, bent (T. *pheṭ,* be bent).
phāu, nothing (T. dust).
rup-bān, wealth and property (T. *bān,* a kind of cup).
baṅ, a hole (T).
burañji, chronicle (T.).
jān, a shallow canal (T. shallow part of a river.).
jekā, damp, moist (T. *jik,* damp).
jin, still, quiet (T.).
jeŋgā, an uneasy situation (T. *jeṅ,* feel uneasy).

ceṅ, false hair (T. *caṅ,* hair tie.)
thāp, a layer (T.).
√*thukā,* come in contact (T.).
thoŋga, bag, wallet (T. *thuṅ*).
kāreṅ, a palace with a raised platform (T. *kā-raṅ.*).
raṅ-ghar, a palace (T. *raṅ,* a palace).
lāṅ, back, Cf. As. *lāṅ-khāi paṛā,* fall on the back (T. *lāṅ*).
hāi, noise (T.).
doŋgā, a puddle (T. *duṅ,* a low field).
āṅ-marā, impotent (T. *āṅ-kā,* ability).

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

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

Non-Aryan Traces in Place-Names.

Austric place-names.

82. *Kāmākhyā* or *Kāmākṣī.*

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

Cf. the following Austric formations in this connection:
ke-moyd ; ke-moit, ghost, (Sem).
ke-mut ; ke-muyt, grave, (Bes. Sep).
khmoch, corpse, ghost, (Khmer).
komuoch, corpse, (Stieng).
kamoi, demon, (Old Khmer).
kamoit, devil (Cham).
komui, grave, (Tareng).
ka-met, corpse, (Khasi).
kambru, kamru, name of a lesser divinity worshipped by the Santals.

The formation *Kāmākhyā* or *kāmākṣī* may be a Sanskritisation of such non-Aryan formations as *khmoch, komuoch.* In that case all the Austric formations would lead on to the conclusion of the place having been connected with *some one's dead body.* The Paurāṇic legend makes it the burial ground of a part of Satī's dead body.

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

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

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

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

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

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

85. Names of rivers :—

Austric equivalents for water are; *ho, hong, ong,* (W_{29}), *taya, tiu, tu, tueh ; du, diu* (W_{30}); *lao,* clean water, (W_{35}). The word indicating water is placed before or after other words: e.g. *ti menu,* a big river; *tiu me,* a small stream; *kuod teu,* a tributary stream.

The principal river in Assam, Brahmaputra or *Lohita* is popularly called *Luit*. In the *Āhŏm Burañji,* written in the Āhŏm language and published with parallel English translation by the Government of Assam (1930), the river Brahmaputra has been frequently referred to as *ti lao*. This was perhaps the popular name of the river when the Āhŏms entered the province. This seems to be an obvious Austric formation. *Lohita* is a Sanskritisation of some such formation as *lao-tu.* Cf. river names in North Bengal: *kara-toyā* (Hiuen Ts'ang's *ka-lo-tu*); *tistā.* Other river names in Assam are *tihu ; ti-pām ; tiyak ; di-hong ; dib-ong ; disa-ṅ ; nāmatimā ; jaṅ-timā ; badati ; nāma-ti ; ti-rāp.* (for *di-, nām-,* Cf. §§ 87, 89).

86. Austric equivalents for earth, land, place, are *ta, te, teh, tek, tik, tyek,* etc. ($E._{12}$) ; Santali, *ato; at.* Cf. the following place names: *kāma-tā; cāma-tā; baka-tā; dip-tā, cāpa-t-grām* ; names of places in Assam ; *bhāba-tā, śaka-ṭi,* names of villages in the Bogra district, North Bengal. Also *Darraŋg,* name of a district in Assam. (Austr. *dorr,* a bridge).

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

Boḍo place-names.

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

88. The Boḍos rechristened a river name of other origins by placing their own equivalent for *water* before it; e.g. *di-hong,* the name of a river, where Boḍo *di-,* was placed

before Austric *hong* (water)—perhaps the name of the river in olden times. Cf. the following river-names:—

dibru, (Bḍ. a blister); *dibong*, (Bḍ. *dib*, luscious); *digāru*, (*digru*, to bathe); *dikhau*, (*dikhow*, to draw water); *dikrāṅg*, (*dikhreng*, rapids in a river); *disāṅ*, (*disa*, a small stream), *digbai*, (*buhi*, flow of water). Also *bhog-dai*; *maŋgal-dai*, etc.

Place-names of Boḍo origin are:—

hājo, a temple on a hill-top near Gauhati, (*hājo*, a hill).

hākāmā, a village in Goalpārā district, (*hākhmā*, to conceal).

bihāmpur, name of a village in Kāmrūp, (*bihām*, daughter-in-law).

dispur, name of a village near Gauhati, (*disai*, to remove to another place).

mai-raṅ, name of a place near Gauhati, (*mai rang*, rice).

Āhŏm place-names.

89. The Āhŏm place-names are mostly confined to rivers. The Āhŏm equivalent for water is *nām* and it occurs as the first syllable of many river-names. Like the Boḍos the Āhŏms also put their equivalent for water before river-names of other origins. They called the river *Brahmaputra* either *ti-lao* (§ 85) or *nām-ti-lao*. So also *nām-timā*, (the river Dhanasiri), where *-timā* is an Austric formation. The genuine Āhŏm name for the river *Brahmaputra* is *nam-dao-phi*, (*dao*, star; *phi*, god;—river of the star god). Other river names are:—

nām-khun, (*khun*, muddy), the river Dilih in Śibsāgar.

nām-khe, (*khe*, river), river Jhāñji in Śibsagar.

nām-shao, (*shao*, clear), river Dikhau.

nam-hoi-khe, (*hoi*, shell; *khe*, river). Śāmuk-jān.

nām-rūp, (*rup*, collect).

nām-dāṅ, (*dāng*, to sound).

nām-sāṅ, (*sāng*, a platform).

nām-chik, (*chik*, a dirty place).

nām-jin, (*jin*, cold). The Cēcā river.

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

PART I.

PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I.

SOUNDS AND LETTERS.

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

Consonants.

Bi-labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive p, b	..	t, d.	..	k, g,	..
Nasal m	..	n	..	ŋ	..
Lateral		l			
Flapped		r			
Fricative		s, z		x	ɦ
Semi-vowel ŏ (w)			ĕ (j)		

Vowels.

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i, ĩ	..	u, ũ
Half-close	e, ẽ	..	o, õ
Half-open	ɛ, ɛ̃	..	ɔ, ɔ̃
Open		ɑ, ɑ̃	

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

CONSONANTS.

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

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

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

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

94. (*d*) : voiced alveolar plosive. It is the exact counterpart of (*t*) in its voiced form. It represents Skt. (*d*) and *ḍ* (*in initial positions*) ; e.g. *dāpoṇ*, mirror (*darpaṇa*) ; *ḍimā*, egg (*ḍimba*).

95. (*k, g*) : unvoiced and voiced velar plosives ; e.g. *kal,* plantain, (*kadalī*); *gach,* tree, (*gaccha*).

96. (*m*) : voiced bi-labial nasal : eg. *māi,* mother. As it is distinctly articulated in all positions, it does not betray any tendency unlike Bengali intervocal (*m*) dialectal, to pass into a nasalised ~*v* ; e.g. As *tāmākhu* ; Bg. *tāmāk, tãvāk,* tobacco.

97. (*n*) : voiced alveolar nasal. It stands for Skt. (*n*) and *ṇ* (*in intervocal and final positions*); eg. *nāk,* nose; *kāṇ,* ear.

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

99. (*l*) : as in English *long* : e.g. *laŋg,* clove (*lavaŋga*).

100. (*r*) : voiced alveolar rolled. Formed by a succession of taps made by the tip of the tongue against the upper gums. It stands for Skt. *r, ḍ* (*in non-initial positions*), and N.I.A. *ṛ* (*in intervocal positions*). Unlike Bengali *r* which has three values (Chatterji : *A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,* §. 21), it has only one value in Assamese in all positions; eg. *dhār,* debt; *guṛ,* molasses, (*guḍa*); *ṇāṛī,* pulse, (*nāḍikā*).

101. (*s*) : voiceless alveolar fricative. It stands for Skt. (*c, ch*) in all positions; Skt. (*s*) being articulated differently (cf. §. 108) in Assamese; eg. *cin* (pronounced *sin*), sign, (*cihna*) ; *kāchà* (pronounced *kāsà*), tortoise, (*kacchapa*).

102. (*z*) : voiced alveolar fricative. Stands for Skt. *j, jh* and *y* (*in initial position*); eg. *jāti,* caste; *jār,* big forest, (*jhāṭa*) ; *jà,* a measure, (*yava*).

103. (*x*) : unvoiced glottal fricative. This is a sound that is peculiar to Assamese only. It is a sound unknown to Bengali except, " in some interjections, in a final position, as in *ih.* (Chatterji : *A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,* §. 25). It represents Skt. *s, ś, ṣ* in *initial* positions e.g. *xakal* for

sakala, all; *xar* for *śara,* arrow; *xollà* for *ṣollà* (*ṣoḍaśa*), sixteen.

104. (ɦ) : voiced glottal fricative as in English *behind.* It occurs in all positions; eg. *hāt,* hand; *bihān,* morning; *bih,* poison.

105. (*w*) : voiced bi-labial semi-vowel. It represents the *ẇ*-glide and stands also for Skt. *v* (*in intervocal positions*) in homely words; eg. *sewā,* service (*sevā*) ; *Śiwa,* (*Śiva*) ; *nowāre,* is unable, (*na-pārayati*); *ghāwà,* wound, (*ghāta*). In final positions it is often written as *ŏ;* eg. *leŏ,* smearing (*lepa*). It never occurs *initially,* but foreign words with an initial *w*-sound are often transliterated with an initial Assamese *W ;* eg. *Wālṭār* for *Walter.*

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

107. There are the aspirates, *ph, ṭh, th, kh, bh, ḍh, dh* which have separate letters and are therefore regarded as simple sounds. In Assamese, *ṭh, th* have no distinction in sound, so also *dh* and *ḍh* (*initial*). The aspirated *ṛh* is a characteristic Assamese sound and is very prevalent in *tbh.* words; eg. *buṛhā,* old, (*vṛddha*), written as Skt. *ḍh; paṛhe,* reads (*paṭhati*). *kh* represents also the sounds of Skt. *s, ś, ṣ,* in *intervocal positions;* eg. *bikh,* poison (*viṣa*); *dākh,* slave (*dāsa*); *ākhay,* intention, (*āśaya*). There is only a difference in sonority between Assamese articulation of intervocal and final sibilants and fully aspirated *kh ;* so that *kh* (*intervocal*) is often represented by *ṣ ;* e.g. *paṣ* for, *pakh,* a fortnight (*pakṣa*) ; *kāṣ* for *kākh,* side, (*kakṣa*). In Maithilī *ṣ* is pronounced as *kh* in *all positions* (L.S.I. V. II. p. 21) . There is only one instance in Assamese where *ṣ* stands for *kh* initially; e.g. *ṣet-kaparā,* a medicinal herb (*kṣetra-parpaṭī*).

108. In *tbh.* words, *s, ś, ṣ* in *intervocal positions>h;* eg. *bāh,* dwelling, (*vāsa*); *dah,* ten, (*daśa*); *śahur,* father-in-law, (*śvaśura*); *bih,* poison, (*viṣa*). In no position in a word have the sibilants an *s*-sound. That sound in Assamese is symbolised by palatal *c, ch.* Wherever in a Sanskritic word, the sibilants give an *s*-sound, *c* is generally substituted in writing for the sibilant and the *s*-sound of the sibilants is generally to be regarded as an imported one; eg. *macur,* a kind of pulse, (*masūra*); *ticī,* linseed, (*atasī*); *binac,* miscarriage (*vināśa*) ; *kalaci,* the jar-shaped pinnacle of a temple, (*kalaśa-*).

But the regular *tbh.* forms from *vināśa* and *kalaśa* would be *bināh,* destruction; *kalah,* jar.

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

110. The numerals have a certain peculiarity. Though spelt with an *ś,* they have preserved the sibilant sound. Thus though spelt with *ś,* in *ekaiś, bāiś, teiś* etc. the final sibilant has an (*s*) and not a (*kh*) sound. The manuscript spelling in early literature is very diverse; eg. *das, daṣ, dah; pañcās, pañcāś ; cabic ; pañcis* etc. The *s*-sound of *ś* in numerals is most probably an imported one and due to Hindustānī influence.

111. To sum up, the sibilants have different sound values in *initial* and *non-initial* positions in *ts.* words and they are treated differently in *non-initial* positions in *tbh.* words. In *initial* positions in both *ts.* and *tbh.* words, they are pronounced as *x,* but in *non-initial positions* in *ts.* words they are pronounced as *kh.* In *non-initial* positions in *tbh.* words, they are all changed to *h.* Examples : *śeṣa* is pronounced as *xekh ; vaśa* as *bakh; asāra* as *akhār;* but *tbh.* forms are *xeh; bahatīyā,* (*vaśa-*); *bāh,* (*vāsa*) etc. The change to *h* seems to be carried out in a large scale in Mid. As. period. In early Assamese the intervocal sibilants also seem to have been pronounced as

x. In the case of the numerals, the sibilant *ś* has an *s*-sound and this sound is a borrowed one. In some borrowed forms, palatal c is substituted for the sibilants. In compound consonant-groups, the sibilants retain an *s*-sound. eg. *Kṛṣṇa* pronounced as *Krisna ; praśna* as *prasna* etc.

VOWELS.

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

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

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

ni :, having taken, (*niā*).
si :, having sewn, (*siā*) : but *si,* he.

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

114. (*e*) : It corresponds to English *e* in *men ;* except in *ts.* words which have preserved the sound in familiar colloquy, (*e*) is not a primary but a resultant sound in As. *tbh.* words. The sound has been preserved in homely *ts.* words like *deś,* country (*deśa*) ; *cetan,* consciousness (*cetana*) etc. In regular *tbh.* words it has been lowered to (ɛ) ; eg. *khɛr,* straw (*kheṛa*) ; *pɛl,* testicles (*pela*).

Due to the presence of the high vowels (*i, u*) in a following syllable, (ɛ) is raised to (*e*); e.g. *bɛṭā,* son, but *beṭī,* daughter;

ṭhɛlā, push ; but *ṭheli,* having pushed. So also *pɛṭ,* belly : but *peṭulā,* pot-bellied.

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

115. (ɛ). This is the usual sound-value of the *e*-phoneme in Assamese. e.g. *ɛk,* one ; *bɛlā,* time.

116. (*æ*). This is the characteristic sound in Bengali. It is absent in Assamese, but in some dialectical areas in western Assam, an attempt to reproduce this sound has resulted in broadening it to *à, ā,* through the intermediate stages *yà, yā*. Thus *ɛṭā* is often heard in certain localities as *yaṭā, yāṭā, aṭā, āṭā*. This is, however, a purely local and dialectical variation. It is quite likely that in standard Assamese forms like *àkàl,* alone, (*ĕkkala*) ; *ākaṵ,* once again, (**ĕkkahu*), the change of *-ĕ-* to *-à-*, and *-ā-*, is due to dialectical influence.

In Bengali also, " *ā* is frequently heard for *æ* in the middle of a word " in certain circumstances. (Chatterji's *Bengali Phonetics,* § 38).

117. (*a*) It is a clear sound as in English *father, part.* e.g., *āmi,* we ; *hāt,* hand ; *bāṭ,* road.

In the St. coll., (*ā*) in an initial syllable, followed in the next syllable by another (*ā*), has often the frontal pronunciation of (ɛ). This (ɛ) has evolved through an intermediate (*a*) sound of the nature of the cardinal vowel (*a*) ; e.g., *nājāy,* does not go ; E. As. *nàjāy* : Mod. As. *nejāy*. Compare also *āṭhā, ɛṭhā,* gum ; *ādā, ɛdā,* ginger ; *ādhā, ɛdhā,* half; *ālāh, ɛlah,* laziness, etc. This tendency is ever on the increase in recent times. All the three following forms are used in modern writings according to the taste of individual writers:— *chāpā,* printed ; *chapā, chɛpā*. The sound *ne-* for **nɛ*, in *nejāy* is due to confusion with *ne* from neg. *na* with emphatic *hi.*

Pure *ts.* words have not been subjected to this change : eg. *rājā, rajā,* king ; *tārā, tarā,* star.

118. (ə) : Ordinarily it is a short vowel of the nature of the sound in English *hot*, eg. *kal*, plantain ; *khar*, straw. It has two other sounds as in English *law*, and the (*o*) in the second syllable of English *morrow*. These two sounds are represented in transcription by (*à*) and (ŏ).

(*à*) is a resultant sound in Assamese and is due to contraction of the sound groups *-awa-*, *-ava-*, *-aha-*, etc. e.g. *dhàl*, leucoderma, (*dhavala-*) ; *nànī*, butter, (*navanīta*); *nà*, new, (*nava*).

(ŏ) also is a resultant sound and is due to vowel mutation; e.g., *mŏh*, buffalo, (*mahiṣa*). The (ŏ) sound is also perceptible when in the next syllable ə is followed by *i* or *u* ; e.g. *kŏri* (for *kari*), having done : *Hŏri* (for *Hari*), name of a person ; *sŏru* (for *saru*), small.

This (ŏ) sound is often stiffened to *à* ; e.g. *lŏrā* or *làrā*, boy. This broad sound of ə is characteristic of western Assamese dialect.

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

120. The *o*-phoneme has two values in Assamese, long and short. When long, it has a sound as in English *vocation* : e.g. *bhog*, enjoyment ; *lo*, iron ; *po*, child, etc. The short (ŏ) has a lower position than long (*o*) and has a position intermediate between long *o* and *à* (ə). It has been discussed in (§. 118). In a final syllable it appears as a semivowel. e.g. *cheŏ/w*, a piece, (*cheda*).

kheŏ/w, a cast, throw, (*kṣepa*).
tāŏ/w, heat, (*tāpa*). etc.

The short (ŏ) is often lowered to a frank *à* (ə) sound. eg. *kàr*, bud, (**kŏra, kora*); *gàdhūli*, evening, (*go*+*dhūli-*); *sajinā*, a vegetable plant (*śobhāñjana-*).

This change is highly characteristic of the Kāmrūpī dialect.

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

Short: as in *hul*, thorn; *guṭi*, seed. The long sound (*u:*) is heard as in *kuku:hā*, wild cock, *utanu:wā*, rash; *khāru:*, a bracelet; *gāru:*, a pillow.

Short (*u*) often interchanges with (*o*), through the laws of vowel-harmony. eg. *śowe*, lies down; but *śuba*, lying down; *rowe*, plants; but *ruba*, planting etc. (<**śuiba*, **ruiba*).

CHAPTER II.

STRESS-ACCENT IN ASSAMESE.

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

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

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

124. From the phonological details in the body of this book it would appear that there are two different systems of

stress in Assamese sharply differentiated from one another in two different dialectical areas. The stress in the Kāmrūpī dialect in western Assam is dominantly initial whereas the stress in the Standard colloquial of eastern Assam is medial. The stress in the Standard colloquial seems to fall in a line with the prevailing pan-Indian system in being placed on the penultimate. The initial stress of the Kāmrūpī dialect has in some instances influenced the phonology of the Standard colloquial.

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

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

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

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

(B). Vowels with the secondary stress.

(C). Unaccented vowels:
  (1) Pre-accentual.
  (2) Post-accentual.

A (1). *Vowels in accented open syllables.*

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

Examples:

(*a*)

khaĕr, catechu (*khádira*).
thar, stiff, (*sthávira*).
bhanī, sister, (**bháginikā*).

(*ā*)

sāhan, sāhŏn, ancestral property, *śāsana*).
cŏtāl, court-yard, (*catvāla*).
ḍhŏrā, a kind of snake (**ḍuṇḍubhāka*).
bālā. (Coll.) sand (*vālukā*).

(*i*)

sts. bitŏpan, shining, (*vítapana*).
cikŏṇ, glossy, beautiful, (*cíkkaṇa*).
bibhŏl, perplexed, (*víhvala*).

(*u, ū*).

ural, mortar, (**údukhala*).
gŏru (spelt *garu*), cow, (*gorūpa*).
dhūlā, dust, (*dhūlikā*).

(*e*)

sts. mekhelā, woman's girdle, (*mékhalā*).
ṭeṭŏn, rogue, (**ṭéṇṭana,* cf. D. *ṭeṇṭā,* a gambling den).

(*o*)

sts. jojonā, an epigram, (*yójanā*).
rau, (Pr.-*ou*), a kind of fish, (**róhitaku*).
thorā, the pestle of the husking machine *ḍhēki* (from its look like the beak of a crane), (**tróṭikā*).

(*ṛ*)

-maṭā (in *kĕcu-maṭā,* earth thrown out by earth-worms) (*mṛttikā*).
bichā, scorpion, (**vṛścikā*).

A(2). *Vowels in closed syllables.*

129. In the M.I.A. stage all long vowels before two consonants were shortened. These short vowels converge with the corresponding O.I.A. short vowels. Later in the formative period of the N.I.A. languages when the double consonants were shortened, or in the case of the group nasal+consonant, when the nasality was produced simultaneously with the vowel, the preceding short vowel, if in the syllable bearing the chief stress, was lengthened.

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

O.I.A. *a* : *dāpŏṇ,* mirror, (*dárpaṇa*).
sāŋŏr, yoking together, (*saŋghaṭa*).
sātŏr, swimming, (*sántara*).
kāndŏn, crying, (*krándana*). } Cf. § . 291 for
bāndhŏn, tying, (*bándhana*) } reduction of
-*nd*-; -*ndh*-.
kāpŏr, cloth, (*kárpaṭa*).
gādhà, ass, (**gárdabhaka*).
bāgh-(*jari*), reins, (*avágraha*).
pāghà, tying rope (*prágraha*-).

O.I.A. *ā* : *āpŏn,* self, (**ātmanaka*).
bhādà, name of a month, (*bhādrapada*).
māthŏn, just, (**mātrana, mātra*-).

O.I.A. *ṛ* : *nācŏn,* dancing, (**nṛtyana*).

(B). *Vowels with the secondary accent.*

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

When carrying the secondary stress of the word, short vowels remain unaltered, long vowels are shortened and con-

sonant groups are simplified without compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. e.g.

a: *pariyāl,* members of a family, (*pàrivāra*).
tarowāl, sword, (*tàravāri*).
bhādà, name of a month, (*bhādrapàda*).
gādhà, ass, (**gárdabhàka*).
pāghà, tying rope, (**prágrahàka*).

Long syllables are shortened. eg.
cakowā, ruddy goose (*càkravāka-*).

(C). *Unaccented vowels.*

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

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

C(1). *Pre-accentual syllables.*

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

prak/ṣālayati, washes, > *pakhāle.*
pras/tāra > *pathār,* field, meadow.
**niṣ/kāsikā* > *nikāhi,* projection of a roof beyond the wall..
ud/bhārayati > *ubhāle,* uproots.
ut/pāṭayati > *upāre,* fells.
vyā/khyāna > *bakhān,* exposition.
jā/mātṛka- > **jāwāi, jōwāi,* son-in-law.
**mā/rāpayati* >*marāy,* causes to beat.
**cā/lāpayati* > *calāy,* causes to shift.
go/dhūma-> **ghāhu, ghēhu.*

**go/rūpa* > *ga'ru* (Pron. *gŏru*), cow.
**go/dhūlikā* > *ga'dhūli* (Pron. *gŏdhuli*), evening.
**vaḷ/rāgyika* > *ba'rāgi* (Pron. *bŏ-*), ascetic.
vaḷ/śākha > *ba'hāg* (Pron. *bŏ-*), name of a month.
saṷ/bhāgya > *suwāg*, husband's favour.
kaṷ/pīna > *ka'pin*, loin-cloth worn round the privities.

133. Initial short syllables beginning with a consonant remain: *e.g.*

śa/lākā > *śalā*, a thin wedge.
vi/nāśa > *bināh*, destruction.
vi/bhāna- > *bihān*, dawn.
gu/vāka > *guwā*, betel-nut.
ku/ṭúmba- > *sts. kuṭum*, relative.

134. Initial short syllables beginning with a vowel are often lost eg. *a/lābu-* > *lāu*, gourd.

a/vágraha > *bāgh-* (*jari*), reins.
a/ríṣṭaka- > *riṭhā*, soap-nut.
**u/ḍúmbaruka* > *ḍumaru* (Pron. *dumŏru*), fig tree.
u/páviśati > *bahe*, sits.
**u/pānahikā* > *pānaḷ* (pron. *pānoi*,) shoe.
u/pasthāna- > *bathān*, place of abode as of cattle.

135. The initial short vowel may be lost even before double consonants e.g. *a/ṣṭhīlā-* > *ṭhilā*, a hard stopper.

C (2). *Post-accentual syllables.*

136. In post-accentual syllables *i, u* > *a*, or they drop out altogether after causing mutation of the preceding vowel; eg. **vāḍiśikā* > *barahi*, angling hook.

**āmiṣika* > **ãhī-* (in *ãhīyā*), having the smell of raw flesh.
**bháginikā* > *bhanī*, sister.
sthávira, > *thar*, stiff.
máhiṣa > *ma'h* (Pron. *mŏh*), buffalo.
khádira > *khaĕr*, catechu.
mátkuṇa- > *makhanā*, a tuskless elephant.

**útkuṇikā* > *okaṇī*, a louse.
**údukhala* > *ural*, a mortar.

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

sāhan, sāhon (Pron. *ŏ*), ancestral property (*śāsana*).
dāhan, dāhŏn, property (**dāyana, dāya*), (euphonic *-h-* explained §. 246).
ṭeṭan, ṭeṭŏn, rogue (**ṭéṇṭana, D. ṭeṇṭā*, a gambling den).
cikaṇ, cikŏṇ, glossy, beautiful (*cíkkaṇa*).
bheraṇ, bherŏṇ, rent, wages (*bháraṇa*; (*e*) for (*a*) due to contamination with *vetana*).
pānai (*-oi*), shoes (**upānahikā*).
nācan (Pron. *nacŏn*), dancing (**nṛ́tyana, nṛtya*).
ḍumaru (Pron. *dumŏru*), fig (**uḍúmbaruka*).

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

sts. bitopan, shining, excellent (*vítapana*).
dāpoṇ, mirror (*dárpaṇa*).
kāpor, cloth (*kárpaṭa*).
sātor, swimming (*sántara*).
bāndhon, tying (*bándhana*).
sāṇor, yoking together (*sáṇghaṭa*).
sts. laghon, fasting (*láṇghana*).
māthon, just (**mātrana, mātra*).

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

biriṇā, a kind of shrub (**viraṇāka, viraṇa*).
sts. mekhelā, woman's girdle (*mékhalā*).
sts. jojonā, an epigram (*yójanā*).
kuruwā, osprey (**kuravāka, kurava-*).
dhumuhā, storm (**dhūmrābhāka, dhūmrābha*).

139. Between the main stress and the secondary stress short syllables disappear. eg.

cítraphàla- > *cital,* a kind of fish.
nàvanīta > *nanī,* butter.
pàdasthāna > *pathān,* the lower end of a bed.
mùkha-śúddhi- > *muhudi,* something taken to sweeten the mouth after meal.
púṁsavàna- > *puhan,* a ceremony after conception.
śīras-sthāna- > *śitān,* head of a bed.
pàṇya-śālā- > *pŏhār,* a petty shop.
pàścima-vāta > **pachwā* > *pachowā,* westerly wind.

Final vowels.

140. All final vowels following a M.I.A. consonant disappear (For detailed treatment see §§. 160ff. Final vowels). e.g. *ullāsa-* > *ulāh,* buoyancy.
bhéla- > *bhel,* a raft.
pipāsā > *piyāh,* thirst.
śílā > *śil,* stone.
múṣṭi > *muṭh,* total, abridgement.
áṁśu > *ãh,* fibre.

STRESS-SHIFT.

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

(1) Stress-shift due to analogy of forms belonging to the same paradigm.
(2) Stress-shift in accordance with value.
(3) Stress-shift due to dialectical influence.

(1). *Stress-shift due to analogy.*

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

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

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

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

The privative prefixes *a-, ava-* > *sts. ā-, āo-,* to shew the accent; e.g.

alāgī, ālāgī, a woman to whom the husband is not attached.
akāji, ākāji, not skilled in work.
athāuni, āthāuni, fathomless.
sts. āhukāl, trouble, uneasiness. (**asukhāla*).
āo-bāṭ, wrong way (*apa* + *vartman*).
āo-maraṇ, unnatural death (*apa* + *maraṇa*).

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

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

āokhāle, washes (*avakṣālayati*).

The negative prefix *ana-* > *anā-* eg.
sts. anāthiti, helpless (*-sthita*).
anājāle, without being heated.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(d) Initial syllables retained their length if stressed,

or if unstressed, when followed by a short stressed syllable. Otherwise they were shortened.

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

(f) Penultimate *i, u,* if stressed > *ī, ū*: if unstressed > *a.*

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

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

kumārá > *kumara*—
pravāhá > *pavaha*—(P.§. 81).

(b) Pre-accentual *a* > *i* or *u*: eg.
uttamá > *uttima*—
pakvá > *pikka*— (P.§§. 101 ff.).

(c) Post-accentual long vowels were shortened: e.g
útkhāta > *ukkhaa*—(P. §. 80).

(d) Post-accentual *ā* > *i*: eg.
ṭéṣām > *tesim* (P. § 108).
bháṇāmah > *bhaṇimo*.

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

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

Sanskrit. Assamese.

kumārá > *kõwar*, prince. In some parts of Kāmrūp, *kũwār* also obtains.
nihārá > *niyar*, fog. Some Kāmrūpī dialects have *niyār*.
purāṇá > *puraṇ* (Kāmrūpī); St. Coll. has *purāṇ, puraṇi*, ancient.
samāṇá- > *sts. saman* (Kāmrūpī); St. Coll. *samān*.
nanāndṛ- > *nanad*, wife's husband's sister.
jāmātṛ- > **jãwai, jãwe*, (Kāmrūpī); St. Coll. *jõwāi*, son-in-law.

na-pārāyati > *nare* (Kāmrūpī) ; St. Coll. *nowāre*, is unable.

sthāpāyati > *thaẏ*, places.

For further explanation about their formations, see § 150.

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

aụṣadhá- > sts. *oṣud*, (medicine) ; *āhudi*, a love philtre.

gaṇáyati- > *guṇe* (coll.) counts.

pataŋgá- > *phariŋg*, grass-hopper.

pakvá > *pik*, the red spittle after chewing betel-nut.

Of these, *osudh*, occurs in Aśokan Pāli and *phaḍiŋga* and *pikka* occur in Prākrit and *guṇe* may be explained as a blend between *gaṇayati* and *guṇayati*. Hence there is no reason to look upon these examples as independent Assamese formations. They must have been borrowed from the sources where they occur.

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

Skt. As.

sárva>*sab*, all.

khálva>*khal*, an apothecary's mortar.

sánt–>*–hāt*, a plural affix.

vartáyati>*baṭe*, pounds.

pakvá>*pak*, ripeness.

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

149. The word *khal*, a stone for pounding drugs, occurs in AS. Bg. O. G. M. and it has been connected with Sanskrit *khalla* (Turner: *Nepali Dictionary*). The *-a-* in N.I.A. *khal* is left unexplained. Assamese has both *khal*, an

apothecary's mortar, and *khāl*, a canal, a trench. Of these two, *khāl* obviously goes back to Skt. *khalla*, a canal; *khal*, points to O.I.A. *khálva*, a vessel for pounding drugs. *khalla* may be a late Sanskritised Pkt. formation from *khálva*. (See Monier-Williams: *Sanskrit-English Dictionary: khálva, khalla*).

In the following words the vowel changes are unaccounted for:

sts. baraṣuṇ, rains (*varṣaṇa-*) Cf. Pali. *preṇkuna* < *preṇkhana*.

ãjināi, sty. (*añjana-*).

? *sajinā*, a kind of vegetable plant (*?śobhāñjana-*).

śikar, a baked cake of potter's clay (*śarkarā*).

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

Post accentual *e, o*>*ȧ*

Post accentual *ā*>*ȧ*

Examples:—

Skt.	As.
Lex. kuhelikā >	*kuwali*, fog.
nārikela >	*sts. nārikal*, cocoa-nut (also see § 229).

nāgeśvara- > *nāhar,* a kind of tree.

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

Lex. seka-pātra- > *sewat,* a scoop for baling out water.
arka-parṇa>*ākaṇ,* a kind of medicinal plant.

Lex. vesavāra->*behar,* mustard.
pārāvata>*pārà,* a pigeon.
kārṣāpaṇa->*kāoṇ,* a certain measure.
** vikālikā*>*biyali,* afternoon.
**dūrvāṭikā* > *dubari,* bent-grass.
yamāni- > *janī,* a medicinal herb.
śṛṇgāṭa->*śiṇgari,* a water-chestnut.
jīvanta- > *jīyāt,* living as fish.

151. In the following, there is strengthening of initial *a-* to *ā-* under the influence of stress: eg.

āghan, name of a month (*agrahāyana*).

ãusī, the night of new moon, (**amā-vāsikā*).

sts. mādaị, the principal queen, (**mahādevikā*).

152. Owing to the shift of accent from the penult to the initial syllable we often get double forms like the following: eg.

cakravāka>** cakwā, cakowā,* a ruddy goose.

but **cákravākikā* > *cākai, cākaị.*

**hālavāhika-* > **hālwāi, hālowāi,* a ploughman.

but **hālavāhika* > **hālwai, hāluwaị.*

So also *ātāi, ātaị,* a term of address to a respectable person.

THE KĀMRŪPĪ DIALECT.

153. The dialect that caused stress-shift in the forms that stand out as exceptions to the theory of the penultimate stress is the Kāmrūpī dialect of Western Assam. Its accent-

scheme differs from that of Marathi. In Marathi the tone or stress was uniformly confined to the first syllables only in the case of verbs. In the case of the substantives no such uniformity is recognisable. But in the Kāmrūpī dialect, the stress always falls on the first syllables in all classes of words. In polysyllabic words, there is a secondary stress on some succeeding syllable. Its probable origin is discussed below (§. 158).

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

St. coll.	Kāmrūpī.	Sanskrit.
ughāle	*ughle*	*údghāṭayati*
uṭhāy	*uṭhay*	*útthāpayati*
pakhāle	*pākhle*	*prákṣālayati*
paṭhāy	*paṭhai*	*prásthāpayati*

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

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

St. coll.	Kāmrūpī.	Skt.
marāẏ, causes to beat.	*mārai*	* *mārāpayati*
calāẏ, causes to shift.	*calai*	* *cālāpayati*
phalāẏ, causes to split.	*phālai*	* *sphālāpayati*
rowāẏ, causes to plant.	*ruwai*	**ropāpayati*
śodhāy, causes to enquire.	*śadhai*	* *śodhāpayati*
nowāre, (* *nawāre*), is unable.	*nare*	*na* + *pārayati.*

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

St. coll.	Kāmrūpī.	Skt.
palāĕ, flies.	*palai* (*-oi*),	(*parā*+√*ay*).
uphāĕ, is inflated,	*uphai* (*-oi*),	(*ut*+√*spāy*).
omale, sports,	*umle*	(*un*+√*mrad*).
olame, is suspended	*alme*	(*ava*+√*lamb*).
pāhare, forgets,	*pāhre*	(*pra*+√*smṛ*).

Substantives also shew similar vowel variations.

St. coll.	Kāmrūpī.	Skt.
jõwāi	*jăwe* (**jăwai*),	*jāmātṛ-*
karāhi	*kare* (**karai*),	*kaṭāha-*
cakowā / * *cakwā*	*cakā*	*cakravāka.*

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

Loss of medial:—

	St. coll.	Kāmrūpī.
-a-:	*bhekolā* (*bheka-*).	*bheklā.*
	korokā (*karaŋka-*)	*karkā.*
-ā-:	*komorā* (*kuṣmāṇḍa-*)	*kumrā.*
	barāli (*vadāla-*)	*bālli.*

	St. coll.	Kāmrūpī.
-i- :	*śālikā* (*śārikā-*)	*śālkā.*
	kariba (**karitavya-*)	*korbā.*
-u- :	*kukurā* (*kukkuṭa-*)	*kukrā.*

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

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

The source of the initial stress in Kāmrūpī is obscure. It is true, Bengali also possesses an initial stress. But in Bengali the word-stress is remarkably faint (Anderson: *Stress and pitch in Indian languages*: J.R.A.S. 1913. P. 869) and in other respects also it is different from the Kāmrūpī accent. Compare for example the following formations in respect of the effects of the stress on different syllables of the word.

Skt.	St. As.	Kmpi.	Bg.
catvāla ;	*cŏtāl;*	*càtàl;*	*cātāl,* court-yard.
na-pārayati ;	*nowāre;*	*nàre;*	*nāre,* (early Bg.), is unable.
prastāra;	*pathār;*	*pàthàr ;*	*pāthār,* meadow.
etc.			

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

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

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

159. There is one more peculiarity of the standard colloquial. Before the long vowel *-ā* in the final syllable, (this *-ā* or its extensions *-iyā, -uwā*, being suffixes), an anterior *-ā-* in the penult or antepenult is shortened to (*a*). This peculiarity Assamese shares along with the Bihari language and the tendency was there perhaps in the Parent Māgadhī AP. itself. This peculiarity is noticed also in the *Caryā Padas.* The stress

is thus shifted from the penult or antepenult to the final syllable. This peculiarity is not noticed in the Kāmrūpī dialect. Compare the following formations :

pānī, water : *panīyā,* watery.
kāṭan, spinning : *kaṭanā,* spinning for wages.
cāki, lamp : *cakā,* wheel.
bātari, news : *batarā,* news.
dhār, debt : *dharuwā,* debtor.

Due to dialectical influences certain forms resist this tendency.

sār, manure : *sāruwā,* fertile.

CHAPTER III.

FINAL VOWELS.

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

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

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

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

O.I.A. *-ă*.

161. O.I.A. *-ă* > M.I.A. *-ă* > As. *ɑ*; e.g.

ākaṇ, a medicinal plant, (*arkaparṇa*).
ãcal, hem of a garment, (*añcala*).
āṭāh, uproar, (*aṭṭahāsa*).
ulāh, buoyancy, (*ullāsa*).
ohār, udder, E.As. *osār* (*apasāra*).
kàh, decoction, (*kvatha*).
kàr, bud, (*kora*).
kher, straw, (*kheṭa*).
bar, large, (*vaḍra*).

bhel, raft, (*bhela*).
pācan, a goad to drive cattle, (*prājana*).
śol, a kind of fish, (*śakula*).
soṇ, gold, (*saṷ-varṇa*). etc.

162. M.I.A. *-ăă* > As. *-a* (pronounced-ŏ).

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

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

e.g. *śà,* a corpse, (*śava* > **śawa*).
pārà pigeon, (*pārāvata* > **pāravaa*).
kāchà, tortoise, (*kacchapa* > **kacchava*).
bhādà, name of a month, (*bhādrapada*).
karà, thou dost (*karasi* > E.As. *karasa, karaha* > N.I.A. As ; *karà* ; *egārà,* eleven (M.I.A. *egāraha*).
bārà, twelve (M.I.A. *bāraha*). etc.

164. M.I.A. *-āa* commonly becomes *-ā,* but in originally disyllabic words *-āa* generally becomes *-ăŏ.*

eg. *guwā,* betel-nut (*guvāka-*).
ojā, teacher, (*upādhyāya-*).
barā, pig, (*varāha-*).
biyā, marriage, (*vivāha-*).
but *ghăŏ,* blow, (*ghāta*).
chăŏ, child, (*śāva*).
tăŏ, heat, (*tāpa*).
păŏ, foot, (*pāda*).
băŏ, wind, (*vāta*).
bhăŏ, acting, (*bhāva*).
năŏ, boat, (Vedic *nāvā*).
Also *rā, răŏ,* uproar, (*rāva*).
gā, găŏ, body (*gāa, gātra*).

165. M.I.A. *-ia, īa* > **ī* > *-i, -ī* in Assamese.

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

kāti, name of a month, (*kārtika* > *kăttia*).
nànī, lànī, butter, (*navanīta* > *navanīa*).
ārati, waving a light at night before an idol, (*ārātrika*).
bhāi, brother (**bhrātṛka*).
jõwāi, son-in-law (**jāmāṭṛka*).

Assamese gerunds like *kari,* having done; *dhari,* having caught etc. are from M.I.A. *karia, *dharia* (O.I.A. **karya, *dharya* = *-kṛtya, -dhṛtya,* = *kṛtvā, dhṛtvā*).

166. The O.I.A. passive participle in *-ita* = M.I.A. *-ia* > *-ī, -i.* In this way, the common N.I.A. adjectival affix indicating connection, *-ī* (*-i*), is derived from O.I.A. *īya, ika.* e.g. *pānī,* water (*pānīya*), *dāduri,* frog, (*dardura*+*ika*).

167. M.I.A. *-ua, -ūa*> **-ū* in E. As. > *-u* in modern As. eg.

śihu, a porpoise, (*śiśuka*).
garu, a cow, (*go*+*rūpa*).
kẽcu, earth worm, (** kiñcuka, kiñculuka*).
ulu, straw, (*ulūpa*).
ālāndhu, soot, (*alaṁdhūma*).
(LW). *camu,* straight (** chammuha, sanmukha*).

168. M.I.A. *-ea* > As. *eŏ ;* e.g. *cheŏ,* a portion cut off (*cheda, chea*) ; *kheŏ,* throw (*kṣepa*), etc.

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

In the evolution of the affix for the instrumental-nominative *–e* of Assamese (O.I.A. *–ena*) the loss of *-ă* took place in M.I.A. of the AP. period ; eg. O.I.A. *hastena* > (Mag.) M.I.A. *hattheṇa,* AP. *hatthem̀, hatthẽ ;* As. *hāte.* (Cf. O.D.B.L. p. 303).

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

jo, supply, (*yoga*).
po, child, (*pota*).
lo, E.AS. *loha*, tear, (*loṭaka*).
lo, iron (*loha*).

Final -a in tatsamas.

170. With certain exceptions which are noted below, *ts.* and *sts.* words as a rule drop the final *-a*; e.g. *bhaban*, dwelling, (*bhavana*); *kamal*, lotus, (*kamala*); *garāh*, one morsel, (*grāsa*); *baraṣuṇ*, rain, (*varṣaṇa*), etc.

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

(a) When a word ends with a conjunct of two or more consonants, the final *-a* is retained: eg. *kṛṣṇa*, black, (*kṛṣṇa*); *candrà*, moon, (*candra*); *dharma*, duty, (*dharma*), etc. But when the conjuncts are simplified by an anaptyctic or epenthetic vowel, the final *-a* disappears; e.g. *suruj*, sun, but *śūryyà*; *sàit*, true, but *satya* (pronounced *sŏitta*); *bāik*, word, but *bākyà* (pronounced *baikka*) < *vākya*; *murukh*, fool, but *mūrkha*, etc.

(b) The *sts.* forms in *ṛha* (O.I.A.—*ḍha*) retains the vowel; e.g. *gāṛha*, deep (*gāḍha*); *mūṛha*, foolish (*mūḍha*), etc.

(c) The *ts.* *-ta*, *-ita* affix retains the final *-à*; e.g. *gītà*, sung; *natà*, bent; *gatà*, gone. But when used as nouns the *-ta* forms drop the *-à*; e.g. *gīt*, song; *màt*, opinion; *niścit*, certainty.

172. A few adjectives which are commonly used also drop *-à*; eg. *calit*, current, (*calita*); *garhit*, reprehensible: (*garhita*); *barjit*, deserted, (*varjita*), etc.

(a) The *ts.* affix *-ya* retains the vowel: eg. *peyà*, *deyà*, *bidheyà*, (*vidheya*), etc.

(b) In words of two syllables with *ṛ*, *a̲i*, *a̲u*, in the first syllable, the final *-à* is retained: e.g., *mṛga*, deer; *ma̲una*,

silence; *taila*, oil; *śaila*, rock, etc. But the retention or elision of a final *-à* depends upon the extent to which a *ts.* word has become naturalised. Compare the following words against those just noted above: *tṛṇ*, straw, (*tṛṇa*); *bṛṣ*, taurus in the Zodiac, (*vṛṣa*).

173. In general there are fewer words and forms in Assamese than in Bengali which retain the final *-à*; e.g. As. *bibāh*: Bg. *bibāhà*, marriage, (*vivāha*); As. *gurutar*; Bg. *guratarà*, momentous, (*gurutara*), etc. Cf. O.D.B.L. pp. 304, 305. In Bengali, *ts.* words occurring in a compound as its first part as a rule do not drop the vowel; but in Assamese there is no such rule. The same compounds would be pronounced differently in Assamese. eg. Bg. *raṇà-mukho*, but As. *raṇ-muwā*, facing, going to the fight; Bg. *padà-sebā*, As. *padà-sewā*, service at one's feet; Bg. *bhārà-bāhī*, As. *bhār-bāhī*, carrying a load. But in recently coined words that have not yet been naturalised the vowel is retained, eg. *janà-tantra*, *gaṇa-tantra*, democracy.

O.I.A. *-ā.*

174. O.I.A. *-ā* > M.I.A. *-ā* (*-ā* in nominative, *-ă* in oblique > late M.I.A. *-ă* > AS. *-a*. e.g.

kal, machine, (*kalā*); *khāṭ*, bed-stead, (*khaṭvā*).
gāŋ(g), river (*gaŋgā*).
ghin, abhorrence, (*ghṛṇā*).
piyāh, thirst, (*pipāsā*).
bhok, hunger, (*bubhukṣā*).
śil, stone, (*śilā*).
dhār, edge, (*dhārā*).
lāl, saliva, (*lālā*).
reh, carriage, behaviour, (*rekhā*).
śikār, pot-sherd, (*śarkarā*).
lāj, shame, (*lajjā*).
bāj, barren, (*bandhyā*).
bān, flood, (*vanyā*), etc.

175. In Assamese as in Bengali (O.D.B.L., p. 306), the plural affix of O.I.A. *-ă, -ā* nouns, *-āḥ* > M.I.A. *-ā,* was reduced to *-ă* in AP. and lost its Pl. force. eg. *deśāḥ*> *desā* > *desă* : *vārtāḥ* > *vattā* >*vattă*>*bāta.* New Pl. forms had to be built up by adding nouns of multitude.

176. E. As. *tāna,* his, (honorific, < their) ; *tehõ* > Mod. As. *teõ,* he, (honorific < they) are connected with O.I.A. **tānām,* occurring beside *teṣām* > M.I.A. *tāṇaṁ, tāṇa,* and *tesaṁ, teśaṁ,*>AP. *tāṇã, tāṇă, tehã.* In As. Nom. *teõ* < *tehã* there is an extension of the genitive Pl. to the nominative.

There is weakening of O.I.A. *ā-* to *ă* in *tāna* < *tāṇām* : *teõ* < *teṣām.*

177. (a) O.I.A. *-ā,* + consonant + *-ā* > M.I.A. *-āā, -ąā, -āa* > As. *-ā.* e.g.

śalā, a spike, (*śalāka*).
chā, shadow, (*chāyā*).

O.I.A. *-ikā* > M.I.A. *-iā, -ia* > As. *-ī, -i.* e.g.

pūi, a vegetable creeper, (*pūtikā*).
kuwali, fog, (*kuhelikā*).
gui, iguana, (*godhikā*).
newālī, name of a flower, (*navamallikā* > ** nayamalliā*).
śewāli, name of a plant (*śephālikā*).
māṭi earth, (*mṛttikā*).
bāri, garden, (*vāṭikā*).
bāli, sand, (**bālikā, balukā*).
māi, mother (*mātṛkā*).

(b) O.I.A. *-ukā, -upā* etc. > M.I.A. *-ū, u.* (See §§ 239d, 240a ; Vowels in contact).

O.I.A. *-i, -ī.*

178. O.I.A. *-i, -ī* > late M.I.A. *-i* > Mod. As. *zero* after a consonant. e.g.

tarowāl, sword, (*taravāri*).
āŋgul, measure of a finger, (*aŋguli*).
gābhīn, big with young, (*garbhinī*).

rāhak, plentiful, (*rāśi* +).
muṭh, abridgement, (*muṣṭi*).
diṭhak, waking vision, (*dṛṣṭi-*).
sàttàr, seventy, (*saptati*).
sts. ṭhõṭ, beak, (*troṭi*).
ts. jāt- pãt, caste and line (*jāti-paŋkti*)

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

rāti, night (*rātri* + *kā*).
gãṭhi, a tie, knot, (*granthi-*).
tĕtelī, tamarind, (*tintiḍī-*).
tini, three, (*tiṇṇi, trīni-*).
cāri, four, (**cattāri-, catvāri-*).
bhanī, sister, (**bhaginikā*).
gābhinī, big with young, (**garbhinikā*).
biyànī (E. As. *bihānī*) daughter's mother-in-law (**vivāhinikā*).

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

chai > *chai̯*, thatched covering of a boat, (*chadis*).
nai > *nai̯*, river, (*nadī*).
bāṛhai > *bāṛhai̯*, carpenter, (*vardhaki*) etc.

The *-i* of the O.I.A. pronominal ending *-smin* > M.I.A. *-ssiṁ, -śśiṁ* > Ap. *-hiṁ, -hĩ, -hi*, persisted in early Assamese: *kahi*, where ; *tahi*, there ; *jahi*, where ; *ahi*, here. The old locative supplied a new oblique base in the early As. period and these forms were treated as the base for pronominal adverbs of place, direction etc. e.g. *kahi-tà*, where-in; *kahi-rà*, where-of etc. In Mod. Assamese with the softening of intervocal *-h-*, the medial *-i-* disappears after causing mutation of the preceding *a-* to *o-*. e.g. *kahità* > **kaita, *koita* > *kŏt* (written *ka't*, to shew the elision of *-i-*). So also *tŏt, ŏt*, therein, herein, etc.

180. The *-i* of O.I.A. *-ati* (Conjugational ending of the 3rd Person Singr.) > M.I.A. *-ai* becomes either *-aĕ* in As. or is by vowel crasis changed into *-e*. e.g. **karati* (*karoti*) > M.I.A. *karai* > early As. *karaĕ* or *kare*=Mod. As. *kare*.

181. The M.I.A. *-i* of the passive conjugation *-īai* in contact with the preceding *-a-* becomes either *-iyà* or is strengthened to *-iyā*. This *-iya* or *-iyā* group also by contraction often became *-ī>* *-i*. eg. *bujiyà*, is understood, (**bujjhīai*) ; *buliya*, is called (**bollīai*) ; *kari*, is done (**karīai*), etc.

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

O.I.A. *-u, -ū*.

182. O.I.A. *-u, -ū*>M.I.A. *-u, -ū*, AP. *-u* is elided in Assamese, eg.

ā̆h, fibre, (*aṅśu*).
jām, a kind of fruit, (*jambu*).
peŋgā, lame, (*paŋgu*).
hiŋ, Asafoetida, (*hiŋgu*).
āgar, sweet scented wood, (*aguru*).

In *ts.* words also, *-u* is often dropped in naturalised words. e.g. *dayāl*, name of person, (*dayālu*).

183. O.I.A. *-u, -ū*>M.I.A. *-u* is often retained after a vowel in As. eg.

sāu, a merchant, (*sādhu*).
bāu, border of a wicker basket, (*bāhu*).
E.AS. *jau*<*jau*, lac, (*jatu*).
bau, bau, elder brother's wife, (*vadhū*).
mau, mau, honey, (*madhu*).
lāu, gourd, (*alābu*), etc.

184. The affix *-u* for the imperative 3rd person *-tu* of O.I.A. was lengthened by *-k* in E. As. and became *-ŏk* in a medial position. In this form it was attached to verb-roots ending in a consonant or a vowel: eg. *thākŏk*, let it stay ; *karŏk*, let him do ; *jāŏk*, let it go ; *hŏk*, let it be, etc.

Mod. As. *thākak ; karak ; jāŏk, jāk ; hăk*, etc. (§ 238 c).

O.I.A., M.I.A., -*e*.

185. O.I.A. *-aḥ, -aṁ* > M.I.A.(Mg.) *-e* > Mg.(AP.) *-i*, is elided in Assamese.

The Mg. case affix *-e* for the nominative singular of *-a* nouns is not represented in modern Assamese. The *-i* of the nominative in Assamese pronouns *si* (he), *ji* (which), etc., for M.I.A.(Mg.) *śe, ye* (O.IA. *saḥ, yaḥ*) ; *āmi*, we ; *tumi*, you, for M.I.A. (Mg.) *amhe, tumhe* (O.I.A. *asme*, **tusme*), etc., represents a fusion of the nominative and the instrumental *-e* (< *-ena*) > *-i*. (§ 644).

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

The old locative in *-i*, even though ousted by *-e* < *-ahi, -ahi, -ai* of late M.I.A. is preserved in a few adverbial formations. eg.

āji, to-day (M.I.A. * *ajji, ajje*, O.I.A. * *adye*).
kāli, to-morrow, (M.I.A. *kallim* : *kalye*).
parahi, day after to-morrow, (O.I.A. *paraśvaḥ* > M.I.A. (Mg.) * *paraśśe, parassi, parasi, parahi*).
also, *paraśui*, (*paraśvaḥ* > Mg. *paraśuve, paraśuvi, paraśui*).

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

For the loc. *-i* in Assamese pronominal adverbs of time ; *kāhāni*, when ; *tāhāni*, then, etc., early Assamese *kaisāni, taisāni*, cf. §. 731.

The phrasal expressions *gharā-ghari*, each to his own home ; *ghar-ghar*, in every home ; *sts. nit-nit*, always, (* *nitye-nitye*>* *nitte-nitte*>*nitti-nitti*) illustrate both the retention and elision of loc. *-i*.

188. The dialectical Western Assam *-e*, in the proper names of females like *Ràhe, Paṭe, Màhe,* etc., seems to be shortening of forms like *rasadevī, paṭṭadevī,* etc. Cf. St. coll. *ràh-da̲i* (*rasa-devī*) ; *mādā̲i* (*mahādevī*). Western Assamese Coll. *māde*. Cf. §.36, d.

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

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

In the proper names of persons ending in *-a,* the final *-a* is often pronounced as *-o*. e.g. *Haro* for *Hareśwar ; Naro* for *Nareśwar, Nilo* for *Nīla Kāntà,* etc.

190. In western Assam colloquial, the proper names of women are often found ending in *-o*. eg. *Pāro, Sājo, Rājo, Māho, Lāho,* etc. The *-o* is not organic but seems to be the abrasion of *vadhu->vahu->vau>o*. eg. *rājo<rājyà + vadhu* : *lāho < lāsa + vadhu,* etc. (final *-au > -o* in Western Assam unlike *-a̲u* of St. Coll. Cf. §36,d.)

CHAPTER IV.

INITIAL VOWELS.

Aphaeresis.

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

hẽṭ, down-cast, (M.I.A. *heṭṭha* : *adhastāt*).
bhije, gets wet, (*abhi*√*añj*).
bhitar, interior, (*abhi*+*antara*).
(L.W.) *ticī* linseed, (* *atisī, atasī*).

In *pindhe,* puts on, (*pinaddha, apinaddha*), the loss is inherited from the *Skt.* period.

ḍhilā, slow, lazy, often read under aphaeresis and connected with *Skt. śithila-*> M.I.A. *siḍhila,* has been referred to a new M.I.A. source *ḍhilla* (Turner).

Changes of Initial Vowels.

ă- initial, and in initial syllables.

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

kàràc, kàràcāli, a ladle, (M.I.A., *kaḍacchu*).
kàlàh, a jug, (*kalaśa*).
khàr, straw, (*khaṭa*).
gàraṛi, a kind of fish, (*gaḍaka*).
ghàri, a jug, (*ghaṭikā*).
carīyā, a spy, (*cara* + —).
jaruṇ, a freckle, (*jaṭula*).
tàre, pitches, (a tent), (M.I.A. *taḍai* ; ? *tata* √*tān*.)
palam, delay, (*pralamba*).
màẏànā, a songster bird, (*madanaka*).

śarāi, a tray, (* *śarāvikā*) .
śali, a wick, (*śalikā, śalā*).
sȧru, small, (*saru–*) .

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

ãt, entrails, (*antra*) .
ãkuhi, a crook, (*aŋkuśikā*) .
ãh, fine fibre, (*aṅśu*) .
kãkai, a comb, (*kaŋkatikā*) .
kãr, a bow, (*kāṇḍa*) .
khāg, the horn of a rhinoceros, (*khaḍga*) .
gāru, a pillow, (*gaṇḍu–, kandu–*) .
gãri, a headless trunk, (*gaṇḍi–*) .
gāl, cheek, (*galla, gaṇḍa*) .
gãt, hole, (*garta*) .
ghām, sweat, (*gharma*) .
cāpari, a kind of cake, (*carpaṭi–*)
chāl, bark, (*challi–, chardis*) .
cām, skin, (*carma–*) .
chāṭe, covers, (* *chatrayati*) .
jāmu– (*dãt*), the molar teeth, (*jambha* + —) .
dāduri, a frog, (*dardura* +) .
dāpoṇ, a mirror, (*darpaṇa*) .
nāk, nose, (*nakra*) .
nāthani, tying up a beam with a post, (*nastrā–*) .
bāgar, side, party, (*varga*+*ṭa*) .
bhāŋg, hemp, (*bhaŋgā*) .
bhāgar, fatigue, (*bhagna*+*ṭa*) .
sãc, stain, (*sañca*) .

194. In words of more than two syllables, *a–* in the initial syllables although followed by two consonants in M.I.A. (one of which is dropped in N.I.A.) is not lengthened

and remains as *a-* when a following syllable was a stressed one ; e.g. :—

kãkāl, waist, (*kaŋkāla*). Bg. *kãkāl.*
kapāh, cotton, (*karpāsa*). Bg. *kāpās.*
gamārī, a tree, (*gambhārī-*).
cārāl, a caṇḍāl, (*caṇḍāla*). Bg. *cā̃ṛāl.*
pathār, a meadow, (*prastāra*).
mãdār, a tree, (*mandāra*).
kaṭārī, knife, (*kaṭṭārikā*).
kamār, blacksmith, (*karmāra*).
camār, shoe-maker, (*carma* + *kāra*).

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

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

gach, tree, (*gaccha*).
paṭi, a long strip of cloth (*paṭṭi-*).
jakh, an evil spirit, (*yakṣa*).
paṣ, pakh, a fortnight, (*pakṣa*).
māral, a circular disc round about the sun or the moon, (*maṇḍala*).
samal, provisions, wherewithal, (*sambala*).
gār, rhinoceros, (*gaṇḍa*).

196. After labial sounds *p, b, m,* the vowel *-a-* is found as *-u-* and *-o-* ; e.g.

muṇiyā, maṇiyā, stunted, (*maṇia, manāk*).
puvā, morning, (*prąbhāta*).
poṇ, eighty, (*paṇa*).
pohā, palm-ful, (*prasṛta-*).

punī, an aquatic plant, (*parṇikā*).
bojā, load, (*vahya–*).
bõkā, mud, (*vaŋka*).
etc.

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

odā, watery, insipid, (*andraka–*).
gondh, smell, (*gandha*).
rondā, sinus, (*randhra*).
sõcare, infects, (*sañcarati*).
cobā, chewing, (*carva+*).
sotàrà, seventeen, (*sapta+daśa*).

198. *Hāladhi*, turmeric. is not from *haridrā* but from the lengthened form *hāridrika* ; *kāwai*, (dialectical *kawe*) is from Sktised. *deśī*, *kavayī*; *lākhuṭi*, a stick, Skt. *lakuṭa*, may similarly be of some *deśī* origin.

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

athāntar, *āthāntar*, perplexity, (*avasthāntara*).
sts. *ākhuṭi*, *āokhuṭi*, whim, caprice, (*akhaṭṭi-*).
āru, and, moreover, (*apara–*).

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

alāgī, *ālāgī*, a wife not her husband's favourite, (*a+lagna–*).
agaṛhī, *āgaṛhī*, misfeatured, (*a+√gaṭh*, *√ghaṭ*).
akājī, *ākājī*, not skilled in work, (*a+kārya*).

athāïni, āthāïni, beyond one's depth, (*astāgha*).
abatar, ābatar, bad weather.
āhukāl, bad or troublous time, (*asukha+āla*).
āo-bāṭ, wrong way, (*apa+vartman*).
āo-maraṇ, unnatural death, (*apa+maraṇa*).

Initial *ā- ;* and *ā-* in initial syllables.

200. O.I.A. *ā-* before a single consonant not followed by the long vowel *-ā-*, normally remains in Assamese, *e.g.*:

āli, road, (*āli–*).
āri, a fish, (*āṭika*).
kāh, cough, (*kāsa*).
khāi, ditch, (*khāti*).
ghā, sore, (*ghāta*).
chāwa, young one, (*śāvaka*).
jā̃ŏ, over-burnt brick, (*jhāmaka, kṣāma–*).
dhā̃ŏ, display of spirit, (*dhāman*).
bā̃ŏ, left, (*vāma*).
bhāŏ, gesture in acting, (*bhāva*).
śā̃ŏ, swarthy, (*śyāma*).

201. O.I.A. *ā-* before conjunct consonants was shortened to *ă-* in M.I.A. and this *ă-* fared exactly like O.I.A. *a-* before conjunct consonants in Assamese. It underwent compensatory lengthening when one of the following double consonants was dropped; e.g.

ām, mango, (*ămba, āmra*).
kā̃r, arrow, (**kaṇḍa, kāṇḍa*).
kāṭh, wood, (*kāṣṭha*).
tām, copper, (*tămba, tāmra*).
bāgh, tiger, (*vaggha, vyāghra*).

202. O.I.A. *ā-*, in the initial syllable >*ă-* in M.I.A. remains *à-* in Assamese when in the next syllable it is followed by the long vowel *-ā-* in a position of stress: e.g., *bakhān,* praise, (*vakkhāṇa, vyākhyāna*).

bhā̃rāl, store, (** bhaṇḍāra, bhāṇḍāra*).

i-; ī-; initial, and in initial syllables.

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

ilīh, hilsafish, (D. *ilīṣa*).
khil, fallow land, (*khila-*)..
khīlā, wedge, (*kīlaka-*).
khīn, emaciated, (*kṣīṇa*).
gile, swallows, (*gilati*).
jīp, moisture (*jīvā,* perhaps contaminated with *vāṣpa*).
sts. *jīyātu,* agony, (*jīvātu*).
cīral, a rag, (*cīra-*).
niyar, a fog, (*nihāra*).
pirikā, pimples, (*piṭika>piḍikka-*).
biriŋgā, clever, (*viḍaŋga-*).
bihān, morning, (*vibhāna*).
sīralu, furrow, (*sīra+la +* —).

204. Before two consonants, *i-, ī-* generally remain e.g.
ikarā, reed, (*ikkaṭa-*).
iṭā, brick, (*iṣṭaka-*).
khic, mud formed of cowdung and urine, (Skt. *khiccā*).
cikā, rat, (*cikkā-*).
cikā-(hātī), small, (D. *cikkā-*).
jīn, assimilation, (*jīrṇa*).
ḍimā, egg, (*ḍimba-*).
tīkhā, steel, (*tīkṣṇa*).
nikāhi, the projecting part of a roof, (*niṣkāśa-*).
pit, bile, (*pitta*).
pīrā, lump of flesh, (*piṇḍa-*).
phichā, tail of a fish, (*piccha-*).
likhā, a louse, (*likhyā*).
śimalu, cotton tree, (*śimbalā +*).

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

numāy, becomes extinct, (*ṇumai,* also *ṇimai, ṇimei,* O.I.A. *niveti,* $\sqrt{vī}$).

dupar, mid-day or night, (*dvi-prahara*).
dunāi, once again, (*dvi-guṇa*).

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

206. *u-; ū-;* followed by one consonant remain:—e.g.

ukharā, a dry barren place (*uṣara-*).
ulu, thatching grass, (*ulūpa-*).
kurumā, relative, (*kuṭumba-*).
kuruwā, an osprey, (*kurava-*).
guwā, areca-nut (*guvāka*).
sts. guṭi, seed, (*guṭikā*).
culi, hair, (*cūla, cūḍa, * cūḍikā*).
churī, knife, (*churikā, kṣurikā*).
jui, fire, (*dyuti*).
pūi, a vegetable creeper, (*pūtikā*).
phuraṇi, giddiness, (*spuraṇa* +).
bhūi, field for cultivation, (*bhūmi*).

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

urãh, bug, (*uddaṅśa* > M.I.A. *uḍḍaṅsa*).
ukàh, an osprey, (*utkrośa*).
ukā, will-o-the-wisp, (*ulkā-*).
ugul, anxiety, (*udgūrṇa*).
uiciriŋgā, cricket (*ucciṭiŋga*+) *-i* in *ui-*
is perhaps due to contam. with As. *ũi* white-ant, which T. derives from O.I.A. *yūkā.*
utanuwā, rash, inconsiderate, (*uttāna* +).
ud, otter, (*urdra*).
udaŋ, unrestrained, free, (*uddama*).
kukuhā, wild cock, (*kukkubha-*).
kuki, a basket for putting fish in, (*kukṣi-*).
khud, small rice particles, (*kṣudra*).
cukā, sorrel, (*cukra* + —).
dubalā, weak, (*durbala*+).
śũr, proboscis of an elephant (*śuṇḍa*).

śukaṭi, dried fish, (*śuṣka*+*vṛtta-*).
śudā, unmixed (*śuddha-*).
sūtā, thread, (*sūtra-*).

M.I.A. *ĕ-, e-,* initial, and in initial syllables.

208. O.I.A. *e-* followed by a single or double consonants remains in Assamese e.g.
erā, a plant, (*eraṇḍa*).
kerā, squint-eyed, (*kekara-*).
kheŏ, a throw, a cast, (*kṣepa*).
kher, straw, (*kheṭa*).
kewāri, menial work, (*cf.* √*kev*).
celeŋg, scarf, (*cela-*).
cheŏ, a piece cut off, *cheda-*).
sts. chewaṇṭīyā, orphan, (*chemaṇḍa,* § 378).
ḍeürī, threshold, (*dehalī-*).
dhen, giving birth to a calf, (*dhenā,* a milch-cow).
pel, testicle, (*pela*).
reghā, mark on the forehead, (*rekhā-*).
leŏ, sticking fast, (*lepa*).

209. Before double consonants :—
khet, field, (*kṣetra*).
ghẽculi, water-plant, (*gheñculikā*)
beṛhā, enclosure, (*veṣṭa–*).
bherā, ram, (*bheḍra–*).
meji, a pile of straw burnt as a festive ceremonial, (*medhyā* +).
bẽt, cane, (*vetra*).

210. In *àkàl, ekàl,* alone, (M.I.A. *ĕkkalla*) ; *dàli,* threshold, (*dehali*>**dewali*>**dawali, dali*), the change of *e-* to *a–* seems dialectical and to be the result of an attempt to produce (*æ*) sound (§. 116).

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

211. O.I.A. *ai-* > M.I.A. *e-*, *ĕ-* ; As. *e-* ; e.g. :—

bej, physician, (*vĕjja*, *vaidya*).
tel, oil, (*tĕlla*, *taila*).
jeṭh, a month, (*jyaiṣṭha*).
keŏṭ, a caste, (*kaivarta*).
geruwā, coloured garment worn by ascetics, (*gairika* > * *gairuka*).
śewāl, moss, (*śaivāla*).

212. O.I.A. *i-* and sometimes *ī-* change into *ĕ* before double consonants in M.I.A. Assamese preserves some examples of this change before conjunct consonants which are reduced ;, e.g. :—

kĕcu, earth-worm, (*kiñciluka*).
tĕtelī, tamarind, (*tintilī-*).
bel, the bilva fruit, (*bilva*).
heŋgul, vermillion, (*hiŋgula*).
endur, indur, rat, (*indura*).
chĕi, pod, (*śimbī-*).
hekuṭi, hiccough, (*hikkā+vṛtta-*).
pelu, worms, (* *pillu*<*pilu* —).
pere, squeezes, (*pīḍyate*).
bhĕṭi, foundation, (**bhiṭṭa-*, T.).
śeŋgun, phlegm, (*śiŋghāṇa*).
hendol, oscillation, (*hindola*).
celā, centiped, (*cilla+* —).
ḍeükā, wings, (cf. M.I.A. *ḍivvai* ; O.I.A. √ *ḍī*, to fly).
seruwā, henpecked, (*śliṣṭa*>*seḍḍha*, P.).
bĕṭu, the calyx of a flower, (*veṇṭa*, * *viṇṭa*, *vṛnta*).
nemu, the lime fruit, (*nimbu-*).
keṭār, mucus of the eye, (*kiṭṭa-*).
pehā, aunt's husband, (*piussiā*, * *pitṛsvasṛkā*).

213. The sound-group *aya-* in initial syllables>*e-* ; e.g. :—

terà, thirteen, (*teraha* ; *trayo-daśa*).
teic, twenty-three, (*tevīsa* : *traya-viṁśa*).
newālī, a flower, (* *nayamallikā*, *navamallikā*).

lenī, graceful, (* *laẏaṇikā, lavaṇikā*).
śẽtelī, bed-room: bed-stead, (*śayana*+*talikā*>**śayantalikā*).
ḍhelā, pale, (**dhayala, dhavala*).
nei, (coll.) takes, (*nayati*).

M.I.A. ŏ-, o-, initial, and in initial syllables.

214. O.I.A. *o*– generally remains before single or double consonants except where it is changed to *u*– by rules of vowel-harmony owing to the presence of *–i*– in the following syllables (§. 264), e.g.:—

ol, a kind of yam, (*ola*).
kõh, the bud, (*kośa*).
khorā, lame, (*khora-*).
kholā, the shell of a cocoanut, (*khola-*).
sts. *coc*, fibres, (*coca*).
colā, coat, (*cola–*).
jorā, joint, (*joḍa–*).
polā, bundle, (*polaka–*).
ponā, young fry, (*poıa*+*na–*).
sts. *mocā*, plantain fruit, (*moca-*).
śowā, dropsy, (*śotha*).

215. Before double consonants:—

or, a flower, (*oḍra*).
kõṭh, a fort, (*koṭṭa* + *koṣṭha*).
goṭ, assembled, (*gotra*).
cokā, sharp, (*cokṣa–*).
jõt, yoking rope, (*yoktra*).
solā, toothless, (M.I.A. *solla*).

216. A few words illustrate the change of *o*– in the initial syllables to *a*-: cf. Pāli: *pharati* (*sphurati*), *phallati* (*phullati*), *kappara* (*kūrpara*). e.g.

kar, bud, (*kora*).
calu, a palmful of water, (**culluka cullaka*).
màthā, an aromatic plant, (*mŏtthā, mustā–*).
sàjinā, a plant, (*śobhāñjana*).
mahī, crucible, (**mŏssiā, mūṣikā*).

In *ākhudi,* drug, (*aụṣadhi*), the reduced *a–* is lengthened to *ā-* by initial stress. Cf. *ȧkhȧd,* medicine. This is parallel to *a/ā* of §. 143. This tendency of reducing *o-* in the initial syllable is a characteristic feature of some dialects in Western Assam (Kāmrūp). Thus *koc,* a tribe is pronounced as *kȧc ; ḍhŏrā,* snake, as *ḍhȧrā ; solā,* toothless, as *sȧlā ; bhok,* hunger, as *bhȧkh* etc.

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

In Kurmālī Ṭhar, (ibid) *loker* is found as *lȧker.*
o-kar is found as *ȧ-kar.*
go-rȧkhiyā is found as *gȧrȧkhiyā.*
bhoj is found as *bhȧj.*
mor, tor is found as *mȧr, tȧr.*
In Khaṛiā Ṭhar : *-u, -ū* often > *-ȧ,* e.g.
bhȧke (*bhūkhe*); *māṛash* (*mānush*).

217. O.I.A. *u-* and sometimes *ū-* become *ŏ-* in M.I.A. before double consonants. This peculiarity has been preserved by some Assamese words. The conjunct consonants are reduced to a single one and the *u–* in the preceding syllable is changed to *o–* ; e.g.

okȧṇī, louse, (*utkuṇa* +).
okāle, ejects from the mouth, (*utkālayati*).
okh, high, (*ukṣa*).
odāl, a tree, (*uddāla*).
opȧŋge, floats, (* *utplavaŋgati*).
sts. opace, increases, (**uppacaya, upacaya*).
kŏc, shrink, (√*kuñc*).
kochā, bundle, (*kūrca* +).
kodāl, spade, (*kuddāla*).
komorā, pumpkin, (*kuṣmāṇḍa*).
khŏpā, lock of hair, (*kṣumpra*).
khoj, foot-step, (*kṣodya,* √*kṣud,* to tread upon).
gŏph, moustache, (*gumpha*).

gomoṭhā, glum, (*gulma*+ –).
ghol, butter-milk, (*ghola, ghūrṇa*).
ghõṭ, water drunk at one time, (D. *ghuṇṭa*).
chopā, a grove (**chuppa* : *chupa*).
poche, asks, (*pucchai ; pṛcchati*).
mol, worth, (*mūlya*).
lõr, bunch, (*luṇḍa*).
śõṭarā, shrivelled, (*śuṇṭha* +).

218. O.I.A. *au* > M.I.A. *o,* ŏ > As. *o.* e.g.
soṇ, gold (*sauvarṇa*).
sondā, sondhā, sweet-smelling, (*saugandha–*).

219. O.I.A. *ăp–, ăv–,* before single or double consonants ; also O.I.A. groups *–am–, –up–* etc. > respectively *–av–, –uv–* > late M.I.A. *–o–, –uv–,* before single consonant : ŏ before double consonants > As. *–o–* (cf. O.D.B.L. §. 166 iii) e.g.
loṇ, salt, (*lavaṇa–*).
or, end, extremity (*avara–* T.).
sõ, right-hand, (*sama–* > *sa∼va–*).
dõ, bent, (*dama–*).
thok, bunch, cluster, (*thavakka–, stavaka*).
oṇāĕ, listens to, (*upa* + *karṇayati*).
ojā, teacher, (*upādhyāya*).
ohār, (E. As. *osār*) udder, (*apasāra*).
owārī, pavilion, (*upakārikā*).
sts. jokār, sound of greeting, (*jaya* + *kāra* > **java* + *kāra*).

CHAPTER V.

VOWELS IN THE INTERIOR OF WORDS.

Vowels Not in Contact.

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

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

Thus standard colloquial *komorā*, pumpkin, (*kuṣmāṇḍa-*) is *kumrā* in Kāmrūpī; *karibà*, to do, (* *karitavya-*) is *kŏrbā; gomoṭhā*, gloomy, (*gulma*+*avasthā*) is *gàmṭhā* in Kāmrūpī.

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

The interior *-à-* ; lost.

223. The few words listed below shew the elision of interior vowels and also of syllables ; e.g. :—

kāṇḍhārī, kāṇḍārī, helmsman, (*karṇa*+*dhāra-* > * *kaṇṇa.*+*dhāra-*)
pathān, foot of a bed, (*pada*+*sthāna*) .
behā, business, (*vyavasāya*) .
āghàn, name of a month, (*agrahāyana*) .
gādhà, ass, (*gardabha* > *gaddaha*) .
paghā, rope for tying cattle, (*pragraha-*) .
śitān, head of a bed, (*śiras*+*sthāna*) .
cital, a fish, (*citra*+*phala*) .
kāṭhāl, jack-fruit, (*kaṇṭaka* + *phala*) .
muhudi, anything taken after meals to sweeten the mouth, (*mukha*+*śuddhi*) .
pahārī, a female vendor, (*paṇya*+*śālikā*) .
erā, a plant, (*eraṇḍa-*) .

(a) In *āṇgāmuri*, the act of stretching and yawning, (*aṇga*+*moṭikā*) and *sts. sātām-puruṣa*, the seventh generation, there is lengthening of the interior *-a-* together with compensatory lengthening of the preceding *-a-*.

(b) In a few cases, *-a-* occurs as *-ā-* before or after a single consonant ; e.g. :—

carāi, bird, (*caṭaka-*>**caṭākika*) .
sts. kowāth, decoction, (*kvatha*>**kuvatha*) .
sts. bundāmār, killing by hosts, (*vṛnda*+*māra*) .
sts. śaṭhāmitra, deceitful friend, (*śaṭha*+*mitra*) .
Cf. O.I.A. *ekādaśa*, (*eka*+*daśa*) ; *aṣṭādaśa*, (*aṣṭa*+*daśa*) ; *aṣṭāvakra*, (*aṣṭa*+*vakra*) .

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

224. In general the interior *-à-* remains unchanged except in the directions noted above; e.g.:—

ăhàt, a tree, (*aśvattha*) .
ătàr, distance, (*antara*) .

kāmàli, blanket, (*kambala*).
gāgàl, a fish, (*gargara*).

The interior *-ā-*.

225. Interior *-ā-* remains in general except in a few instances which will be noted below;

e.g. *kãkāl,* waist, (*kaŋkāla*).
kapāh, cotton, (*karpāsa*).
sts..kalāy, pulse, (*kalāya*).
kowāri, the corners of the mouth, (*kapāṭa*+).
gamārī, a kind of tree, (*gambhārī-*).
pariyāl, members of a family, (*parivāra*).
barāli, a kind of fish, (*vadāla* + -).

226. In a few words, the interior *-ā-* is changed to *-à-* owing to want of stress (§§.147, 150).

e.g. *niyàr,* fog, (*nihāra*).
biyali, afternoon, (**vikālikā*).
jànī, a medicinal herb, (*yamānī-*).
puraṇi, ancient, (*purāṇa*+).
kõwar, prince, (*kumāra*).
śiŋgàri, an aquatic plant, (*śṛŋgāṭa-*), *behàr,* mustard seed, (*vesavāra-*).
(L.W.) *binàc,* miscarriage of animals, (*vināśa*).
āghàn, a month, (*agrahāyana*).
In *śeŋgun,* mucus of the nose, (*śiŋghāṇa*) the interior *-ā-* > *-u-*.

The interior *-i-* ; *-ī-*.

227. There is no great loss of interior *-i-* except in a few words like *khantā,* hoe, (*khanitra*) ; *phantā,* sandal (**phanitra, √phan*).

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

dālim, pomegranate, (*dāḍimba*).
pirikā, pimples, (*piṭika-* > *piḍikka-*).
śãkinī, a female spirit, (*śaŋkhinī-*).
śālikā, a kind of bird, (*śārikā-*>*śālikkā-*).

sts. hābilāṣ, longing, (*abhilāṣa*).

(b) *-i- > -a-* ;

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

e.g. *barahi*, fish-hook, (*vaḍiśa*).
piparā, ant, (*pipīlikā*).
pichal, slippery, (*picchila*).
bih-laŋganī, a poisonous herb, (*viṣa-langhinī-*).
balàdh, bull, (*balivarda-*).

The interior *-u-* ; *-ū-*.

228. Interior *-u-* generally remains ;

e.g. *ãkuhi*, hook (*aŋkuśikā*).
kukurā, cock, (*kukkuṭa*).
ghĕculi, an edible root (*gheñculikā*).
ḍāuk, a kind of bird, (M.I.A. *ḍāhuka*).
dāduri, frog, (*dardura-*).
śāmuk, snail, (*śambuka*).
sãphurā, casket, (*samputa-*), (aspiration explained §§. 372 ff).

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

uràl, mortar, (*udūkhala*).
āŋgàṭhi, ring, (*aŋguṣṭha-*).
makhanā, a tuskless elephant (*matkuṇa*).
okaṇī, louse, (*utkuṇa*).

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

(c) *-u- > -i-* ; e.g. *sts. manic*, mankind, (*manuṣya > *manissa*).
munih, a male, (*manuṣya*). Cf. M.I.A. *purisa* (*puruṣa*).

The interior *-e-*.

229. In some instances, it is changed to *-a-* owing to absence of stress (§ 150).

e.g. kuwàli, fog, (*kuhelikā*).
sts. nārikal, cocoanut, (*nārikela*), probably also contam. with *kal,* plantain, (*kadala*).
āmahī, dried mango, (*āmra* + *peśī-*).
nāhàr, a tree, (*nāgeśvara*).
car, a slap (*capeṭa*).

In *bhaìrā* (*vaheṭaka*), the interior *-e-* has been raised to *-i-*. This may be due to contamination with *vibhītaka.* In general, interior *-e-* remains.

The interior *-o-*.

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

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

kũhi, bud, (*koṣa-*).

CHAPTER VI.

VOWELS IN CONTACT.

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

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

āra, (avara) ; *khāi, khāai (khādati)*.
palāi, (palāyate) ; *kelī (*kadilī, kadalī)*.
thera, (sthavira) ; *nacce (nṛtyatī)*.
pŏmma (padma) ; *moha (mayūkha)*.
andhāra, (andhakāra) ; *deula (deva-kula)*.

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

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

(a) They were turned into diphthongs.
(b) They were contracted into a single vowel.
(c) They were retained as separate vowels by the insertion of a euphonic *-ẏ-* or *ẇ*.

Diphthongisation of Vowels in Contact.

233. It has been surmised that next to development of a glide sound, diphthongisation of contact vowels was an earlier process of combinative vowel change. In Aśokan inscription of the third century, the diphthong *ai* is found in forms like *thaira* (*sthavira*), *traidasa* (*trayodaśa*), *samacaira* (?) (Hultzsch: *Grammar of the Girnar Rock edicts: Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.* Introduction p. lvi). It has been held that M.I.A. forms like *kela, bora,* are contractions of still earlier **kaila, baura* and that there was diphthongisation before contraction took place (Cf. O.D.B.L. §. 171).

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

haiba, *haila* (**haa*+*iba*; *haa*+*ila*);
kaisāni, (*kaisa-*), *kaita*, (*kahi*+*ta*);
pānai (**upānahikā*); *saitārī* (**sahita*+*kārikā*);
dhauliwar, *dhawalivar*, white mound, rampart, (*dhavalita* +*vara*); *saiharī*, belonging to one's own house (*svakīya* +**garha* > **saīa*+*ghara*); *mairā* (**mayira-*, *mayūra-*); *jau-gṛha*, lac-house, (*jatu*+) etc. Such forms are plentiful in E. Assamese. Final *-ai* of verbs (*calai*<*calati*) also often appears as a diphthongal vowel, e.g. *parai*, falls, (*patati*); *rarai*, screams, (*raṭati*); *jvalai*, shines, (*jvalati*) etc. But even in E. As. they are regarded as archaic and belonging to a still earlier phase of the language. Side by side there are forms like *pare*, *kare* etc. Thus it would appear that final *-e* of verbs is a simplified form of earlier diphthongal *-ai*.

235. "The alphabet had letters only for the diphthongs *ai, au;* possibly the speech actually had other diphthongs like *eu, ou, āu, āi,* etc. which could be represented only as *e-u, o-u,* etc. by means of two separate vowels; and a form like *khā-i* became a diphthong *khāi* to be reduced to *khāy*" (O.D.B.L. p. 344).

236. The examples already quoted from E. As. shew diphthongisation not only of vowels thrown together by loss of O.I.A. stops but also of vowels intervened by O.I.A. and M.I.A. *-h-*. e.g. *saitārī* (*sahita-*); *kaita* (*kahi-ta*) etc.

The following are the new diphthongal combinations:—

-ai-, -awi- > *ai*;

-au-, -awu- > *au*;

Instances of these changes are prolific; e.g.,

āsai, denial, (*asvakīya*).

ākhai, fried rice, (*khadikā*). For Prothetic *ā-*, cf. §. 285.

garai, a fish, (*gaḍa*+*ka*+*ika*).

chai, cover, (*chadi*).

dai, curdled milk, (**dawi, dahi, dadhi*).

nai, river, (*nadī*).

dalai, the headman, (*dalapati*).

mai, harrow, (*madi*).

mādai, chief queen, (*mahādevī* > **māhādevī*).

kāwai, a fish, (*kavayī*).

bau, elder brother's wife, (*vadhū*).

mauri, aromatic plant, (*madhurikā*).

caukā, oven, (*catuṣka*).

jau, lac, (*jatu*).

au, wood apple, O. *aü* (*apūpa*, a honey-comb; a round ball of flour).

(a) *-a-* + *-i-* > *-aẏ-* where *-i-* represents a personal affix of verbs; e.g. *bẏay*, flows; weaves, (*vahati, vayati*).

kẏay, speaks, (*kathayati*).

lẏay, takes (*lahẏai, labhate*).

(b) *-ā-*+*-i-* > *-āẏ-*, where *-i-* represents a conjugational affix, e.g.

khāẏ, eats, (*khādati*); cf. *khāi*, a drain, (*khāti*).

pāẏ, gets, (*pāvai, *prāpati*).

jāẏ, goes, (*yāti*).

(c) *-ea-, -eva-* > *-eẇ-*; *-eŏ-*.

cheŏ/ẇ, a piece, (*cheda*).

kheŏ/ẇ, also *khẏa*, cast, throw, (*kṣepa*).

leŏ/ẇ, smearing, (*lepa*).

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

Contraction of Vowels in Contact.

237. The sound groups *-aa-*, *-awa-* in the initial syllables > *-à-*; e.g.

kàr, corns, callosity of hands and feet, (**kaara, kadara*).
kàl, plantain, (*kadala*).
kàri, cowry shell, (*kaparda-*).
càr, slap, (**cawara, capeṭa*).
kàndh, headless trunk, (*kabandha*).
laguṇ, sacred thread, (*nava+guṇa*).
śār, a deer, (*śambara*).
lanī, butter, (*navanīta*).
lànī, graceful, (*laṿaṇa +*).
jànī, ajowan, (*yamānikā*).
làŋg, a spice, (*lavaŋga*).
dhàl, leucoderma, (*dhavala*).
śà, corpse, (*śava*).
śa, hundred, (*saa, śata*).
jà, measure, (*yava*).
pathān, the lower end of the bed, (*paa+thāṇa<pada+sthāna*).

(a) The initial sound-group *-aha-* > *-à-*. e.g.

pàr, measure of time, (*prahara*).
gà, doggedness, E. As. *gaha;* (O.I.A. *graha,* zeal).
nàràṇī, instrument for paring nails, (*nakha + haraṇikā*). Cf. H. *naharaṇī.*

(b) The sound-groups *-aa-*; *-aẇa-*; *a~wa-*; *-aha-*, in interior and final syllables > *-à-*; e.g.

kolaṭhi, the soft lower part of a fish (*kola+aṣṭhi*).
karàt, saw, (*karapatra*).
puhàn, ceremony after conception, (*puṁsavana* > **pusavana*).
ākàṇ, a plant, (*arkaparṇa*).

sewàt, a scoop for baling water from a boat, (*sekapātra*).
ghāmaci, prickly heat, (*gharma*+*carcikā* > **ghamma* + *acciā*).
baladh, bull, (**balavadda, balivarda*).
behàr, mustard, (*vesavāra* > **vesavara*).
āmahī, dried mango preparation, (*āmra*+*peśikā*).
āmàni, mango-forest, (*āmra*+*vanikā*).
palà, a bamboo basket for catching fish, (*palava*).
pārà, pigeon, (*pārāvata*>**pāravata*).
kāchà, tortoise, (*kacchapa*). *bhādà,* name of a month, (*bhādrapada*).
gādhà, ass (M.I.A. *gaddaha*). *egārà,* eleven (M.I.A. *egāraha*).

(c) The sound groups *-aā-; -āa-; -āā-* (with intervening *-ẇ-* or *-ẏ-* glide) > *-ā-;* e.g.

ān, āndh, yoking rope, (*ābandha*).
kāoṇ, a weight or coin, (*kāhāvaṇa, kārṣāpana*).
ā̆hīyā, ā̆ihā, having the smell of raw flesh, (*āmiṣa*> * *āmasa-* > * *ā*~*wasa-*).
nāhàr, a tree, (*nāgeśvara,* > **nāgassara*).
sonāru, a tree with yellow flowers, (*saṷvarṇa* + *dāru-*).
càmār, shoe-maker, (*carma* + *kāra*).
panīyāl, a fruit, (*pānīyāmalaka*).
sàmār, ploughing a second time cross-wise (*śambā* + *kāra*).
ā̆r, screen, (*apaṭī-*).

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

(a) *-ai*>*-e*; e.g.
càle, moves (*calai, calati*).

paṛhe, reads, (*paḍhai, paṭhati*).

ene, tene, jene, this-like, that-like, which-like; etc. (* *aiha* + *na*; * *jaiha* + *na* &c., *plus.* emphatic *hi* > *i*).

(b) The M.I.A. vowel group *-au-* > *-o-*; e.g.

poṇ, straight, (*praguṇa* > * *pauṇa*).
śol, a fish, (*śakula*).
thor, space of the palm, (*sthapuṭa*).
chõ, actor's mask, (**chaüma, chaduma, chadma*).

(c) Finally *-au* > *-au̯*, also *-o*.

ts. sakalo, all, (*sakala*+emphatic *hu* < *kkhu, khalu*).
sts. nitau̯, always, every day, (* *nittau, nityataḥ*).
au > *o, à* (imp. third person) in *calŏk, calàk*, let him move; *khāŏk*, let him eat.
aũ > *õ*; indic. first person; *calõ*, I walk; (*calāmi, calami,* * *calam, cala*~*w, calaũ*).

(d) The vowel-groups *-āi*; *-āu-* remain; e.g.

ghāil, wounded, (*ghāta*+*illa*).
māi, mother (*mātṛkā-*).
gāi, cow, (*gāvī*).
āul, distracted, (*ākula*).
bāul, intoxicated, (*vātula*).

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

239. *-ii-; -īi-; -iī-; -īī-* > *-ī-* (> *-i-*).

e.g. *cirā*, flattened rice, (*cipiṭa-* > *civiḍa-*).

dile, gave, (√*di* + *-ile*).

tīyā, occurring every third day, (*tṛtīya-* > * *tiīya-*).

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

(b) The Assamese sound-group *-i*(*y̆*)*a-, -i*(*y̆*)*ā-* in initial syllables > *-e-*.

sts. bethā, pity, (*vyathā* > * *viathā*).
sts. beŋg, frog, (*vyaŋga*).
behā, business, (*vyavasāya*).
sts. bepār, trade, (*vyāpāra*).
beõ, measure of length, (*vyāma*).
diẏā-śalāi, deśalāi, match-stick, (*dīpa*+*śalākā*).
kelaị, why, (*kiya*+*lai, kiha; kisa;* M.I.A. *kissa*).
sts. pratyek, manifest, (*pratyakṣa*).
-cerek, an indefinite plural affix, (*ciāri*+ < ? O.I.A. *catvāri*; *ciāri* occurs in E. Oṛiyā, (O.D.B.L. p. 106).

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

(c) *-ia, i*∼*wa-, -iyā-*>*eŏ-.*
teŏj, third (year) from now, (* *tṛtayya* > * *tiajja*).
neõtā, invitation, (*nimantra-*).
neõc, to neglect, (*ni*+√*añc*).

(d) *-ia ; -iā* in final syllables > *-ī-* > *-i ;* e.g.

kāmali, blanket (*kambala*+*ikā*).
gājani, growl, (*garjana*+*ikā*).
kaṭārī, knife, (*kaṭṭārikā*).
ṭāŋgī, chisel, (*ṭaŋga*+*ikā*).

(e) *-iu-*>*-io-* ; imperative third person ;

niŏk, let him take.
diŏk, let him give ; (*-u*<O.I.A. *-tu*).
-ia-u>*-io;* passive imperative;
śunio, let it be heard, (*sunia-u*).

240. *-uu-; -uū-* &c. >*-ū-;* >*-u-*.

dunāi, once again, (**duuṇa, dvi-guṇa*).

(a) *-ua-; -ūa-* &c. >*-ū-*>*-u-;* e.g.

E.As. *dujā,* second, (**duajja, *dvitayya*).
dhūnā, incense, (*dhūpana-*).
chelu, pretext, (*chala* + *uka*).
nelu, wind-pipe, (*nala*+*uka*) (For *a/u*>*e/u*, cf. §. 270).

241. *-ea-* > *-e-;* e.g.

chenā, chisel, (*chedanikā*).
deurī, a temple-priest, (*deva*+* *garhika; *gṛhika*).
seẇat, a scoop, (*sekapātra*).
kerā, squint-eyed, (*kekara*).

242. *-oa-* > *-o-;* e.g.

po, child, (*pota*).
lo, tear, (*lotaka*).
lo, iron, (*loha*).

Insertion of Euphonic Glides.

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

244. The glides in Assamese are represented as in Western languages by *-y̆/ĕ, -w̆/ŏ-* and sometimes but very rarely by *-h-*. Unlike Bengali and Oṛiyā, Assamese devised a new symbol (ৱ) for the *-w̆-* glide. In a final position *-w̆* is often represented by *-ŏ.*

245. The *-w̆-* glide is regularly developed after a preceding *u-;* oftentimes the following glide changes *u-* to *o-*. e.g.

kuwali, fog, (*kuhelikā*).
kũwā, well, (*kūpa-*).
dhõwā, smoke, (*dhūma-*).

246. The *h*-glide is rare and unusual in modern Assamese. In early Assamese stray instances like *nihal,* fetters, (*nigaḍa*) ; *loh,* tear, (*lota-*) are met with. The only genuine formation in modern Assamese is *dānah,* demon, (*dānava*). In *nīh,* low, (*nīca*), *-h* seems to be due to contamination with *nih-,* in *sts.* forms like *niḥ karmā* for *niṣkarma-* ; *dāhan, dāhŏn,* ancestral property, (*dāya*+*na*), seems to be built up by analogy with *sāhan, sāhŏn,* property, (*śāsana*) ; for Assamese *phõhā,* pimples, (Skt. *sphoṭa*) cf. Bg. *phoṣkā.*

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

cakowā, ruddy goose, (*cakkavāa-, cakravāka-*).
nowāre is unable, (*na*+*pārayati*).
kowāri, the jaw, (**kapāṭikā*).
tarowāl, the sword, (*taravāri*).

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

kowā, a crow, (*kāka-, kāa-*+*-ā*>**kāwā, kawā*>*kowā*).
powā, a quarter-weight, (*pāda*+*ā*).
howā, being, (√*hȧ*+Past Part. affix *ā*).
khowā, eating, (√*khā*+*ā*).
śunowā, causing to hear, (causative base *śunā*+P. P. affix *-ā*).

248. After a preceding *i-* generally, the *ẏ*-glide is developed ; but when it is followed by the *ẇ*-glide which in such cases is represented by *ŏ,* the glide causes mutation of *i* to *e* ; e.g. *neõtā,* invitation, (*nimantra-*) ; *seõtā,* parting of the hair; (*sīmanta-*) ; *dewāli,* illumination, (*dīpālikā*) etc.

Examples of *ẏ*-glide after a preceding *i-* ;
kũciẏā, eel, (*kuñcikā-*).
catiẏanā, a kind of tree, (*chattivaṇṇa* ; *chatrīparṇa-*).
tutiẏā, blue vitriol, (*tuttha*+*ika*+*āka*).
piẏāh, thirst, (*pipāsā*).
biẏāl, evening, (*vikāla*).
śiẏāl, fox, (*śṛgāla*).
hiẏā, heart, (*hṛdaya-*).
diyā, island, (*dvīpa-*). &c.

CHAPTER VII.

VOWEL-MUTATION OR UMLAUT.

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

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

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

kaitā, where, (*kahi+ta*).

cait, name of a month, (**caitta*, *caitra*).

mairā, pea-cock, (**maira-*, *maūra-*, *mayūra-*).

But in modern Assamese *a/i*, *a/u*>ŏ ; e.g. *kŏt*, *cŏt*, *mŏrā* (written *ka't*, *ca't*, *ma'rā* ; the apostrophe (') indicating the elision of some vowel sound after having caused mutation of the preceding vowel). The diphthongal sound went out of favour and a new sound took its place.

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

251. In the sound groups *a/i*, *a/u* (>*-i*), the mutating vowel seems to be (*i*) in both cases. As contact vowels *a/u* have *two* different treatments in modern Assamese in the

interior of words. They may coalesce into -o-, (cf. § 238 b) or develop a diphthong (cf. § 236) ; e.g. *śol,* a kind of fish, (*śakula-*) ; *caupāś,* four sides, (*catur+pārśva-*); while *a/i* have only a diphthongal treatment in the middle of a word, and never result into an -*e*- in that position. In the absence of this development in modern Assamese, *a+i* may be looked upon as having given the mutated vowel -ŏ-.

252. There are indications of the change of *au*>**ai*>*ai,* both in early and modern Assamese; cf. E. As. *maira* (**maira-, maūra-, mayūra-*). Mod. As. *caidhya,* fourteen, (**caiddaha, cauddaha*).

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

hàl (St. coll. *hŏl, ha'l*)=*haa+illa.*

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

The following are the principal types of mutation in Assamese :

254. *a/i/a* ; *a/i/ā*>respectively *ŏ/à* ; *ŏ/ā* ; dialectically *à/à* ; *à/ā.*

e.g. *gŏl, gàl,* (*gaa+illa*>**gaila*).
kŏlā, kàlā, black, (?**kaīlā, kalīyā*).
kŏt, kàt, where, (*kahi+ta*).
cŏt, càt, name of a month, (*càitta*).
dŏt, dàt, demon, (**dàitta, daitya*).
lŏrā, làrā, boy, (**làirā, *laṛiyā, laṛikā, laṭa-*).
mŏh, màh, buffalo, (*mahiṣa*).

In *ts.* words the mutated vowel is left unnoticed in spelling; e.g. *jadi* pronounced *jŏdi.*
hari pronounced *hŏri.*
mati pronunced *mŏti.*

255. *a/u/a*; *a/u/ā* respectively > *ŏ/ȣ*; *ŏ/ā*; dialectically *ȧ/ȣ*; *ȧ/ā.*
e.g. *mŏrā, ma'rā,* peacock, (*mayūra*).
rŏd, ra'd, sunshine, (**raudda, raudra*).
gŏrā, ga'rā fair, (**gaura, gaura*).
mŏl, ma'l, blossom, (**maula, mukula*).
cŏk, ca'k, court-yard, (*catuṣka*).
cŏrā, ca'rā, out-house, (*D. cauraya*).
cŏthā, ca'thā, fourth, (*caturtha*).
In *ts.* words, the mutation is left unnoticed in spelling;
madhu, pronounced *mŏdhu.*
laghu, pronounced *lŏghu.*

256. *a/ẇ*-glide/*-ā-*>*-oẇā-*;
e.g. *noẇāre,* is unable, (*na*+*pārayati*).
koẇāri, jaw, (*kapāṭa*+).
cȧkoẇā, a bird, (*cakravāka-*).
tȧrowāl, sword, (*taravāri*).
poẇā, quarter, (*pāda-*).
koẇā, crow, (*kāka-*).
khoẇā, eating, (**khāwā*>**khȧwā*>*khowā*; As. √*khā*+ past. part. *-ā-*).

257. *i/ẇ/a*; *i/ẇ/ā* >respectively *e/ŏ/ȣ*; *e/ŏ/ā*; e.g.
teŏj, third (year), (*tṛtaya*>**tiajja, *tiẇajja, teŏj'*).
sĕŏtā, parting of hair, (*sīmanta-*).
nĕŏtā, invitation, (*nimantra-*).
dewāli, illumination, (*dīpālikā*).
nĕŏc, to neglect, (*ni*+√*añc*).

MUTATION CAUSED BY FOLLOWING NASALS.

258. A following nasal sound raises the preceding *-a-* to *-e-*. It is noticeable in E. Assamese only; e.g.

lĕj, tail, (*lañja*).
ṭheŋ, leg, (*ṭaŋga*).
bĕkā, crooked, (*vaŋka, vakra*). E. As. *beŋkā*.
ḱĕḱŏrā, crab, (*kaŋkaḍa, karkaṭa*).
pĕk, mud, (*paŋka*).
ceŋ, a kind of fish, (*caŋga*).
cĕk, stain, (*caŋka, cakra*).
pāleŋg, couch, (*pallaŋka, paryaŋka*).
reŋgā, to shine dimly, (*raŋga-*).
kĕthā, blanket, (*kanthā-*).
soleŋg, citron, (*cholaŋga*).
peŋgā, lame, (*paŋgu-*).

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

Harmonic Mutation or Vowel Harmony.

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

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

The following examples shew traces of harmonic change in early Assamese.

sts. kukil (*kokila*) ; *ākhuṭi* (*akhaṭṭi*), childish pranks ; *gharuṇī,* wife ; also *gharaṇī, gharịṇī ;*

sts. kṛtāñjuli for *kṛtāñjali* ;

sts. jalāñjuli for *jalāñjali ; nuṭunī,* a female dancer for *naṭinī;* (*Rāmāyaṇ* : by Durgābar).

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

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

neura, neula (**napura, nūpura*) ; *gendua* (*kanduka*) ; also Pāli *pheggu* (*phalgu*) ; *ḍeṇḍubha* (**ḍaṇḍubha, ḍuṇḍubha*). (*Pāli Prakāśa,* p. 54).

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

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

264. The principal types of harmonic changes are the following:

-o-/-i- > *-u-/-i-*.

The following high vowel *-i-* raises a preceding *-o-* to *-u-*: e.g. *urī*, wild rice, (*oḍī-*).

puṭhī, a fish, (*proṣṭhī-*).
gui, iguana, (*godhikā*).
sts. luit, a river, (*lohita*).
paduli, gate-way (*pratolī-*).
āŋgā-muri, stretching the limbs, (*aŋga*+*moṭa*+*ika*).
kuli, cuckoo, (*kokila*+*ika*).
sts. suti, streamlet, (*srota-*).
kuṭhi, factory, (*koṣṭha-*).
duli, swing, (*dolaka-*).
kũhi, bud, (*koṣa-*).
sts. thupi, cluster; cf. *thop*, (*stūpa-*).
āpuni, yourself, cf. *āpon*, one's own.

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

julīyā, watery, (As. *jol-*).
luṇīyā, salty, (As. *loṇ*), salt.
jurīyā, living in pairs, (As. *jor*).
dhubunī, washer-woman; cf. *dhobā*.
curuṇī, a female thief; cf. *cor*.

265. A preceding *-a-* is raised to *-u-* through an intermediate stage *-o-* when the high vowel *-i-* follows: e.g. *māduli*, a drum-shaped amulet; *cf. mādal*, a drum (*mardala*).

sts. ākhudi, drug, (*auṣadhi*).
sts. bhekuli, frog, (*bheka*+*la*+*ika*).
sts. kāchuṭi, the hem of a lower garment, (*kacchaṭikā*).
ḍeurī, threshold, (*dehali-*).
hekuṭi, hiccough, (*hikkā*+*vṛtta-*).
punī, floating moss, (*parṇikā*).
dhuti, loin-cloth, (**dhautra*; H. *sts. dhotar*).
ākuhi, a crook, (*ākarṣa*+*ikā*).
dāmuri, a young calf, cf. As. *damarā* (*damya* + -).
thāüni, fathom, (**stāgha*+*na-*).

266. The low-mid vowel -ɛ- is raised to high-mid -*e*- when followed by the high-vowel -*i*-. As there are no different symbols for -ɛ- and -*e*-, the mutated vowel remains unchanged in spelling; e.g.

menī, but *mɛnā*, a buffalo with drooping horns.
mecī, but *mɛcā*, bent downwards.
pheṭī, but *phɛṭā*, having the legs far apart.
beṭī, daughter, but *bɛṭā*.
eṭi, one, but *ɛtā*.

267. Similarly -ɛ-/-*u*- > -*e*-/-*u*-, e.g.

peṭu, *peṭulā*, pot-bellied, (*pɛṭ*).
ṭhehulā, sullen, (*ṭhɛh*, sullenness).
dɛ̆ŏ, but *deu* (*deva*).

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

kɛ̃cu, earth-worm.
ghɛ̃culi, an edible root.
cɛ̃cuk, damp.
dhɛ̃nu, cow.

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

The modification of a following low-vowel through the influence of preceding high-vowel is also rare in Assamese. The words *cikuṇ*, glossy, (*cikkaṇa*); *tirutā* also *tirotā*, woman, may be considered in this connection.

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

sts. nāgerī, the nāgarī script, (*nāgarī*).
cāŋgerī, wood-sorrel, (*cāŋga* + -).
cānekī, pattern, (*chanda*).
ḍāhecīyā, *ḍāhekīyā*, half-ripe, (*dahśa*+).
phāleŋgī, a broker travelling out with cloth, animals, etc. for sale; (cf. M.I.A. *phaḍḍaga*).

E. As. shared this modification in an abundant measure; e.g.

jākhelī, (name of a place).
pāmerī, pāmarī, a kind of cloth.
cāderi, cādar, an upper cloth.
pātekī, pātakī, a sinner.
cākoenī, the female of *cakravākā,* a bird.

(a) In Western Assam dialects the medial *-a-* is invariably modified before a following *-i-, -ī-*; e.g.

kālerī, for *kālarī,* a deaf woman.
dūterī-pāterī, a go-between.
śuwenī, for *śuwanī,* beautiful.

(b) In Bihārī (Kurmālī Ṭhar), an *-i-* or *-e-* is apt to change a preceding *-a-* to *-e-*. This occurs even in words of two syllables; e.g. *kahi-ke>kehi-ke; basi-ke>besi-ke. karis>keris* (L.S.I. V. II, p. 147).

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

neul, mongoose, (*nakula*).
khejur, date-tree, (*kharjura*).
dhenu, a bow, (*dhanu*).
sts. jelukā, snail, (*jalukā*).
sts. jeṭukā, henna, (*jaṭuka*).
leju, rope, (*rajju-*).
nelu, wind-pipe, (*nala+uka*).
celu<chelu, pretext, (*chala+uka*).
sts. śeluk, water-lily, (*śāluka*).
sts. nẽgur, leŋgur, tail, (*lāŋgula*).
lehukā, slim, (*laghu+kka+*).
ṭhenu, calyx of a flower. cf. *ṭhāni,* a branch.
ṭheru, stem, cf. *ṭhāri,* a stalk.
sts. cẽcu, small fibre, cf. *coc,* fibre.
peŋgurā, lame (*paŋgu-*).
bheŋgurā, crooked, (*bhaŋga-*).
sts. śetuwā, dropsy (*śotha-*).

This type of mutation is noticeable in Bengali also, but it remains disguised in combination with other sounds; e.g.

gecho < **gechuẇā, *gāchuẇā,* < *gāchuā.*
mejo<**mejuẇā, mājhuẇā*<*mājhuā.* (O.D.B.L. p. 395).

271. *-a-*>*-ŏ-.*

In words of two or more syllables an unstressed interior *-à-* > *-ŏ-* ; (§ 137) e.g. *sts. laghŏn,* fasting, (*laŋghana*).
āghŏn, a month, (*agrahāyana*).
sāhàn, sahŏn, ancestral property, (*śāsana,* landed property).
dāhàn, dāhon, property, (*dāya*+-).
bherȁṇ, bheroṇ, rent, hire, (*bharaṇa*).
māthon, just, (*mātra*+-).
kāpor, cloth, (*karpaṭa*).
bĕkorā, crooked, (*vaŋka-, vakra-*).
kĕkorā, crab, (*karkata*).
bhekolā, frog, (*bheka*+).
sāŋgor, yoking together, (*saŋghaṭa*).
māch-rŏkā, king-fisher, (*matsya*+*raŋka*).
dāpoṇ, mirror, (*darpaṇa*).
āpon, self (*appaṇa-, *ātmanaka*).
sts. sapon, dream, (*svapna*).
sts. bitopan, shining, (*vi*+*tapana* ; √*tap*).

272. In cases where the vowel in initial syllable is *-a-*, both the initial and the interior *-a-*>*-o-*, before an *-ā-* in the final syllable. The unstressed medial *-a-* first becomes *-ŏ-* and then it causes assimilation of the previous *-a-* ; (§ 138).

korokā, pot made of cocoanut shell, (*karaŋka-*).
kokohā, rough, (*karkaśa-*).
bhomorā, black-bee, (*bhramara-*).
ondolā, to darken, (*andha*+*la*+-).
mokorā, large mouthful, (cf. *markara,* a vessel, a pot).
corohā, a draught of liquid, (**caṣṭa*+*śa*).
koṭohā, a knotty bamboo, (*kaṇṭa*+*śa*+-).

(a) The M.I.A. Pres. Participial *-anta-* + As. *-ā-* > *-õtā* : e.g.
kȁrõtā, doer, (*karanta*+*-ā-*).
śunõtā, hearer, (*śunanta*+*ā-*).

(b) The above noted vowel change occurs only when the succeeding vowels happen to be either *-a-* or *-ā-*. The presence of any other vowel will cause either a reversal to the original vowel position or harmonic changes if the vowel happens to be *-i-*;

e.g. *càràhe* cf. *corohā*;
karãtī, śunãtī, a female doer, hearer.
sãŋguri, cf. *sãŋgor.*

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

kāṭan, cutting; *kàṭanā,* spinning for wages.
cāki, lamp; *càkā,* wheel.
chāti, umbrella, *chaṭā,* mushroom.
pāṭ, a slab; *paṭā.*
bărī, a widow; *bāralā,* a bachelor.
bātari, news; *bàtarā.*
dāmuri, a suckling calf; *dàmarā.*
cākali, a flat circular body; *càkalā.*
jalā, a hole, (*jāla*+-).
nalā, a drain, (*nāla*+-).
mahā, quarter of a *tōlā,* (*māṣa*+-).
kaṇā, blind, (*kāṇa-*).
batāh, wind, (*vāta*+**āśa*) cf. (§ 576a).
sts. tarā, star, (*tārā*).
sts. rajā, king, (*rājā*).
So also, *dhàruwā,* debtor, (*dhāra*+-).
mãruwā, greasy, cf. *mãr,* gruel, (*maṇḍa*).
bhàtuwā, given to eating, cf. *bhāt* (*bhakta*).

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

āṭāl, a loft, (*aṭṭāla*).
āṭāh, loud scream, (*aṭṭā*+*hāsa*).
ādā, ginger, (*ārdraka*).

ādhā, half, (*ardha*).
āŋgār, charcoal, (*aŋgāra*).
āndhār, dark, (*andhakāra*).
ālāh, sloth, (*ālasya*).
sāruwā, fertile, (*sāra*).

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

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

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

O. *àṭā,* flour; As. *āṭā, eṭā;* Bg. *āṭā.*
O. *àṭhā,* gum; As. *āṭhā, eṭhā;* Bg. *āṭā.*
O. *àdā,* ginger; As. *ādā, edā;* Bg. *ādā.*
O. *àdhā,* half; As. *ādhā, edhā;* Bg. *ādhā.*
O. *càmàrā;* As. *camarā;* Bg. *cāmrā.*
O. *chatā;* As. *chatā;* Bg. *chātā.*
O. *tarā;* As. *tarā;* Bg. *tārā.*

Vowel Assimilataon.

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

miriya, (*marica*); *avarim,* (*upari*); *ucchu,* (*ikṣu*). (Pischel, §. 177).

Examples in Assamese are:
-i-; biriṇā, (*viraṇa-*).
biriŋg, (*viḍaŋga*).
-u-; kuruwā, (*kurava*).

pukhurī, (*puṣkara-*).
dhumuhā, (*dhūmrābha-*).
muruli, (*murarī-*).
suruŋgā, (*suraŋga-*).
-e-; sts. *mekhelā*, (*mekhalā*).
tětelī, tamarind, (*tintilikā*) (§. 212).
-o-; sts. *jojonā*, (*yojanā*).
lohorā, iron-pan, (*laụha* + *bhāṇḍa-*).

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

O.I.A. (R̥) IN TBH. WORDS.

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

(2) *vr̥trahan* appears in Avestan as *vĕrĕthraghna*; *r̥ju* as *ĕrĕzu*;

(3) Pāli has *iritvija* and *irubbeda* for *r̥tvija* and *r̥gveda*;

(4) Prākrit not possessing (ə) or a sign for it replaces (*r̥*) by (*a*), (*i*), (*u*) as well as by *ri*; (Woolner; *Introduction to Prākrit* 2nd. Edition §. 59).

277. Already in the Prākritisms of the Rg-Veda, it appears in the three forms though most frequently as (*a*).

Dr. Bloch after an examination of the Aśokan inscriptions and the literary languages on this decides that the predominant development of *r̥* was (*a*) to the South-West, and (*i*) and (*u*) to the North and East. (Bloch: §. 30. Turner: *Gujrati Phonology*, §. 12).

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

278. O.I.A. *-r̥-* > *-a-* in M.I.A. In some cases *-a-* > *-ā-* in N.I.A. either through compensatory lengthening or through stress.

kachārī, court-house, (*kr̥tya* + *gr̥ha* > * *kacca* + **garha*).
kāṇu, (*kaṇha-*, *kr̥ṣṇa-*).
kãce, cuts up into pieces, (*kr̥tyate*).
ghãṭ, stir, agitate, (*ghaṭṭa*, *ghr̥ṣṭa*).
nāc, dance, (*nr̥tya*).
bāche, selects, (* *vacchai*, *vr̥kṣate*).
māṭi, earth, (*maṭṭiā*, *mr̥ttikā*).
māṭhe, makes smooth, (* *mr̥ṣṭati*).
bãṭ, teat, (*vaṇṭa*, *vr̥nta*).
daṛhāi, firmly, (*daḍha-*, *dr̥ḍha-*).
bar, banyan tree, (*vaṭa*, *vr̥ta*).
kāṛhe, takes away forcibly, (*kaḍḍha-*, *kr̥ṣṭa-*).

279. *-r̥-* > M.I.A. *-i-* > N.I.A. *-i-*;

e.g. *amiyā*, nectar, (*amia-*, *amr̥ta-*).
ghiu, clarified butter, (*ghia*, *ghr̥ta*).
ghin, abhorrence, (*ghr̥ṇā*).
teŏj, third, (* *tiajja*, *tr̥taya*).
diṭhak, waking state, (*dr̥ṣṭa-*).
piṭhi, back, (*pr̥ṣṭha-*).
bichā, scorpion, (*vr̥ścika-*).
nāti, grand-son, (*naptr̥ka*).
śiŋg, horn, (*śr̥ŋga*).
śĩkal, chain, (*śr̥ŋkhala*).

śiyāl, fox, (*śṛgāla*).
hiyā, heart, (*hiaa, hṛdaya-*);

280. *-ṛ-* > M.I.A. *-u-* > N.I.A. *-u-;*
sts. uju, easy, (*ṛju-*).
buṛhā, old, (*vṛddha-*).
śune, hears, (*śṛṇoti*).
bundāmār, killing by hosts, (*vṛnda+māra*).

281. *-ṛ-* > *-e-* (by secondary change of *-i-* before double consonants). Rare in Assamese:
E.As. *ghene,* accepts, (*gṛhṇāti* > *giṇhai,* > * *geṇhai,* * *gheṇai, ghene*).

282. *-ṛ-* > *-o-* (by secondary change of *-u-* before double consonants); e.g.
bõṭā, stem of flower, (*voṇṭa-, vṛnta-*).
poche, asks, (*pṛcchati*).
ḍhõhe. pulls, draws, (*dhṛṣyate,* * *dhussai, ḍhossai*).
molāṇ, lotus stalk, (*mṛṇāla* > * *mṛṇṇāla*).

CHAPTER VIII.

INTRUSIVE VOWELS.

Anaptyxis or Svarabhakti.

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

dagadhā, clever, (**dagdha, vidagdha*).

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

284. Oftentimes new forms by anaptyxis are created in the place of older forms used in earlier literature; e.g. *baraṣuṇ,* rains, for earlier *bariṣaṇ;* so also *daraśan* for earlier *dariśan* etc.

Examples of *svarabhakti* in Assamese:

(a) *-a-; netàrà,* silk, (*netra*); *màŋgàh* (*māṅsa*); *baŋgah,* (*vaṁśa*); *dagadhā* (**dagdha*); *baraṇ,* (*varṇa*); *jatan,* (*yatna*); *ratan,* (*ratna*);

darab, (*dravya*); *baraṣuṇ;* (*varṣaṇa*);
śāraṇga (*śārṇga*); *bhādar* (*bhādra*);
jãtar (*yantra*); *garāh* (*grāsa*);
maram, affection, (*marma-*);
sȧpon (*svapna*); *śalāg* (*ślāghā*).

(b) *-i-*; *arihaṇā* (*arhaṇā*); *garihaṇā* (*garhaṇā*);
sariyah (*sarisava, sarṣapa*); *kiriṣi* (*kṛṣi*);
bārişā (*varṣā*).
silān (*snāna*);
dhaniyā (*dhanyā*); *kirā,* **kiriyā* (*kriẏā*);
hariṣ (*harṣa*);
tirī (*strī*).

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

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

(e) *-o-*; *sõẇaraṇ* (*smaraṇa*); *śolok* (*śloka*).
soẇād, (*svāda*).

Prothesis of Vowels.

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

abihȧne, without, (**vihana, vihīna*).
ākhaị, parched rice, (*khadikā*).
akumārī, a girl before the age of puberty, (*kumārī*).
apogaṇḍa, childish, (*pogaṇḍa*).
akaṇ, small, (*kaṇa,* a particle).
abhāb, plenty, (*a* + *bhāva*). (Coll.).
athȧr, unsteady due to old age; cf. *thar,* stiff (*sthavira*).
amuttak, amūrtak, violent, fierce (said of speed, anger) (? *mūrta-*).

286. In the evolution of the prothetic vowel, many influences seem to be at work. Under the non-Aryan (Austric) section, an Austr. form *awa kanit*, small child, has been registered. This may from sound similarity be equated to As. *akaṇ, akaṇi*. The idea of smallness in *akumārī, apogaṇḍa* might be due to association of ideas with forms like *akaṇ, akaṇi*. The working of folk etymology is seen in *abhāb*, plenty, lit. about which there should be no thought; (*sts. bhāb, sts. bhābanā*). There is perhaps contamination by *athir* in a form like *athâr*.

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

Epenthesis.

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

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

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

àin, (**ania, anya*).
puiṇ (**punia, puṇya*).
jàin, root and branch, (*janya*).
rāij, people, (*rājya*).
bāik, (*vākya*).

(b) Ordinary examples:

sāud, merchant, (**sādhuka* > *sādhua* > **sāudha* > *sāud*).
māur, epidemic, (*māruka* > **mārua* > **māura, māur*).
māukh, cluster, (*makṣa*+*uka*).
kāiṭ, thorn, (*kaṇṭaka*+*ika*).

(c) As in Bg. so in Assamese, Sanskrit *-kṣ-* and *-jñ-* in the interior of words have the value of *-khy-* and *-gy-* and in pronunciation an epenthetic *-i-* comes in which is often

diphthongised; e.g. *lakṣa*>**lakhya*>**laikkha* > *laikkha*; so also *ajñāna*>**agyān*>*aiggān*.

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

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

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

hāl, a plough, but *hāulā*, a plough-ox, (*hālowā*).
ghāṭ, a ferry, but *ghāuṭe*, a ferry-man, (*ghāṭuwai*).

289. It need be pointed out that contact vowels by epenthesis are real diphthongs. Triphthongs are also heard in such positions; e.g.

māuirā, an orphan, (* *māuriyā*: St. Coll. *māurā*).
khāuirā, a great eater, (*khāwariyā*).
keuilā, a solitary devotee, (*kewaliyā*).

Final Anusvara.

290. O.I.A. final *-m* became the *anusvāra* in M.I.A.: and original *anusvāra* remained. Thus O.I.A. *-m*> M.I.A. *-ṁ* became a frank nasalisation of the preceding vowel in the late M.I.A. (Apbhraṅśa) period and this final nasalisation survives in a few pronominal formations in Assamese and in some dialectical pronominal derivatives; e.g. I.O.A. *teṣām* > M.I.A. *tesăṁ*,

* *teśaṁ* > Ap. *tehã* = As. *teõ*, he (honorific); *eṣām* > *esaṁ*, * *eśaṁ* > Ap. *ehã* = As. *eõ*, this person (honorific). So also in the dialectical formations *kahẽ*, *kahāi*, where; *jahẽ*, *jahāi*, whichever way, etc. *-ẽ* (< *ai*), *-i* represents O.I.A. *-smin* > M.I.A. *-ssiṁ*, *-śśiṁ* > Ap. *hiṁ*, *hi*.

Nasalisation and Reduced Nasals.

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

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

Examples:

bāndh, bond, (*bandha-*).
gondh, smell, (*gandha-*).
kāndon, crying, (*krandana-*).
endhār, darkness, (*andhakāra*).
āndh, *ān*, yoking rope, (*ābandha*).
kāndh, *kān*, shoulder, (*skandha*).
chānd, *chān*, secret opportunity, (*chanda-*).
phānd, *phān*, trap, (*prabandha-*).
sān, complete mix-up, (*sandhā*).
cānekī, pattern, (*chanda*; appearance, shape).

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

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

292. The lines of nasalisation are indicated below: unvoiced stops and aspirates preceded by class nasals; the vowel is nasalised (after being lengthened) and the stop or the aspirate remains; e.g.

ãk, (*aŋka*); *ãcal*, (*añcala*); *ãt*, (*antra*); *ãtar* (*antara*);
kãkāl, (*kaŋkāla*); *kẽthā*, (*kanthā*); *kākai*, (*kaŋkatikā*);
kẽcu, (* *kiñcuka*); *gõph*, (*gumpha*);
põch, to wipe, (*pra* + √*uñch*);
śãkh, *śãk*, (*śaŋkha*); *śũṭhā*, (√*suṇṭh*);
bãṭā, reward, (*vaṇṭaka*).
sãphurā, (*samputa*).

(a) Sibilants with preceding *anusvāra*; the *anusvāra* nasalises the preceding vowel and the sibilant is changed to *-h-*.

e.g. *ãh*, fibre, (*aṅśu*).
kãhī, a bell-metal plate, (*kāṅsya* + *ika*).
urãh, bug, (*uddaṅśa* > *uḍḍaṅsa*).
dãh, gnat, (*daṅśa*).
bãh, bamboo, (*vaṁśa*).

(b) Class nasals with voiced consonants, and *anusvāra* with *h*, *y*, *v*, are treated in the following sub-sections.

(c) *-ŋg-*; and *-ŋgh-*, (O.I.A. and M.I.A.) are reduced intervocally to *-ŋ-*, or the original spelling in *-ŋg-* is retained even though pronounced as *-ŋ-*. Intervocally, *-ŋgh-* > *-ŋg-* unless reduced to *-ŋ-*. Finally, written as (*-ṅ-*, *ṁ-*).

e.g. *sts. abhàŋ*, obstinate, (*a* + *bhaŋga*).
āŋuli, *āŋguli* (*āŋguli-*).

E.As. *gāŋ, gāŋg,* river, (*gaŋgā*).
jāŋg, thigh, (*jaŋghā*).
suŋge, suŋe, smells, (*śuŋghati*).
seŋgun, phlegm, (*śiŋghāṇa*).
bhāŋ, hemp, (*bhaŋgā*).
raŋā, red, (*raŋga* + As. *-ā-*).
làŋ, làṅ, (*lavaŋga*).

sāŋgore, sāŋore, yokes together, (*saṁghaṭayati*).
śuŋg, śuŋ, śuṅ, awn of corn (*śuŋga*).
śiŋgari, a water-plant, (*śṛŋgāṭa*+).

(d) *-ñj-, -ñjh-* > *-~j-.* e.g.

ãjali, (*añjali-*).
ãjani, (*añjana* + *ika*).
bãjā, barren, (*vañjjhā-, vandhyā-*).
sãj, evening, (*sandhyā*).
pãjar, side, (*pañjara*).
pũji, heap, (*puñja-*).

(e) *-ṇḍ-* > *~ṛ* > *~ r-.*

kãriā, milk-pail, (*kaṇḍa*).
kãr, arrow, (*kāṇḍa*).
gãri, headless trunk, (*gaṇḍi-*).
cãrāl, (caṇḍāla).
dãr, oar, (*daṇḍa*).
pĩrā, a quarter of flesh, (*piṇḍa-*).
bãralā, bachelor, (*vaṇṭa*+*la-* > *vaṇḍa*+*la-*).
bhãrāl, hoarding place, (*bhāṇḍāgāra*).
mãr, rice-gruel, (*maṇḍa*).

(f) In *khan, khani,* a piece, there is the assimilation of *-ṇḍ-*>*-ṇṇ-*; cf. E. As. *ratha-khaṇḍa.*

(g) M.I.A. *-ṇḍh-*>*-~ṛh* e.g.

kũṛh, deep water, (*kuṇḍa* > * *kuṇḍha*).
It remains in *kāṇḍārī,*
kāṇḍhārī, helmsman, (*karṇa*+*dhāra*+ -).

(h) *-nd-* of O.I.A. remains (cf. Bg. *~d*) e.g.
indur, endur, (*indura*).
sindur, sendur (*sindura*).
kāndon, (*krandana*).

ophande (*ut*+*spandate*).
cāndà, awning, (*candrātapa*).
chānd, secret opportunity, (*chanda*).

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

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

endhār, darkness, (*andhakāra*).
kāndh, kān, (*skandha*).
āndh, ān, (*ābandha*).
kàndh, kàn (*kabandha*).
sondā, (*saugandha-*).
bān-bāṭi, cup with a pedestal, (*bandha-*).

(j) O.I.A. *-mb-* ; *-mr-* (>M.I.A. *-mb*).

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

ām (*amba, āmra*).
sts. kàdàm (*kadamba*).
jāmīr (*jambīra*).
tāmol (*tāmbūla*).
śāmuk, (*śambuka*).
sts. samal, (*sambala*).
sts. samandh (*sambandha*).

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

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

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

kāṇu, (*kaṇha-, kṛṣṇa-*).
cin, sign (*ciṇha, cihna*).
um, (*uṣma*).

komorā (kumhaṇḍa, kuṣmāṇḍa).
bāmuṇ (bamhaṇa, brāhmaṇa).

(m) When two nasals of M.I.A. are reduced to one, there is no nasalisation of the previous vowel; e.g.

ān (aṇṇa, anya).
bān (vanyā) ; kām (kamma, karma).
cām (carma).

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

Spontaneous Nasalisation.

293. In M.I.A. there is the phenomenon of spontaneous nasalisation of the first of a pair of double consonants (Pischel : § 74). This tendency has largely infected N.I.A. phonology. Words that have no nasal elements in O.I.A. develop nasalisation in N.I.A. languages. The whole phenomenon of spontaneous nasalisation has been examined by Pandit Vidhu Śekhara Śāstrī in an article entitled "*Anunāsika O Saṁyuktavarṇa* (*Pravāsī B. S.* 1333 : *Jyaiṣṭha* issue, p. 356) and by Sir G. A. Grierson (*Spontaneous Nasalisation* : J.R.A.S. 1922).

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

"In Prakrit, while the original conjunct is usually represented merely by the doubled form of one of its members, in certain words, instead of this doubled letter we find a conjunct consisting of a class nasal or *anusvāra* with a single consonant ; e.g.

vaṅka- for * *vakka-* (*vakra-*).
phaṁsa- for **phassa-*, (*sparśa-*) &c.

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

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

karaŋka, a cocoanut-shell; also *karaka.*
kaṇṭaka (*kartaka*).
puŋkha (*pakṣa*).
gañjana (*garjana*).
lāñchana (*lakṣaṇa*).

(b) Even in M.I.A. the principle of spontaneous nasalisation operated within a restricted area but in N.I.A. every group of double consonants could be nasalised. Consider the following examples from E. As.:

nindà (*nidrā*).
āṇṭāilekà (*aṭṭa-*), *āṇṭhu* (*aṣṭhīvat*).
sañcā, (*satya*).
samba, all, (*sarva*).

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

peñcā (**peccaka, pecaka*).
jamañja (**yamajja, yamaja*).
pimparā, ant, (*pipīlikā*).
jhānte, at once, (*jhaṭiti*).

294. Examples from modern Assamese:

ā̃hat (**aṁsattha, * assattha, aśvattha*).
õṭh (**oṇṭha, oṭṭha, auṣṭha*).
kā̃ce, cuts, (**kañcai, *kaccai, *kṛtyate,* √*kṛt*).
kā̃c, glass, (**kañca, kacca, kāca*).
kũj (**kuñja, *kujja, kubja*).

kũhi, bud, (**koṅsiā, kośikā*).
kẽkorā (*kaŋkaḍa, *kakkaḍa, karkaṭä*).
kẽhā, astringent, (**kaṅsāa, kaṣāya*).
kõṭh, fort, (**koṇṭha, koṭṭha, *koṣṭha*, a blend of *koṭṭa*+ *koṣṭha*).
kõṭā, crooked, (**koṇṭa-, *koṭṭa, *kuṭṭa, kuṭa-*).
gắt, hole, (**ganta, *gatta, garta*).
ghãhe, rubs, (**ghaṅsai, *ghassai, gharṣati*).
ghắh, grass, (**ghaṅsa, *ghassa, ghāsa*).
ghõrā (**ghoṇṭaka, * ghoṭṭaka, ghoṭaka*).
cĩcā, flattened, (**ciñca, cicca*).
cắce, smooths with an adze, (**cañch-*,$\sqrt{}$*tvakṣ*).
chắ, shadow, (**chắyā, chāyā*).
jõt, yoking rope, (**yonta, *yotta, yoktra*)
sts. ṭhõṭ, beak, (*troṭi-*,>**troṭṭi-*>**ṭhōṇṭi-, ṭhõṭ-*).
nāŋgaṭh, naked, (**naŋga-, *nagga, nagna*+ -).
dắt, demon (**dàinta*, > **dàitta, daitya*).
pĩh, to power, (**piṅsai, *pissai, *pisyatī*).
phắki riddle, (**phaŋkikā, phakkìkā*).
phắku, (**phaŋku-, *phaggu-, phalgu*. Contam. with some word for powder, T.).
phẽcā (**peñcaka, *peccaka, *pecaka*).
banti, lamp, (**vantiā, vattiā, vartikā*).
bẽt, cane, (* *venta, vetta, vetra*).
bhẽṭi, foundation, (**bheṇṭi-, *bheṭṭi-, *bhiṭṭā* T.) cf. E.A. *bheṇṭi*.
mahaŋgā, costly, (* *mahangha, mahaggha, mahārgha*).
baraŋgani, subscription, (**varaŋga-, * varagga, varga*).

295. Though there is the development of the nasal in non-nasal compounds in M.I.A. and notably in N.I.A., there are instances of the dropping of the nasal even in M.I.A. and this has continued down to N.I.A. cf. M.I.A. *vīsā, tīsā, sīha*< O.I.A. *viṅśati, triṅśati, siṅha*.

cf. also As. *sts. bihā*, a bundle of twenty (M.I.A. *vīsā*);
śikali, chain, (*śṛŋkhala-*).
bhitar, interior, (*abhyantara*).
bhije, gets wet, (*abhi*+$\sqrt{}$*añj*).

NASALISATION THROUGH INTERVOCAL *-m-* AND *-n-*.

296. Single intervocal *-m-* of O.I.A. > *- ~w-* in late M.I.A. This *- ~w-* often occurs as a mere nasalisation of a contiguous vowel, or where *-~w-* is absorbed into the previous vowel, there is only a mere nasalisation of the preceding vowel; e.g.

dhõwā, smoke, (**dhū~wa-, dhūma-*).
dõwāẏ, bends down, (**da~waai, damayati*).
cõwȧr, (*cāmara*).
kõẇar, (*kumāra*).
ãhīyā, (*āmiṣa*+ -).
ācõ, wash the face after eating, (*ā* + √ *cam*).
ãüsī, ãühī, (*amā*+*vāsī-*).
sõ, right, (** sa~wa, sama*).
dõ, bent, (*dama*).
bhūĩ, field, (*bhūmi*).
chẽi, a pod (*śamī-*), etc.

297. Examples of the nasalisation of the vowel through contact with an original or derivative *-n-* are not many in N.I.A. cf. As. *māthõ,* just; also *māthon* (*mātra*+*na*).

Bihārī: *kahan, khan, khã*; a conjunctive particle (§ 819).

There is one more instance of nasalisation of secondary intervocal *-n-* in the particle for the past conditional *hãẽ* (Kāmrūpī) for **hane, *hani;* (Kāchār) *ane;* E. As. *hante, sante* (§§ 470, 789).

The nasalisation of the vowel in *-ẽ-,* (the instrumental case affix) persisted till early N.I.A. period. The nasalisation was inherited from late M.I.A. time; O.I.A. *-ena*>*-eṇa, -eṇaṁ*> *-eṁ*>*-ẽ.*

CHAPTER IX.

SOURCES OF VOWELS IN ASSAMESE.

298. Modern Assamese *-a-*, *-å-* comes from

(a) O.I.A. short *-ă* (§ 192) e.g. *karaṇi,* a flower basket, (*karaṇḍikā*).
tar, bank, (*taṭa*).
tăwāl, bamboo withe, (*tamāla*).

(b) O.I.A. long *-ā-*; through absence of stress (§§ 147a, 273) e.g.
niẏår, fog, (*nihāra*).
tarā, star, (*tārā*).
rajā, king, (*rājā*).
kaṇā, blind, (*kāṇa*+-).

(c) M.I.A. sound-groups *-ai-, -aü-,* the resulting *-a-* is pronounced both as *-å-* (as in E. *law*) and *-ŏ-* (written a') (§§ 254, 255); e.g.
cå't, cŏt (*cåitta, caitra*).
rå'd, rŏd (*raüdda, raudra*).

(d) O.I.A. *-i-*; *barahi* (*vaḍiśa*).
ucaŋgā (*ucciŋga-*) (§227b).

(e) O.I.A. *-u-*; *ural* (**udukhala*).
okaṇī (*utkuṇa-*) (§ 228b).

(f) O.I.A. *-ṛ-*; *bår,* banyan tree (*vaṭa, vṛta*). (§278).

(g) O.I.A. *-e-*; *kuẇali* (*kuhelikā*).
nāhar (*nāgeśvara*). (§229).

(h) M.I.A. *-ĕ-*; *akal* (*ĕkkala*); (§ 210).

(i) O.I.A. *-o-*; *kår,* bud, (*koraka*).
sajinā (*sobhāñjana-*).
ukåh (*utkrośa*). (§§ 150, 216).

(j) Also M.I.A. *-ŏ-* < O.I.A. *-u-*; e.g.
mathā (*mŏtthā, mustā*).
mahī, crucible, (**mŏssiā, mūṣikā*).
garak, tread, trample, M.I.A. (*gŏḍḍ*) (§ 216).

(k) O.I.A. conjunct consonants by *svarabhakti* (§ 284a) e.g.

jatan, effort, (*yatna*).
baraṇ, colour, (*varṇa*).

299. The sources of *-ā-* :

(a) O.I.A. *-ā-* ; *bāŏ*, (*vāta*).
lāh (*lāsa*). (§ 200).

(b) O.I.A. *-a-* through initial stress ;
āru, and (*apara*).
sts. āhukāl, uneasiness, (*asukha*+*āla*), (§ 143).

(c) O.I.A. *-a-* before conjunct consonants, (§ 193).
kāṇ (*karṇa*).
āg (*agra*).

(d) O.I.A. *-a-* through medial stress. (§ 223,b).
sts. śaṭhāmitra (*saṭhamitra*).
sts. bundāmār (*vṛnda-māra*).

(e) M.I.A. *-aā- ; āa ; āā ;* (§ 237, c).
gachā, lamp-stand, (*gaccha*+*āka*>*gaccha*+*ā*).
guẁā, (*guvāka*).
śalā (*śalākā*).

300. The sources of *-i-*, *-ī-*.

Assamese *-i-* comes from

(a) O.I.A. *-i- ; nihàl* (*nigaḍa*).
bihān (*vibhāna*). (§ 203)

(b) O.I.A. *-ṛ-* ; *śiyāl* (*śṛgāla*).
hiyā (*hṛdaya*). (§ 279).

(c) O.I.A. *-a-* ; *śikar* (*śarkarā*).
sajinā (*śobhāñjana*).
ãjinãi, sty. (*añjana-*).
biriṇā (*viraṇa*). (§§ 149, 274).

(d) Also M.I.A. *bi-* (=*dvā*) in compounds (not separately treated).
biālliś (*dvā* + *catvāriṅśat*).
chi- (=*ṣaṭ*) ; *chiālliś ;* (*ṣaṭ* + *catvāriṅśat*).

(e) O.I.A. *-ya-* after consonants by *samprasāraṇa* (*-ya-* >*-ia* >*-i*). (Not separately treated).
sts. bicani (*vyajana*+*-*).
sts. patihā, expectation, (*pratyāśā*>**patiāsā*> *patihā*).
sts. patiyan (*pratyaya-*).

(f) Also by epenthesis; *dhain* (*dhanya*).
puiṇ (*puṇya*). (§ 287, a).

(g) O.I.A. *-e-*: *sts. mithī*, vegetable condiment (*methikā*).
bhaĩrā (*vaheṭaka*). (§§ 210, 229).

(h) O.I.A. conjunct consonants by *svarabhakti*; (284, b).
garihaṇā (*garhaṇā*).
bārişā (*varşā*) &c.

301. Assamese *-u-*; *-ū-*; sources:

(a) O.I.A. *-u-*; *ukhàr*, dry, hard, (*uṣara*).
kuṭum, relation, (*kuṭumba*). (§ 206).

(b) O.I.A. *-ṛ-*; *buṛhā*, (*vṛddha-*).
uju, (*ṛju-*). (§ 280).

(c) O.I.A. *-a-*; after labial consonants in initial syllables
puwā (*prabhātā*).
punī, moss, (*parṇikā*). (§ 196).

(d) O.I.A. *-a-*; after interior labial consonants (§ 223,c).
bāmuṇ (*brāhmaṇa*).
(L.W.) *cāmuc*, spoon, (*camasa*).

(e) O.I.A. *-a-* and *-o-* by vowel harmony; (§ 264). e.g.
ākhuṭi, whim, (*akhaṭṭi*).
pukhurī, tank, (*puşkara-*).
suti, streamlet, (*srota-*).

(f) O.I.A. *-a-*: *śeŋgun* (*śiŋghāṇa*).
dhumuhā (*dhūmrābha*). (§§ 226, 274).

(g) O.I.A. *-va-* after consonants by *samprasāraṇa*: (not separately treated).

(*-va-* > *-ua-* > *-u-*):

sukīyā (*svakīya*).
turante (*tvaranta-*).

(h) Conjunct consonants by *svarabhakti*, anaptyxis (§284,c).

padum (*padma*).
laguṇ (*lagna*).

(i) O.I.A. *-i-* of prefixes *dvi-*, *ni-*, (§ 205). e.g.

dunā (*dvi*+*guṇa*).
numāy (*ni*+$\sqrt{vī}$).

302. Assamese *-e-*: sources:

(a) O.I.A. *-i-* before double consonants; (§ 212).

bel (*bilva*).
bhẽṭi (**bhiṭṭā*).

(b) O.I.A. *-e-*: *reh* (*rekhā*).
ṭerā (*ṭeraka*). (§ 208).

(c) O.I.A. *-ai-* > M.I.A. *-e-*; (§ 211).

bej (*vaidya*).
tel (*taila*).

(d) O.I.A. sound groups: *-ava-*; *-aya-*;

śẽtelī, bed-room, (*śayana*+*talikā*>**śayantalikā*).
lenī (*lavaṇikā* > **layaṇikā*).
newālī, a kind of flower (*navamallikā*):
ḍhelā, pale, (*dhavala*). (§ 213).

(e) Sound groups *-iya-*, *-iyā-* after consonants in the initial syllables; (§ 239, b).

behā (*vyavasāya*>**viavasāya*).
sts. bepār (*vyāpāra*>**viāpāra*).
Cf. *età*, this much: (*iyat-*>**iatta-*>**ĕttia*).

(f) O.I.A. *-a-*; *-ā-*: by vowel mutation (through influence of *-i-*, *-u* in the following syllables): e.g.

sts. nāgerī (*nāgarī*).
nẽlu, wind-pipe (*nala* +).
ṭhenu, calyx of a flower or fruit; (Cf. *sthāna-*). (§ 269).

(g) By contraction of $a + i$: (§ 238, a).
càle (*calài, calati*).

(h) By influence of following nasals: (*-a-* > *-e-*); (§ 258).
lẽj (*lañja*).

(i) From O.I.A. conjuncts by *svarabhakti;* (§ 284, d).
melec (*mleccha*).
ceneh (*sneha*).

303. Assamese *-o-*: sources:

(a) O.I.A. *-u-* before double consonants: (§ 217).
okh, high, (*ukṣa*).
kodāl (*kuddāla*).

(b) O.I.A. *-o-*: *ḍol* (*dora*). (§ 214).
polā (*pota*+*la*+*-ā-*).

(c) O.I.A. *-au-* > M.I.A. *-o-*: (§ 218).
õṭh (*auṣṭha*).

(d) By contraction, *-a-* + *-u-*: (§ 238, b).
śol (*śakula*).
poṇ (*praguṇa*).

(e) O.I.A. *-a-*: *gondh* (*gandha*), (§ 197).
oṭhàrà (*aṣṭādaśa*).
sõcare, infects, (*sañcarati*).
cotāl (*catvāla*).
odā, watery (*andraka*).

(f) Pres. part. in *-ant-* > *-ŏt-* before vowels other than *-ī* (§§ 272a, 272b); e.g.
karõtā, doer, (**karant-*).
karõte, while doing.

(g) Sound-groups *-ua-; -uā-; -uwa-;* in the initial syllables; (§ 219).
oṇāy (*upa*+*karṇayati*).
soẇād (*svāda,* > **suvāda,* > **suẇāda,* &c.).

(h) Sound-groups *-aẇa- -a~wa-,* (= *-ava-, -apa-, -ama-*) and

-aü- > *-o-* ; *loṇ* (*lavaṇa*).
sõ (*sama*).
ohār (*apasāra*). (§ 219).

(i) Sound group *aya-* (§ 219).
e.g. *sts. jokār,* sound of greeting (*jaya*+*kāra*).

(j) A following *glide*+ *-ā-* raises the previous *-a-* to *-o-* ; (§ 256).

koẇāri (*kapāṭa* + -).
tàroẇāl (*taravāri*).

(k) By *svarabhakti* ; (§ 284, e).
sapon, dream, (*svapna*).
śolok, a sloka (*śloka*).

Diphthongs.

304. The Assamese system of writing like that of Bengali follows the Skt. system and recognises only two diphthongs:— *a̯i* and *a̯u*. But the number of diphthongal sounds in Assamese as in Bengali is very large. As will be seen from the list of diphthongs below, they are derived from elision of O.I.A. or M.I.A. consonants and as such they may be looked upon as being vowels in contact without diphthongal articulation. In St. coll. of Eastern Assam, these vowel combinations are mostly pronounced as two distinct syllables (§ 236, c). In rapid conversation, however, a diphthongal sound is often heard. It is in Western Assamese dialects only that the diphthongal character has been fully established. In these dialects triphthongs are also heard (§ 289).

305. The list of diphthongs is given below:

(*ie*): *sie,* sews; *jie,* lives.

(*ia*) : *tia,* occurring every third day, like fever; *bia,* marriage.

(*io*): *tio,* yet; still; *kio,* why.

(*iu*) : *jiu,* life. *liu-liu,* (onom). rapid straggling motions of crawling insects.

(*ei*): *chei,* pod of beans.

(*eɑ*) ; *eɑ* ; *seɑ*, just this ; just that.

(*eo*): *keo*, somebody.
bɑreoti kɑl, often times.

(*eu*): *neul*, a mongoose.
beulɑ, the heroine of a popular legend.

(ɛŏ) sɛŏ, service.
dɛŏ, spirit, ghost.

(*ɑi*) : *bhɑi*, brother.
mɑi, mother.
ɑtɑi, father; a person of fatherly position.

(ɑĕ) : *khɑĕ*, eats.
jɑĕ, goes.

(*ɑo*): *bhɑo*, acting.
bhɑonɑ, drama.

(*ɑu*) : *lɑu*, gourd.
bɑu, arm.

(ɔĕ) ; *hɔe*, is ; *bhɔe* fear.

(ɔŏ); *hɔŏk*, *lɔŏk*, be, take.

(*oi*): (written as *ɑi*); *noi*, river; *doi*, curd.

(*oe*): *doe*, milks.
dhoe, washes.

(*oɑ*): *joɑ*, going.
loɑ, taking.

(*ou*): (written as *ɑu*); *bou*, elder brother's wife.
mou, honey.

(*ui*) : *dui*, two.
jui, fire.

(*uɑ*): *duɑr*, door.
juɑri, gambling.

The Bengali diphthongs *œĕ* (*dœĕ*), *ue*, (*dhuye*), *uo* (*kuyo*) are absent in literary Assamese, but in Western Assam colloquial *ue* obtains ;

due, milks.
dhue, washes.

CHAPTER X.

THE O.I.A. CONSONANTS.

306. The general history of the O.I.A. consonants together with the special question of dialectical difference has been very exhaustively dealt with by various authorities, the most recent being Dr. Bloch (§ 14, ff) and Dr. Chatterji (§ 132, ff). The following short and simplified account of the downward history of the O.I.A consonants is based upon these authorities as well as upon the articles of Dr. Turner (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the 14th edition: *Articles on Sanskrit and Pali languages; Introduction to the Nepali Dictionary;* J.R.A.S. *Gujrati Phonology*).

307. The most noticeable feature through the history of the consonantal changes has been the progressive enfeeblement in the articulation of the stops. This has shewn itself in three ways; (i) the loss of final stops; (ii) the assimilation of the first to the second in a group of stops; both these phenomena having their origin in the implosive pronunciation of stops in those positions; (iii) the sonorification of the intervocalic breathed stops and eventual disappearance of all intervocalic stops. In the case of the aspirates, only the *h*-sound remained.

308. The course of this evolution was continuous; for the sake of convenience of reference it has been divided into four stages:

(1) Early M.I.A. comprising the language up to the inscriptions of Aśoka.

(2) Second M.I.A. coming down to a few centuries before Hemachandra.

(3) Early modern Indian including (so far as Bengali and Assamese are concerned) the *Caryāpadas*.

(4) Modern Assamese.

309. In the first stage the loss of all final consonants and the assimilation of consonantal groups has been carried through with certain exceptions noted below. The cerebrals, which in O.I.A. are practically confined to cases where a dental has become a cerebral owing to the influence of a neighbouring (*ṣ*), or in the case of (*n*) also of a neighbouring (*r*), have greatly increased in number. This increase is perhaps due to the influence of the Dravidian speakers whose languages clearly differentiated the series. It can be noticed (i) in the increasing number of assimilations; e.g. *truṭyati* > *ṭuṭṭai* > *ṭuṭe*, diminishes; (ii) in apparently spontaneous change of dental to cerebral; e.g. *patati* > *paḍai* > *paṛe* > *pare*, falls; (iii) in a large number of new words e.g. *ṭupi*, cap (D. *ṭoppia*).

310. The most noticeable points in the matter of dialectical differentiation are in the treatments of (*kṣ*) and (*ṛ*, *r*+*dental*).

(a) (*kṣ*) appears as (*cch*) in South-West and as (*kkh*) in North and East. Assamese has *kkh*.

(b) In the group (*ṛ* or *r*) +*dental*, the *dental* becomes a *cerebral* in the East and remains in the West. But the mutual borrowing has been so great and extensive that it is almost impossible to assign the modern languages definitely to one development or the other. The predominant Assamese treatment seems to be cerebral.

311. In the second stage, the sonorization and the loss of intervocalic stops is carried through. Before complete disappearance they seem to have become a *y*-sound which either remained or disappeared without trace. Intervocalic *-m-* has become a mere nasalisation of contiguous vowels through an intermediate stage of *-~w-*; *ṇ*, *n* > *n*, an alveolar sound.

312. In the third, double consonants, the result of earlier assimilation, are shortened and the preceding short vowels are lengthened. The same process is observable in the group,

nasal+consonant, where the nasality is pronounced coincidentally with the vowels which are lengthened. This re-establishes the O.I.A. system of intervocalic stops.

313. The noticeable point of dialectical difference of this period is: *-v-* < *-vv-* (< *-vy-*) remains *w*-sound in the West but becomes (*-b-*) in the East. Assamese has a *b*-sound. (Cf. §§ 476, 477).

314. In the fourth stage, the loss of final M.I.A. vowels and of certain short vowels between consonants has re-established the O.I.A. system of final stops and of unassimilated consonant groups.

The sounds of Assamese consonants have already been described (§§ 91-111).

General Lines of Change to Assamese.

315. The outlines of change shewn below are practically the same as given in O.D.B.L. p. 433, but modified here and there to explain typical Assamese formations.

Single Consonants.

316. Single *initial* consonants have generally remained unchanged. There have been however, some cases of aspiration and de-aspiration of stops, of change of a sibilant to a palatal c (*h*), and of *bh-* to *h-*; O.I.A. *y-* and *v-* have changed to *j-* and *b-*, and *r-* is found as *l-*, (*l* > *n*) and also as *r-*.

Single Intervocal Consonants.

317. The stops *-k-*, *-g-*; *-t-*, *-d-*; *-p-*, *-b-*; *-y-*, *-v-* have been dropped; *-ṭ-*, *-ḍ-* have been reduced to *-r-*; and in a number of Māgadhī inheritances *-rt-* has resulted in *-ṭ-* as well; intervocal *-c-* and *-j-* remain as *-c-*, *-j-* (in original Māg. words) or are dropped (in non-Māgadhī forms) (§§ 410, ff).

318. The aspirates *-kh-*, *-gh-*; *-th-*, *-dh-*, *-ph-*, *-bh-* have been reduced to *-h-*; *-ṭh-*, *-ḍh-* occur as *-ṛh-*.

319. *-m-* has become a mere nasalisation of contiguous vowels through an intermediate stage of *~w*; *-ṇ-*, *-n-* probably both occurred as the cerebral *-ṇ-* to be changed to the alveolar *-n-* in Mod. Assamese.

320. An intervocal sibilant has transformed itself to *-h-*.

321. There is little interchange between *-r-*, and *-l-*; *-h-* remained in E. As. generally to be lost in modern Assamese (whether original O.I.A. or M.I.A. *-h-* derived from O.I.A. aspirates).

Consonantal Groups.

322. These, initial or medial, have been reduced to a single consonant in Assamese after having undergone assimilation in the early M.I.A. stage. The following were the main lines of treatment.

323. Stop+stop became a single stop; stop+aspirate became a single aspirate. When the first of these sounds differed in its point of articulation from the second, the first assimilated itself to the second in M.I.A. (*kt.* > *tt*; *gdh* > *ddh*; *tk* > *kk*, etc.). This kind of consonant nexus occurred medially only.

324. Stop+nasal: *-kn-*, *-tn-* became *-k-*, *-t-*; *-gn-* > *-g-*, *-ŋ* (*g*)*-*; *-jñ-* became *-n-*; *-dn-* had already become *-nn-* in O.I.A. and this gave *-n-* in Assamese; *-tm-* in *ātman-* gave *-p-* (*āpon*); of *-dm-* > *-d-*, there seems to be no case.

325. Stop or aspirate+*y*: gutturals, palatals, cerebrals and labials+*-y-*; the *-y-* was assimilated to the preceding consonant, which was doubled medially in M.I.A. (but the genuine Māgadhī change seems to have been *kiy-*, *ḍiy-* etc.). Assamese preserves a single stop or aspirate.

326. Dentals+*y*: the group became *-cc*(*h*)*-*, *-jj*(*h*)*-* medially, and *c-*, *ch-*, *j-*, *jh-* initially. Assamese preserves a

single *-c-*, *-j-*. (This palatalisation of dental+*y*, seems not to have been characteristic of Old Māgadhī, which changed *-ty-*, *-dy-*, etc. to *-tiy-*, *-yy-* etc. The palatalised forms, evidently from other dialects in M.I.A. seem to have overwhelmed Māgadhī). The suspected remnants of typical Māgadhī changes have been noticed under "Palatals" (§ 410 ff).

327. Stop or aspirate+*r*. The *-r-* was assimilated to the preceding sound which was doubled in a medial position in M.I.A. Assamese has one stop or aspirate. The group *-dr-* probably became *-*dl-* in the O.I.A. source dialect of Māgadhī, whence we have *-ll-*, *-l-* in a few words in N.I.A.

328. Stop or aspirate+*l*: assimilation of *-l-*.

329. Stop or aspirate+*v*; assimilation of *-v-*. (In the groups *-tv-*, *-dv-*, *-dhv-*, the resultant form in some cases is *-p-*, *-b-*, *-bh-* in Mod. Assamese as in other M.I.A.; this labialisation is non-Māgadhī).

330. Stop+sibilant: *kṣ* gives *-kh-* (through the Māg.), *-ch-* (through extra-Māg. M.I.A. forms).

331. *ts*, *ps* became *cch* in M.I.A., whence *ch* in Assamese.

332. Nasal+stop or aspirate: for treatment (see §§ 291 *et seq*).

333. Nasal+nasal: the O.I.A. groups were *-ṇṇ-*, *-nn-* and *-mm-*. They occur as *-n-* and *-m-* in Assamese.

334. Nasal (*anusvāra*) + *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ś*, (*ṣ*), *s*, *h*, (see §§ 291 ff.).

335. *-yy-* gave *-j-* in Assamese.

336. *r*+stop or aspirate.

-r- before a guttural, palatal or labial: the latter was

doubled and the *r* was assimilated. In As. these assimilated groups result in a single guttural, palatal or labial stop or aspirate.

337. *r*+dental stop or aspirate of O.I.A. shew a two-fold treatment: the *r* cerebralised and doubled the dental, and was so assimilated; or it simply doubled the dental without cerebralising it. The former is the proper Māgadhī treatment; the latter non-Māgadhī. Assamese has *-ṭ(h)-*; *-ṛ(h)-* in Māgadhī inheritances and *-t (h)-*, *-d (h)-*, in apparently non-Māgadhī forms.

338. *r*+nasal: *-rṇ-*, *-rn-* were assimilated to *-ṇṇ-* in M.I.A. which gave *-n-* in Assamese, and *rm* > *mm* > *-m-*; *-rṇ-* occurs also as *-l-* through a stage of (*rṇ* > *-ln-* > *-ll-*).

339. *-ry-*; the early M.I.A. (non-Māg.) assimilation was to *-yy-* which gave second M.I.A. *-jj-* whence Assamese *-j-*,. There are suspected cases of *-ry-* > *-yy-* > *-y-* in Assamese (Cf. *āi*, mother, grand-mother, ? <*āryikā*, **ayyiā*, *āyiā*, *āi*). The genuine Māg. change was to *-liy-* which is not preserved in Assamese but *-ry* also occurs as *-l-* in Assamese (through a stage *-ly-*> *-ll-*).

340. *-rl-* > M.I.A. *-ll-* > As. *-l-*.

341. *-rv-* is found as *-bb-* > *-b-*.

342. *r*+sibilant: assimilation with the sibilant which is doubled (*-śś-*, *-ss-* = *śś* in Māg.) and is then reduced to *-h-* in Assamese.

343. *-rh-* > *-lh-* in Māgadhī, whence *-l-* in Assamese.

344. *-l-*+stop: assimilation of *-l-* leading to a single stop in Assamese.

345. *-lm-* > M.I.A. *-mm-* > *-m-* in Assamese.

346. *-ly-* > *-ll-* > *-l-* in Assamese. There seems to be no case of *-ly-* > *-yy-* > *-j-* in Assamese.

347. *-ll-* > M.I.A. *-ll-* > As. *-l-*.

348. *-lv-* > M.I.A. *-ll-* > As. *-l-*.

349. *-vy-* > M.I.A. *-vv-*, *-bb-* > Assamese *-b-*. This is a non-Māg. change: the original Māgadhī alteration of *-vy-* was to *-viy-* which is lost and *-vy-* > *-vv-*, *-bb-* forms has become established; *-vy-* becoming *-b-* is noticed only in the future affix *-b-*, *-ib-* (§§. 476, 477).

350. Groups with sibilant+stop or aspirate; *śc*, *ṣk*, *ṣṭ(h)*, *ṣph*, *sk(h)*, *st(h)*, became initially an aspirate, medially a stop+its aspirate in M.I.A. Assamese has a single aspirate.

351. Sibilant+nasal:

ṣṇ > M.I.A. *ṇh* > As. *n*.
sn > M.I.A. *ṇh* > As. *n*.
śm, *ṣm*, *sm* > M.I.A. *ss* (*śś* Māgadhī), *mh*; > Assamese *h*, *m*.

352. Sibilant+*y*: normally assimilated to double sibilant in M.I.A., whence early Assamese single sibilant. In modern Assamese the single sibilant has been modified to *-h-*.

353. Sibilant+*r*, *l*, *v*: assimilation of *r*, *l*, *v*, resulting in double sibilant > early Assamese single sibilant written *-s-* > modern Assamese *-h-*.

354. *h*+nasal (*hṇ*, *hn*, *hm*): this group underwent metathesis in M.I.A. (*ṇh*, *nh*, *mh*) and in Assamese they have resulted in a single nasal; *-hy-* probably became *-hiy-* in old Māgadhī. In other M.I.A. it became *-jjh-* > Assamese *-j-*.

355. *Visarga*+consonant simply doubled the latter and Assamese has a single consonant representing the O.I.A. group.

In groups of more than two consonants, the semi-vowels, liquids or sibilants were assimilated and then they behaved in M.I.A. like O.I.A. groups of two consonants.

Phonological Changes of A General Character.

(1). *De-aspiration.*

356. After the sibilant letters which are pronounced as a guttural spirant (*x*) in Assamese, de-aspiration takes place of the original O.I.A. aspiration as well as of the resultant M.I.A. aspirations of O.I.A. intervocal sound-groups *-ṣṭ-, -st-*; *-ṣk-* etc., in the interior of words; e.g. *śiṭā*, dregs, (*śiṣṭa-*) but *piṭhā*, cake, (*piṣṭaka--*); *śitān*, head of a bed, (*śiras+sthāna*), but *pathān*, foot of a bed, (*pada+sthāna-*); *śukān*, dry, (*śuṣka+n*), but *pukhurī*, a pond, (*puṣkara-*).

357. Compare also the following:—

śikali, chain, (*śṛṅkhala-*).
śudā, unmixed, (*śuddha-*).
śike, learns, (*śikṣate*).
śāk, conch-shell, (*śaṅkha-*).
sāṅgore, yokes together, (*saṁghaṭayati*).
sondā, sweet-smelling, (*saugandha-*)
sāndi, inaccessible place, (*sandhi-*).
śeṅgun, mucus of the nose, (*śiṅghāṇa-*).
śõṭar, to shrivel, (√*śuṇṭha+ -*).
sts. śipā, root, (√*śiphā-*).
sts. sāud, merchant, (*sādhuka* > **sāudha* > *sāud*).
sts. sep, phlegm, (M.I.A. *sepha*).

358. So also of two aspirates in the same word, one is de-aspirated;

e.g. *kāndh*, shoulder, (**khandha, skandha-*).
bhok, hunger, (*bubhukṣā*).
tadhā, amazed, (**thaddha, stabdha-*).
bhika-hu, beggar, (*bhikṣā-+*).
ghāgar, small bells, (*gharghara*).

mahaŋgā, costly, (*mahārgha-*).
hetā, a ladle, (*hastaka-*).
bhāṭā, falling tide, (*bhraṣṭa-*).
dhūtūrā, a poisonous medicinal plant, (*dhūstūra-*).
nikāhi, the projection of a roof beyond the wall, (*niṣkāsa-*).
sts. ākhudi, drug, (*auṣadhi-*).

359. These instances of de-aspiration in Assamese seem to be in a line with M.I.A. illustrations of de-aspiration; e.g. *saṅkala* < *śṛŋkhala*; *ḍhaṅka*=Pāli *dhaṅka* < Skt. *dhvāṅkṣa* etc. (Pischel; §§. 213, 214).

360. It would appear that after c- also (which is a pure sibilant in Assamese) de-aspiration takes place e.g.

caku, eye, (*cakṣu-*).
cokā, sharp, (*cokṣa-*).
cāke, tastes, (M.I.A. *cakkhai*).
cŏk, square, quadrangle, (*catuṣka-*), etc.

361. In other places the aspirations generally remain; e.g.

okh, high, (*ukṣa*).
makhā, an assemblage, (*mrakṣa-*).
miṭhā, sweet, (*miṣṭa-*).
puthi, a book, (*pustikā*).
gŏph, moustache, (*gumpha-*) etc.

362. Assamese *iṭā*, brick; *uṭ*, camel, are from M.I.A. *iṭṭa-* (*iṣṭaka*); *uṭṭa* (*uṣtra*).

363. Intervocal *-ndh-* > *-nd-*. This is an intermediate stage before the complete assimilation of *-ndh to -n* in a final position (*-ndh* > *-nd* > *- nn* > *-n*) e.g. *āndh*, *ān*, a yoking string, < *ābandha*; *kāndh*, *kān*, shoulder, < *skandha* (Cf. §§ 291 ff).

Examples of intervocal *-ndh-* > *-nd-*, are

rondā, sinus, (*randhra-*).
bandūli, a kind of flower, (*bandhūli-*).
kāṇḍārī, a helmsman, (*karṇadhāra-*). Cf. also §. 370.

(2). *Aspiration.*

364. The aspiration of unvoiced initial stops represents a certain phase in M.I.A. phonology ; e.g. M.I.A. *khappara,* O.I.A. *karpara ;* M.I.A. *phaṇasa,* O.I.A. *panasa ;* M.I.A. *khujja,* O.I.A. *kubja ;* M.I.A. *khīlaa,* O.I.A. *kīlaka* etc. This tendency is greater still in N.I.A. languages.

365. No satisfactory explanation covering all cases of aspiration has yet been suggested. While a M.I.A. form like *khappara,* has been explained on the assumption that it must have come from an O.I.A. form like **skarpara,* (Pischel §§ 205 *et seq*)—O.I.A. illustrating existence of forms with an initial *s-,* followed by un-voiced stops in alternation with forms without an *s-* (Wackernagel, part i § 230), N.I.A. forms like *bhusi,* (Skt. *busa*) ; *bheṣ* (Skt. *veṣa*) with aspirations of sonant stops, remain unexplained. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's suggestion that a vowel or a mute is aspirated through the influence of an adjoining aspirate or an aspirated mute (*W. Lectures,* p. 189), is inoperative in cases like *khujja* (Skt. *kubja*) ; *khīlaa* (Skt. *kīlaka*), which he considers to be cases of aspiration without any apparent reason (*ibid,* p. 190). Dr. Chatterji suggests that aspiration may be due to contamination with other forms *plus* a vague sense of onomatopoeia rather than to the presence of any particular sound especially in initial aspiration. (O.D.B.L. p. 438).

366. So far, however, as Assamese and the Eastern dialects of Bengali are concerned, the influence of the Boḍo languages in aspirating initial stops is unmistakable. "In the languages of the Boḍo group, the great stress that is laid on a consonant when it is at the commencement of a syllable often gives unvoiced stops an aspirated sound and when reduced to writing, these unvoiced stops are often represented as aspirated consonants" (L.S.I. Vol. iii, Part ii, pp. 4,

69). Cf. the following loan-words in Boḍo from the Aryan languages.

Boḍo:	Aryan:
thālu, palate.	*tālu.*
phorman, proof.	**parmān, pramāṇa.*
phuāl, coral.	As. *powāl* (*pravāla*).
khamai, to earn.	As. *kamā,* earn.
khāmri, dysentery.	As. *kāmor-ani,* stomach-ache.
khangkhrai, a crab.	Bg. *kākarā,* (*kaṅkaḍa-*).
thuthlā, stammerer.	Bg. *totalā.*
thothi, beak.	As. *ṭhõṭ* (*troṭi-*), etc.

367. The de-aspiration of initial sonant aspirates (*gh, bh*) is shewn by the following loan-words:—

Boḍo:	Aryan:
gorai, horse.	As. *ghorā.*
bāto, a parrot.	As. *bhāṭaṳ.*
bādao, the name of a month.	As. *bhādà.*
balā, a spear.	As. *ballam,* (*bhalla*), etc.

The Sylhet dialect of Bengali preserves these characteristics almost uniformly. The initial stops *k, p* > *x, f,* and initial sonant aspirates *gh, bh,* > *g, b.* (L.S.I., V. I, p. 224).

368. While Assamese does not shew aspirations of initial stops on the same uniform scale as the Sylhet dialect, the isolated instances of initial aspiration that are preserved must be attributed to the Boḍo influence; .

e.g. *phẽcā,* owl, (*pecaka*) ; *phichā,* tail of a fish, (*piccha-*); *phẽc-kuri,* mucus of the eye, (*piñca-*) ; *ḍhõrā,* (*kāurī*), cf. Bg. *dāṛ-kāk,* a raven, (*daṇḍa-kāka-*).

sts. khalap, layer, cycle ; (*kalpa-*).
khoroŋg, hollow of a tree, (*kroḍa*). Cf. Bg. *kholoŋgā,* a niche: G. *kholo,* H. *koṛ.*
kharalīyā, dry, rough as rice, (Cf. Skt. √*kaḍḍ,* to be rough).

ṭheŋg, a leg, (*ṭaŋga*).
sts. ṭhõṭ, beak, (*troṭi-*).
Other examples will be found in the tables of consonantal changes.

369. In the following words, the aspirations are inheritances from M.I.A. formations;
khīlā, peg, (M.I.A. *khīla-*, O.I.A. *kīlaka*).
khāpari, pot-sherd, (M.I.A. *khappara*, *karpara*).
khāru, bracelet, (M.I.A. *khaḍḍua*).
khũṭā, post, (M.I.A. *khuṇṭa*) etc.

370. In the matter of the de-aspiration of Assamese intervocal sonant group *-ndh-* (> *-nd-*), the influence of the Boḍo can very well be assumed e.g. Boḍo *gandaka*, sulphur; Aryan *gandhaka*.

(For Assamese examples of De-aspiration, see §§ 356 ff).

(3) *Medial Aspiration and Dialectical Influence.*

371. There are instances of medial aspiration also in Assamese and these shew the influence of the Kāmrūpī dialect of Western Assam. As in the matter of accent, so also in the matter of aspiration, the Kāmrūpī dialect shews a complete reversal of the phonetic process of the standard colloquial. Kāmrūpī preserves the M.I.A. aspirations after the guttural spirant (*x*), the sibilant (c), and in the neighbourhood of another aspirate in the same word as against de-aspiration under the same conditions in the standard colloquial (§§ 356 ff: De-aspiration). The following comparative table will make this clear;

St. coll.	Kamp.
śiṭā, dregs.	*śiṭhā*.
śitān, head of the bed.	*śithān*.
śike, learns.	*śikhe*.
bhok, hunger.	*bhukh*.
hetā, ladle.	*hāthā*.
caku, eye,	*cakhu*.

St. coll.	Kamp.
cāke, tastes.	*cākhe.*
bhāṭi, down-stream.	*bhāṭhi.*
khãk, canine hunger.	*khãkh.*
ṭhẽṭā, crippled in hand.	*ṭhẽṭhā*
ṭhãṭ, pose.	*ṭhãṭh* etc.

372. Kāmrūpī also aspirates an original O.I.A. stop after the guttural spirant (*x*) and in the neighbourhood of another aspirate in the same word. These medially aspirated words have often passed into the standard colloquial. Compare the following examples:—

Kāmrūpī.	St. Coll.
sãthre, swims.	*sãtore.*
sts. śolokh, a sloka.	*śolokh.*
sts. śālkhā, a bolt.	*śalākhā* (*śalākā*).
sãphrā, a casket.	*sãphurā* (*sampūṭa*).
bharath, bhārath.	*bharath, bhārath* (*bharata: bhārata*).
bhãph, steam.	*bhãp* (*vāṣpa*).
hāldhi, turmeric.	*hāladhi* (**hāridrika*) etc.

So also the double form *hām-kuri, hām-khuri,* falling with face downwards, illustrates dialectical influence.

373. The de-aspiration of one of two aspirates in the same word is common enough but the aspiration of an interior stop under the influence of an initial or a neighbouring aspirate is rather unusual. Yet the aspirations in *bharadha* (* *bharatha* < *bharata*), *akhakhase* (*akarkaśa*) in the Aśokan inscriptions (quoted from O.D.B.L., p. 439) fall in a line with aspiration in the Kāmrūpī dialect.

374. Some of the medially aspirated forms of the Kāmrūpī dialects have entered the standard colloquial, e.g. *sts. śolokh, śalākhā, sãphurā* etc. (noticed above). The aspiration in forms like the following in the standard colloquial is due to the influence of the Kāmrūpī dialect;

sāṭhan, ability, (*saṁsthāna-*).

śũṭhi, something dried like the cow-dung, (*śuṇṭha-*).
suthil, tender, (*su*+*śithila,* Dr. Bloch).
cŏthā, the fourth day, (*caturtha-*).

375. The source of the aspirating tendency of the Kāmrūpī dialect cannot be clearly traced. The same tendency is found also in Boḍo: e.g.

Aryan *cŏtāl,* (*catvāla*) is Boḍo *sathāl*; Aryan, *ṭhõṭ* (*troṭi*) is Bḍ *thothi.*

But considering that in M.I.A. also there are instances of medial aspiration under similar conditions, it cannot be definitely laid down whether this tendency is inherited or borrowed from some non-Aryan source.

(4) *Aspiration through Metathesis or Absorption of -h-.*

376. This type of aspiration is illustrated by a few O.I.A. formations also. Thus late Skt. *ghara*<**garha,*<*gṛha*; so also *bheḍra* < **mheḍra* < *meḍhra.*

Assamese examples of aspiration through metathesis are:

ḍhõrā, (cf. Bg. *ḍhõṛā*), a kind of non-poisonous snake noted for its hissing sound.
(*ḍuṇḍubha* > **ḍhuṇḍua, *ḍhuṇḍaa-*).
bhābari, sweepings, (Cf. *babhru,* a cleaner, sweeper).

Examples of aspiration through absorption of a following *-h-* are:

paghā, a rope for tying cattle, (*pragraha-*).
gādhà, ass, (*gardabha* > *gaddaha*).
bāgh- (*jari*), reins, (*avagraha*).

(5) *Voicing and Unvoicing.*

377. Voicing represents a stage in the growth of O.I.A. before the complete elision of the intervocal stops in M.I.A. e.g. *calati* > *caladi* > *cala৩i* > *cala'i* > *calai* > *cale.* In some dialects of M.I.A. the changes in the single intervocal stops were arrested at this stage before they were totally elided.

Voicing was very common in Ap. (H.C. IV, 396) and it also took place in Ś. and Mg. in regard to (*t*), (*th*), (Pischel § 203) and in M.I.A. generally in regard to the cerebrals (Pischel, §. 198).

378. The voicing of unvoiced consonants and the reverse process occur in sporadic cases in Assamese as well as in other N.I.A. languages, mostly in *sts.* words.

e.g. *-k-* > *-g-* :
sts. *bagali,* crane, (*vaka-*).
sts. *śagun,* vulture, (*śakuna-*).
sts. *magar,* fish, (*makara-*).
egārà, eleven, (*egāraha, ekādaśa*).
-kh- > *-gh-* > *-g-* : e.g.
nigani, a rat, (*nikhanika* > **nighania-* > *nigania, nigani*).
bŏhāg, name of a month, (*vaiśākha* > **vaisāgha* > *bŏhāg*).
-kh- > *-gh-*; *reghā,* a big mark, (*rekhā*).
-t- > *-d-* ; *paduli,* gateway, (M.I.A. *padolī, pratolī*).
bāduli, a bat, (*vātuli-*).
-p- > *-b-* : *bõkā,* mud, (*-paŋka* > M.I.A. *-vaŋka*).

Unvoicing.

Examples :

-gh- > *-kh-* ; *gobar- khũṭi,* cow-dung cake, (*ghuṇṭikā*).
-j- > *-c-* ; *pācan,* a cowherd's stick, (*prājana*).
hãci, sneezing, (*hañji-*).
bicani, a fan, (*vyajanikā*).
ãcināi, ãjināi, sty in the eye, (*añjanikā*).
-ṇḍ- > *-ṇṭ-* :
dāṇṭi-guṭi, a golf-like play of children, (*daṇḍa-*).
E. As. *chewaṇṭīyā,* orphan, (*chemaṇḍa-*).

(6). *Metathesis.*

379. The metathesis of *-h-* causing aspiration and de-aspiration has been noticed above. There are other instances of metathesis in Assamese as in cognate languages :
e.g. *naharu,* (met. of cons. and vowel) garlic, (*laśuna* > **raśuna* > **nasaru, naharu*).

E. As. *bāhrà*, twelve, (*dvādaśa* > *bāraha*).
sariyah, mustard, (*sarṣapa* > *sarisava* > **sarivasa*).

(7). *Haplology.*

380. Haplology is the dropping of one of two similar sounds or syllables in the same word. Loss of consonants by haplology is noticed in some cases in Assamese: e.g.

naraṇī, a nail-paring instrument, (*nakha*+*haranikā*).
maharī, mosquito-curtain, (*maśa*+*harikā*).
muhudi, sweetening the mouth with some spice after taking food, (*mukha*+*śuddhi-* > **muhahuddhi*).
ā̃usī, night of the new moon, (*amā*+*vāsīkā* > **a*~*vā*+*vāsiā*).
lohorā, an iron-vessel, (*lauha*+*bhāṇḍa* > **loha*+*haṇḍa*).
sāh, courage, (*sāhasa*, **sāhaha*).

(8). *Echo-Words.*

381. Echo-words and onomatopoetic formations on a lavish scale are as much a characteristic of Assamese as of other N.I.A. languages. "A word is repeated partially (partially in the sense that a new syllable, the nature of which is generally fixed, is substituted for the initial one of the word in question and the new word so formed, unmeaning by itself, echoes the sense and sound of the original word) and in this way the idea of *et cetera* and things similar to, or assimilated with that, is expressed (O.D.B.L. p. 176). This is characteristic of the Kolarian, the Dravidian and of N.I.A. languages.

Assamese takes *c-* in the formation of these echo-words and retains the vowel of the original word; cf.

bhāt-cāt, rice and similar things;
kitāp-citāp, books and the like; etc.

But when the original word begins with *c-*, the echo-word takes on a *t-* e.g. *culi-tuli*, hair and the like; *cāki-tāki*, lamp and the like; etc.

(9). *Compound-Words.*

382. The varied types of compounds in a N.I.A. language have been examined by Dr. S. K. Chatterji (*Polyglottism in*

Indo-Aryan : Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference; Baroda, 1935). There are *translation compounds* in which one word is of native origin and the other foreign designed to convey the meaning of the native word to speakers of a different language in the same locality; e.g. *hāṭ-bāzār,* market and fair : Indian *hāṭ,* Pers. *bāzār ; mel-darbār,* assembly to settle an affair ; Indian *mel,* Pers. *darbār.* etc.

383. Apart from translation compounds of the above type with a very clear foreign element, there are others where we have the native elements in both parts. This kind of compound can perhaps be traced back to the habit of grouping two synonyms for the sake of amplification or generalisation of the meaning conveyed by one of them e.g. *ghāṭ-bāṭ,* the road and the landing place, i.e., every nook and corner; *āli-paduli,* the road and the gateway, i.e. every avenue, *māt-bol,* speech and sound, etc.

When the words have different endings, the last part of one is often extended or transferred as the last part of the other, giving both the words the jingle of a rhyme; e.g. *chin-bhin,* scattered and dispersed, (*chinna*+*bhinna*) ; but *chigā-bhagā,* torn and broken (*chinna*+*bhagna*), where the last syllable of *bhagā* has been extended as the last syllable of the expected **chinā ;* so also in the case of *chiŋgā-bhaŋgā,* torn and tattered, (*chinna*+*bhaŋga-*).

(10). *Blending.*

384. Oftentimes both the synonymous compounds are fused into one single word where the first part of one word is fitted into the last part of another, the intermediate portions being dropped. Both the compounds are blended into a single solid word; e.g. *cheg,* loop-hole ; convenient opportunity, (*chidra*+*bhagna* > **chigna,* **chigga,* **chegga, cheg*).

The following are other examples of blending :
gap, boast, vanity, (*garva*+*darpa-*).
jīp, moisture (*jīvā*+*vāspa-*).
nomal, young, (*nava*+*komala*), (Bloch).

meṭhani, a woman's girdle, (*mekhalā+veṣṭanikā*).
kõṭh, a fort, (*koṭṭa+koṣṭha-*).
koŋgā, having a crippled hand, (*koṇi+paŋgu-*).
Cf. As. *peŋgā,* lame.
E. Bg. *tiyās,* thirst, is obviously a blend between *tṛṣṇā* + *pipāsā*. Assamese *chãi* is most probably a blend between *kṣāra+bhasma* (Cf. Bengali compound, *chāibhasma*), but Dr. Chatterji suggests the derivation from *kṣāra-* (O.D.B.L. p. 542). This would, however, leave the nasalisation in As. *chãi* unexplained.

385. *Bhinihī,* (earlier *bhinisī*), elder sister's husband, seems to be built up on the analogy of *māhī, pehī,* (earlier *māsī, pesī,* Pkt. *māussiā, piussiā*), mother's sister, father's sister, whence by back formation and semantic variation *mahā, pehā,* mother's sister's husband; father's sister's husband; *bhinihī* would thus be *bh(a)inī+ssiā*. The-*ī* (in *-hī,* instead of *-ā* as in *mahā* etc.) may be explained as due to vowel-assimilation. (The suggestion is Dr. Bloch's).

(11). *Consonants in Contact.*

386. Within the limit of a word there is hardly anything like contact of consonants in the St. coll. In it vowels are slowly and distinctly enunciated. There is nothing like hurried pronunciation and consonants are hardly thrown together in the St. coll. It is rife, however, in western Assam. For example, where a Bengali speaker says *kŏrbe,* he will do, a speaker of As. St. coll. will say, *kàribà,* and a speaker of Western As. will say *kŏrbŏ*.

Consonantal contact with resulting changes takes place, however, in the case of compound words and connected sentences where the final consonant of the previous word comes in contact with the initial consonant of the following one.

386a. The numeral *ek,* (*eka*), one, shews significant changes in contact. Before a word beginning with a consonant, *ek* > *e-* (§ 168); e.g. *e-bār,* one time; *e-jan,* one; *e-buku,* breast-deep. etc. It remains before a word beginning with

a vowel; e.g. *ekãjali,* one palm-ful; *ekãṭhu,* knee-deep; *ekãŋgul,* finger-long. Both *ek-*, and *e-* are used before *ãrā,* a unit of four; e.g. *ekãrā, e-ãrā.* This use of *e-*, *ek-*, is peculiar to Assamese.

(12). *Assimilation.*

387. Other changes of consonants due to contact fall in a line with Bengali. "In the case of aspirate (stop) + aspirate or stop, voiced or unvoiced, there is de-aspiration of the first aspirate. In deliberate and careful pronunciation, however, the aspirate may be retained (so far as it can be retained in a final position in a syllable) where we have a sound of a different class; (O.D.B.L. p. 449) e.g.

rath-khan (> *ratkhan*) ; the chariot.
dudh-nai, (> *dudnai*) ; the name of a river.
ādh-tolā, (> *ādtolā*) ; half a *tola.*
bāgh-bol (> *bāgbol*) ; "tiger-walk", a kind of indoor game.
budh-bār, (> *budbār*), Wednesday etc.

There is regressive assimilation when stops and aspirates of the *same class* occur side by side, by the first sound acquiring or losing voice according as the second one in the group possesses or does not possess it: and the first sound, if it is an aspirate, loses its aspiration: (*Ibid,* p. 450).

dāk-ghar (> *dāgghar*), post office.
sādiniyā (<**sāddiniyā,* < *sātdiniya*), a weekly periodical. etc.

In other respects also the changes are in the same direction as in Bengali. They are not shewn here as they have been elaborately dealt with in O.D.B.L. pp. 448-452.

(13). *Assimilation due to change in point of articulation.*

388. Owing to loss of distinction between O.I.A. dentals and cerebrals in Assamese (§ 429), and owing also to the O.I.A. palatals having acquired dental values (§ 408), assimilation of dental to cerebral and of palatal aspirate to palatal is often noticed; e.g.

cắce, scrapes, (**cañchai* M.I.A. *cacchai*).
sts. ṭaṭastha, passive, (O.I.A. *taṭastha*).
ṭaṭaŋgā, *ṭoṭorā,* } shrivelled (O.I.A. *takta,* √*tañc* > **tatta,* > **ṭatta* > **ṭaṭṭa*).

(14). *Dissimilation.*

389. The principal types of dissimilation are, the de-aspiration of two aspirates in the same word, and also de-aspiration of O.I.A. aspirations, or of resultant M.I.A. aspirations, after the O.I.A. sibilant letters and also after *-c-* (§§ 356 ff).

CHAPTER XI.

THE SOURCES OF ASSAMESE CONSONANTS.

The Gutturals.

390. The O.I.A. gutturals do not appear to have changed their mode or place of articulation in modern Assamese and they appear as *k, kh, g, gh* whether they have subsisted initially or again arisen through simplification of consonant groups.

Non-initial *-k-* is voiced in a few *sts.* words e.g.

bagali, a crane, (*vaka-*) ; *magar,* a kind of big fish, (*makara-*) ; *śagun,* vulture, (*śakuna-*), etc.

Initial and intervocal *-k-* is clearly pronounced in Assamese and there does not appear to be any alteration in its articulation.

The Sources of *K.*

391. Initially, As *k-* is derived from O.I.A. *k-*; e.g. *kar,* corns in hands and feet, (*kadara*) ; Bg. *kaṛā* is connected with late Skt. √*kaḍḍ,* to be hard.

karaŋgan, thigh-bone, (*karaŋka*+*na*).

sts. kawāri, miserly, stingy, (Vedic. *kavāri*).

kāmi, a rib-like piece of split bamboo, (*kambi-*).

kũhiyār, sugar-cane, (Cf. Skt. *koṣakāra,* a sugar-cane).

kerāṇī, a clerk, (*karaṇa*+*ika*).

keṇā, bored by an insect, as a fruit (*kiṇa*).

kũwā, putrid from stagnation, (Cf. Vedic, *kepaya,* impure).

kilākuṭi, elbow, (*kīla,* elbow).

kãci, sickle, (cf. *kṛtyate* √*kṛt*). (T. derives it from **kartyā* ; Turkish *gainci* might have given *kẽci* not *kãci*).

kochā, a bundle, (*kūrca*).

O.I.A. *kr-* ;

kine, buys, (*krīṇāti*).

kānde, weeps, (*krandati*).

O.I.A. *kv-*;

sts. kàth, kàh, koẁāth, decoction, (*kvatha*).

O.I.A. *sk-*; > M.I.A. *kh-*;

kāndh, shoulder, (*skandha*).

O.I.A. *g-*; (by unvoicing);

kalagraha, an insurmountable difficulty, (*gala-graha*).

392. Intervocally and finally (through dropping of vowels at the end of a word), *-k-* is derived from:

M.I.A. *-k-* after *-ŋ-*; representing O.I.A. *-ŋk-*; *-kr-*; *-ŋkr-*; *-rk-*.

e.g. *ãkuhi,* a crook, (*aŋkuśikā*).

kãkāl, a waist, (*kaŋkāla*).

kãkai, comb, (*kaŋkatī-*).

kẽkorā, crab, (*karkaṭa*).

bẽkā, crooked, (*vaŋka, vakra*).

bõkā -(*cāul*), a kind of rice that grows in muddy soil (M.I.A. *vaŋka*).

sãko, bridge, (*saŋkrama*).

O.I.A. *-ŋkh-* (by de-aspiration);

śãk, bracelet made of shells, (*śaŋkha*).

śikali, chain, (*śṛŋkhala+ika*).

From M.I.A. *-kk-*, from the following O.I.A. groups:—

-k- doubled in old *ts.* in M.I.A.; e.g.

ek, one, (*ĕkka, eka*).

(Lw.) *ekaiś,* twenty-one, (*ekaviṁśati*).

-kk-; cikā, rat, (*cikkā-*).

bhoke, barks, (M.I.A. *bhukkai*).

kukuhā, bits of burnt grass carried about by the wind, (*kukkubha*).

buk, chest, (*vṛkkā,* heart).

-kn-; nikā, cleansed, (*nikka* < **nikna*; √*niñj.* P.).

mukali, open, (*mukka*<-**mukna;* √*muc,* P.).

-ky-; śikā, śikiyā, swing made of rope, (*śikyā-*).

māṇik, pearl, (*māṇikya*).

-kr-; nāk, nose, (*nakra*).

cukā, sorrel, (*cukra-*).

cāk, wheel, (*cakra-*).

-kv-; pakā, ripe, (*pakva-*).

-kṣ- ; *bhok,* hunger, (*bubhukṣā*).
caku, eye, (*cakṣu-*).
kuki, a conical fish-basket, (*kukṣi-*).
cokā, sharp, (*cokṣa-*).
sekā, "a good lesson," (*śikṣā*).
-tk-: *chak,* square of a game-board, (*ṣaṭka*).
-tk-: *okaṇī,* louse, (*utkuṇa*).
makanā, a tuskless elephant, (*matkuṇa-*).
ukah, a species of eagle, (*utkrośa*).
ukal, to pass over, ($ut + \sqrt{kal}$).
-rk ; *ākaṇ,* a medicinal plant, (*arka-parṇa*).
pākarī, the aśvattha tree, (*parkaṭī-*).
śikār, a cake of baked potter's clay, (*śarkarā*).
makarā, spider, (*markaṭa*).
-lk-; ukā, burnt straw carried about by the wind (*ulkā-*).
-ḥk- = Skt. *-ṣk-, -sk-;*
nikāhi, portion of the roof projecting beyond the wall, (*niṣkāsa-*).
śukān, dry, (*śuṣka-*).
caụkā, an oven, (*catuṣka-*).
makāl, a kind of bamboo, (*maskara-* > * *maskra-*).
M.I.A. *-gg-* (by unvoicing).
phāku, red powder sprinkled in the *Holi* festival, (**phaggu,* Skt. *phalgu.* Contaminated with a word for power; O. *phăku,* T.)
In *ṣet- kaparā* for *kṣetra-parpaṭa-*, the *k* for *p* in *kaparā* seems due to contam. with the sound of *kapāh* from *karpāsa.*
Of *deśī* origin are *hāk,* prohibition, (D. *hakkā*) ; *ḍāk,* shout (* *ḍakka-*). T.

393. *-k-* is also found as an affix in numerous nouns and verbs; (§§. 561, 739).

e.g. *jonāk,* moon-light.
diṭhak, vision.
ḍeukā, wings.
titiki, bitter;
cināki, acquaintance.
gaca-k, to trample.

thamak, to stop.
semek, to be moist.
solak, to be untied, etc.

394. This *-ka-*, *-k-* is derived from M.I.A. *-kka-*.

This has been connected by Hoernle with the O.I.A. $\sqrt{kṛ}$:

e.g. Skt. *camat-* $\sqrt{kṛ}$- > M.I.A. *camakka-*;
Skt. *cyut-*$\sqrt{kṛ}$- > M.I.A. *cukka* (Hoernle §. 204).
Dr. Bloch connects it with an O.I.A. *-kya* < *akīya*, as in *pārakka* < *pārakya* < *pārakīya*. A Dravidian affinity has been also suggested (Bloch, p. 105).

395. Final *-k-* appears also as a verbal affix (3rd person) in E. Assamese, e.g. *gailek*, he went;

karilek, he did.
diyak, let him give.

This *-k* seems to have come from more than one source. After formations in *l-* past, it seems to have the value of *-tavant;* in other instances it may be related to O.I.A. pleonastic *-ka* > M.I.A. *-kka* (§. 830).

396. In *ts.* words *-k-* occurs double in interior groups with *y, r, l, v, m*, and also in *khy ;* e.g.

bāikka, speech, (*vākya*).
bakkra, crooked, (*vakra*).
pakka, ripe, (*pakva*).
rukkiṇī, for *rukmiṇī*.
āikkhān, (*ākhyāna-*).

In *-kṣ-*, pronounced *kkh-* initially and *-ikkha* medially and finally, we have a similar doubling of *k*.
e.g. *kkhan*, moment, (*kṣaṇa*).

KH.

397. *kh* is fully articulated in all positions in Assamese. Its sources have been shewn in the following table.

In *ts.* and *sts.* words, Skt. *ṣ* is often pronounced as *kh*. This value of *ṣ* has been borrowed from Northern India through the Brajabuli dialect.

A few *ts.* words with *ṣ* are spelt with *kh* in Assamese.
e.g. *sts. ukhar*, hard, severe, (*uṣara*).
pākhaṇḍa, villain, (*pāṣaṇḍa*).

Conversely, a few *tbh.* words are spelt with *ṣ* where *kh* is etymologically due; e.g.

kāṣ (pronounced *kākh*), side, (*kakṣa*).
sts. paṣ (pronounced *pakh*), fortnight, (*pakṣa*).

398. In one instance *ṣ* appears initially for *kh*; but it has now lost the *kh-* sound and is pronounced like any other sibilant in Assamese as (*x*);

e.g. *ṣet-kaparā*, a kind of medicinal herb, (*kṣetra-parpaṭa-*).

399. The change of *kṣ* to *kkh* > M.I.A. *kh* seems to have been the Māgadhī change. The *ch-* development of *kṣ* was a characteristic of the North Western I.A. dialect of the early M.I.A. period. Assamese has also a few *ch-* words which were apparently later additions to the eastern speech.

The Sources of *KH*.

400. Initially, *kh-*, comes from M.I.A. *kh-*, derived from O.I.A. *kh-; khàlaị*, bald, (*khalati*).

kher, straw, (*kheṭa*).
khāgari, reed, (* *khaggara* = Skt. *khaḍga*+*ra-*).
khāṭā, short, dwarfish, (*khaṭṭa-*, cf. *khaṭṭana*).
kholā, the shell of a betel-nut, cocoanut, etc, (*khola*).
khāi, ditch, (*khāti*).
khic, cow-dung dirt, (Skt. *khiccā*; D. *khicca*).
kṣ-; khud, particles of rice, (*kṣudra*).
kheo, a throw, cast, (*kṣepa*).
khār, alkali, (*kṣāra*).
khõpā, hair made into a braid, (Vedic. *kṣumpra*, a mushroom).
khoj, foot-step, (*kṣodya*).

O.I.A. *k-;* by aspiration : (§. 368).
khoroŋg, a cave, (*kroḍa-;* a cavity).
khīlā, a peg, (*kīlaka*).
khelā, sport, (*khelā ; krīḍā*).
khāpari, tile, (*karpara-*).
sts. khalàp, layer, (*kalpa*).
The following words have been classed as of *deśī* origin;
khāru, a bracelet, (*deśī, khaṇḍua ;* cf. Skt. *kanduka*).
khõṭ, peck, (cf. Skt. √*kuṭṭ*.- M.I.A. *khuṭṭ*).
khũṭā, post, (*khuṇṭa*).
khõcare, loosens and turns up as earth, (?√*khac,* to come forth, project).

401. Medially and finally, *-kh-* comes from :
O.I.A. *-khy-* ; *likhā,* a small louse, (*likhyā-*).
bakhān, a narration, (*vyākhyāna*).
-k- ; by aspiration ;
sts. lākhuṭi, stick, (*lakuṭa*).
sts. rok, rokh, ready-money, (*roka*); cf. Skt. Lex. *roka-kraya-bhid,* buying with cash (T).
sts. śalākhā, a bolt, (*śalākā*).
-kṣ- > M.I.A. *-kkh- ;*
dakh, attainment of puberty, (*dakṣa*).
pakhā, wing, (*pakṣa-*).
makhā, collection, horde, (*mrakṣa-*).
okh, high (*ukṣa*).
-kṣṇ- ; tīkhā, steel, (*tīkṣṇa-*).
-ŋkh-; pekham, dance of a peacock, (*preŋkhā*).
-ṣ- (pronounced as *-kh-*) ;
ukhar, hard, severe, (*uṣara*).
sts. pākhaṇḍa, vicious, (*pāṣaṇḍa*).
-ṣk- ; > M.I.A. *-kkh-* ;
pukhurī, tank, (*puṣkara* + —).
-gh- ; by unvoicing ;
(*gobàr*)*khũṭi,* cow-dung cake, (*ghuṇṭikā*).
By medial aspiration from M.I.A. *-kk-* (§. 372).
< O.I.A. *-lk-, -tk-* etc.
bakhalā, a flake, a lump, (*valkala*).

makhanā, (also *makanā*), elephant of the tuskless variety, (*matkuṇa*).

In *ts.* words, *-kṣ-* is often spelt as *-khy-*:

kakhyā, rivalry, (*kakṣā*).

G.

402. The various sources of Assamese (*g*) are given below. In a few *sts.* words the change of O.I.A. (*kh*) to As. (*g*) is noticeable; e.g. *nigani,* a rat, (*nikhanika*).

bŏhāg, name of a month (*vaiśākha*).

Most likely, the change is in the following direction: *kh* > *gh* > *g.*

The Sources of G.

403. Initially, *g-,* comes from O.I.A. *g-*; e.g.

gȧch, tree, (*gaccha*).
gũrā, small particles, (*guṇḍa-*).
gãrā, hole, (* *gaṇḍa, gaḍḍa-, garta-,*).
gobar, cow-dung, (*gorvara-*).
gõph, moustache, (*gumpha*).
ts. gahanā, ornament, (*gahanā*).

gr-; *gāõ,* village, (*grāma*).
gõṭhe, strings together, (*guṇṭhai, grathnāti*).

sts. gāhak, customer, (*grāhaka*).
gah, gȧ, boast, zeal, (*graha*).

404. Medial and final *-g-*; from

O.I.A. *-gn-* > M.I.A. *-gg-*;
nagā, a naked hill tribe, (*nagna-*).
lagā, attached, (*lagna-*).
bhagā, broken, (*bhagna-*).
bhāgar, fatigue, (*bhagna* + *ṭa*).

-gy- > M.I.A. *-gg-*:
suwāg, prosperity, (*saubhāgya*).

-gr- > M.I.A. *-gg-*:
āg, front, (*agra*).

-ŋg-; *sts. nẽgur,* tail, (*lāŋgula*).

-ḍg-; khāgari, reed, (*khaḍga-*).

-dg- > M.I.A. *-gg-* ;

ugār, belching, (*udgāra*).

ugul, anxiety, (*udgūrṇa*).

mug, a kind of pulse, (*mudga*).

māgur, a kind of fish, (*madgura*). ,

-rg- > M.I.A. *-gg-* :

gāgal, a kind of fish, (*gargara*).

māge, asks for, (*mārgayati*).

bāgar, side, (*varga* + *ṭa*).

-rgh- > M.I.A. *-ggh-* ; (by de-aspiration) :

ghāgar, a girdle of small bells, (*ghargharā*).

-lg- > M.I.A. *-gg-*:

phāgun, the month of Phālgun, (*phalguna*).

By voicing from O.I.A. *-k-* ;

sts. bagali, a crane, (*vaka*) ; *sts. śagun,* a vulture, (*śakuna*).

By de-aspiration from O.I.A. *-gh-;*

sts. śalāg, praise, (*ślāghā*).

405. The following are some of the common words of *deśī* origin :

gar, fortress, (D. *gaḍha-*).

gāji, sprouting wheat, (D. *gajja,* wheat).

gārī, carriage, (D. *gaḍḍī-*).

gādi, wadded pad on the back of an elephant, (**garda, garta,* a chariot seat, T.)

pāg, turban, (D. **paggā* T.)

pāgul, H. *pāgur,* chewing the cud ;

(* *paggur* < *pra-* √ *gur,* with analogical doubling of initial *g-*, cf. Skt. *gurate,* eats off).

(*g*) occurs in the pronunciation of the Skt. group.

-ghr-, in *ts.* words e.g. *biāgghrà,* tiger, (*vyāghra*); *śigghre,* soon, (*śīghra-*).

In compound words, *g* appears for *k* in a final position before a following voiced sound in the initial position of the second element of the compound e.g. *ḍāg-ghar,* post office, for *ḍāk-ghar.*

ts. jñ is pronounced *gy-, gia-* in the initial syllables and as *-igga* in the medial and final positions ; e.g. *jñān*

is *gyān* whence colloquially *giān*; so also *aiggān*, *agiān*, for *ajñān*.

The Sources of *GH*.

406. Initial *gh-* comes from:

O.I.A. gh-; (*rāh*) *-gharā*, honey-comb, (*ghaṭa-*).
ghāi, a bird-net, (*ghāti*).
ghāṭ, a landing place, (*ghaṭṭa-*).
ghuli, a puddle of water, (*ghūrṇikā*).
ghumaṭi, sleep, (? * *ghurma* + — √*ghur*, to snore).
g-; by transfer of aspiration;
E. As. *ghenāy*, accepts, (*gṛhṇāti* > **giṇhai* > *ghiṇṇai* > *ghenāi*).
ghĕhu, wheat, (*godhūma*). cf. H. *gahũ*.
ghop, a dark secluded place, seems to be a blend between (*guhā* + *gopya*).

407. Medially and finally, *-gh-* comes from:

O.I.A. *-g-*, by assimilation of the following aspiration:
āghon, a month, (*agra-hāyana*).
paghā, the tying rope of cattle, (*pragraha-*).
bighā, a measure of land: ⅓ of an acre, (*vigraha*).
bāgh, a bridle, (*avagraha*).
O.I.A. *-ghr-*; *bāgh*, a tiger, (*vyāghra*).
-dgh- > M.I.A. *-ggh-*;
ughāle, uproots, (*udghāṭayati*).
-rgh- > M.I.A. *-ggh-*:
dīghi, tank, (*dīrghikā*).
dīghal, long, (*dīrgha*+*la*).
By voicing from *-kh-*;
sts. reghā, a mark, line, (*rekhā*).
By dropping of the nasal from
ŋgh-: *sts. laghon*, fasting, (*laŋghana*).

Before a following voiced consonant in compounds, *tbh. gh* tends to be de-aspirated; e.g. *bāg-bhāluk* for *bāgh-bhāluk*, tigers and bears:

bāg-bar for *bāgh-bar*, the name of a place.

In *dīk-chau*, long covering, a long distance (? *dīrgha-cchada-*), *gh* > *g* > *k*, in contact with a following unvoiced sound.

The Palatals

408. The O.I.A. palatals have become dentals in Assamese : *c, ch* being pronounced as (*s*), and *j* as (*z*). The sound *jh* and the corresponding letter for it are absent in Assamese. Wherever phonetically due, *jh* is represented by *j*.

409. The palatals have acquired different sound values in different N.I.A. speeches. In North and East Bengal they are pronounced as dental affricates and pure sibilants respectively, whereas in West Bengal they have become palatal affricates. Marathi again has developed a set of dento-palatals. The historical evolution of these varied sounds has been exhaustively discussed by great linguists (Grierson : J.R.A.S. 1913, pp. 391 ff; Chatterji §§ 132, 255-258).

410. According to the Prakrit grammarians, intervocal palatals were fully articulated in Māgadhī, whereas they were elided in other M.I.A. dialects. This would lead on to the expectation that Assamese as a Magadhan dialect should preserve instances in which intervocal *-c-, -j-* are retained. But examples of such retention are sporadic. Even where O.I.A. *-c-* ; *-j-* have been retained they have come through an early Assamese *-ñc-, -ñj-* stage ;

e.g. *kā̃c*, glass, : E. As. *kāñca* (O.I.A. *kāca*).
jā̃jā, twin, E. As. *yamañja* (O.I.A. *yamaja*).
pẽcā, owl : E. As. *peñcā* (O.I.A. *pecaka*).

411. In other places, a word with O.I.A. *-c-, -j-*, is likely to be taken as a *sts.* or *ts.* rather than as a Māgadhī *tbh.* e.g.

ocar, near, proximity, (*upacara*). H. *or*, side.
uju, easy, (*ṛju-*).
saj, honest, straight-forward, (*sahaja-*).
sucak, observant, circumspect, (*sucakṣu-*).

412. The commonest word for "blood" in Assamese is *tej* (*tejas*). It is difficult to say whether it should be ranked as a *sts.* or Māg. *tbh*; cf. also As. *kac*, to bind tightly, (O.I.A. √*kac*). Against these, there are instances where the O.I.A. palatals are elided, e.g. *ghāmaci*, prickly heat; (*gharma-carcikā*); *lāi*, mustard, (*rājikā*).

413. In the Māgadhī or Prācya speech of the first M.I.A. stage as illustrated in the inscriptions of Aśoka, *ty, dy, dhy*, are equated to *tiy, yy, dhiy*. The changes of *ty, dhy*, to *tiy, dhiy*, even where suspected, are likely to be taken as instances of *sts.* formations e.g. *teje*, abandons; (*tyajati*).

dhiyāĕ, meditates, contemplates, (*dhyāyati*).

414. Assamese, however, seems to retain sporadic illustrations of certain Māg. equations like (i) *ry, rj* > *yy* > As. *y*.

Examples:

(?) *āi*, mother; a venerable lady. (**āryikā*).

(?) *bāi*, elder sister: a polite term to address a lady (*varyā* > * ? *varyikā*).

(?) *bāyaṁ*, separate, distinct, (?*varja-*).

(ii) *ñj, ny*>*ññ* > As. *ñ*, e.g.
keñā- (*āṇguli*) little finger, (*kanya*, small).
hañ, hañerā, a familiar term of address to a woman, (*hañje*).

415. In Māgadhī "the *y* represents a front palate fricative different from the semi-vowel sound in English "*yes*". The equivalent of *-y-* was used in the North-West to express a foreign sound written *z* in Greek," (Woolner: p. 60).

In Assamese, intervocal *-y-* from any source has only the value of a semi-vowel. Only in an initial position it has a (*z*=*yz*) sound. Assamese has *tīyā*, occurring every third day as fever, (*ṭṛtīya-*) as against H.P. *tīj; pūj*, pus, (*pūya*); *kalijā*, heart, (*kāleya*), are imported forms with *-j-* for *-y-* > *yy*.

416. Examples of these changes are not, however, very common. They are confined only to homely words. In others, the western M.I.A. changes of *ty, dhy,* etc. to double palatals were introduced into Māgadhī and later Māgadhī fell in a line with other M.I.A. dialects in this matter.

417. Of the two-fold development of *kṣ* into M.I.A. *kkh,* and *cch,* the former may have characterised the dialects of the East and the Midland, and the latter those of the North-West and the South-West (Bloch § 104; Chatterji § 259). But through an early inter influence amongst the M.I.A. dialects there has been a mingling of *kh* and *ch* forms in all N.I.A. speeches. The Magadhan dialects characterised by *kkh-* development of *kṣ* must have obtained (c) (*ch*) words as loans through *Śaurasenī* and the Northern speech.

The Sources of C.

418. Initially, *c-,* comes from O.I.A. *c-*;

cāndà, an awning, (*candrātapa*).

cāpàr, a stroke with the open palm, (*carpaṭa*).

sts. cepeṭā, flat, (*cipiṭa* > **cippiṭṭa*).

celā, centiped, (*cillakā,* a cricket).

cāul, rice, (*cāmya*+*la*).

caurāŋgi, prostration, (*caturaŋga-*).

cariyā, a washing pot, (*caru-*).

col, calu, a palmful of water, (*cullaka*).

cuṭi, dwarfish, cf. Skt. √*cuṭṭ,* to become small (probably of *deśī* origin.).

O.I.A. *s-* :

(Lw), *camu,* straight, (*sanmukha*).

(Lw), *cambhāle,* takes care of, (*sambhārayati*).

O.I.A. *tv-* > **ty-* > M.I.A. *cc-* ;

cāce, scrapes, (*cacchai, tvakṣati*).

sts. coc, bark, rind, (*coca, tvaca*).

caṭā, a splinter of bamboo or wood, (*tvaṣṭa*).

The following are of *deśī* origin :—

cikā, small, (*deśī, cikkā*).

cicā, emaciated, (D. *cicca*).

cirikā, drizzle, (D. *cirikkā*).

cārà, high, (D. *caḍai,* ascends).
cupi, a small oil vessel, (D. *cuppa,* oily).
cah, cultivation, (D. *cāsa*).
cāpā, conceal, (D. *campai*).

419. Medial and final *-c-* comes from

O.I.A. *-c-, -cc-* > M.I.A. *-cc-, -ñc-*;
kẽcerā, naughty, (*kaccara-* > **kañcara-*).
ucalā, projecting, (*ucca+la+-*).
uciŋgarā, a cricket, (*ucciŋgaṭa-*).

O.I.A. *-kṣ-* > M.I.A. *-cch-* > *ñch, -ñc*.
cãce, scrapes (*tvakṣati*).

O.I.A. *-ñc-*; *ãcal,* hem of a garment, (*añcala*).
sãc, impression, mark, (*sañca*).
kũciyā, eel-fish, (*kuñcikā-*).
kõce, shrinks, (*kuñcati*).
kãci inspissated milk (*kāñcikā*).

-rc- > M.I.A. *-cc-*;
ghāmaci, prickly heat, (*gharma+carikā*).

-rś- (Lw) *ārcci,* a mirror, (*ādarśa+*). The purely Assamese formation is *ārhi* < **ārahi*.

-ty- > M.I.A. *-cc-*;
sãcā, true (*sacca, *sañca*; *satya*).
kãce, cuts up, (**kṛtyate*).
gharacīyā, domestic, (**garha* < *gṛha*) *+tya*).

ācābhuwā, ācahuwā, strange, (*atyadbhūta*).
nāc, dance, (*nṛtya*).

By unvoicing, from O.I.A. *-j-, -ñj-*;
pācan, a cowherd's stick, (*prājana*).
hãci, sneezing, (*hãñji-*).
bicani, a fan, (**vyajanikā-*).

420. In borrowed words, Skt. *-ś-, -s-* are spelt as *-c-* in Assamese; e.g.

kalaci, a jar-shaped pinnacle of a temple (*kalaśa* + -).
ticī, linseed, (*atasī*).
binàc, miscarriage by a female animal, (*vi-nāśa*).

CH.

421. There is practically no difference in sound between *c, ch.* But in recent times there has been a tendency to differentiate the sounds between them. As there is no *ś* sound in Assamese, *ch* is generally used in transliterating foreign words with an *ś* sound; e.g.

chilaṅ for *Shillong*:

chekṣpiar for *Shakespeare.*

Some people use *śv* to represent *ś-* sound.

422. Present Assamese orthography thus uses *c* for the *s*-sound of foreign (English) names, and *ch* for the *sh-* sound.

The Sources of *CH.*

423. Initially, *ch-* comes from

O.I.A. *ch-*:

sts. chan, deserted, (*channa*).

chāli, bark of a tree, (*challi-, chardis*).

chaị, roof, covering, (*chadi*).

chopā, grove, shrub, (**choppa, chupa, kṣupa*).

chõ, an actor's mask, (**chauma, chaduma, chadma*).

kṣ- > M.I.A. *ch-*:

chīnā, small, thin, (*kṣīṇa-*).

churī, knife, (*kṣurikā*).

cheŏ, measure in a dance, (*kṣepa*).

chiṭā, stain, splash, (D. *chiṭṭa; ? kṣipta*).

chip, an angling rod, (*kṣipra*).

chãi, ashes, (blend between *kṣāra+bhasma-*).

s-, ś-, ṣ- > probably *ch-* in late M.I.A.

chāẇ, young one, (*śāvaka*).

chẽi, a pod, (*śimbī*). cf. Bg. *chā,* stuffing in pastry.

chutā, pretext, (*sūtra*).

chạy, six, (*ṣaṭ*).

424. Medially and finally, it represents O.I.A. *-cch-*, M.I.A. *-cch-*; e.g.

kāchà, tortoise, (*kacchapa*).

sts. kāchuṭi, the hem of a lower garment, (*kacchaṭikā*).

gachā, a lamp-stand, (*gaccha-*).

pich, rear, (*picchā*).

bichanā, bed, (*vicchādana*).

-kṣ- ; *bāche,* selects, (*vṛkṣate*).

bichoh, sorrow, (*vikṣobha*).

-ñch- ; *põche,* wipes, (*proñchati*).

lõc < *loch,* border of cloth that sweeps the ground when worn, (M.I.A. *lucchai, luñchai* rubs; Skt. *luñcati,* pulls T.).

-ts- > M.I.A. *-cch-* ;

bachar, year, (*vatsara*).

bāchā, young one, (*vatsa*).

sts. uchargā, dedication, (*utsarga-*).

sts. bībhach, ugly, (*bībhatsa*).

-tsy- > M.I.A. *-cch-* ;

māch, fish, (*matsya*).

-thy- ; *michā,* false, (*mithyā-*).

lechāri, a long metre, (*rathyā+-*).

-rc- ; *kochā,* bundle, (*kūrca-*).

-śc- ; *bichā,* scorpion, (*vṛścika-*).

sts. pachim, west, (*paścima*).

śr- ; *moch,* beard, (*mhacchu, śmaśru*).

The Sources of *J.*

425. The *jh* sound and the corresponding letter for it are absent in Assamese and whenever it is phonologically due in spelling, it is written as *-j-*. Only in some rare instances the symbol for *-jh-* is used and it is regarded as archaic and pedantic.

426. Initially *j-* comes from

O.I.A. *j-*;e.g.

jari, rope, (*jaṭi-*).

jaruṇ, a mole on the skin, (*jaṭula*).

jār, cold, (*jāḍya*).

jalāh, a large sheet of water, (*jalāśaya*).

jīp, moisture, (*jīvā*+*vāṣpa*).
jokār, sound of greeting, (*jaya*+*kāra* > **java*+*kāra*).
jowār, flood-tide, (**javakāra* ; *java,* speed T.).

O.I.A. *jh-* < *-kṣ-* ;

jẽo, over-burnt brick, (*jhāmaka, kṣāma*).
jare, oozes out, (*jharai, kṣarati*).
jikā, a kitchen fruit, (cf. *jhiŋgā-*).
jār, a big forest (*jhāṭa*).

M.I.A. *jh-*;

jõkā, tease, stir, (M.I.A. √*jhaŋkh*).
jure, clears forest by cutting down trees, (M.I.A. *jhoḍai-*).
jāre, winnows, (cf. M.I.A. *jhāḍāvaṇa*).
jari, continued showers, (D. *jhaḍi,* O.I.A. *jhaṭikā,* monsoon showers).
jãpā, basket with a lid, (M.I.A. √*jhāmp,* to shut up).
japaṭiyā, entwine, (D. *jhampia,* entangled).
joloŋgā, wallet, (M.I.A. *jhollia*).
jõpā, a shrub, (D. *jhumpa*).
jāmare, subsides, as a swelling, (*jhāma-* ; *kṣāma-*).

O.I.A. *jy-* ;

jeṭhā, father's elder brother, (*jyeṣṭha*+*tāta*).
jonāk, moon-light, (*jyōtsnā-*).

jv- ;

jar, fever, (*jvara*).
jale, shines, (*jvalati*).

dy- ;

juẇārī, a gambler, (*dyūta*+*kāra-*).
jui, fire, (*dyuti*).

y- ;

jājā, twins, (*yamaja*). E. As. *yaṁañja.*
jokhe, weighs, (*yokṣyati,* will recollect T.).
jābar, refuse, sweepings, (*yāvya*+*ṭa* T.).
jor, a pair, a couple, (*joḍa* : O.I.A. √*yauṭ* (*ḍ*).
jame, freezes, co-agulates, (*yamyate,* is fixed : M.I.A. *jamei,* collects, T).

427. Medially and finally *-j-* comes from

O.I.A. *-jj-* ; *kajalā*, blackish, (*kajjala-*).
lāj, shame, (*lajjā*).
majā, the core or inner part, (*majjā-*).
sāj, dress, (*sajjā*).
-jjv- ; *ujalā*, prominent, (*ujjvala-*).
-jy- ; *banij*, trade, (*vāṇijya*).
-ñj- ; *pũji*, hoard, capital, (*puñja-*).
pẵji, a ball of cotton, (*pañji-*).
lẽj, tail, (*lañja*).
pẵjar, flank, (*pañjara*).
-dy- ; *khoj*, foot-step, (*kṣodya-*).
akhāj, not fit for eating, (*akhādya*).
bej, physician, (*vaidya*).
mej, tumour, (*medya*).
mujе, shuts up as eyes, (*mudyate*).
-dhy- ; *ojā*, teacher, (*upādhyāya*).
māj, middle, (*madhya*).
sāj, evening, (*sandhyā*).
bā̃jā, barren, (*vandhya-*).
beji, needle, (*vedhya-*).
meji, a stack of straws for ceremonial burning, (*medhya-*).
-bj- ; *kũjā*, hump-backed, (*kubja-*).
-y- ; > *yy* ; *teoj*, year before last, (*tṛtaya* > **tṛtayya*).
kalijā, heart, (*kāleya*, **kāleyya*).
pūj, pus, (*pūya* > **pūyya*).
bhatijā, nephew, (*bhrātrīya* > **bhrātrīyya*).
-yy- ; *sejā*, bed of a river, (*śayyā-*).
-rj- ; *khajuli*, itches, (*kharju-*).
gājani, thundering, (*garjan-*).
khejur, date tree, (*kharjura*).
-ry- ; *kāj*, work, (*kārya*).
ājo-, (*kakāi*), the great grand father, (*ārya*+*pada*).
-hy- ; *bojā*, load, (*vahya-*).
guj-bhūi, private parts, (*guhya-bhūmi-*).

The word *gāj*, sprout, < D. *gajja*, wheat.

428. O.I.A. *-ya-* of passive forms > *-ia, -iya-, -i-* in early Assamese, and remains *-i-* in certain idiomatic expressions in modern Assamese (§§. 751 ff). In the Western AP. O.I.A. *-ya-* (passive) > *-iya, -ijja* > *-īja*. The adjectival *-īya-* affix similarly becomes *-īa, -īja*. Assamese possesses no relics of the *-ijja-*passive. Of the *-īya, -aya* affix > *ijja, -ajja*, Assamese has *teoj* (shewn above) for *ṭṛtaya* > *tiajja*; *kalijā*, heart, (*kāleya*) ; *bhatijā*, (*bhrātrīya-*).

In *ts* words, Skt. *y-* is pronounced as *j-*, in initial positions, e.g. *jadi* for Skt. *yadi*. Intervocally *y* is subscribed and has the *ỷ*-pronunciation. With conjuncts *y* is pronounced as *j* intervocally in *tss.* e.g. *kārjya* for *kārya*; *saṁjukta* for *saṁyukta*.

THE CEREBRALS.

429. The cerebrals and dentals though differentiated in spelling have both acquired values as alveolars. The loss of distinction and the establishment of alveolar pronunciation have been attributed to Tibeto-Burman influence (Grierson: *Indian Antiquary*: Supplement; 1933, October; p. 156). In the languages of the Tibeto-Burman group dental consonants are pronounced as semi-cerebrals as in English (L.S.I., Vol. III, Part II, p. 4). Under the levelling influence of the surrounding Tibeto-Burman dialects, both the cerebrals and the dentals have lost their proper enunciations.

430. Historically Assamese belongs to the cerebralising group of N.I.A. languages, i.e., under the influence of a neighbouring *ṛ* or *r*, dentals are cerebralised.

431. As an eastern speech, Assamese inherited both cerebralised forms and the cerebralising instinct from the eastern M.I.A.; but the alveolar pronunciation of both the series seems to have given to Assamese a fresh momentum towards spontaneous cerebralisation. Loan-words from foreign and non-Aryan sources and also unfamiliar *sts.* words are spelt with cerebrals, e.g. *ṭagar*, a kind of flower (*tagara*), *ṭagambari*. destitute, (*tvagambara-*). When the spelling is

meant to be adjusted to the sound, the dentals are supposed not to represent the sound properly, and to give the sound the value of something other than the dental (which is, however, present to the eye and not to the ear), it is represented by the cerebrals. But purists with an eye on the etymology often write *tagar, tagambari.*

432. Loan-words from foreign non-Aryan sources are, however, spelt with the cerebrals e.g. English: *station* = *iṣṭechan*: *court*=*korṭ,*

Boḍo: *dibru* = *ḍibru.*
dihiṅ = *ḍihiṅ* or *dihiṅ.*

The Sources of -*Ṭ*- (Cerebral)

433. Initially, *ṭ*- represents

O.I.A. *ṭ*-;
ṭale, is moved, (*ṭalati*-).
ṭekelā, an errand-boy, (cf. *ṭikyate,* is gone).
ṭāŋgī, wedge, (*ṭaŋga*+).
ṭerā, squint-eyed, (*ṭeraka*).
ṭokonā, poor, niggardly, (? *ṭakka*).

t- (dental) > *ṭ*- by spontaneous cerebralisation:
e.g. *ṭāru,* a wooden ladle, (*tardu*-).
ṭākurī, a spindle, (*tarku*-).

sts. ṭagar, a flower, (*tagara*).
ṭeŋgā, sour, acrid, (*tigma*- > M.I.A. *tigga*-, **ṭiŋga*-, *ṭeŋga*-).
ṭon, quiver, (*tūṇa*).
ṭakacā, to put off with promises, (? *tarka*).
ṭaŋg, ṭaŋgi, a loft, (*tamaŋga*-).
ṭahal, move about aimlessly, (* < *ṭahalla,* extension of Skt. *trakhati,* T.).
ṭalak, ponder deeply, (*tala* + *k* > -*kk*).

E.As. *ṭāman,* mischievous fellow, (* *tāmra* + *na*).
ṭepā, saturated with moisture, (cf. *tipyate,* to be moistened).
ṭaŋguẇā, poverty-stricken, (? *taŋkana*).
ṭāi, boast, exaggeration, (*tāya* +).

ṭāb, foot-step, (√ *tarb*, to move).

ṭoṭorā, *ṭāṭaŋgā*, shrivelled up (**takta* : √*tañc*, to shrink).

ṭeŋguciā, to limp, (√ *taŋg*, to tremble, to stumble + * *tya*).

ṭani, bamboo frame for a scoop-net, (*tanikā*, a string).

sts. *ṭaṭastha*, (*taṭastha*), passive, "sitting on the fence (*taṭastha*).

ṭakalā, bald-headed due to skin disease, (*takman-*).

O.I.A. *tr-* : *ṭuṭe*, diminishes, (*truṭyati*).

tv- : *sts.* *ṭagambari*, reduced to extreme poverty (*tvagambara-*).

ṭimak, quick of understanding, flash of passion, (M.I.A. *timma* = ? * *tviṣma*, √ *tviṣ*, to glitter).

O.I.A. *st-*; *sts.* *ṭom*, *tom*, a wicker basket, (*stoma*).

sts. *ṭabhak*, *ṭabhaŋ*, stupefied, (*stambha*).

Of *deśī* origin are *ṭupi* (*ṭoppia*).

ṭakar, sharp sound : *ṭokāri*, a musical instrument played upon by striking (D. *ṭokkar*).

ṭāṭi, fence, (D. *ṭaṭṭi*).

434. Medially and finally *-ṭ-* comes from

O.I.A. *-ṭṭ-* > M.I.A. *-ṭṭ-* ;

kuṭe, cuts up, (*kuṭṭayati*).

ghāṭ, a landing place, (*ghaṭṭa*).

pāṭ, silk, (*paṭṭa*).

āṭāh, loud scream, (*aṭṭa* + *hāsa*.)

āṭāl, loft in a house, (*aṭṭāla*).

keṭār, eye-dirt, (*kiṭṭa* + —).

bhẽṭi, site of a house, (*bhiṭṭa* T.).

-ṭy- ; e.g. *khāṭe*, supplicates, (*khaṭyate* ; √ *khaṭ*).

ṭuṭe, diminishes, (*truṭyati*).

luṭe, plunders, (*luṭyati*).

-ṭv- ; *khāṭ*, bed-stead, (*khaṭvā*).

-tr- (dental) : *baraṭi*, a strap, (*varatrā-*).

chāṭe, covers, (* *chatrayati*).

-tt- (dental) : *māṭi*, earth, (*mṛttikā*).

bhẽṭā, dam, enclosure, (*bhitta*, wall).

-nt- (dental) : *ṭẽṭu,* throat, (cf. *tantukī,* a tubular vessel of the body).
-rt-; bāṭi, a cup, (*vartikā*).
bāṭalu, a round and circular thing (*varta*+*la*+*uka*).
-rtm-; bāṭ, road, (late Skt. *vāṭa* < *vartma-*).
-ṣṭ-; śiṭā, dregs, refuse, (*śiṣṭa-*).
piṭe, strikes, (* *piṣṭati*).
bhāṭi, falling, receding ; cf. *bhāṭā,* ebb-tide, (*bhraṣṭa*).
iṭā, brick, (*iṣṭaka-*).
miṭ, amicable settlement, (*miṭāvai,* O.I.A. *mṛṣṭa,* T.).
-ṣṭr- ; *uṭ,* camel, (*uṣṭra*).
-st- (dental) : *pālaṭ,* turned up, (*paryasta*).
-nt-; > M.I.A. *-ṇṭ-; bãṭ,* teat, (*vṛnta*).
-ṇṭ- ; *bãṭā,* prize, (*vaṇṭa* + -).
kãiṭ, thorn, (*kaṇṭaka* + *ika*).
Of *deśī* origin is *liṭikāi,* an obsequious follower, (D. *liṭṭia,* flattery).

The Sources of *ṬH.*

435. Initially, *ṭh-* comes from

O.I.A. *sth-* (dental) :
sts. ṭhag, a rogue, (*sthaga* = M.I.A. *ṭhaga*).
sts. ṭhagi, a betel-nut tray, (*sthagī*).
ṭhāwar, to ascertain, (*sthāvara*) cf. H. *ṭhāhar.*
ṭhānuwā, well-shaped, comely, (*sthāna,* posture of a body, T.).
ṭholā, hollow, indentation, (cf. *stha-puṭa*).
ṭhereŋgā, ṭharaŋgā, stiff, rigid (* *sthara,* cf. Skt. *sthalati,* is firm).
ṭhalarā, large, flabby, (? *sthāla-*).
ṭhāri, a stalk, a leaf stem, (M.I.A. *ṭhaḍḍha*).
ṭhāni, branch, (cf. *sthāṇu,* a bare stem).
ṭhãi, spot, also *ṭhãwa,* place, (**sthāman*).
st- (dental) : *ṭhakar,* to strike against, (? √ *stak*).
tr- (dental) : *sts. ṭhõṭ,* beak, bill, (*troṭi*).
By initial aspiration :
ṭheŋg, leg, (*ṭaŋka*).
By dropping of the initial vowel :
ṭhilā, a stopple, (*aṣṭhīlā*).

ṭh- ; *ṭhākur,* an idol, from Skt. *ṭhakkura.*
Of *deśī* origin is *ṭhāṭ,* pomp, show, (D. *thaṭṭa*).

436. (*Contents dropped*).

437. Medially and finally *-ṭh-* comes from
O.I.A. *-ṇṭh-* ; *śũṭhi,* anything dried like cow-dung, (cf. √*śuṇṭh*).
-nth- (dental) : *gā̃ṭhi,* knot, (*granthi-*).
-rth- : *ca'ṭhā,* fourth day, (*caturtha*).
-ṣṭ- : *nāṭh,* loss, (*naṣṭa*).
ruṭhā, angry, harsh, (*ruṣṭa*).
jāṭhi, a lance, a spear, (*yaṣṭi-*).
miṭhā, sweet, (*miṣṭa-*).
diṭhak, vision, (*dṛṣṭa*).
By blending :
meṭhani, a woman's girdle, (*mekhalā* + *veṣṭanikā*).
lāṭhuwā, vicious, (*laṭa* + *naṣṭa*).
kaṭhuwā, severe, (*kaṭu* + *kaṣṭa*).
-ṣṭh- ; e.g. *ā̃ṭhi,* the stone of a fruit, (* *aṇṭhi* < * *aṭṭhi-* < *aṣṭhi-*).
puṭhi, a kind of fish, (*proṣṭhi-*).
ā̃ṭhu, knee, (*aṣṭhīvat*).
ba'ṭhā, oar, (*vahiṣṭha-,* driving or carrying best).
āŋguṭhi, ring, (*aŋguṣṭha-*).
kāṭhi, verandah of a house, (*kāṣṭhā,* * *kāṣṭhikā*).
kõṭh, a fort, (a blend of *koṭṭa* + *koṣṭha*).
kolaṭhi, the soft belly-part of a fish, (Pāli, *kolaṭṭhi* *kola* + *aṣṭhi*).
āmȧ̀ṭhi, āmȧ̀ṭhu, the kernel inside the stone of a mango fruit, (*āmra* + *aṣṭhi-*).
-sth- ; e.g. *paṭhāy,* sends, (*pra* + *sthāpayati*).
√*uṭh,* rise, (*ut*+√*sthā*).
sāṭhan, ability, resources, (*saṁsthāna*).

The Dentals.

438. The dentals are pronounced exactly in the same way as the cerebrals, viz., as alveolars. The dentals have a

uniform history except that there are changes in the direction of cerebralisation (which was also native to Māgadhī) and palatalisation in connection with *-y-* (which was non-Māgadhī) and just in a few cases of labialisation in connection with a labial or denti-labial (which was also non-Māgadhī). The non-cerebralised forms in the presence of a preceding *r* in O.I.A. are apparent loan-words from the Western dialects. (cf. O.D.B.L. § 273).

The Sources of *T.*

439. Initially *t-* comes from

O.I.A. *t-* ;

tapinā, hip, buttock, (*talpana-*).
tāwāl, withe of a young bamboo, (*tamāla*).
tār, bracelet worn on the arm, (cf. *taṭaŋka*, a large ear-ring).
tītā, wet, (**tinta* $\sqrt{tim}$, to wet).

tr- ; *terà*, thirteen, (*trayodaśa*).
tini, three, (*trīni-*).

tv- ; *turante*, speedily, (** tvaranta-*).
tài, thou, (*tvayā-*).

st-; *sts. tom*, wicker basket for storing grains, (*stoma*).
tadhā, amazed, (*stabdha*).

440. Medial and final *-t-* represents

O.I.A. *-ŋkt-*; *pā̃ti*, order, line, (*paŋkti-*).

-tt- ; *pit.* bile (*pitta*).

-t- ; > M.I.A. *-tt-* ; *jit*, victory, (*jita*, > ** jitta*).

-tth- ; *ā̃hat*, a kind of tree, (*aśvattha*).
tutiyā, blue vitriol, (*tuttha-*).

-tm- ; *ātā*, grand-father, a revered person, (*ātma-*).

-ty- ; *sts. da't*, demon, (*daitya* > ** dàitta*).

-tr- ; e.g. *sūtā*, thread, (*sūtra*).
citā, a leopard, (*citra-*).
māut, an elephant driver, (*mahā-mātra*).
chāti, an umbrella, (*chatra-*).
dhuti, waist-cloth, (** dhautra-*).

-tv- ; *cotāl*, court-yard, (*catvāla*).

ităr, common, (*itvara*).

-kt- ; *bhāt*, rice, (*bhakta*).
lātā, rag, (*laktaka-*).
rātul, red, (*rakta-*).

-ktr- ; *jõt*, cord, rope, esp. of the yoke of a plough (*yoktra*).

-nt- ; *-ntr-* > M.I.A. *-nt-* ; e.g.
śā̃t, tranquil, (*śānta*).
seõtā, parting of hair, (*sīmanta-*).
sā̃tar, swimming, (*santara*).
ā̃t, entrails, (*antra*).
jā̃t, mill, (*yantra*).
tā̃t, loom, (*tantra*).
neõtā, invitation, (*nimantra-*).
māte, calls, (*mantrayate*).
karõtā, doer, (M.I.A. *karanta-*).
śunõtā, hearer, (M.I.A. *sunanta-*).
pl. suff *-hā̃t* (*santa*, > *hanta*) ;

Past conditional post-position, *hẽten* (* *sante* + *na*, > *hante*+*na*).
lāhatī, a foppish woman, (**lāsavantikā*).
phulatī, a woman skilled in embroidery, (* *phullavantikā*).

O.I.A. *-pt-* ; e.g. *sāt*, seven, (*sapta-*).
nāti, grand-son, (*naptṛka*).

-rt- ; e.g. *kāti*, the name of a month, (*kārtika*).
bātari, news, (*vārtā* : M.I.A. *vattaḍiā*).

(Lw.) *bhàtarā*, an uncastrated bull (cf. H. *bhatāra*, husband, (a Western form corresponding to Eastern *bhaṭṭāraka*).

-st- ; *-sth-* ; e.g. *hāt*, hand, (*hasta*).
dhūtūrā, a poisonous plant, (*dhūstūra-*).
śitān, the part of the bed where the head is placed, (*śiras*+*sthāna*).

By de-aspiration of *-th-* ;

sts. jūti, a flower, (*yūthikā*).
putal, breadth, (*pṛth-* cf. *pṛthula*).

The Sources of *TH.*

441. Initially, *th-* comes from

O.I.A. *st- ; sth-* > M.I.A. *th- ;*

thõpā, bunch, (*stupa* > *stuppa* > *thoppa*).

thokā, cluster, as of fruits, (*stavaka*: M.I.A. *thavakka*).

thāẏ, is within depth, (* *stāghati*).

therā, old, (*sthavira* > Pāli *thera*).

thālī, a big vessel, (*sthālikā*).

thàliyā, a sack, (*stara* cf. Mṛcch: *jāṇathalake* =*yānāstara-*).

thāke, remains, (√*thakk*: O.I.A.? *√*sthā*+*ka*).

The following words can be traced only to *deśī* sources:

thàr, handful of reaped corn, (D. *thaḍa,* multitude).

thirikani, rain-drops, (D. *thāra,* cloud).

thol-gol, round, (D. *thora*).

The following are of unknown origin:

thāp, clutching;

thūtari, chin;

thukuc, to chop;

thõtā, stammering;

thetelā, crushing;

442. In the interior of words, *-th-* represents:

O.I.A. *-tr- ; māthõ, māthon,* just, (*mātra* + *na*).

-nth- ; kẽthā, blanket, (*kanthā-*).

mathāri, embankment, (*manthara-* > **manthra-*).

gãthā, stringing, (√*granth*).

-rth- ; bethā, (*buṛhā-bethā*), old and infirm, (*vyartha-*).

-st- ; -str ; puthi, book, (*pustikā*).

pathār, field, (*prastāra*).

pāthàr, stone, (*prastara*).

màthā, a plant, (*mustā-*).

E.As. *bhāthi,* bellows, (*bhastri-*).

āthe-bethe, in great hurry, (*asta-vyasta*).

-sth- ; *pathān*, the part of the bed where the feet are placed, (*pada* + *sthāna*).
pathāli, breadth, (*prastha* +).
āthāntar, a bad turn, (*avasthāntara*).

The Sources of *D.*

443. Initial *d-*; comes from

O.I.A. *d-* ; *dàm*, heap, (*dambha*,? √ *dambh*, to collect).
dàràk, tether, (*dṛḍha* + *kka*).
dai, curdled milk, (*dadhi-*).
dai, bamboo split for weaving into a mat, (cf. √*do*, to cut, reap).
dār, teeth, (*daṅṣṭrā*).
dāpoṇ, mirror, (*darpaṇa*).
doṇ, a basket containing a certain measure, (*droṇa*).
dr- ; *dagar*, a small drum, (*drakaṭa*, also *dragaḍa*).
dām, price, (*dramya*, Gk. *drakhme*).
dv- ; *sts. dand*, quarrel, (*dvanda*).
dui, two, (*dve* > Pāli. *duve*).
diyā, island in the middle of a river, (*dvīpa-*).

444. Medially and finally, it comes from

O.I.A. *-dd-* ; *kodāl*, a spade, (*kuddāla*).
odāl, a tree, (*uddāla*).
-dr- ; *ud*, otter, (*udra*).
khud, particles of rice, (*kṣudra*).
sts. śet-bhedāli, a plant, (*śveta-bhadrāli-*).
sts. ra'd, sun-shine, (*raudra*).
mude, seals, (*mudrayati*).
ādā, ginger, (*ārdraka-*).
bhādà, a month, (*bhādra-pada*).
-dh- ; *-ddh-* ; by de-aspiration
sts. śāüd, a merchant, (*sādhu-*).
sts. āhudi, drug, (*auṣadhi*).
bandūli, a flower, (*bandhūli-*).
sondā, sweet-smelling, (*sau-gandha-*).
śudā, unmixed, (*śuddha-*).

muhudi, sweetening the mouth after eating, (*mukha* + *śuddhi-*).

-nd- ; *mãdār,* a tree, (*mandāra*).

nàdàn- bàdàn, luxuriant, (*nandana* + *vandana*).

-rd- ; *pād,* breaking wind, (*parda*).

mādal, a drum, (*mardala*).

-rdh- ; *ādah,* middle-age, (*ardha* + *śa*).

By voicing from *-t-;*

sts. paduli, gate-way, (*pratolī,* M.I.A. *padolī*).

sts. bāduli, bat, (*vātuli-*).

Intrusive after intervocal *-n-* ;

bāndar, monkey, (*vānara*).

khāne, khānde, digs, (*khanyate,* * *khaṇṇai*).

dhund, mental perplexity, (*dhūna*).

mākhundī, a female elephant, (*matkuṇa-*).

The Sources of *DH.*

445. Initially *dh-* comes from

O.I.A. *dh-* ; *dhõwā,* smoke, (*dhūma-*).

dhumuhā, storm, (*dhūmrābha-*).

sts. dhuti, cleansing, washing, (*dhauta-*).

dhun, decoration, especially in dress, (* *dhūṣṇa,* √ *dhūṣ,* to decorate).

sts. dhupāl, scorching heat, (*dhūpa*+).

dhupāle, washes, cleanses as teeth, (? *dhauta*+ *plāva*).

dhemāli, sport, romping, (*dhāva* + *karma-*).

dhūnā, incense, (*dhūpana-*).

dhen (*-diyā*), giving birth to a calf; applied to animals. cf. *dhenā,* milch-cow.

dhanā, dhenā, blasted as a fruit, (Cf. *dhānā,* fried grain).

dhr- ; *dhuwā,* refrain, (*dhrūvaka*).

dhv- ; e.g. *dhàhe,* falls off, (*dhvasati* ; √*dhvas*).

sts. dhaj, mark, symbol, (*dvaja*).

446. In the interior of words, it comes from

O.I.A. *-gdh-* ; *dudh,* milk, (*dugdha*).

-dhm- ; *udhān*, earthen support for cooking vessel, (*udhmāna*).

-bdh- ; *tadhā*, amazed, (*stabdha*).

-rdh- ; *ādh*, half, (*ardha*).

mūdh, ridge of a house, (*mūrdha-*).

By assimilation of aspiration

gādhà, ass, (M.I.A. *gaddahà*, O.I.A. *gardabha*).

pondhàrà, fifteen, (*paṇṇaraha* > * *pandarahà* > *pandharà* : O.I.A. *pañca-daśa*).

The Labials.

447. No change is noticed in the articulation of labials. The bi-labial spirant pronunciation which characterises certain dialectical areas in Eastern-Bengal is not observable in Assamese.

448. Assamese is also free from the labialisation of the O.I.A. groups of dental stops or aspirates +*m*, or *v* which is found in M.I.A. and which characterises Western languages like Gujarātī and Sindhī (Bloch §. 129 ; Chatterji §. 277). Excepting O.I.A. *ātman-* which has given Assamese *āpon, ātā*, there does not appear to be anything like a tendency towards labialisation. Even the Bengali affix *-panā*, indicating abstract quality, is absent in Assamese.

Words shewing labialisation of dental stops + *m, v,* are apparently loan-words in Assamese.

The Sources of *P.*

449. Initially, *p-* comes from

O.I.A. *p-* ; *parali*, a covering, roof, (*paṭala-*).

puli, the seedling, (*pulaka*. cf. *tṛṇa- pulaka*).

pārā, section of a village, (*pāṭaka-*).

pūi, a vegetable creeper, (*pūtikā*).

pāb, the part between the two joints as of the finger, bamboo, etc., (*parvan*).

pāti- (*hā̃h*), domestic goose that cannot fly ; pedestrian, (*patti-*).

pr- ; *pācan*, a goad to drive cattle, (*prājana*).

palam, delay, (*pralamba*).
pāhare, forgets, (*pra-smarati*).
paghā, a rope to tie up cattle, (*pragraha-*).
pohā, palmful, (*prasṛta-*).
pohàr, light, (*prabhā*+*ṭa*).
sts. patihā, expectation, (*pratyāśā*).
(*āl-*), *paicān,* close attendance: Cf. H. *pahicān,* (*pratyabhigñāna*).
pl-; puŋgā, a float in a fishing rope, (? *plavaŋga*).

450. In the interior of words, *-p-* is from:

O.I.A. *-tp-*; *opàje,* is born, (*utpadyate*).
opàce, overflows, (?*utpatyate*).
-tm-; *āpā,* son (vulgar); (*ātma-*).
āpon, own, (*atmanaḥ-*).
-p-; > M.I.A. *-pp-*; *pipārā,* ant (*pipīlikā*). cf. E. As. *pimparā.*
-pp-; *pipali,* medicinal herb, (*pippalī-*).
-pr-; *bāpā,* father, (*vapra-*).
dip-lip, shining, beautiful, (*dipra*+**lipra*).
chip, angling rod, (*kṣipra*).
-mp-; *sts. kāpani,* shivering, (*kampana-*).
-mpr-; *khõpā,* hair done into a knot, (Vedic. *kṣumpra*).
-rp-; *kapāh,* cotton, (*karpāsa*).
cāpar, blow with the palm, (*carpaṭà*).
sāp, snake, (*sarpa*).
-lp-; *śipinī,* a woman knowing needle work, (*śilpinī-*).
-ṣp-; *bhãp,* steam (*bāṣpa* > **bappha,* **bhappa,* > **bhampa* > *bhãp*).
By final de-aspiration.
sts. śipā, root, (*śiphā*).
sts. sep. phlegm, (M.I.A. *sepha*).

The sources of *PH.*

451. Initially *ph-* comes from

O.I.A. *ph-*; e.g.
phalā, a slate, (*phalaka-*).
pheruẁā, a fox, (*pherava-*).

phãki, artifice, (*phakkikā*).

phāŋg, pretext, pretence (?**phaŋga*, **phagga*, *phalg-* cf. *phalgu*).

sts. phàr, shield, (*phara*).

phantā, sandal, (? **phanitra*, √*phan*, to move about). cf. also, *phānaṭi*.

phẽhu, the first milk of a milch animal, cf. H. *phenus* (√*phaṇ* : *phāṇayati*, to skim off the surface of a fluid, cf. *pheṇa*).

phopolā, hollow, (onom. *phapha*+).

phike, swells, (*sphīta-* > *phīa*+*kka*. Cf. *jike*, wins. < *jita*+*ka*).

O.I.A. *p-* ; *pr-* (by aspiration).

phẽcā, owl, (**peñcaa*, **peccaa*, *pecaka*).

phichā, tail of a fish, (*piccha-*).

phariŋg, grass-hopper, (M.I.A. *phaḍiŋga*, *pataŋga*).

phalikār, clear, (*pariṣkāra*, contam. with Persian. *pharsā*).

phàṇi, comb, (*phaṇā-*).

phor, slightly stitching together (*prota*, stitched).

phãhiyā, cut up into thin splits ; (M.I.A. *phaṁsa* : *sparśa*).

sp- ; *sph-* > M.I.A. *ph-* ;

phànde, trembles, (*spandate*).

phorā, boil, (*sphoṭaka-*).

phure, walks, (*sphurati*).

phãh, noose, (**spāśa* T.).

phāik, much, abundance, (*sphāti-*).

phiriŋgaṭi, spark, (*sphulinga*+*vṛtta-*, T.).

By unvoicing, *phiŋgā*, a bird, (late Skt. *phiŋgaka* < *bhṛŋga-*).

452. In the interior of words, *-ph-* comes from

O.I.A. *-mph-*; e.g. *gõph*, moustache, (*gumpha*).

lāph, jumping, (*lampha*).

-tsp- ; *-tsph-* > M.I.A. *-pph-* ; e.g.

ophànd, to swell, (*ut*+√*spand*).

ophàr, to bound off, (*ut*+√*sphar*).

-sph- ; *āphāle,* dashes, (*ā-sphālayati*).
By medial aspiration,
sāphurā, a casket, (*sampūṭa-*).

The sources of *B.*

453. Initially, *b-* comes from

O.I.A. *b-* ; *sts. bagali,* a crane, (*baka-*).
barahi, fishing hook, (*baḍiśa-*).
bāndhà, friend, (*bāndhava*).
br- ; *bāmuṇ,* a Brahmin, (*brāhmaṇa*).
bole, says, (M.I.A. *bollài,* extension of O.I.A. √*brū*).
v- ; *bāmi,* a fish, (*varmi-*)
bihā, a bundle of twenty, (M.I.A. *vīsā* ; *viṁśati*).
buk, chest, (*vṛkkā-*).
banti, a light, lamp, (*vartikā*).
bā̃rī, a widow, (*vaṇḍā* > **vaṇḍikā*).
baraṭi, a leathern strap, (*varatrā*).
baẹi, drain, (*vahi*).
bāhī, stale, insipid, (cf. M.I.A. *vāsia* ; O.I.A. *vāsita*).
vy- ; *bāgh,* tiger, (*vyāghra*).
beõ, measure, (*vyāma*).
behā, business, (*vyavasāya*).
dv- ; *bārà,* twelve, (*dvādaśa*).
bāiś, twenty-two, (*dvāviṁśati*).
By voicing, *bõkā,* mud, (*paŋka* > M.I.A. *-vaŋka*).
By de-aspirtaion from *-bh-* :
baẹināi, sister's husband, (**bhaginikā*+*pati*).

454. In the interior of words, *-b-* represents :

O.I.A. *-ḍv-* > M.I.A. *-bb-* :
(Lw) *chābbiś,* twenty-six, (*ṣaḍviṁśati*).
-rb- ;*dubalā,* weak, (*durbala-*).
bābari, a grain, (*barbaṭī-*).
-rv- ; *pāb,* the part between two joints, (*parva-*).
khābaṭā, dwarfish, (*kharva-*).
cobā, chewing, (*carva-*).
ḍāb, the handle of a knife, (*darva*).
dubàri, bent-grass, (*dūrvā*+).

-rbh-; *gāb*, pregnancy, (*garbha*).

dābcā, grass, (*darbha*+-).

By de-aspiration from *-bh-*;

hābiyāh, hābilāṣ, longing, (*abhilāṣa*); *-h-* being prothetic, for elision of *-l-*, see (§ 485).

For *-b* in verbal nouns like *khāba*, eating; *karibà*, doing etc. see under "Semi-Vowels" (§§ 476, 477).

The sources of *BH.*

455. Initial *bh-* comes from

O.I.A. *bh-*; *sts. bhàŋg*, defeat, (*bhaŋga*).

bhāgàr, fatigue, (*bhagna*+*ṭa*).

bhurukā, a small earthen vessel, (cf. √*bhuṇḍ*, to support).

bharak, threat, vain boast. Cf. Bg. *bharaŋ*, a trumpet, (**bhaḍakka, bhaṭa*, a soldier).

bhẽṭā, dam, enclosure, (*bhitta*, a wall).

bhebuiyā, struck with fear; amazed, (*bhetavya-*).

bhel, a raft, (*bhelaka*).

bhãj, a bend (*bhañja*).

bhacahu, simple, idiotic (M.I.A. *bhassa-*; *bhasma-*) *-c-* shewing it is a loan-word. Cf. N. *bhasāri.*

b-, *v-* } (by aspiration, spontaneous and transferred) :

bhusi, chaff, (*busa-*).

bhoke, barks, (M.I.A. *bhukkai*, cf. *bukkati*).

bhãp, steam, (*bāṣpa*).

sts. bheś, disguise, dress, (*veśa*).

bhaĩrā, a medicinal plant, (*vaheṭaka*).

bhābari, sweepings, (*babhra-* cf. *babhru*, a sweeper).

bhy-; (by dropping initial vowel).

bhitàr, interior, (*abhyantara*).

bhij, be drenched, (√*abhyañj*).

bhr-; *bhomorā*, black-bee, (*bhramara*).

bhāi, brother, (*bhrātṛ-*).

bhāj, to fry, (√*bhrasj*).

m- (with *-h-* following, by transposition).

bhellā, abundant, (**mhilla* < **mihalla* < **misalla* < *miśra*+*la*).

456. Medially and finally, *-bh-* is from

O.I.A. *rdhva-* : √*ubh*, to erect, (*ubbhaa, ūrdhva-*).

-rbh- ; *gābhinī*, pregnant, (*garbhinī-*).

gābharu, youthful as a girl, (*garbha+rūpa*).

-hv- ; > *-vha-*, *-bha-*, intervocally *-bbh-* (Pischel § 332).

jibhā, tongue, (*jīhvā-*).

bibhol, confused, (*bihvala-*).

E. As. *bibhā*, marriage, is an example of aspiration through transposition of *-h-*, from a form like **bibāha*= *vivāha* (O.D.B.L. § 238).

O.I.A. *vivāha*, yields As. *biyā*.

Amongst common words of *deśī* origin, are the following :—

bheṭi, bribe, reward (D. *bhitta*, reward).

bhale, is warped, distorted by heat, (*Cf.* D. *bhalanta*).

bhul, mistake, (M.I.A. *bhulla*).

bhõtā, bhõdā, bholā, simple, straight-forward ; seem all to be connected with the radical of M.I.A. *bhola*, straight-forward.

THE NASALS : Mod. As. (ŋ, *n*, *m*).

457. All the five class-nasals of Sanskrit are retained in Assamese orthography but in point of articulation they have reduced themselves to three only. O.I.A. and M.I.A. *anusvāra* has disappeared in Assamese or has resulted in a mere nasalisation (§§ 292ff). In *tss* and *stss*, Sanskrit *anusvāra* figures, but it has a ŋ pronunciation now. This is seen clearly when a Sanskrit word with interior *anusvāra* undergoes anaptyxis e.g. Skt. *māṁsa* > M.I.A. *maṁsa* > As. *sts*. *maŋāh* ; *vaṁśa* > *vaṁsa* > As. *sts*. > *baŋah* ; *aṁśī* > *aṁsī* > As. *aŋahī*.

It would thus appear that the *anusvāra* has developed the ŋ pronunciation in Assamese.

458. (ŋ, *ñ*) : these two nasals occurred only before their corresponding class consonants in O.I.A. In M.I.A. *ñ* occurs initially, and *ññ* intervocally as a result of the simplification of consonant groups with nasals ; e.g. Pāli. *ñāna*. (*jñāna*); *aññā* (*anya*) ; but ŋ does not occur initially, neither are *-ñ-*, *-ŋ-* and *-ŋŋ-* found intervocally.

459. In modern Assamese ŋ is met with in intervocal and final positions only: it is derived from M.I.A. *-ŋg* and is written intervocally as *-ŋg-*, *-ŋ-*, and finally as *-ŋg*, *-ŋ*, *-ṅ*.

460. In certain dialectical areas in Kāmrūp, *ŋ* is pronounced as a bi-labial semi-vowel *~w*; e.g. *ṭeŋā*, acid, is pronounced as *te~wā*; and conversely in other dialectical areas in Kāmrūp *-~w-* is pronounced as *-ŋ-* e.g. *āŋà*, immature, St. coll. *ewā̃* (*āma-*); *taŋāl*, bamboo withe, St. coll. *tāwāl* (*tamāla-*); *āŋhī*, night of the first moon; St. coll. *āũsī*, *āũhī*, (*amā+vāsī-*); *jaŋli*, yoke, St. coll. *juwāli* (*yuga+la-*).

461. It does not appear that ŋ is used for the *-~w-* sound in the standard colloquial, nor is *ŋ* for *-~w-* met with in early Assamese. In E. As. *udaŋā̃* unrestrained, free, is written for *uddama*. In Bengali Ś.K.K. (pp. 81, 142) *udāõ* occurs for *uddāma*. In modern Assamese, however, *udaṅ* occurs for *uddama*. This must be regarded as a dialectical borrowing from Kāmrūp where we have *ŋ* for *-m-* (*> ~ w-*).

462. O.I.A. single intervocal *-m-* (*>* M.I.A. *-~w-*) is reduced to nasalisation with or without a glide element in Assamese, e.g.

√ācõ, to wash after eating, (*ā+√cam*).
ā̃hīyā, having the smell of flesh, (*āmiṣa-*).
āũsī, the night of new moon, (*amā+vāsī-*).
calõ, I move, (*calāmi, calami, *cala~w, *calaũ*).
gāõ, village, (*grāma*).
jāõ, overburnt brick, (*jhāma, kṣāma-*).
gosāi, a vaiṣṇava *guru*, (*gosvāmin*).
bhūyā̃, a landlord, (*bhūmi-*).
seõtā, parting of hair (*sīmanta-*). (see also § 296; Treatment of intervocal *-m-*).

463. The reverse process of nasalising spontaneously a *-w-* sound either original (i.e. *<* *-v-* in Skt.) or derived (e.g. from *-p-* of O.I.A. or from elision of O.I.A. *-h-*) is also found in *tbhs*; e.g.

ãr, screen, (*apaṭī*).
chã, shadow, (*chāyā*, **chāw* ; Kampi *chãw*).
kãi, the dry stalk of jute plant devoid of bark (**kāyika*, *kāya*, the trunk of a tree).
kũwā, a well, (*kūpa-*).
teũr, falling sickness. Hindī. *tewar*.

464. There are also instances of modern Assamese *-m-*, from M.I.A. sound groups like *-mb-*, *-mm-*, *-mh-*, being pronounced as $\sim w$- (also $\sim y$, $\sim i$ after a palatal front vowel). e.g.

chẽi, pod as of a bean, (*śimbikā*).
ãwar, *āwari*, falling sickness, (*apasmāra-*).
jowã, cast seeds in a nursery, den. √from *janma*.
śãr, a kind of deer, (*śambara*).

The *ñ* sound in Assamese.

465. *ñ* denoted the sound of the nasalised palatal glide $\sim y$ in early and middle Assamese. It was also often used for -$\sim w$- e.g.

gohãñi (*gosvāmin*).
bhuñã, (*bhūmi-*).
mañi, I,
tãñi, she.
kuñari, princess, (*kumārī-*).
jãño, I go (*yāmi*).
gãño, (*grāma-*).

From the use of *ñ* to denote both the nasalised -$\sim y$- and -$\sim w$- glides, it would seem that it was a mere spelling device to denote the nasalised glide sounds.

466. The use of *ñ* has dropped out of modern Assamese, but it is retained in a few *tbh.* words e.g. *keña-* in *keña-āŋguli*, the little finger ; *keñā-ban*, a kind of herb ; *keñā-kaṭhāl*, a kind of fruit. In all this *keñā* is derived from O.I.A. *kanya-*, the smallest : (cf. also *kanyasā*, the little finger, *kanyā*, the name of a tuberous plant). *kanya-* > M.I.A. (Mg.) **kañña-*. It occurs also in As. words like *hañ*, *hañerā* (§ 606) used by

women to address equals. It is also found in *ts. yācñā* (pronounced *jācñā*).

467. Cerebral (*ṇ*) sound is absent in Assamese but the letter for *ṇ* is fully used in Assamese orthography. In *tbh* words, (*ṇ*) has been put in with an eye to the spelling obtaining in the *ts.* prototypes; cf. *kāṇ*, ear (*karṇa-*) *soṇ*, gold, (*saṷvarṇa-*); *loṇ*, salt, (*lavaṇa*); (*ṇ*) occurs in *rāṇī*, queen, (*rājñī*) because of the presence of a preceding *r*. This is due to mistaken analogy with Skt formations.

Dental (*n*) has become an alveolar sound in Assamese.

The Sources of *N*.

468. Initially *n-* comes from

O.I.A. *n-*: *nāhi*, the hooked point of a cutting instrument (*nāsikā*).
nihāli, blanket, (*nīśāra-*).
nihàni, boiled rice-water, (*nisravana-*).
nichalā, harmless, innocent, (*nis+chala*).
nibokā, taciturn, (*nirvākya*. Cf. *nivāku*, speechless).
nariyā, illness, connected with *na* + √*pārayati*, is unable.

O.I.A. *ny-*: *neõcā*, contempt, (*ni* + *añc*).

l-: *sts. nom*, hair, (*loman*).
nẽj, tail, (*lañja*).
sts. nẽgur, tail, (*lāngula*).
lũra, nũrā, a mass, a ball, (? *luṇḍa-* Cf. *luṇḍikā*).

sn-: *nowā*, bathing, (*snāpa-*).

469. In the interior of words, *-n-* comes from

O.I.A. *-jñ-*: *minati*, supplication (blend between Arabic *minnat* + *vijñapti-*).

O.I.A. *-ṇ-* (cerebral), e.g.
lànī, charming, (*lavaṇa*).
màkhanā, elephant, (*matkuṇa*).
khantek, a moment, (*kṣaṇa*).

-ṇḍ- : *khàn,* piece, (*khaṇḍa*).
-ndh- ; *ān,* the string of a yoke, (*ābandha*).
kāndh, kān, shoulder, (*skandha-*).
-ny- : *ān,* another, (*anya*).
banāy, wanders about aimlessly, (* *vanyāyate*).
bān, flood, (*vanyā*).
sts. jàin, root-cause, (*janya*).
-nn- : *chan,* deserted, (*channa*)
bhin, separated, (*bhinna*).
-rṇ- : *pān,* betel-leaf, (*parṇa*).
cun, lime, (*cūrṇa*).
chātiyan, a tree, (*chatrī-parṇa-*).
-r- : > *-l-* > *-n-* ; *mehun,* a fatty tumour, (*masūrā*).
-l- ; *panaru,* onion, (*palāṇḍū-* > **panaṇḍu-*).
-ṣṇ- : *-sn-* :
jonāk, moon-light, (*jyotsnā-*).
dhun, luxury in dress, decoration, (* *dhūṣṇa,* √ *dhūṣ*).
-hn- : *cin,* sign, (*cihna*).

470. Dialectical pl. suffix *-hān* (§. 636) is from *-santa,* >*-sanda* > *-handa* > **-hanna* > *-hān.* It is a variant of St. coll. *-hãt.* Cf. also dialectal (Kāchār) *ane* for E.As. *hante-*, post-position to express the past conditional (§. 790).

The Kāmrūpī dialect drops the *-n-* so derived, and nasalises the previous vowel ; e.g. *hãĕ* < **hani* < **hane,* < *hande, hante* (§ 789). So also *-màn* in E. As. *je-màn, te-màn* < *-manta.*

The Sources of *M.*

471. Initially *m-* comes from

O.I.A. *m-*: *mǎciyā,* chair, (*mañcikā-*).
maṭh, slow, blunt, (*maṭṭha-*, T.).
miṭe, settles as a quarrel, (*mṛṣṭa-* > *miṭāvai,* T.).
sts. maṭhīyā, a large earthen jar, (*maṭhikā-*).
mālihā, pretext, dissimulation, (*māla-*, deceit).

moche, plasters as the floor of a house, (*mūrchayati*, to cause to thicken, T.).
mehun, a fatty tumour, (*masūrā*, eruption of pustules).
mākai, maize, (*markaka-*).
mr- : *makhā*, multitude, (*mrakṣa-*).
śm- : > M.I.A. *-mh-* : *moch*, moustache, (*śmaśru*).

472. In the interior of words, *-m-* represents
-mb- ; *jāmīr*, a tree, (*jambīra*).
nim, a tree, (*nimba*).
ālam, support, (*ālamba*).
sts. *samal*, wherewithal, (*sambala*).
śimalu, cotton tree, (*śimbala-*).
-mbh- ; *kum*, temple, (*kumbha*).
kuhum, the yellow of an egg, (*kusumbha*).
thām, pillar, (*stambha*).
-mr- ; *ām*, mango, (*ămba, āmra*).
tām, copper, (*tămba, tāmra*).
-rm- : *ghām*, sweat, (*gharma*).
kām, work, (*karma-*).
hāmi, yawning, (*harman-*).
-ṣm- ; *-hm-* > M.I.A. *-mh-* :
um, warmth, (*uṣma-*).
bāmuṇ, a Brahmin, (*brāḥmaṇa*).

473. In future personal affix *-m*, *-im*, for *-b*, *-ib*, (e.g. *jām*, I shall go ; *karim*, I shall do, etc.) there is a change of intervocal *-b-* to *-m-* through an open nasal (~*w*) stage. The forms in E. As. are *-bõ*, *-ibõ*.

There are similar changes in dialectical Bengali and in early Oṛiyā ; Cf. *karimu, karim* ; O. *dekhimi* = *dekhibi*, I shall see (Cf. O.D.B.L., pp. 531, 532).

The Semi-Vowels (*Y* and *V*).

474. Single initial *y-*, *v-*, have both in *tbh*, and *ts.* words acquired the values of *z-* and *b-* in pronunciation. In the case of *y-*, the *z-* sound is often shewn by the letter for *j* (§. 425);

but even when it is not shewn, initial *y-* is always pronounced as *z-* e.g.

yõt (Pron. *zot*), tying rope, (*yoktra*).
yadi (Pron. *zadi*), if; *yam* (Pron. *zàm*), the god of death, (*Yama*).

Dr. Turner reads As. *ũi*, white-ant; *deśī*, *ūā*, Pāli *ūkā* together and connects them all with Skt. *yūkā*, a louse, without the initial consonant (N.D. p. 220 under "*jumro*"). In that case, *ũi* would be the only case in As. which shews the elision of initial *y-*. In this connection non-Aryan Austr. *yui*, fly; Khās. *u wieh*, worm; may be considered. The *deśī* form may not have anything to do with Skt. *yūkā* and may belong to some non-Aryan source.

The letter for *b* is used to indicate the sounds of O.I.A. *v-*, *b-* initially and they are both pronounced as *b-*. Assamese has devised a letter ৱ to indicate the *w-* glide and also to indicate the sound of O.I.A. intervocal *-v-* in *ts.* words. (§. 105).

Except in O.I.A. sound-group *-aya-* which in genuine *tbh.* words becomes *-e-* (Cf. *terà*, thirteen; *trayodaśa*), single intervocal *-y-* does not admit of any separate treatment in Assamese. The letter for *-y-* is pronounced as a glide sound. For varied treatment of *-y-* both original and resultant in contact with other vowels (Cf. §§. 239, b, c; 248).

M.I.A. single intervocal *-v-* representing O.I.A. *-v-* and *-p-*, is softened to *-w-*, and it is then treated as a vowel in contact. It is either absorbed into the previous vowel or remains a mere glide sound. (Cf. §§. 237, 237c, 246, 247, 247a).

475. O.I.A. *-yy-* > M.I.A. **-yy-*, *-jj-* > *-j-* in Assamese; e.g. *pūj*, pus, (**pūyya*, *pūya*), *bhatijā*, brother's son, nephew, (**bhrātrīyya*, *bhrātrīya*). About doubtful cases of M.I.A. (Mg.) *-yy-* > As. *-y-*; (Cf. §. 414).

476. M.I.A. *-vv-* (< O.I.A. *-rv-*; *-vy-*) has a twofold treatment in Assamese according as *-vv-* represents

O.I.A. *-rv-* or *-vy-*. The O.I.A. sound group *-rv-* > M.I.A. * *-bb-* > *-b* in Assamese ; e.g. *ḍāb*, handle of a knife, (*darva*); *pāb*, joint, (*parvan*); *dubari*, bent-grass, (*dūrvā-*); *cobā*, chewing, (*carva-*) ; *sab*, all, (*sarva*) ; *pūb*, east, (*pūrva*).

But M.I.A. *-vv-* representing O.I.A. *-vy-* or doubling of *-v-* becomes *-v-* > *-w-*, and is written and pronounced as a glide; e.g. *siye*, sews, (*sivvai, sīvyati*) · *śowe*, sleeps, (*suvvai*) ; *dhowe*, washes, (*dhuvvai*); *ḍeŏ*, stride, (Cf. *ḍivvai*) .

The two-fold development of O.I.A. *-rv-; -vy-* into *-b-*, and *-v-* seems to have counterparts in early and late M.I.A. (Ap.). Śāstrī lays down that in Pāli *-rv-* > *-bb-* (*Pāli prakāśa*, p. 10) and he quotes *sabba* (*sarva*), *nibbāṇa* (*nirvāṇa*). In late M.I.A. (Ap.) both *-vv-* and *-bb-* are noticeable for O.I.A. *-rv-* ; (Cf. *savva, sabba ; Pkt.-Hindī Dictionary*). As against these, Dr. Bloch has noted *-v-* development of *-rv-* in Marathi (P.L.M. § 155). This difference in treatment may be supposed to point to some dialectical variations in M.I.A. times. As. and Bg. have however *b*-treatment of M.I.A. *-vv-* (< *-rv-*).

477. Conversely, *-vy-* (in O.I.A. *-tavya*) > M.I.A. *-vv-* > As. and Bg. O. Bih. *-b-*, through an earlier * *-bb-* ; whereas Western languages have *-v-*. The change of *-vv-* (*-tavya*) to *-b-* in Eastern dialects is not accounted for.

In *tss.* after consonants *-y* undergoes epenthesis (§. 287a) and *-v* has a *w-* sound. e.g. *svāda* > **swāda* > *sts. sowād.* taste. The *w-* articulation of *-v-* is heard in sounds like *biswāx* (*viśvāsa*) .

Assamese (*ḍ, ḍh, ṛ, ṛh*).

478. The alveolar pronunciation of the cerebral stops has already been referred to. Initially *ḍ, ḍh* are pronounced as *d, dh*. But intervocally " *ḍ, ḍh* have a liquid pronunciation —that of the so-called cerebral *ṛ* in all Indian languages,— Aryan or Dravidian." Assamese, however, has lost the sound of cerebral *ṛ* and no difference is observed in the sounds of *ṛ*

and dental *r*. In spelling also the letter corresponding to the sound of *r* (dental) is used both for *r* and *ṛ*.

The sound of *-ḍh-* > *-ṛh* remains in Assamese.

The Source of *D*.

479. Initially *ḍ-* represents

O.I.A. *ḍ-*; e.g.

ḍalā, a flat bamboo tray, (*ḍalaka-*).
ḍimā, egg, (*ḍimba-*).
ḍeukā, wing, (Cf. M.I.A. √*ḍev*; O.I.A. √*ḍī*, to fly).
ḍekerī, a young woman, (*ḍikkarī*, also *dikkarī*).
ḍol, a rope, (*ḍora*).

O.I.A. *d-*; e.g.

ḍãh, a gnat, (*daṅśa*).

sts. ḍãr, punishment, (*daṇḍa*).
ḍeurī, threshold, (*dehalī*).
ḍubari, *dubari*, bent-grass, (*dūrvā-*).
ḍaṭh, an elephant goad;
also *ḍāṭhā*, stalk, (*daṅṣṭrā*).
ḍar, fear, (*dara*)
ḍāb, the handle of a knife, (*darva*).
ḍāl, H. *ḍār*, a branch, (*daṇḍa*; *deśī*, *ḍāla*).
ḍālim, a pomegranate, (*dāḍimba*).
ḍirāi, in an exaggerated manner. • Cf. E. As. *ḍeṛhi*, exaggeration; (*dṛḍha*; √*dṛh*, to increase).
ḍãke, bites, (*daṅkṣyati*).

dr-; *ḍoŋgā*, a puddle, a canoe made of plantain sheath (M.I.A. *doŋgī*, a small betel-box connected with Skt. *droṇa*, M.I.A. *doṇīa*, a canoe, T.).
ḍãiwar, cloud, (*drāva* + *-ṭa*; Cf. O.I.A. *droṇa*, a cloud).

480. Medially and finally, M.I.A. *-ḍ-* > N.I.A. *-ṛ-*, As. *-r*, comes from

O.I.A. *-ṭ-*; e.g.

kūr, perfume; Cf. *tel-kūr*, (*kūṭa*).
kurmā, relative, (*kuṭumba-*).

kāpor, cloth, (*karpaṭa*).
ciŋgarā, a water-fruit, (*ciŋgaṭa*).
tar, bank, (*taṭa*).
phorā, a boil, (*sphoṭa*).
narā, stubble, (*naṭa-*).
ā̃r, screen, (*apaṭī,* a curtain).

O.I.A. *-ḍ- > -ṛ- > -r-;*
gur, molasses, (*guḍa*).
jurulā, worn-out, (√*juḍ,* to reduce to powder).
nārī, pulse, (*nāḍikā*).
barahi, fish-hook, (*baḍiśa-*).
durā, a tortoise, (*duḍi-*).

-ḍḍ-; e.g. *ure,* flies up, (*uḍḍayate*).
lāru, ball of sweetmeat, (*laḍḍuka*).

-ḍy-; e.g. *jār,* cold, (*jāḍya*).
pere, presses, as oil out of seeds, (*pīḍyate*).

-ḍr-; *or* a kind of flower, (*oḍra*).
bàr, great, (*vaḍra*).
bherā, a ram, (*bheḍra*).

-ṇṭ-: *bāralā,* a bachelor, (*vaṇṭala-* <*-vṛntu* +).

-ṇḍ-: e.g. *kā̃r,* arrow, (*kāṇḍa*).
hā̃ri, a pot, (*bhāṇḍa-*).
erā, castor-oil plant, (*eraṇḍa-*).
gũrā, powder, (*guṇḍa-*).
mũrā, log, trunk, (*muṇḍa,* lopped, shaved, T.).

-ṇḍr-: *pũrā,* sugar-cane of the red variety, (*puṇḍra*).

t- (dental) > *-ṭ-* in M.I.A. > *-ḍ-* > *-ṛ-*;
murā, a wicker-work stool, (*mūta,* a woven basket, T.).
pare, falls, (*patati*).
phor, a stich at long spaces, (*prota*).
āmarā, a kind of sour fruit, (*āmrātaka*).
phàriŋg, a grass hopper, (*pataŋga* > *phaḍiŋga*).

-d-: *paruwā,* a creeping insect, (*pada* > * *paḍa-*).
ural, mortar, (*udūkhala*).

-dd- (dental): e.g. *urā̃h,* a bug, (*uddaṅśa*).

-dr-: e.g. *khurā,* uncle, (*kṣudra* + *tāta*).

-nd-; e.g. *ā̃rāl, ẽrāl,* a tether, (*anda*+*la*).
sārāh, tongs, (*sandaṅśa*).

āriyā, a torch, (Cf. *andikā,* a fire-place).

khāru, bracelet, (D. *khaṇḍua ;* also *khaḍḍua* Cf. Skt. *kanduka*).

-rt- : *gāṛā,* a hole, precipice, (M.I.A. *gaḍḍa, garta*).

-rd- : *kaṛi,* a cowrie, (*kaparda*).

ṭāru, a ladle, (*tardu-* > M.I.A. **taḍḍū-*).

nirāy, weeds off, (*nirdāpayati,* √ *do,* to cut).

māre, kneads, as flour, (*mardati* > *maḍḍai*).

(?)*-ṣṭ-* : > M.I.A. *-ṭṭh* > *-ḍḍ- ;*

berā, fence, enclosure, (*veṣṭa* > M.I.A. *veḍḍa-*).

-ṣṭh- : *hāṛ,* bone, (Skt. *haḍḍa*). Dr. Bloch suggests connection with *asthi-*, p. 425).

The Sources of *ḌH.*

481. Initially *ḍh-* comes from

O.I.A. *ḍh- ;* e.g. *ḍhuki* (in *ḍhuki-powā,* be accessible) (√ *ḍhauk,* M.I.A. *ḍhukkai*).

M.I.A. *ḍh- ; ḍhāle,* pours, moulds, (M.I.A. *ḍhālai,* throws down).

ḍhale, leans, (M.I.A. *ḍhalai,* drops, falls).

O.I.A. *ḍ-* ; *ḍhimā,* a globular mass (? √ *ḍimbh,* to accumulate).

ḍhimā, slow, languid, (*? ḍimbha,* a block-head).

ḍhõrā, a kind of non-poisonous snake, (*ḍuṇḍubha*).

dh- ; (dental),

ḍhāri, a bamboo mat ; *ḍhāl,* a shield, (perhaps connected with √ *dhā,* to hold. cf. *dhāka,* a receptacle, *dhānī,* a seat).

ḍhau, wave, (? *dhava* + *ku ;* √ *dhū,* to shake, tremble).

Bg. and O. *ḍheu*<*dhava-*>**dhaya-*>**ḍhe*+*u* (*-uka*) Cf. *dhunī,* a river.

ḍhelā, pale, (*dhavala* > ** dhayala* > ** ḍhayala*).

ḍhokā, a prop, support, (*dhāka* > M.I.A. ** ḍhakka*).

ḍhukā, to be exhausted, to die (√ *dhukṣ,* to be weary).

ḍhõhe, pulls by force, (*dhṛṣyate*).

ḍhāke, covers, (D. √ *dhaŋk*).

ḍhāṭ, ḍhār (*-kàpàlīyā*), unfortunate, (*dhṛṣṭa*).
ḍhule, swings, oscillates, (an extension of ? √ *dhū,* to shake).
-dhv- ; sts. ḍhāk, rumour, (√ *dhvāṅkṣ,* to sound).
ḍhĕker, Bg. *ḍhĕkur,* sound of belching;
ḍhĕrekàni, thunder; all these seem to be semantically connected with *deśī, dhiṅkka.*

482. Medially and finally *-ḍh-* > *-ṛh-* > often *-r-,* is derived from

O.I.A. *-ṭh- ; paṛhe,* reads, (*paṭhati*).
-ḍh- ; daṛhāi, firmly, (*dṛḍha-*).
-ṇḍ- ; (By aspiration) ; *kũṛh,* deep water, (*kuṇḍa*).
-ṣṭ- ; *-ṣṭh-* ; early M.I.A. *-ṭṭh-*>late M.I.A. *-ḍḍh-* ;
e.g. *kāṛhā,* snatching away, (*kṛṣṭa*).
beṛhā, berā, fence, (*veṣṭa-*).
-ddh- (dental) : *buṛhā,* old, (*vṛddha*).
-rdh- (dental) : *bāṛhani,* broom-stick, (*vardhanikā*).
bāṛhai, carpenter, (*vardhaki*).
āṛhai, two and a half, (less than three by half) (*ardha* + *tṛtīya*).
In the following *-ḍh-* > *ṛh* > *-r-* :
O.I.A. *-ṭh-* ; *pīri,* a section in genealogy, (*pīṭhikā*).
pīrā, a stool, (*pīṭha* +).
-ḍhr- ; *mer,* a ram, (*meḍhra*).
-st- ; seruẇā, (E.As. *seṛhuwā*), too much attached to wife (*seḍḍha-* < *ślista-*, P.).
leruẇā (E.As. *leṛhuwā*), having big lips, (*leṣṭuka* > *leḍḍukka,* P.).
-dh- ; (dental) : *āri,* pledge, deposit, (*ādhi-*, Pischel)

THE LIQUIDS (*r, l*).

483. The liquids are alveolar sounds in Assamese. There is no difference between *r* and *ṛ* in Assamese, both being pronounced as alveolars.

It has been found that there were at least three dialects which as early as the Ṛg.-Veda differed in their treatment of I.E. *r* and *l.* One distinguished *r* and *l,* the second confused them as *r* and the third confused them as *l.* (Wackernagel,

§. 129: Turner: *Gujarātī Phonology*, J.R.A.S., 1921, p. 517). The Prācya or Eastern O.I.A., the source of Māgadhī and the modern Magadhan speeches, was an (*l*) dialect. Sanskrit shews its composite character as a literary language in its (*r*) and (*l*) words occurring side by side (O.D.B.L. §. 291).

Assamese as a Magadhan dialect ought to shew only one sound representing the Māgadhī single liquid (*l*). But Assamese has both *r* and *l* in *tbhs.* There is, however, a greater predominance of the change of *r* to *l* than of *l* to *r* as shewn in the following tables of change.

484. Intervocal *r* is dropped in a few *tbh* and *ts.* words. This is, however, a characteristic of modern Assamese.

kaai, than, for *kari*, a conjunctive participle used in comparison.

ghainī, wife, the mistress of a house. E.As. *gharinī*, * *garhinikā*.

sts. āpaitā, immature (*apariṇata* > **aparinta*).

sts. painat, skilled, (*pariṇata*).

sts. hāitāl, yellow orpiment, also a kind of pigeon, (*haritāla*).

cāiṭā, four; (*cāriṭā*).

erā, castor-oil plant, (*eraṇḍa-*).

485. There is dropping of *l* in *hābiyāh*, longing, < *hābilāṣ*, O.I.A. *abhilāṣa*.

kāi-laai, by to-morrow, for *kāli-laai*.

The sources of *R*.

486. Initially *-r*, comes from

O.I.A. *r-*: *rol.* noise, tumult, (M.I.A. *rol.*; O.I.A. *rava+la*).

sts. rāghā, a big fish, (*rāghava*).

sts. rok, cash-money, (*roka*).

rājahuwā, pertaining to all; common, (*rājya+śa-*).

rāuci, loud scream, (*rāva+tya*).

raraiyā, refreshing, mild, (*rasa+rasika-*).

487. In the interior of words, *-r-* represents O.I.A. *-r-*; *āru*, and, (*apara-, avara-*).

care, grazes, (*carati*).

-l-: *piparā*, ant, (*pipīla+*).

pāri, row, (*pāli-*).

sts. nẽgur, tail, (*lāngula*).

For *-r-* representing M.I.A. interior *-ḍ-* and *-ḍh-*, (cf. §§. 480, 482).

488. In the numerals *bi-r-āci*, eighty-two, (*dvi+aśīti*); *bi-r-ānnabbaị*, ninety-two, (*dvi+navati*); *ni-r-ānnabbaị*, ninety-nine, (*nava+navati*) etc. an euphonic *-r-* intrudes to prevent hiatus.

The Sources of *L.*

489. Initially, *l-* comes from

O.I.A. *l-*: *lagā*, bail, surety, (*lagna+-*).

sts. lakaci, a young bamboo twig, (*laka + tya*).

lāru, a ball of sweetmeat, (*laḍḍu- < ?*).

laguwā, a close attendant, (*lagna-*).

lāl, saliva, (*lālā*).

n-: *laguṇ*, the sacred thread of Brahmins, (*nava+guṇa*).

lāi, indulgence, (*nātha, * nāthikā*, help, refuge).

làỵ, nature, conduct, E.As. *naỵà*, (*naya*).

r-; *lāi*, a vegetable like black mustard, (*rāị̈ikā*).

lechāri, a long row or line, (*rathyā-*).

leju, rope, (*rajju*).

Of *deśī* origin are *lād, ladā*, ordure voided by animals, (D. *laddī*).

liṭikāi, an obsequious follower (D. *liṭṭia*, flattery).

490. In the interior of words, *-l-* comes from O.I.A. *-ṭ-*: *ughāle*, uproots, (*udghāṭayati*).

baral, hornet, (*varaṭa*; M.I.A. *varola*).

-ḍ-: *nihal*, fetters, (*nigaḍa*)—with the development of *-h-* glide.

nal, reeds, (*naḍa* : *naṭa*).
kol, lap, (*kroḍa*).
ṣolà, sixteen, (*ṣoḍaśa*).
dālim, pomegranate, (*dāḍimba*).

-d- : (dental), √*màl,* to squeeze, (√*mrad*).
√*omal,* to sport, (*un-*√*mrad*).

-dr- > M.I.A. *-dd-* ; *bhāl,* good, (*bhadra*).
khul-śāl, wife's brother, brother-in-law, (*kṣudra-*+ *śyālaka*).

-rdr- ; *āla-* (*cāul*), unboiled rice, (*ārdra,* **ārdla* > *alla,* T.).

-r- : *hāladhi* ; turmeric, (*hāridra-*).
śalāl, crafty, (*śarala*).
bhãrāl, hoard, (*bhāṇḍāgāra*).
thàliyā, pouch, bag, (*star* +, cf. M.I.A. *jāṇathala-, yānāstara-*).

-rṇ- : *bol,* colour, (? *varṇa*).
ghol, whey, (*ghola* < *ghūrṇa*).
ghuli, stagnant pool of water, (*ghūrṇikā*).
ugul- (*thugul*), restlessness, (*udgūrṇa*).

-rd- : *chāl,* bark, (*challi-* < *chardis*).

-ry- : *pālā,* turn, (*paryāya*).
pāleŋg, couch, (*paryaŋka*).
pālaṭ, turned down, (*paryasta*).

-rh- : *gāli,* abuse, (*garhā-*).
āl, attendance, (*arhā*).

-l- : *śil,* stone, (*śilā*).
lāŋgal, plough, (*lāŋgala*).
ural, mortar, (*udūkhala*).
thālī, a big vessel, (*sthālikā*).

-ly- : *śel,* dart, (*śalya*).
mol, worth, (*mūlya*).
kulā, winnowing fan, (*kulyaka-*).

-ll- : *kerelā,* a vegetable fruit, (*karavella-*).
cilā, kite, (*cillā-*).
kalā, deaf, (*kalla-*).
gāl, cheek, (*galla*).
ulāh, gaiety, (*ullāsa*).

-lv- *bel,* a fruit, (*bilva*).

491. There are instances of interchange between *n* and *l* in initial positions. Instances of change of *l* to *n* are, however, not too many in Assamese. Even the few that occur are found exclusively in the St. coll.

In the Kāmrūpī dialect *n-* forms are rare. This change does not seem to take place in non-initial positions.

The Sibilants.

492. The O.I.A. sibilants have lost their distinctive sounds in Assamese. They are all pronounced as guttural spirants both in initial and medial positions, even though, in medial positions, a soft *kh* sound is heard. The distinction, however, is so slight that their sounds in all positions in a word may be represented by (*x*). Thus *tss. sakala, saru,* are As. *xakal, xaru; tbhs. śikali, śol,* are As. *xikali, xol,* etc.

493. In the compounds in *tss.* the sibilants are pronounced as dental (*s*) ; e.g. *śāstra, kṛṣṇa, duṣṭa,* etc., would be pronounced as *xāstra, krisna, dusta,* etc.

When, however, *r* precedes, the *x-* sound is retained; Cf. *darśana,* pron. *darxan ; harṣa,* pron. *harxa.* When compounded with *-y,* their sound approximates that of *ś ;* Cf. *śiṣya* pron. *xiśya ; śasya* pron. *xaśya.*

494. In *tbh.* words in modern Assamese, the sibilants whether original or resultant from the simplification of consonant groups are generally reduced to (*h*) intervocally and finally, e.g. *sīh,* lead, (*sīsa-*) .

màh, gnat, (*maśa-*)
bih, poison, (*viṣa-*) ; *śāh,* kernel, (*śasya*)
ãhat, a kind of tree, (*aśvattha-*)

This wholesale change of non-initial sibilants to (*h*) belongs to modern times.

In early Assamese, they often appeared as (*s*). Cf. *kaisāni,* when ; Mod. As. *kāhāni; kisa,* why ; Mid. As. *kiha ;* Mod. As. *kiyà.*

śasur, father-in-law ; *śāsu,* mother-in-law, Mod. As. *śahur, śāhu.*

495. In initial positions, the sibilants hardly change to *h*. In the plural affix *-hãt* (*santa*), the change was due to the position of the suffix in early Assamese after numerals and oblique forms of pronouns, which position was an interior one: Cf. *dui-hanta, tini-hanta,* (§. 624).

Thus, it would appear that the original Māgadhī value *ś* of the sibilants is not retained in Assamese. The Assamese change of the non-initial sibilants to *h* seems to be a local phenomenon and does not seem to have any connection with the change of the O.I.A. sibilants to *h* in M.I.A.

496. In a few words the upper-Indian pronunciation of *ṣ* as *kh* has been kept up. In these words *ṣ* appears in spelling where *kh* was phonologically due. Cf. *kāṣ* pron. *kākh,* side, (*kakṣa*). *paṣ* pron. *pakh,* fortnight, (*pakṣa*). In one word *ṣ* appears initially for *kh,* where however, it has now acquired the sound of *x*. Cf. *ṣet-kaparā* pron. *xet-kaparā,* a medicinal herb, (*kṣetra-parpaṭa-*).

As noted above (under Palatals), the only sibilant sound (*s*) in Assamese is represented in spelling by *c, ch ;* and in borrowed words retaining the sibilant sound, it is represented by *c, ch ;* Cf. *camu* for * *samu,* straight, (*sanmukha*) ; *cambhāle* for **sambhāle,* takes care of, (*sambhārayati*) ; *bāic* (also spelt *bāiś*) twenty-two. The change of *ś* to *ch* in words like *chāŏ,* young one, (*śāva-*) ; *chaĕ,* six, (*ṣaṭ-*) is pre-Assamese.

The Sources of *X*.

497. Initially *x-* represents

O.I.A.

ś- ; śol, a fish, (*śakula*).
śewāl, moss, (*śaivāla*).
śà, dead body, (*śava*).
śuŋg, awn of a corn, (*śuŋga*).
śy- ; *śāŏ,* black, (*śyāma*).
śen, hawk, (*śyena*).
śv- ; sts. śetā, pale, (*śveta*).
śàhur, father-in-law, (*śvaśura*).

śr- ; *śāon*, a month, (*śrāvaṇa*).

O.I.A.

s- ; *sewàt*, a pot for draining off water, (*seka* + *pātra*).
samār, second ploughing, (*sambā* + *kāra*).
sā̃ci, the bark of aloe wood used for writing, (*sañca-*).
sāŋgor, yoking together, (*saṁghaṭa*).

sv- : *sts. sowād*, taste, (*svāda*).

sr- : *sõt*, stream, (*srota-*).

śl- : *seruẁā*, attached to wife, (*śliṣṭa* > M.I.A. *seḍḍha*, P.).

The Voiced Glottal Fricative (ɦ).

498. Assamese (ɦ) is a voiced sound as in O.I.A. The initial *h-* of O.I.A. has been generally preserved in Assamese as in other N.I.A. languages. Intervocal (*h*) of O.I.A. is a derived sound, having been weakened from Indo-Iranian *jh*, *'zh* and also partly from *dh*, *bh* (Macdonell, pp. 50 *et. seq* ; O.D.B.L. §. 302). In second M.I.A., single intervocal voiced aspirates except *ḍh* became (*h*) and this (*h*) converged with the O.I.A. (*h*). In early Assamese, this medial (*h*) continued unaltered, but in modern Assamese, this has mostly dropped off.

Except in a few words shewn in the table of consonantal change under (*h*), intervocal (*h*) in Assamese is largely derived from sibilants and their compounds, and this is quite a modern phenomenon. The intervocal (*h*) derived from changes of O.I.A. sibilants into M.I.A. (*h*), has been mostly elided.

499. O.I.A. intervocal *-h-* is generally lost in modern Assamese

e.g. *kuwali*, fog, (*kuhelikā*).
bày, flows, (*vahati*).
gà, obduracy, (*graha*).
plural affix *-bor*, (*bahu*+*ṭa*).

500. The retention O.I.A. intervocal *-h-* is noticed in a few instances, when it is followed by another *-h-* sound, generally resultant, one of which is then dropped by haplology. (§. 380).

e.g. *sāh,* boldness, (*sāhasa* > * *sāhaha*)

Cf. *sts.* form *xāhax.*

maharī, a mosquito-curtain, (*maśa* + * *harikā* > **maha* + *hariā*).

lohorā, an iron-vessel, (*lauha-bhāṇḍa-* > **loha-haṇḍa-*).

501. Loss of M.I.A. intervocal *-h-*<

O.I.A. *-kh-* ; *śiyar,* root, (*śikhara*).

-muwā, as the second member of a compound indicating direction, facing, e.g. *ghar-muwā,* facing home, (*-mukha-*).

O.I.A. *-gh ; athāi,* deep, fathomless, (*astāgha-*).

-th- ; *kày,* speaks, (*kathayati*).

E.As. *tày,* there, (*taha, tathā*).

-dh- ; *bau,* (*vadhū-*).

dai, curd, (*dadhi-*).

-ph- ; *śewāli,* a flower plant, (*śephālikā*).

-bh- lay, takes, (*labhate*).

suwāg, affection, good-luck, (*saubhāgya*).

puwā, dawn, (*prabhāta*).

502. M.I.A. *-h-* from O.I.A. sibilants and their conjuncts is lost in modern Assamese

e.g. *egārà,* eleven, (*ekādaśa*).

bārà, twelve, (*dvādaśa*).

Oblique *tā-* (*tāha, tasya*).

teõ, he, (nom.), (*tehã, teṣām*).

loc. affix. *-hi, hĩ,* (*smin*) > *i, ĩ.*

There are instances also of a M.I.A. *-s-* (*-ś-*) > early Assamese *-h-*, being lost in modern Assamese ; e.g. M.I.A. *aisa- kaisa-, jaisa-* > early Assamese *ehna, kehna, jehna,* > modern Assamese *ene, kene, jene ;* M.I.A. *kissa* (*kiśśa*) why, > E. As. *kisa, kiha,* > modern Assamese *kiyà.*

In *stss.* like *uśāh* (*ut-śvāsa*), *niśāh* (*niḥśvāsa*), the elision of *-ś-* through an intermediate *-h-* stage belongs to the modern period, e.g.

uśāh > **uhāh* > Mod. As. *uwāh.*
niśāh > **nihāh* > Mod. As. *niyāh.*

The Sources of *H.*

503. Initially *h-* comes from

O.I.A. *h-* ; *hāmi,* yawning, (*harman-*).
hắci, sneezing, (*hañji-*).
hiyā, heart, (*hṛdaya-*).
hāt, hand, (*hasta*).
s- ; (dental) : *-hāt,* a pl. suffix, (*-santa*).
bh- : *hay,* is, (*bhavati*).
hắri, a pot, (*bhāṇḍa-*).
By initial aspiration of vowels :—
sts. hābilāṣ, longing, (*abhilāṣa*).
sts. hākul-bikul, flurry, (*ākul* + *vyākul*).
hắr, bone, (*haḍḍa:* ? *asthi*). Cf. Bg. *hắṭu,* a knee, (*aṣṭhīvat*).

504. In the interior of words, *-h-* represents

O.I.A. *-kṣ* ; *lā, lāhā,* lac, (*lākṣā-*).
kahur, rivalry, competition, (*kakṣā-*).
-kh- : *reh,* beauty, (*rekhā*).
-gh- : *lehukā,* flexible, (*laghu*).
-ph- : *śihā,* wick of a lamp, (*śiphā,* contam. with *śikhā-*).
-bh- : *bihān,* day-break, (*vibhāna*).
gahīn, deep, (*gabhī-* Cf. *gabhīra*).
O.I.A. *-ś-* ; *-s-* ; *-ṣ-* :
kāh, cough, (*kāsa*).
sīh, lead, (*sīsa*).
nāhi, the hooked point of cutting instrument, (*nāsikā*).
dhahe, falls off, (*dhvasati*).
śihu, porpoise, (*śiśuka*).
śahā, hare, (*śaśaka*).
màh, gnat, (*maśaka*).

bih, poison, (*viṣa*).
kõh, inner pulp of a fruit, (*koṣa*).

O.I.A. *-ṅś-*, *-ṅs*, *-ṅsy-* > *~h*.
ãh, fibre, (*aṅśu*).
kãh, bell-metal, (*kāṅsya*).
urãh, bug, (*uddaṅśa*).
dãh, gnat, (*daṅśa*).
hãh, goose, (*haṅsa*).

O.I.A. *-rś* ; *sts. ārhi*, pattern, (*adarśikā*).
-rś- : *càh*, tilth (? *carṣ*=√*kṛṣ*).
śīh, ear of corn, (*śīrṣa-*).
-śr- ; *mihali*, mixed, (*miśra* + *la-*).
śāhu, mother-in-law, (* *śvaśrūkā*).
-śv- : *parahi*, day before yesterday, (*paraśvaḥ-*).
-ṣy- ; *mānuh*, *munih*, (*manuṣya*).
dhõhe, draws out in a disorderly manner, (*dhṛṣyate*).
-sm- ; *pāhare*, forgets, (*prasmarati*).
-sy- ; *elāh*, laziness, (*ālasya*).
śāh, kernel, (*śasya*).
-sv- ; *gohãi*, (*gosvāmin-*).
-sr- ; *nihani*, boiled rice-water, (*nisravana-*).

PART II.

MORPHOLOGY

CHAPTER XII.

THE FORMATIVE AFFIXES.

505. Barring dialectical variations, the formative affixes of Assamese fall almost in a line with those of Western Bihārī and Bengali as discussed by Drs. Hoernle and Chatterji. Hoernle's division of the affixes into pleonastic and derivative has been avoided here as the same affix has often a pleonastic and a derivative function. In Assamese there are some new formatives which have been marked out as being specifically Assamese under respective headings. They are often made up of whole words which might have served as second members of compounds in O.I.A. By frequency of employment in an entire category of words, they have acquired the value of derivatives in Assamese.

The derivatives have been presented in a rough alphabetical order.

Only the *tbh.* suffixes have been considered with the exception of *sts.* *-talī* (§. 570), which has been included because of its invariable uses after words indicating grains, to denote fields where they are cultivated.

(1)

506. *-a-* ;

This represents the primary affixes of O.I.A. masculine, feminine and neuter nouns in *-aḥ* ; *-ā* ; and *-as* and *-am*, respectively ; e.g. *gacha*, tree, (*gacchaḥ*) ; *reha*, posture ; (*rekhā*) ; *mana*, mind, (*manas*) ; *dhana*, wealth ; (*dhanam*).

This represents also the simple verbal roots used as abstract nouns ; e.g. *ḍāra*, punishment, *pàka*, maturity. In *màra śrī*, ominous prosperity, *màra* has an adjectival sense.

(2)

507. *-à* ;

It is derived from O.I.A. and M.I.A. sound groups *-aṿà*, *-àhà* ; e.g. *pàlà*, a bamboo basket for catching fish.

(*palava* > *palaẇà*).
pārà, pigeon, (*pārāvata*).
gādhà, ass, (*gardabha*, *gaddaha*).
kāchà, tortoise, (*kacchapa* > *kacchaẇa*).
egārà, eleven, (M.I.A. *sts. egārahà*) etc.

(3)

508. *-àk*;

A secondary affix found in a few words used adjectively; e.g. *budhiyak*, clever, (*buddhi*); *khetiyak*, a cultivator. Cf. *kheti*, cultivation, (*kṣetra-*); *phàndiyak*, tricky; cf. *phandi*, a trick, (*prabandha-*). This affix is derived from O.I.A. *-aka* > M.I.A. *-akka*; the *-y-* in *phandi-y-ak*, etc. being euphonic.

(4)

509. *-õtā*; fem. *-ātī*; (§ 272a). A primary affix forming agentive nouns and adjectives. Derived from M.I.A. Pres. Participial affix *-anta* > *ãta*+*ā* definitive (§ 523) > *-ãtā* > *-õtā*.

karõtā, doer, (√*kàr*), fem. *karātī* (§§ 272a, 272b).
làõtā, receiver, (√*là*), fem. *lawātī*, *lātī*.

So also *khāõtā*, eater; *diõtā*, giver; *dhõtā*, washer; *śunõtā*, hearer etc.

In Early Assamese, this affix occurs in the form *-antā*: e.g. *śunantā*; *khāwàntā* etc.

(5)

510. *-ati*, *-ti*. Forms abstract nouns of action or manner; e.g. *khajuwàti*, itching, (denom. √*khajuwā*).

bharàti, filling up, (As. √*bhàr*).
calàti, currency, (As. √*cal*).
mānti, approval, (As. √*mān.*).
jalàti, brilliance: *ganti*, counting (√*gaṇ*).

pūràti, filling up etc.

Hoernle (§ 325) derives this affix from O.I.A. **āptikā* from the causative affix *-āp*+*-ti*+pleon. *-kā*. Dr. Chatterji derives it (O.D.B.L. § 398) from the Pres. participle in *anta* +

abstract -ī, -i (§ 544). Hoernle's derivation which is phonetically untenable does not suggest the adjectival senses in which words formed by this affix are often used; e.g. *calàti kathā*, current words; *bāṛhàti pānī*, increasing water, etc., which Dr. Chatterji's suggestion about the Pres. participial origin of this affix does; this affix should therefore be affiliated to Pres. participle in *-anta*. The nominal sense is suggested by the abstract *-i-*.

(6)

511. *-ati* (*anti*) ; *-atī*; *-ti*, *-tī*, also *-ta*, *-tā*.

All these form nouns in varied senses and also in the feminine gender, with the feminine *-ī*, *-ā*. Derived from O.I.A. *-vant* plus *-ika*, *-ikā*, *-āka* etc. e.g.

uràt, thigh, (*urū*+*vant*; cf. *aṣṭhī-vant*, knee).
uccat, high, (*ucca*+ -).
tirotā, woman, (*strī*) cf. *tir-māt* (Siripurīā, Purneā).
sarbati-kāl, all times (*sarva*+ -).
bāreti, *bāreoti-kāl*, often times, (*vāra*+*vant*+*ika*).
kṣīratī, a milch cow, (*kṣīra* + *vant-*). Might as well be a *sts.* < *kṣīràvatī*.
sts. nāmatī, a female chorister, (*nāma-* + -).
phulatī, *phulantī*, a woman skilled in embroidery.
lāhatī, a foppish woman, (*lāsa* +).
roìatī, a piece of land prepared for transplantation of seedlings, (*ropa* + *vant* +).
dhāüti, earnest desire, (*dhāva* + -).
hăciyatī, a medicinal herb exciting sneezing, (*hañji* +).
mākhiyatī, a kind of shrub the twigs of which are used to drive flies from the cows.
lājetī, sensitive plant, (*lajjā* + -).
sakhiyatī, a kind of songster bird etc.

In early Assamese this affix occurs both as *-ati*, and *-anti*, e.g. *mitrawati*, friendship, (*mitra*), *samayanti*, agreement (*samaya*). In modern Assamese, *-anti-* is preserved in *āṭanti-* (in *āṭantiyār*, one having enough and to spare) < *aṭṭa*, excess + *vant-*. Early As. preserves one example of the change of *-vant* to *wàt*: e.g. *mūrchiterà wàte*, like one in fits (§ 699).

(7)

512. *-atīyā* ; *-atiyār, -atiyāl.*

These are extensions of the previous affix with the addition of Assamese *-īyā, -iyā* + *ra, -iyā* + *la* < O.I.A. *-ika* + *-āka* + *ra, (la)* ; e.g.

ālatīyā, delicate, (*arhā* + *vant-*).
ādhatīyā, half burnt piece of wood, (*ardha* + -).
pūwàtīyā, pūwàti, belonging to the morning, (*prabhāta*).
pakatīyā, a kind of big boil, (*pakva*).
sã̄catīyā, hoarded, (as wealth), (*sañcaya*).
beŋgatīyā, a kind of snake, (*vyaŋga,* a frog).
bānatīyā, a land submerged under water, (*vanyā*).
lāgatīyā, lāgatiyāl, needful, necessary, (*lagna*).
sã̄catiyār, one who hoards.
māchatiyār, a fish-monger : expert in fishing (*matsya*+ *vant-*).

(8)

513. *-atīyā.* A secondary affix forming adjectives in a local sense. It seems to be *specifically Assamese* ; e.g.

āgatīyā, also *āgat,* early, growing early, (*agra*).
śehatīyā, latest, (*śeṣa-*).
mājatīyā, middle, (*madhya-*).
talatīyā, subordinate, (*tala-*).
jākatīyā, living in a flock, cf. As. *jāk,* a flock).
bahatīyā, a land tenant, (*vaśa-*).
belegatīyā, living separately, (*vi* + *lagna*).
bāpatīyā, ancestral, (*vapra-*).

This affix is derived from O.I.A. *-tra* having a locative sense and added chiefly to pronominal stems, but also in some instances to ordinary nouns, e.g. *devatrā, puruṣatrā* etc. (Whitney § 1099, a). *-tra* + *ika* + *ā* (As.).

(9)

514. *-an,* with extensions in (a) *-anā,* (b) *-ani,* (c) *-anī.*

-an. A primary living affix forming abstract verbal nouns and often indicating concrete objects. It is the same as O.I.A. primary suffix *-ana* ; e.g. *khāwan,* eating ; *pīyan,* drinking ;

bhagan, breaking; *gajan*, sprouting, also the vegetable kingdom (all that sprouts).

Similarly *buran*, sinking, also aquatic animals; *uran*, flying, also all that flies in the air; *phalan*, a fruit-bearing (tree); *kāṭan*, sharp (instrument); *gāyan*, a singer; *bāyan*, a player on a musical instrument.

(10)

514a. *-anā*. Extension of *-an* with the addition of definitive *-ā* (< *-āka*) to denote a connected object. In O.I.A. *-ka* is added in this sense; e.g. *krīḍaṇaka*, a toy i.e., something connected with playing. Assamese examples are:

bajanā, a musical instrument.
bindhanā, a boring instrument.
khundanā, a mortar, As. √*khund*.
chepenā, tongs, As. √*chep*, squeeze, press.
chenā, a cutting instrument, As. √*che*.
japanā, a covering, As. √*jāp*, cover.

(11)

515. *-ani*. It was originally feminine in form, being derived from *-ana* + *-ikā* > *-aniā* > *-anī* > *-ani*. It now indicates a diminutive or petty aspect of the action or object. All grammatical connexion with the feminine form is now lost. When the feminine sense is emphasised, the form in *-anī* is used (see below). e.g.

ujani, up-stream, As. √*ujā*.
bujani, instruction, As. √*buj*.
jiraṇi, resting, As. √*jirā*.
juraṇi, a refreshing drug, As. √*jurā*.
pātani, introduction, As. √*pāt*.
nāmani, lower part, As. √*nām*.
nowàni, a ceremonial bathing, √*nowā* (*snāpa-*).
rāndhani, a cook etc.

(12)

515a. *-anī*. The same as above. The feminine form is preserved though the feminine sense is lost. Like *-anā* discussed above, *-anī* also denotes a connected object; e.g.

jānanī, advertisement. √*jān*.
bāṛhanī, broom-stick, cf. O.I.A. *vardhanikā*.
dharanī, a support.
nācanī, a spindle.
ḍhākanī, the lid of a box.
mathanī, a churning stick.
kāṛhanī, a ladle.

The definitely feminine sense is often suggested when the connected object happens to be a female; eg.

rāndhanī, a female cook.
rowānī, a female sower. (√*ro*, *ropa-*).
dāwānī, a female reaper, (√*dā*, *dāpa-*).
bāṛhanī, a woman who arranges dishes, (√*bāṛh.*))
śuwanī, a beautiful woman.

When, however, reference is to be made to the connected person in general terms, without any implication of gender, the form in *-ani* is, employed; e.g. *rāndhani*, *dāwani*, *bāṛhani śuwani*, etc.

In this affix seems to be merged also causal verbal noun affix in *-awanī* < *-āwanī* (preserved in a few E. As. loan words); e.g. *śuwanī*, a beautiful woman, E.As. *śuhāwanī* < O.I.A. **śobhāpanikā*; *pakanī* < **pakawanī* < **pakāwanī* < * *pakāpanikā*; that which suppurates. The shortening of *-ā-* to *-a-*, in *-awani* is due to strong initial stress.

(13)

516. *-ani*. A secondary affix indicating "localities abounding with." It is derived from O.I.A. *vanikā*, a grove, a forest,>**vaniā*, **vanī*,>**vani*, >*-ani* (*Specifically Assamese*); e.g.

phulani, a flower-garden, (*phulla* + *vanikā*).
dhānani, a paddy-field, (*dhānya* + *vanikā*).
āmani, a mango-grove, (*āmra* + –).
māhani, a pulse-field, (*māṣa* + –).
banani, a wilderness, (*vana* + –).
narāni, a stubble-field, (*naṭa* > *naḍa*, *naṛa*, *nara* + *-ā* definitive, + *-ani*.)
śākani, a vegetable-garden (*śāka* + –).

cuwā-pātani, a place where leaves out of which food is taken are thrown, (*cyuta* + *-āka* + *patra* + *-vanikā*).
caparāni, a field full of clods, (*carpaṭa* + -).
bariyani, a hard and fallow land, (*vaṭikā*>* *vaḍiā*, * *vaṛī*, *vari* + *-ani*), etc.

(14)

517. *-anīyā* (< *-aniyā*) with extension in (a), *-aniyār*.

A secondary affix forming adjectives indicating both persons and objects connected with the action of the verb. A compound affix made up of the verbal noun derivative in *-an* + *-īyā*, adjectival, (E. As. *-iyā*), e.g.

maganīyā, a beggar; also things obtained by begging, (√ *māg*).
bilanīyā, a distributer: also things to be distributed. (√ *bilā*).
joganīyā, a supplier: things to be supplied, (√*jogā*).
jīẏanīyā, kept alive as fish.
sā̃canīyā, one who hoards; things hoarded.
laganīyā, a tale-bearer; things spoken behind one's back, (√*lagā*).
khojanīyā, a beggar: things obtained by begging, (√*khoj*).
cukanīyā, a lease-holder for a term: a piece of land sub-let for a term. Cf. Hindi √ *cukānā*.

(15)

517a. *-aniyār*; < *-an* + *-iyā* + *-āra* < *-kāra*. Forms agentive nouns. e.g.

sts. joganiyār, a supplier.
maganiyār, a beggar.
bhaganiyār, a fugitive, cf. Hindī √ *bhāg*.
bhāŋaniyār, a spendthrift, (*bhaŋga*)
cukaniyār, a lease-holder.
sā̃caniyār, one who hoards.
nācaniyār, a dancer.

This corresponds to Bihārī affix *-anihār*, *-anihārā* (Hoernle §. 318).

(16)

518. *-ari, -arī, -arīyā, -urī.*

A secondary affix forming nouns and adjectives and indicating habit or some sort of connexion. e.g.

taliyari, lying at the bottom, (*tala-*).
dhūliyari, dusty, (*dhūli-*).
lāhari, graceful, (*lāsa-*).
phulari, flowering.
dudari, having a milky juice as ears of corn, (*dugdha-*).
bhālari, friendly, beneficent, (*bhadra-*).
lagarī, a companion.
satīyari, enmity, the feeling of a co-wife, (*sapatnī-* > * *savatti-* > * *satti-*).
dūterī-pāterī, one bearing messages to and fro and arranging matters between two parties.
sts. saṭitārī, a close companion, (*sahita-*).
sayantarī, a close companion, (*samanta-*).
banarī, a woman meeting her lover in some appointed place, (lit. forest).
lagarīyā, samarīyā, a companion.
banarīyā, wild.
sts. bhāgarīyā, a share-holder.

This affix is related to O.I.A. *-kara-,* -* *karika.* There is an extension of *-arīyā* to *stss. ajātarīyā, bijātarīyā,* degenerate.

(17)

519. *-arīyā* : *-urī.*

A secondary affix added after verbal nouns in the sense of "used to", "skilled in". e.g.

palarīyā, a run-away, (As. √*palā.*).
khāwarīyā, a glutton, (As. √*khā.*)
jujarīyā, pugnacious, (As. √*juj.*).

This affix is connected with late O.I.A. derivative in *-āṭa* (cf. *drohāṭa,* hunter; *varnāṭa,* painter; *dhārāṭa,* cloud filled with rains; *bhāvāṭa,* an actor; *vācāṭa,* talker) > M.I.A. *-āḍa,* > *-āra*; *-āra* + *-īyā,*=*ārīyā* > *-arīyā.* By vowel harmony (*-āra,* > **-ara*) + fem. *-ī,* and abstract *-i* > *-urī, -uri.* e.g.

khā-urī, a voracious woman.
palā-urī, a female run-away.
sāŋguri, work done collectively by neighbours without wages, (*saŋgha-*).

The word *deurī*, a temple-priest, is a compound of *deva* and * *garha* > *ghara* > * *hara*, with *-ī*. The word *nāwarīyā* has been connected with *nau* + *vāṭa* (O.D.B.L. § 440).

(18)

520. *-aruwā*.

This is a parallel formation to *-arīyā* and is an extension of *-āṭa* > *-āṛa-* > *-āra* with Assamese *-uwā*. e. g.

bāṭaruwā, a way-farer, (*vartma-*).
hāṭaruwā, one attending a fair, (*haṭṭa-*).
bikaruwā, articles meant for sale, (*vikraya-*).
ādharuwā, half-finished, (*ardha-*).

In *beheruwā*, a tradesman, the *-r-* belongs to the root-word itself, being derived from *vyavahāra*, trade. So also in *sts. beperuwā* connected with *vyāpāra*.

(19)

521. *-àŋ* and extension in (a) *-àŋā*; (b) *-āŋg*, (*seems specifically Assamese*).

These form a group of pleonastic affixes, the last two often betraying an adjectival sense when used with nouns. There seems to be convergence of O.I.A. *aŋga*, a subordinate, a non-essential part, and probably *deśi* formatives like *-ŋka*, *-ŋga*, (*kuṭa*, *kuṭaŋka*, *kuṭaŋga*; *vātiga*, *vātiŋga*; etc.); in the evolution of these suffixes, *-aŋga* > *-ŋg*, *-ŋ*, *-āŋg*.

bipāk, *bipāŋ*, an adverse turn.
serekā, *sereŋā*, watery, tasteless.
ḍākur, *ḍeŋur*, fetters.
ṭhokonā, *ṭhoŋonā*, a blow on the cheek.
ṭàkon, *ṭāŋon*, a cudgel.
ṭabhak, *ṭabhaŋ*, stupefaction.
bhelekā, *bheleŋā*, foolish, (O.I.A. *bhela*), etc.
Examples of *-àŋ* final, are;

celàŋ, *celeŋ*, a sheet of cloth thrown round the shoulder, (*cela-*).
màràŋ, pestilence, cf. Bengali, *maṛak* (*mṛta-* > *maḍa-*).
bāilàŋ, confused utterance of a delirious person (*vātulà*, >**vātila*).
bitaŋ, distinct, separate, (*vikta*; √ *vic*).
bāyàŋ, separate, distinct.
khoroŋ, the hole in a tree, (*kroḍa-*).
bhucuŋ, an obsequious follower, (? *bhṛtya-*).

In rare instances, the final *-ama* of O.I.A. is reduced to *-àŋ*. e.g. *udàŋ*, free, uncovered, < O.I.A. *uddama*, free; unrestrained. (§. 461).

(20)

521a. *-àŋā*. An extension of the former with the addition of *-ā*, definitive. e.g.

jalàŋā, *joloŋā*, a hole, a bag, (D. *jholliā*).
holoŋā, a sharp pointed pole, cf. Austr. *halang*, long piece of wood.
haṭaŋā, tall and stiff, (connected with *haḍḍī*, bone).
laṭhàŋā, stout, cf. Hindī. *lāṭh*, a stick.
ṭharaŋā, stiff, cf. Hindī. *ṭhāḍhā*, erect, standing, (*stabdha*).
poloŋā, erect, straight, (*pulaka*).
lahaŋā, luxuriant, (*lāsa*).
jaṭhaŋā, stiff, (*yaṣṭi*).
uruŋā, unsettled, cheerless, cf. As. √ *ur*, to fly; etc.

(21)

522. *-āŋ*. (Connected with above). A secondary affix forming adjectives from nouns, and original adjectives, conveying the sense of English "*ly*" in adjectival formations like '*kindly*' indicating some sort of connexion, "being of the nature of". e.g.

ṭhirāŋ, definite, (*sthira-*).
kharāŋ, severe, hard, (*khara-*).
tarāŋ, shallow, (*taṭa-*).
corāŋ, secret, stealthy, (*caura-*).

(22)

523. *-ā.* Definitive, connective, agentive, pleonastic.

This affix is common to both Bengali and Assamese. Its varied implications have been summarised by Dr. Chatterji as follows. "It indicates definiteness; it implies coarseness or biggishness in the object; it means reference or connexion; it forms agentive adjectives and frequently it is also pleonastic." (O.D.B.L. § 400).

The source of this *-ā* is the O.I.A. *-āka*, found in the adjective stems; (Vedic) *asmāka*, our, and *yuṣmāka*, your (the compound stems being *asma*, *yuṣma*. Whitney, §. 493).

e.g. *kaṇā*, blind, (*kāṇa*); *khorā*, lame, (*khora*) ; *ràṇā* ; red ; (*raṇga*) ;
pārā, section of a village, (*pāṭaka* + *āka*).
narā, stubble, (*naṭa*).
hariṇā, a stag, (*hariṇa*).
kãiṭā, a muzzle, (**kaṇṭika* + *-āka*).
cf. *kãit*, a thorn.
gachā, a lamp-stand, (*gaccha* +).
cf. *gāch*, a tree.
khalā, a site, (*khala*).
paṭā, a slab of stone, (*paṭṭa*).
cf. *pāṭ*, a tablet.

(23)

524. *-ā* ; passive participle and verbal noun affix.

This affix is derived from the O.I.A. affix *-ta*, *-ita* > M.I.A. *-a*, *-ia*, plus the preceding pleonastic affix *-ā*. The following examples illustrate the line of development; *yāta* > *jāa*, + *ā* > **jāā* > **jāẇā* > ** jaẇā*, > *joẇā* (the following *-ẇ-* glide raising the preceding *-à-* to *-o-*.) (Cf. O.D.B.L. §. 401).

The *-i-* (in *-ita*) has been lost. The *-ā-* affix thus obtained was extended to all verbal roots. e.g. *jīyā*, living; √*jī*; *diyā* given, giving √*di*, give; *dhoẇā*, washed, washing √*dho*, wash; etc.

(24)

525. *-ā ;* temporal affix.

Words indicating time like months, days, etc., often take on this affix to indicate the time of an action, e.g.

si-dinā, on that day.
bhāṭi belā, in the afternoon.
bhādà māhā, in the month of Bhādra.
This affix is found also in E.As. e.g.
godhūlikā, in the evening.
ārakā, at another time.
āgrahan māsā, in the month of Agrahāyana.

This *-ā* is not an affix proper but the phonetic variation of O.I.A. genitive case-ending *-asya* > * *-assa* > Mg. *āha* > *-ā-*.

(25)

526. *-āi ;* **-ai* > *-ai̯.*

This forms abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives. It may be connected with O.I.A. *-tāti* > M.I.A. * *-tāi,* > *-āi.* Dr. Chatterji traces it to the O.I.A. causative affix *-āp-ikā* > *-āviā, -āvia, -āwī, -āī* > *-āi* (O.D.B.L. §. 402). While this derivation may be true of the verbal noun affix *-āi,* which is absent in Assamese, the abstract *-āi* seems obviously to go back to O.I.A. *-tāti.* e.g.

munișāi, manliness, (E. As. *munișa* < *manuṣya*).
barāi, greatness, cf. *bar,* great, (*vaḍra*).
ṭāi, exaggeration, (*tāya-*).
karāi, parched rice, cf. O.I.A. √ *kaḍḍ,* to be hard.
ālāi, ālai̯, misfortune, (*āla*).
bilāi, bilai̯, mishap.
bojāi, weight, (*vahya*).
miṭhāi, miṭhai̯, sweetness, sweetmeat, (*miṣṭa*).
goṭāi- in *goṭāi-bor,* all, (*gotra-*).
āṭāi in *āṭāi-bor,* all, (*aṭṭa,* excess), etc.

This affix corresponds to Bihārī *-āi,* H. *-ai.* Hoernle's derivation from *-tā* + *ikā* > *-tāiā* > *-āi* seems hardly convincing.

(26)

527. *-āi* ; **-ai* > *-a̲i*. A pleonastic affix added to nouns of relationship to express endearment. This suffix is the same as Bengali diminutive *-āi* (O. D.B.L. § 403) connected with O.I.A. *-āka*+*-ika-*, which corresponds also to Assamese *-a̲i* (*-aka*+*ika*).

Examples of *-āi* (shewing relationship).

bopāi, my father, (*vapra* > *vappa* + *āi*).

sts. momāi, my maternal uncle, (*māma*).

tāẇa̲i, my father's equal (*tāta* > *tāẇa* + *āi* > *ài*) cf. O.I.A. *tātagu*.

ātāi, *āta̲i*, father, also a venerable person, (*ātma-*).

āma̲i, my mother's equal, (*ambā* > **ammā* > *āma* + *āi*, *-ài*).

jeṭhīya̲i, husband's elder sister, (*jyeṣṭhikā* + *-*).

It is often extended to proper names of persons to shew affection or close intimacy or contempt. e.g.

Nadāi for *Nanda* ; *Bhadāi* (*Bhadra*).

(27)

528. *-āit* : **-ài̇t*, > *-a̲it*.

A denominative base with an active participial sense. O.I.A. denom. *āya* + (*y*)*itra*(*ka*) > M.I.A. *-āa-* + *itta*. In M.I.A., *-itta* is used both as a secondary and a primary affix. For its use as a primary affix after causative and denominative roots (cf. Pischel § 600).

Dr. Chatterji derives *-āit* from O.I.A. *-āp* + *ant-* ; *-āy-* + *ant-* > M.I.A. *-āvant-*, *āant-* > *aẏ/want-* > *-āit* (O.D.B.L. § 404). But the connection of *-āit* with M.I.A. *-ā̤*+*-itta*, is phonetically more correct. (As. to *-ant-*, cf. § 509).

Examples : —

aghāit, a wicked person, (**aghāyitra-ka*, cf. *agha*, sin).

gabhāit, a secret abettor. (**garbhāyitra*, cf. *garbha*).

So also, *ḍakāit*, a robber.

sebāit, a temple-priest, (**sevāitra-*).

pañcā-it, an assembly of five or more.
pākaiit, expert, skilled in, (*pakva-*).

The examples of this affix are not many in Assamese. Dr. Chatterji connects *poātī* (Assamese. *poẇātī*), a pregnant woman, recent mother, with **poā-itī* (cf. M.I.A. *-ittiā*) ; the reconstructed forms being **potā-yitrikā* > M.I.A. **poāittiā* > **poāitī, poā (i) tī, poẇāṭī.*

This suffix corresponds to Bihārī *-āit* (Hoernle. § 237).

(28)

529. *-ān* : with extensions ; (a) *-*āni* > *-ani*, (b) **-ānīyā* > *-anīyā.*

This affix obtains only in a few borrowed words from Bengali. It is not a purely Assamese formative. It has been traced to O.I.A. causative and denominative verbal noun in *-āp-ana*>M.I.A. *-āẇ/ẏaṇa*> *-āẇ/ẏana,*>*-āna, -ān* ; e.g.

sts. jogān, act of supplying, (*yoga*).
cālān, sending forward, (**calāpana*).

(29)

529a. **-āni*>*-ani*=*ān*+abstract or adjective *-i* (*-ikā*).
telāni, act of adding condiments to a curry, (**taiilā-pana-*+*ikā*).
hātani, constantly handled, as a hand bag, (**hàstāpana-*).

(30)

529b. **-ānīyā*>*-anīyā*, denominative verbal noun in *-ān*+ adj. *-īyā*. e.g. *muganīyā*, bright (of the colour of *Mugā*-silk).
sts. śākanīyā, green (of the colour of vegetables), (*śāka*).
mājanīyā, middle, (*madhya*).

The affix *-ān* has often a concrete sense, e.g.

patān, chaff : blasted rice, (**patrāya-*).
śukān, dry, (**śuṣkāya-*).
bajān, a castrated heifer, (**vandhyāya-*).

(31)

530. *-ām* : with extension.

This affix is the same as Bengali *-ām* with extensions. It has been traced to O.I.A. *karma* > *kamma* > *-kāma* > *-āma*, *-ām*. (O.D.B.L. § 411) e.g.

phulām, flower-embroidered, (*phulla*+*karma*).
kāṭhām, pedestal of an image, (*kāṣṭha* + *karma*).
jāṭhām, high land never submerged under water.

(32)

531. *-ār ; -ārī.*

Form nouns of agency indicating profession. Derived from O.IA. *kāra* ; *kāra* + *-ika*. e.g.

kãhār, a worker in bell-metal, (*kāṅsya* + *kāra*).
kumār, a potter, (*kumbhakāra*).
cámār, a shoe-maker, (*carma* +).
soṇārī, goldsmith, (*saṷvarṇa* + *kārika*).
juwārī, a gambler (*dyūta* + *kārika*).
E. As. *baṇijār*, a merchant, (*vāṇijya* +).
jujār, a fighter, cf. *juj*, a fight. etc.

(33)

532. *-ārī* (*-ālī*). Occurs only in a few words. Derived from *āgāra* + *ika*. e.g.

kāṇḍārī, helmsman, (*kāṇḍāgāra* + *ika*)
bhãrālī, store-keeper, (*bhāṇḍāgāra* + *-ika*).

(34)

533. *-ārī*. Occurs in a few words. Derived from pleonastic *-ākāra* + *-ikā*. e.g.

jīyārī, daughter, (*duhitā*, > M.I.A. *dhītā* > *jhīyā*).
bowārī, daughter-in-law, connected with late Skt.
vyavahārikā, a female slave, > M.I.A. **vavahāriā* > Mid. Beng. *baṷhārī* (cf. E. Bg. *bahārī*) > (*boẇārī*).
Cf. late Skt. *kuṭṭi-hārikā*, a maid-servant.

(35)

534. *-āru*. A primary affix forming nouns of agency implying habit or proficiency in doing a thing. Derived from

O.I.A. *-āru* + *-uka* > *-āru* + *-ua* > *-ārū* (as in Hindī) > *āru*. e.g.

jujāru, a fighter, one proficient in fighting (√*juj*).
likhāru, a writer; (√*likh*).
śikāru, a learner; (√*śik*).
sodhāru, an enquirer; (√*sodh*).
jikāru, a winner; (√*jik*) etc.

(36)

535. *-āl*, adjectival and pleonastic, with extension in (a) *-āli*, *-ālī*, adjectival and abstract. The source of this affix is O.I.A. *-āla*, meaning "possessing," "pertaining to." e.g.

sts. mukhāl, eloquent, (*mukha*).
nẽjāl, tailed, (*lañja*).
sts. tejāl, energetic, (*teja-*).
sts. rāgiyāl, intoxicating, (*rāga* + *-ika* + *-āla*).
gàpāl, proud, (*garva-* + *darpa-*).
gãrāl, an enclosure for animals, (*gaḍḍa*, < *garta*).
ghariyāl, an alligator, cf. *ghaṇṭika*, an alligator.

(37)

535a. *-āli*, *-ālī*: < *-āla* + *-ika*, *-ikā*.

sts. bhogālī, enjoyable, (*bhoga*).
jonālī, moon-lit, (*jyotsnā*).
soṇalī, golden, (*sauvarṇa*).
āgāli, fore-part, (*agga*, < *agra* -).
kharāli, dry-season, (*khara*).
gorāli, hinder part, (M.I.A. *gŏḍa*, *gŏḍḍa*).
śãkāli, a spear, (*śaṅku*).
sts. puruṣāli, manliness, (*puruṣa*).
sts. caturāli, cleverness, (*catura*).
bejāli, doctorship, (*vaidya*).
ojāli, teachership, (*upādhyāya*) etc.

(38)

536. *-āl*. (*-ẇāl*).

Forms words indicating connexion, trade or profession. Derived from O.I.A. *-pāla*, > *-vāla* > *-āla*, *-āl*. e.g.

goẁāl, guẁāl, cowherd, (*go* + *pāla*).
ghāṭowāl, ferry-man, (*ghaṭṭa* + *pāla*).
rākhoẁāl, a herdsman, (*rakṣā* + *pāla*).
āgowāl, vanguard, (*agra* + -).
guriyāl, rear-guard, cf. As. *guri,* rear, (M.I.A. *gŏḍa*).
cakīyāl, a watchman, cf. H. *caukī,* an out-post. etc.

(39)

537. *-i.* A primary affix forming action and agent nouns and also adjectives. It is the same as O.I.A. *-i,* strengthened by the addition of *-ka* > *-a.* e.g.
māri, a cudgel, (√*mār*).
bāri, a stick, bolt, (cf. Skt. *vāra-*).
pāri, ferrying, (cf. Skt. *pāra*).
màri- (*kàlàŋ*), a dead river named kalàŋ; (As. √*màr*).
uṭhi-rājā, de facto king: (As. √*uṭh*).
bahi-rājā, king de jure: (As. √*bah.*)
gāli, abuse, (cf. *garhā*).
hāhi, smile; (As. √*hāh*).
dābi, reprimand, (cf. *darva*).

(40)

538. *-i;* (a) *-iyā*: pleonastic and diminutive. O.I.A. *-ika-, -ikā* > M.I.A. *-ia, -iā* > *-ī* > *-i* e.g.
culi, hair, (**cuḍikā, cuḍā*).
dāduri, frog, (*dardura* +).
nikāhi, the projection of a roof beyond the wall, (*niṣkāsa*).
parali, covering, (*paṭala*).
nihāli, blanket, (*nīśāra*).
pāhi, meshes, (*pāśa*).
nisani, rice-gruel, (*nisravana*).
ārhi, (<**ārahi*), pattern, (*ādarśa*). etc.

Examples of *-i* < *-ikā.*
dahi, thread at the end of a woven cloth, (*daśā*>**daśikā*).
pūi, a vegetable creeper, (*pūtikā*).
kuẁali, fog, (*kuhelikā*).
gui, iguana, (*godhikā*). etc

Examples of diminutive *-i, -iyā.*

kũhi, a bud: cf. *kõh* (*kośa*).
ṭemi, a small lime-pot: cf. *ṭemā.*
ḍubi, a puddle: cf. *ḍobā.*
māduli, an amulet: cf. *mādal* (*mardala*).
guri, hinder part: cf. *gorā* (M.I.A. *gŏḍḍa*).
cāki, a round bunch of flowers, (*cakra*) etc.

(41)

538a. *-iyā* < *-ika* + *-āka.*

cariyā, a wash-pot, (*car-* (*caru*) + *ika* + *āka*).
caliyā, a thin flat piece of wood or bamboo: cf. *càlā.*
puriyā, a small packet, (*puṭikā* + -).
majiyā, the middle portion of a house: cf. *māj* (*madhya*).
baṭiyā, thread, (*vartikā* + -) etc.

(42)

539. *-iyār.* Forms agentive nouns and adjectives. Derived from O.I.A. *-ika* + *-āka* + *-āra* < *-kāra.*

ādhiyār, half-sharer, (*ardha-*).
sts. bhāgiyār, partner, (*bhāga*).
phandiyār, trickster: cf. *phand,* (*prabandha*).
bắdiyār, one who castrates animals: (M.I.A. **vandhi* **vaddhi,* with spontaneous nasalisation; O.I.A. *vadhri*).
sts. badiyār, an accuser, (*vāda*).
bāgiyār, an artful person: cf. O.I.A. *vāgārū,* faithless person.
dekhaniyār a fair-looking person: cf. *dekhan* seeing.
sts. bhojaniyār, a good eater, (*bhojana*).
sts. bhājaniyār, a worthy person, (*bhājana*).
ṭokaniyār, a club-man: cf. *ṭokan,* a club.
phuṭiyār, clever, (M.I.A. **phuṭṭa, sphuṭa*).
āṭantiyār, a man of sufficient means, (*aṭṭa,* excess + *-vant* + *-iyār*).
E. As. *hātiyār,* an elephant-driver, (*hasti-*) etc.

(43)

540. *-iyāl.* Forms a few adjectives from nouns. Derived from *-iyā,* as above + *-ālu* (M.I.A. *-alla*)

sts. maramiyāl, kind-hearted, (*marma-*).
sāhiyāl, courageous, (*sāhasa-*).
raŋgiyāl, joyous, (*raŋga-*).

(44)

541. *-il*: (a) *-ilā*, (b) *-ili*.

From M.I.A. *-illa,* from O.I.A. pleonastic and adjectival affix *-ila,* forming nouns and adjectives
raŋgil, coloured, (*raŋga*).
gārilā, scooped-out bamboo support for a fence, (*gaṇḍa*).
māhili, monthly, (*māsa*)
kāmilā, active, (*karma-*).

(45)

542. *-il.* Passive participle adjective. From O.I.A. *-(i)ta* + pleon. *-ila* > M.I.A. **iailla* > **-illa, -ila, -il.* e.g.
āṭil, tight, √ *āṭ,* to tighten.
phuṭil, split, √ *phuṭ.*
ga'l, past (time), (*gata* + *-illa* > *gaa* + *illa*).

(46)

543. *-ī.* A secondary affix forming nouns and adjectives.

Three separate affixes seem to converge into this N.I.A. form: (1), *-ī* < *-in; dhanin* > *dhanī,* a rich man; (2), *-īya; deśīyà* > N.I.A. *deśī,* a native; (3), *-ika: kārpāsika* > *kapāhī.* The affix in words indicating native of a place (*Baŋgālī, Nepālī,* etc.) may be traced back to O.I.A. *-ika,* cf. *Āyodhyika,* a native of Ayodhyā. (Cf. O.D.B.L. §. 418). Examples of words in the sense of "things made of":
tāmī, made of copper, (*tāmra*).
pitalī, made of brass, (*pittala*).
kāhī, a plate (made of bell-metal).
domāhī, the juncture of two months, (*dvi-māsa*).
sts. bhāgawatī, bhāgatī, an interpreter of the Bhāgàvàtà.

The spelling in *-ī,* instead of in the expected *-i* (< *-ika, -īya*) seems to be due to the influence of *tatsama* words in *-in,* spelt in *-ī* in N.I.A. languages.

(47)

544. *-ī* > *-i*. Feminine, diminutive, abstract.

Assamese like Bengali does not possess grammatical gender. The distinctive feminine affix *-ī* is added only after class-names, words indicating relationship, and adjectives with a distinctive feminine significance; e.g.

sts. bàgàlī, a female crane, (*baka* + *-la* + *ikā*).
kālarī, a deaf woman, (*kalla* > *kāla* + *ḍa* + *ī*).
sts. māmī, uncle's wife, (*māma* + *ikā*).

In all these examples, the feminine affix *-ī-* goes back to O.I.A. *-ikā*; where the feminine force has been lost, *-ī* > *-i*, expresses sometimes a diminutive and sometimes an abstract sense; e.g.

bātari, news, (*vārtā* > *vattā* > *bāta* + *ri* (*-ī*).
jupuri, a cottage, (cf. D. *jhumpaḍā*).
māṭi, earth, (*mṛttikā*).
chāti, an umbrella, (*chatra* + *-*).
pīri, a generation, (*pīṭhikā*).

After class names, *-ī* (long) has a generic sense; e.g.
sts. bhekulī, frogs in general, (*bheka*).
sts. bhekolā, a big frog.
sts. chāgalī, goats in general (*chāga*), etc.

Dr. Chatterji notices also the influence of Persian *-ī* affix of abstraction or connexion in N.I.A. abstract *-ī* (O.D.B.L. p. 673).

(48)

545. *-īyā*. (E.As. *-iyā*).

Forms adjectives in the sense of "possessing" or "connected with". It goes back to O.I.A. *-ika* + *-āka* > *-ia* + *-āa* > *īā* > *-i(y)ā*. The change of *-iyā-* to *-īyā* seems to be due to the influence of Sanskritic words in *-īya*. This is attested by the fact that words spelt in *-īyā* were regularly spelt in *-iyā* in early Assamese, e.g. E.As. *teliyā*: Mod. As. *telīyā*, an oilman.

Mod. Ex. *panīyā*, watery, cf. *pānī*.
sts. jāṭīyā, knotty, (*jaṭa*).

luṇīyā, salty, As. *loṇ*, (*lavaṇa*).
gũphīyā, having moustaches, (*gumpha*).
bhadīyā, born in the month of Bhādra. As. *bhādà*.
māhekīyā, monthly, (*māsa* +).
gajalīyā, youthful, (M.I.A. *gajja*, a sprout).
majalīyā, middle, (*madhya*).
phukalīyā, just born, "breathing into life" (cf. *phutkāra*).
This corresponds to Bengali *-iyā* (O.D.B.L. §. 421).

(49)

546. *-u*; with extension in (a) *-uẇā*, pleonastic and adjectival.

The affix *-u* can be traced back to O.I.A. *-uka* (adjectival and nominal). Though classed as a primary affix, it often forms secondary derivatives in O.I.A. (cf. *bhalluka*; *kārmuka*; *pādukā*, etc., Whitney. § 1180e).

In Assamese, *-u* and *uẇā* (*uka* + *āka*) are pleonastic. The latter has also an adjectival sense; e.g.

ṭhenu, a stalk of flower or fruit, cf. *ṭhāni*, a branch.
bẽṭu, calyx of a flower, cf. *bõṭā*, (*vṛnta*).
nelu, the wind-pipe, (*nala*).
cẽcu, small fibre of wood or bamboo, cf. *cãc*, an adze.
chelu, a pretext, (*chala*).
khahu, itches, (*khasa*), etc.

It implies also a certain pettiness or lovableness in the object; e.g.

nīlu, (*Nīlà kānta*).
bāpu, term of address to a young boy, cf. *bāp*.
māju, *mājiu*, goes back to Pāli *majjhima* (*madhyama*) > Pkt. * *majjhi~wa* > * *majjiu* > *mājiu*, *māju*.

(50)

546a. *-uẇā*; pleonastic, indicating resemblance.

cakuẇā, spectacles, (*cakṣu-*).
makuẇā, the seed-vessel of the water-lily (*markaka*).
paṭuẇā, the sheath of a plantain tree, (*paṭṭa*).

sts. *naṭuẇā*, an actor, a dancer, (*naṭa*), etc.

-uẇā ; adjectival, implying " connected with ", " related to "; e.g.

raṇuẇā, warrior, (*raṇa*).
banuẇā, labourer, cf. *ban,* work.
dharuẇā, debtor, (*dhāra*).
sāruẇā, fertile, (*sāra*).
māruẇā, greasy, (*maṇḍa*).
bhatuẇā, useless ; " given only to eating " cf. *bhāt,* rice, (*bhakta*).

(51)

547. *-uẇāl.* Adjective. Derived from *-uwā,* adj. + pleon. *-la ;* e.g.

pāhuwāl, meshy, (*pāśa*).
bhitaruwāl, pertaining to the interior, cf. *bhitar,* interior.
raŋguẇāl, joyous, (*raŋga*).

(52)

548. *-uk ; -ukā.* A primary affix found in a few words indicating " habit ", " given to ". Derived from O.I.A. *-uka* > M.I.A. **-ukka ; -ukā* = *uka* + *-ā* (Assamese def.); e.g.

māruk, killing; As. √ *mār.*
bahukā, sedentary ; As. √ *bah.* Cf. Skt. *vasuka* (Whitney. p. 445).

(53)

549. *-uk ; -ukā ; -uki.* A secondary affix occurring in a few words only. It can be traced back to O.I.A. *-uka* (cf. *bhalluka, kārmuka,* etc.), > M.I.A. **-ukka* > *-uka, -uk.* e.g. *hāluk,* light, cf. H. *hālkā.*
lājukā, bashful, (*lajjā*).
sts. bhābuki, grimace, (*bhāva,* acting).

(54)

550. *-urā* : fem. *-urī.* (*Seems specifically Assamese*).

A primary affix forming agentive adjectives in the sense of " doing something to excess ". Derived from O.I.A. *-ura* + *ā* (Assamese) ; e.g.

kāndurā, incessantly crying, (As. √ *kānd*).
kāhurā, constantly coughing, (As. √ *kāh*).
hāgurā, frequently voiding stools, (As. √ *hāg*).
mūturā, urinating constantly, (As. √ *mūt*).

(55)

551. *-urā*. A secondary affix forming adjectives. Derived from O.I.A. *-ura* + *-ā* (Assamese). (*Specifically Assamese*).

e.g. *dāhurā*, malicious, cf. *dāh*, malice, (*dahśa*).
bhāŋgurī, a woman addicted to hemp, (*bhaŋgā*).
dandurā, quarrelsome, (*dvanda*).

(56)

552. *-ur*, *-urā* ; *-urī*. Pleonastic. Derived from M.I.A. *-uḍa* (< *-u-ṭa*) >N.I.A. *-uṛa* > *-ura* + *ā*, *-ī*. e.g.

bapurā, the wretched one, (M.I.A. *bappuḍa*, a poor fellow).
hāturī, hammer, cf. H. *hathauṛī*.
cẽkurā, a stain, cf. *cẽk*, stain.
ṭemurā, a swelling, cf. *ṭemā*.
kāurī, a crow, (*kāka* + -).
kahur, rivalry, (*kakṣā*).

This affix corresponds to Bihārī pleonastic *-ur*, *-urā*, *-urī*. (Hoernle. §. 213).

(57)

553. *-ur* ; *-urā*. Pleonastic. Derived from O.I.A. pleon. *-rūpa* *-rūva* *-rū* > *-ru*, also by metathesis > *-ur*. (O.D.B.L. §. 448), e.g.

bāchur, young calf, (*vatsa* + *rūpa*).
ādharuwā, half-finished, (*ardha* + *rūpa-*).
gabhurā, a male child, (*garbha* + *rūpa*).
kā̃urā, whimsical, (*kāma* + *rūpa* + *ā*).
gŏru, cow, (*go-rūpa*).
gābharu, a grown-up child, (*garbha* + *rupa*).

(58)

554. *-ulā*, pleonastic and adjectival ; *-uli*, pleonastic.

Derived from O.I.A. *-ula* > M.I.A. *-ulla* > N.I.A. *-ula*, + *ā*, *-i* (Assamese). e.g.

gũrulā, small powder, cf. *gũrā*, (*guṇḍa-*).

mājuli, an island, (*madhya-*).

sajuli, implements, cf. *sāj* (*sajjā-*).

khajuli, itchings, (*kharju-*).

ṭheŋguli, small branches, cf. *ṭheŋ*, leg.

Adjectival: Examples:

peṭulā, pot-bellied, cf. *peṭ*.

ṭhehulā, haughty.

jurulā, worn-out, cf. *jūrṇa*.

kuṭulā, stunted, cf. Skt. √ *kuṭṭ*, to chop.

(59)

555. *-ur ; -āuri*. (*Seems specifically Assamese*).

These imply abundance, continuousness, and are connected with O.I.A. *pūra, āpūra*, flood, stream, abundance, etc. In *jāpur*, heavy shower (as of rains), *pūra* appears as a *sts.* form. In *tbh.* formations, *pūra, āpūra* > **vūra, *āvūra* > *-ura, -āura ;* e.g.

jāur, rising flood (of the rainy season).

also *jāuri*, a multitude, (*java* + *āpūra.*).

cf. *jowār*, flood-tide, (*java* + *kāra ; java*, speed).

maṭhāuri, a row of fortifications, (*manthara* > * *manthra* + *āpūra-*).

phõpāuri, continuous hissing, as of snakes. (Cf. *onom*√ *phõpā*).

ḍeḍāuri, continuous roaring as of tempest or fire. (Onom. √*ḍeḍā*).

celāuri, eye-brow, cf. Austr. *chelāu*, see.

bhũhurā, a place where sweepings and refuses are deposited, (*buṣa* + *pūra*).

(60)

556. *-ai*. Pleonastic suffix. Derived from O.I.A. *-ka* + *-ika* > * *-aia* > *-ai*. e.g.

khāiwai, a ditch, (*khāta* + *-ka* + *ika*).

khālai, a fish-basket, (*kṣāraka*, a basket for birds).

garai, a kind of fish living in mud-holes, (*gaḍaka*).

pūraẏi, a kind of red vegetable creeper, (*puṇḍra*, red sugar-cane).
khàlihaẏi, oil-cake, (*khali* + *śa* pleonastic + -).

(61)

557. *-aẏiā*. An extension of the former in combination with *-ā* adjectival.

pūraẏiyā, red; of the colour of Pūraẏi.
khāwaẏiyā, a voracious eater, (*khādaka* + *-ika* + *-ā*).
karaẏiyā, a doer, (*kara* + *ka* + *-ika* + *-ā*).
(Cf. O.D.B.L. §. 422).

(62)

558. *-owā; -uwāi;* (a) *-uwaẏi;* (b) *-aẏi.*

These are co-related suffixes forming nouns and agentive adjectives indicating connexion and implying cleverness in doing something connected with the object. They go back to derivative formations of O.I.A. √*vah*, like *vāha* + *ka*; *vāha* + *ika*; *vaha* + *ika*.

Examples of *-owā*. *hālowā*, a plough-man, a plough ox, (*hāla* + *vāhaka*).
jālowā, a fisher-man, (*jāla* + *vāhaka*).

Examples of *-uwāi*. *ghāṭuwāi*, a ferry man, (*ghaṭṭa* + *vāhika*).
becowāi, one working for wages, cf. As. *bec*, price.
kheluwāi, a gamester, (*khelā-*).
gachowāi, an expert tree-climber, (*gaccha-*).

(63)

558a. *-uwaẏi; ghāṭuwaẏi, gachuwaẏi, jāluwaẏi, kheluwaẏi*, etc. These are phonetic variants of the formations in *-uwāi;* the stress being shifted to the initial syllables, the *-ā-* in *-uwāi* has been shortened to *-a-*.

The affix *-uwaẏi* has been extended pleonastically to *śeluwaẏi*, mosses, (*śaẏivala-* > *śevala-*, *śela-*) and to *phaṭuwaẏi*, sores of the feet, cf. As. *phāṭ*, crack.

(64)

558b. *-ai ; dūrai*, distant, (*dūra*+*vaha*+*ika*).

galai, prow of a boat. Cf. Bihārī. *galahī* (*gala* + *vaha* + *ika*).

mārai, popular name of the goddess Manasā (*māra* + -).

(65)

558c. The following apparently similar formations are of different origins.

e.g. *paṛhuwāi*, a reader, (*pāṭha* + *vāca* + *ika*).

meluwāi, meluwai, member of an assembly settling a dispute, (*mela* + *vādika*-).

(66)

559. *-oẇā*. (*Specifically Assamese*). Causative passive participial and verbal noun affix corresponding to *-ā* of the simple roots. Derived from O.I.A. causative *-āpa-* > M.I.A. *-āva* > *-āẇa* + *-ā* (verbal noun) > *-āẇā, -aẇā* > *-oẇā* (the preceding *-a-* being raised to *-o-* by the following *-ẇ-* glide). e.g.

karoẇā, causing to be done: caused to be done, (**karāpa-* + *-ā*).

śunoẇā, (**śunāpa-* + *-ā*).

(67)

560. *-au*. It yields abstract, concrete and adjectival words indicating "of the nature of". It seems to go back to O.I.A. *-ku* (as in *vārtāku*) ; e.g.

bhāṭau, a parrot, (*bhaṭṭa-*, a panegyrist).

halau, uncouth, clumsy, (*hala-*, deformity).

ḍhau, a wave, cf. B. *ḍheu* (? *dhava-*, trembling + -).

sts. kapau, a dove, (*kapota-*).

kalamau, a kind of vegetable plant growing in water, (*kalamba-*).

sts. nitau, always: (perhaps connected with *nityataḥ* > * *sts. nittao, nittau-*, Dr. Bloch).

sts. sadau, entire, whole, as an assembly, (? connected with *sadas*).

(68)

561. *-ka ; -kā ; -ki ; -kī ; -kīyā ; -ikā ; -ek.*

All these represent various extensions of O.I.A. pleonastic *-ka* > M.I.A. *-kka* > N.I.A. *-ka*, in combination with the several affixes discussed in the preceding sections. The affixes *-ika, -ikā, -ek* represent O.I.A. pleon. **-ika* > M.I.A. *-ikka, -ĕkka* > N.I.A. *-ika, -ik,* ; *-eka, -ek.* e.g.

jonāk, moon-shine, (*jyotsnā-*).
diṭhak, vision, waking state, (*dṛṣṭa-*).
bāpek, his father, (*vapra-*).
ḍeukā, wings, (*ḍaya-*$\sqrt{}$*ḍī,* to fly).
sts. phuṭukā, spotted, (*sphuṭa-*).
bhelekā, timid, (*bhela-*).
titiki, slightly bitter, (*tikta-*).
cināki, acquaintance, (*cihna-*).
māikī, a female ; O. *māikiniā ;* (?) to be connected with *mātṛ-*, or referred to Austric source.
garākī, lord, owner, (*guru* > *garu* > **gar,* Bloch.).
melekī, a member of a sitting, (*mela-*).
nāi-kīyā, non-existence, (*nāsti-* > *natthi-* > ** nāthi-* > **nāhi-* > *nāi-*).
jalakīyā, a chilli, (*jvāla-*).
sts. padakīyā, a defendant, (*pada-*).
khānik, a little, (*khaṇḍa-*).
kharikā, a straw, (*khaṭa-*). etc.

In *khantekĭyā,* momentary, for **khanekīyā* (*kṣaṇa*), *-t-* seems to be intrusive and corresponds to Bihārī (Kurmālī Ṭhar) euphonic *-ṭa-* ; cf. *ghaṛiṭek,* of about twenty minutes (L.S.I. V. II, p. 147). In *urantekīyā,* full-fledged (as a bird), *uranta-* is the present participle base of As. $\sqrt{}$*ur,* to fly.

(69)

562. *-kur.* It forms the second element of a few compound verbal roots, the first element of which seems to be either onomatopoetic in origin or worn out phonetic variations of some O.I.A. formations ; e.g.

phĕkure, sobs with a muffled sound.
Cf. B. *ḍhĕkur,* the sound of belching.

bhẽkure, gets mouldy,mildewed. (Bḍ. *bhukundi,* froth).
cẽkure, runs fast in frolic, as a young calf or a horse. (Bḍ. √*saing,* go speedily).

In all these, *-kur* seems to be a mix-up of several verbal roots listed in the Sanskrit Dhātupāṭha; e.g. *kurati,*√*kur,* to utter a sound, (cf. *phẽkure,* sobs); *kuḍati,* √*kūḍ,* to play like a child (cf. *cẽkure*); *kruḍati,* √*kruḍ,* to get thick (cf. *bhẽkure*). Assamese *mekuri,* a cat, (Bg. *mekuṛ, mekur*) probably of onomatopoetic origin, belongs here. Dr. Bloch suggests possibility of connection with -**kar-ī,* action of doing, (*a-i* > *u-i* by vowel harmony). In that case Bg. *mekuṛ* will have to be differently treated.

(70)

563. *-kuri.* Derived from O.I.A. *kūṭa,* mass, heap, multitude. (*Specifically Assamese*) e.g.

bāṭ-kuri, walking over a long way; going over rough and smooth, (*vartma-* + *kūṭa-*).
hāṭ-kuri + *bāṭ-kuri,* going over hill and dale.
phẽc-kuri, concrete mucus in the eye (*piñca-,* inflammation of the eye).
thũt-kuri, spittle, (**stumbhanta,* √*stumbh,* to eject, connected with spitting by Pischel).
lāj-kurīyā, shy, bashful, is from *lajjā* + *kūṭita,* confused by shame. In *himsā-kurīyā,* malicious: Bg. *hiskuṭe,* the latter element is connected with *kuṭa-,* crooked. The formation *daho-kuri,* without fail, at any cost, found in making an earnest appeal to do something on the speaker's behalf, seems to be equivalent to *dohāi-kuri, "dohāi"* for twenty times:
hāmkuri, hāmkhuri, falling with the face downwards, seems parallel to Bg. *hāmāguṛi,* crawl on all fours. In early Assamese is found the expression *khoj-guṛi,* scanning the foot-steps.

The sources of *kuri, guṛi,* seem obscure. The following Sant. roots may however, be compared: √*guṛ,* to fall from a standing, sitting or kneeling position: √*guṇḍ,* to ponder, think over; √*kuṇḍel,* to lie prostrate.

(71)

564. *-ca, -cā, -cīyā.* Pleonastic, nominal and adjectival. Derived from O.I.A. *-tya,* forming adjectives from participles and pronominal derivatives. Extended also to nouns; e.g. *ap-tya, āp-tya,* watery. *-tya* > M.I.A. *-cca* > *-ca.* e.g.

kundhac, cadaverous, (*kuṇapa* + *kabandha* + *tya*).

gaic, heavy, (*gabhi-* cf. *gabhīra* + *ucca,* ? Dr. Bloch).

khāwaic, voracious eater, (*khādaka* + (*i*)*tya*).

dābacā, a kind of grass, (*darbha* +).

hālacā, hālicā, a certain measure of land, (*hāla*).

kharicā, condiment from tender bamboo shoots, (*khaṭa* +).

gharacīyā, domestic, (M.I.A. *ghara-*).

The varied pleonastic implications of this affix will be clear from the following examples;

rāuci, a loud scream, (*rāva-*).

baicā, bāicā, a boatman, (*vāhika* > *vāhia* > *-ca-*).

bānac, price for making a thing, cf. As. √*banā,* to prepare.

sts. opàràñci, supplementary, (*upara*). etc.

As an affix of connexion, this affix is found also in Māraṭhī. Cf. *gharcā,* domestic.

(72)

565. *-ṭa* : *-ṭā ; -ṭi ; -ṭo.*

Definitive, pleonastic and enclitic. (Discussed *in extenso* in O.D.B.L. § 436). It represents a M.I.A. *vaṭṭ-,* from the O.I.A. formations *varta, vartika, vartikā; vṛtta, vṛttika, vṛttikā* from √*vṛt* (O.D.B.L. ibid); e.g.

kẽheṭā, slightly acrid, (*kaṣāya* + *vṛtta* + -).

khahaṭā, slightly rough, (*khasa* + -).

ghumaṭi, sleep, (**ghurma,* √*ghur,* to snore).

lālaṭi
lelāuṭi } saliva, drivel, (*lālā* +).

phiriŋgaṭi, spark, (O.I.A. *sphuliŋga* + -).

peŋgaṭā, crippled, (*paŋgu* + -).

hikaṭi, hiccough, (*hikkā* +). etc.

The definitive and enclitic sense is illustrated by examples like the following (§ 586) :—

mānuha-ṭo, that man (referred to in the context).
eṭi, one, (*eka* + *vṛtta-*).

(73)

566. *-ṭā* ; *-ṭi*. Connected with O.I.A. *paṭṭa* > M.I.A. *-vaṭṭa* > N.I.A. *-aṭa*, *-aṭā*. (*Specifically Assamese*) ; e.g.

beraṭi, waist-band, (*veṣṭa-* + *paṭṭikā*).
camaṭā, leather-thongs, (*carma* +).
pābhaṭi, a bamboo platform, (*parva-* +).
bāraṭā, a scooped out bamboo for supporting a partition, (*vāṭa* + *paṭṭa-*). etc.

(74)

567. *ṭha* ; (*-thə*), represents O.I.A. *avasthā*, indicating state, form, appearance, > M.I.A. *avatthā*, *avaṭṭhā* (cf. M.I.A., *avaṭṭhaṇa*) > N.I.A. *-aṭha*, *-atha* ; *-ṭha*, *-tha*.

e.g. *nāŋgaṭh*, naked, (*nagna-*).
pūraṭh, mature, (*pūra-*).
cereṭh, dirty, As. √*cerā*, to void loose stools, cf. D. *ciricira*, shower ; downpour.
āmaṭh, obstinate, inflexible, (? *amla-*).
calaṭh, sifting investigation, (cf. *cāla-* in *cālanī*, a sieve).
gomoṭhā, gloomy, not bright, (*gulma*, a thicket).

(75)

568. *-tə*, abstract. Derived from O.I.A. *-tva* e.g.

sts. mamàt, affection, (*mamatva*).
tàt, inner significance, (*tatva*).
E. As. *bīràt*, heroism, (*vīratva*).
màhàt, greatness, (*mahatva*).

(76)

569. *-tə*. Derived from O.I.A. *putra* > **-vutta*, *-utta*. (Cf. *ajja-utta*).

jeṭhot, husband's elder brother, lit. elder son of the father, (*jyeṣṭha* +).
ekuti, a woman with only one child (*eka*+*putrikā*>*ekka-uttiā*, **ekotī* > *ekutī*, by vowel harmony § 264).

(77)

570. (*sts.*) *-tàlī*. This *sts.* affix is included here because of its wide use. This indicates a region or locality. Connected with O.I.A. *tàla* + *-ikā*.

e.g. *kākhatalī*, arm-pit, (*kakṣa* + *tàlikā*).
dhānatalī, paddy-field, (*dhānya* + *talikā*).
māhatalī pulse-field, (*māṣa* + *talikā*). etc.

(78)

571. *-na* and extensions. Pleonastic and adjectival. In O.I.A. an adjectival *-na* has been noted by Whitney (§§ 1223 g ; 1245 f). A pleonastic and intrusive *-na-*, (in Vedic. gen. pl. *gonām*, stem *gau*) has also been noted (Whitney § 360, c). In early M.I.A. (Pāli), this *-na-* established itself as a part of the stem (*gona*) itself (Geiger § 88).

goṇa continued down through Prakrit (*jādhà goṇā jādhà ; Mṛcchakaṭikā*) and survives in Assamese in *goṇā*, a male buffalo. Thus in O.I.A. there were the adjectival *-na* and also traces of a pleonastic *-na*. This affix seems to re-appear in N.I.A. Assamese e.g.

karaŋgan, thigh, (*karaŋka* + -).
gahīn, steady, deep, (*gabhī-*, cf. *gabhīra*).
bàràgani, *bàràŋgani*, subscription, share, (*varga*, class). Cf. Mārāṭhī, *vargani*.
hātinā, bellows, (*bhastri-*).
ṭemunā, a tumour, swelling, cf. also *ṭemā*, *ṭemurā*.
chānā, the young of an animal, (*śāva*).
āŋgani, a spark of fire ; the branch stem of a cluster of fruits, (*aŋga*).

In *tapinā*, *tapilā*, buttock, the *-na-* and *-la-* are parts of the original O.I.A. words *talpana*, *talpala*, the flesh on the back-bone.

(79)

572. *-nī*, *-ānī*, *-inī* ; feminine affixes. (Also cf. §§ 515 a; 544).

These are common to both Assamese and Bengali and their origin has been thoroughly discussed in O.D.B.L. § 445. They

seem reminiscent of O.I.A. *-nī, -ānī* but they are derived from a different source. Practically no form in N.I.A. has come down with *-nī, -ānī* of O.I.A. The O.I.A. attributive suffix *-in*, giving the feminine nominative singular *-inī*, supplied to M.I.A. numerous fem. forms differentiated from the masc. only by *-inī*, especially when the nominative came to be used for all cases in the masculine, the *-in-* of the base being totally lost. This *-iṇī* (*inī*), was partly generalised and came to be attached to nouns to which it did not properly belong and when added to masculine nouns in *-a*, the *-i-* was dropped, making it *-a-nī*. N.I.A. thus inherited this *-īnī, -anī* (*-iṇī, -aṇī*), although more restricted in use than *-ī* from late M.I.A. (ibid.).

In Assamese, *-anī* is chiefly used after nouns indicating caste, trade, profession, rank etc.

e.g. nāpit-anī, wife of a barber.
kumār-anī, female potter.
kamār-anī, wife of a black-smith.
baruwānī, wife of a baruwā (rank).
phukan-anī, wife of a phukan (rank).
kucunī, woman of a koc caste.
dumunī, woman of a dom caste.
bāghinī, a tigress.
nātinī, a grand daughter, (*naptṛka-*).
mitinī, a female friend, (*mitra-*). etc.

(80)

573. *-ṛa* (earlier *-ṛa*) and extensions.

It goes back to late Skt. *-ṭa* and extensions > M.I.A. *-ḍa* with extensions. e.g.

śiyār, root, (*śiphā* + *-ṭa*).
kāṣar, side, (*kakṣa* + *-ṭa*).
-rā : *damarā*, a male calf, (*damya*).
batarā, bātari, news, (*vārtā* +).
nāorā, a boat-shaped cistern to carry off water (*nāvā-*).
ri : *gāhari*, pig, (cf. Austr. *gāhu*).
-rī : *ṭākurī*, a spindle, (*tarku* + *-ṭikā*).
cāṇgerī, wood sorrel, (*cāṇga*).
kālarī, a deaf woman, (*kalla* + *ṭikā*).

(81)

574. *-rā* : adjectival, connected with O.I.A. *-ra* e.g.
laṭharā, destitute of hair, bald ; (cf. H. *lāṭh*, a stick, M.I.A. *làṭṭhi*).
lotharā, flabby, fat, (*loṣṭra*).
-ri : pleonastic ;
khāgari, reed, (*khaḍga* +).

(82)

575. *-là* and its extensions. This affix goes back to O.I.A. *-la* (adjectival and pleonastic); e.g.
dīghal, long, (*dīrgha* + *la*).
ākhàl, kitchen, cf. Bg. *ākhā* (? *ukhā*).
-lā : *ucalā*, prominent as teeth, (*ucca*).
pakhilā, butterfly, (*pakṣi* -).
cakalā, a slice, (*cakra* +).
bāralā, a bachelor, (*vaṇṭa* + *-la* +).
ḍobolā (cf. also *ḍobā*), a reservoir in a field made for irrigation purpose ; cf. M.I.A. √*ḍuvv*.
-li : *-ādhàli*, half-a-rupee, (*ardha* + *-lika*).
khārali, a kind of alkaline sauce, (*kṣāra-*).
-lī : *sts. bagalī*, a crane, (*baka* + -).
sts. chāgalī, a goat, (*chāga* +).

(83)

576. *-hà* and extensions.

This is connected with O.I.A. *-śa* adjectival and pleonastic (Macdonell § 240) > M.I.A. *-sa* > N.I.A. (Assamese) *-hà*. (earlier *-sa*). Cf. *śobhanasà*, beautiful.

Examples :
rūpah, beautiful, (*rūpa* + *śa*).
sàràh, much, many, cf. H. *sārā*, whole.
jalahu, simple, silly, (*jaḍa*, *jala* + *-śa* + *-uka*).
(L.W.) *bhacahu*, simple, childish, cf. H. *bhasāri*, (*bhasma-*. T.).
ukahu, rash, thoughtless, (*utka-*).
ādah, middle age, (*ardha* + *śa*).

kurihā, a kind of fish, (Lex. Skt. *kuḍiśa*).
ilīh, hilsa fish, Lex. Skt. *ilīśa*.
patahā, a thin slice, (*patra* +).
gadahā, heavy like a club, (*gadā-*).
gorohā, hinder part, (M.I.A. *gŏḍḍa*).
calihā, a thin slice, (cf. M.I.A. √*challa*).
bhõtohā, dull, blunt, (cf. Austr. *bodoh*, foolish).
bherehā, scum, flabby (cf. O.I.A. *bheḍa*, a raft).

(84)

576a. *āhi*; *-āhī*; *-āh* + *-i*, (pleonastic); *-ī* adjectival.
melāhi, also *melā*, open, cf. √*mīl*, to open.
sts. phitāhi, vanity, (*sphīta*).
kharāhi, a basket containing a certain measure (*khāraka*).
kerāhi, also *kerā*, oblique, squint-eyed, (*kekara*).
cupahi, *cupi*; an oil-vessel, a capsule, (D. *cuppa-*).
chalāhī, tricky (*chala-*).
dhādahī, a sluggard woman, cf. As. *dhod*, a sluggard.

This suffix corresponds to Bihārī *-ās*. The derivation of Hoernle from *vāñchā* and of Platt from *-āśā* does not seem convincing (Hoernle § 283; Platt. P. 208).

The suffix *-āh*, *-āhi* seems to be related to *-śa*, and to correspond to Bg. *-ās* (O.D.B.L. § 450).

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ENCLITIC DEFINITIVES OR NUMERATIVES.

577. The enclitics are post-positional affixes or words which are added to nouns or numerals to define the nature of the object or article referred to. They are commonly described as articles and have the value of the definite article "the" (O.D.B.L. § 510). Pronouns other than those of the first and second persons take on these post-positions. The use of the enclitics is a feature of early Assamese also, cf. *ratha-khaṇḍa*, the chariot; *kanyā-khāni*, the little daughter; *keśa-gachā*, the hair etc. There are enclitics in Bg. & O. also, and these usages are probably common to all Gauḍians (Hoernle § 426). But the idiom can not be traced back to earlier periods. Most probably the idiom owes its origin to non-Aryan influences. (For further discussion cf. § 842).

To express the force of the indefinite article "a", the same post-positional words are used with *e-* (<*eka*) prefixed. The formation so constructed may then be used as in Bg. and O. either *before* or *after* the principal word which it qualifies; e.g. *kāpor-khan*, the piece of cloth; but *ekhan kāpor* or *kāpor ekhan*, a piece of cloth. With *e-* prefixed, the same words that serve as enclitics acquire the value of independent words and have the force of adjectives. But even then their function is that of enclitics with *e-* (*eka*).

The following are the principal definitives in Assamese:

(1)

578. *kaṇ*: diminutive *kaṇi*. Connected with O.I.A. *kaṇa*, a particle, and used after nouns to shew endearment by emphasising smallness, e.g. *lorā-kaṇ*, the little boy; *powāli-kaṇ*, the little one; *dāmuri-kaṇ*, the young calf. etc.

The diminutive *kaṇi* (originally feminine) indicates still greater fondness.

(2)

579. *khan ;* dim. *khani.*

It is generally used after nouns indicating some thing broad and flat, e.g.

cālanī-khan, the sieve.
ḍhāri-khan, the mattress.
naḏi-khan, the river.
nāo-khan ; the boat etc.

In E.As. it appeared as *khān, khāni ;* e.g.

kanyā-khāni, the little daughter. Connected with O.I.A. *khaṇḍa.*

(3)

580. *khar* : Used dialectically in Western Assam in places where *ḍāl* is used in St. Coll. e.g. *sāp-khar,* the serpent ; *jari-khar,* the rope. *khar* seems to be connected with O.I.A. *khaṭa.*

(4)

581. *gach* : dim. *gachi* (O.I.A. *gaccha*) .

It is used after nouns indicating something long and flexible ; e.g.

ḍol-gach, the rope.
baṭiyā-gach, the thread, etc.

(5)

582. *garākī.* Used after masculine and feminine nouns indicating human beings to shew respect or consideration,

e.g. *mānuh-garākī,* the man.
ghaḏinī-garākī, the wife.

It is used also after numerals to respectfully indicate the number of persons referred to

e.g. *e-garākī mānuh,* one person.
du-garākī tirotā, two ladies.

Dr. Bloch suggests connection with O.I.A. *guru* > M.I.A. *garu* > N.I.A. *gar-*. In Skt. *guru* is used as an honorific appellation of a preceptor and in the feminine, *gurvī* may be applied to a venerable woman.

(6)

583. *goṭ* : In E.As. *goṭ* was frequently used after living beings ; *mānuh-goṭ,* the man ; *paśu-goṭ,* the animal, etc. ; *goṭ*

is generally connected with *goṣṭha*, the de-aspiration remaining unexplained. It may be better linked with *gotra*, having similar meanings with *goṣṭha*.

(7)

584. *caṭā*: dim. *caṭi*. Used after nouns indicating something long and flat, especially that has been split and made into strips. Probably it is connected with O.I.A. (*tvaṣṭa-* > * *tyaṣṭa-* > *caṭṭha*, *caṭā*.), e.g.

bāh-caṭā, the split bamboo strip.
kāṭh-caṭā, the split wooden strip.
pāṭ-caṭā, the tablet, etc.

(8)

585. *jan*: *janā* (honorific) : *janī* (fem.).

Used after nouns, pronouns and numerals to indicate human beings, e.g.

mānuh-jan, the man.
mānuh-janī, the woman.
tirotā-janī, the woman.
i-jan ; *i-janī*, this one (man) ; this one (woman).
e-jan, one (man) ; *e-janī*, one (woman).
rajā-janā, the king.
rāṇī-janā, the queen. etc.

(9)

586. *-ṭā*, *-ṭo*, *-ṭi*. This is the same as the formative affix *-ṭā*, *-ṭo*, *-ṭi*. (Discussed §. 565).

-ṭā is used only after numerals.
e.g. *duṭā*, *tiniṭā*, *pāṃcoṭā*, *sātoṭā*, *āṭhoṭā*, etc.
two, three, five, seven, eight.

-ṭo is used only after noun substantives in a particularly definitive sense, e.g.

mānuh-ṭo, the particular man.
goru-ṭo, the particular cow.
ghar-ṭo, the particular house, etc.

In As. *-ṭo*, there is the influence of the M.I.A. particle *hu*, (*kkhu*, *khalu*), cf. Bihārī. *-ṭho* : *ekṭho*, *doṭho*, *tiṇṭho*, etc. Bengali *-ṭo* is the result of vowel-harmony (O.D.B.L. pp. 480, 780).

The type of vowel-harmony which changes final *-ā* into *-o* in a Bengali word is absent in Assamese.

(10)

587. *ṭār*: dim. *ṭāri*. It indicates something long and loose tied into a bunch or bundle, e.g.

culi-ṭār, the bunch of hair.

bāṛhani-ṭār, the broom-stick (many long pieces of thinly split bamboo are tied together to make a broom).

ṭār is probably akin to H. *ṭāra*, a line of cattle; N. *tār*, a platform of bamboo for sitting on. Dr. Turner considers its derivation from Skt. *tandra-*, a row, doubtful.

(11)

588. *ḍāl*: dim. *ḍāli*. It is used after nouns indicating something long but round and solid; e.g.

bāh-ḍāl, the bamboo.

kāṭh-ḍāl, the piece of wood.

śali-ḍāl, the spear, etc.

Contrast the use of *ḍāl* with that of *caṭā* (discussed above:). *ḍāl* indicates something whole, *caṭā*, something split out of a whole thing.

ḍāl may be derived from *deśī*, *ḍāla*, a branch, part of a branch.

(12)

589. *pāṭ*: (O.I.A. *paṭṭa*). It indicates something long, flat and narrow; e.g.

boṭhā-pāṭ, the oar.

śar-pāṭ, the arrow.

khāpar-pāṭ, an instrument shaped like a flat spear.

(13)

590. *pherā*. Used after material nouns to indicate a small quantity; e.g.

loṇ-pherā, the small quantity of salt.

e-pherā loṇ, a small quantity of salt.

gur-pherā, the small quantity of molasses, etc.

pherā is a word of unknown origin, but found in most N.I.A. languages. Cf. O.H.P. *pherā*, a circle (Turner).

Plural Definitives.

591. In E. As., *-hanta, -santa* (M.I.A. *santa-*, Pres. Part. of $\sqrt{as}$) was used as enclitic post-positions after numerals and oblique forms of pronominal stems to indicate definiteness ; e.g. *dui-hanta,* both of them ; *tini-hanta,* all three ; *e-santa,* this person, etc. In modern Assamese *-hanta* > *-hãt* disengaged itself from the context and became a plural affix. (§. 624).

592. In such colloquial expressions as *ekoṭi-hãt,* definitely one ; *ekokhan-hãt,* definitely one piece, the enclitic *-hãt* seems to be a modern development and an extension of E.As. forms like *e-santa,* this person, etc.

In *giri-hãt,* the householder, master of the household ; the enclitic sense has been practically lost and the whole expression is looked upon as a compound giving the feminine form *giri-hãtanī,* the mistress of the household. In developing this idiom, analogical influence of *sts. gṛhastha, *gṛhasthānī* may be suspected.

593. In Western Assam Colloquial, *-hān, -hun* function both as definitives and plural affixes ; e.g.

bāpā-hān, bāpā-hun, my father ; *tā-hun,* they ;
ā-hun, these, etc. (See below, §§ 634-636).

Indefinitives.

594. Indefinitiveness in a collective unit of time and number is often expressed by suffixing *-ek* after a word, e.g. *māhek,* a month or so ; *paṣek,* a fortnight or so ; *bacharek,* a year or so ; *sts. śatek, sahasrek,* a hundred ; a thousand or so, etc.

Unlike as in Bengali, *-ek* is not attached after ordinary and *tbh.* numerals ; e.g. Bg. *goṭā-tinek,* three or so ; but As. *tiniṭā-mān,* three or so.

-cerek (*ciāri* (< ? *catvāri*) + *ek*) ; *-diyek* (*dvi* + *ek*) are used specifically as indefinitive plural affixes in the sense of "a few", e.g.

guṭi-diyek cintā, a few thoughts.
jan-cerek la'rā, a few boys. (§ 630).

Personal Definitives.

Or

Personal Affixes of Nouns of Relationship.

595. This is the proper place to examine a strange morphological phenomenon in Assamese, *viz.*, that of affixing personal endings on the model of verbs to nouns of relationship. In this respect Assamese seems to stand out alone amongst all N.I.A. languages. Other morphological phenomena may be shared in one or another respect by other N.I.A. languages also, but this peculiarity marks out a form as distinctly Assamese.

596. This affixation of personal endings seems to go back to the earliest period when the language was fully characterised. It is not noticeable in a fully developed form in the Rāmāyaṇa of Mādhava Kandali, supposedly of the early fourteenth century beyond which no distinctively Assamese writings have been discovered.

597. This separative instinct has coloured all terms of reference to relationship. Thus different words are used with reference to the same relation according as he or she is senior or junior in age to the person with whom relationship is indicated. Thus, "*my* elder brother" is *kākā* or *kakāi*; "*my* younger brother" is *bhāi*; "*my* elder sister" is *bāi*; "younger sister" *bhanī*; "*my* elder sister's husband" is *bhinihī*: "younger sister's husband" is *baināi*; the *elder* one of two sisters is referred to as *āi-kaṇ*; the younger one as *māi-kaṇ*, etc. Thus in Assamese there are no *generic* terms equivalent to such English words as *brother*, *sister*, etc.

598. It is to be observed that though different words are used to indicate different aspects of the same relationship,

they can all be traced to O.I.A. words having the same original meaning; e.g. *āi* (in *āi-kaṇ*) can be equated to *āryyikā* > *ayyiā* > *āi*. So also *māi* (in *māi-kaṇ*) < O.I.A. *mātṛkā*. Similarly *bhinihī* (earlier *bhinisī*) can be traced back to * *bhaginikā* > * *bhiṇ̄ī* + *-ssiā* (§. 385) and *baināi* to * *bhaginikā-pati*.

599. This separative habit has been carried on also to the persons of nouns. Words of relationship take on different personal affixes according as the relationship indicated is with the first, the second or the third person. In the case of the second person, the rank of the person also is taken into consideration.

The principal forms of some characteristic words are presented below.

	My	*Your (Inf.).*	*Your (Hon.)*	*His.*
Father :	*bopāi*	*bāper*	*bāperā*	*bāpek*
Mother :	*āi*	*mār*	*mārā*	*māk*
Son :	*po*	*puter*	*powā̃* *powā̃rā* *puterā*	*putek*
Daughter :	*zī*	*zīyer*	*zīyā̃* *zīyerā*	*zīyek*
Husband :	*paĭ*	*paĭyer*	*paĭyā* *paĭyerā*	*paĭyek*
Wife :	*ghaĭnī*	*ghaĭnīyer*	*ghaĭnīyā̃* *ghaĭnīyerā*	*ghaĭnīyek.*

600. Sir G. A. Grierson reads in these peculiar forms pronominal affixations with nouns of relationship on the model of Tibeto-Burman pronominal *prefixes* to nouns of relationship, (*Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*, § 75); e.g. Boḍo : *ā-fā*, my father ; *nām-fā*, your father ; *bi-fā*, his father. He would accordingly characterise these affixes as relics of some abraded pronouns. Dr. Chatterji differing from Sir George, affiliates *-ek* and *-āi* to the corresponding formative

affixes (O.D.B.L. § 724) and considers *-ā* and *-erā* as of obscure origin (*ibid.*, p. 165).

601. It may be added in amplification of Dr. Chatterji's view that the affixes are of the nature of enclitic definitives and indefinitives examined above. Thus *bāpek*, means "a father" when the context does not contemplate reference to any grammatical person, e.g. *bāpek puṭekār sādhu*, the story of a father and a son (cf. also *māhek, paṣek*, a month, a fortnight). As the third person falls grammatically within the scope of the indefinitive, *bāpek* is the form that came to be associated with '*his*'; e.g. *tār bāpek*, his father.

602. The affix *-āi* of the first person is the same as the formative affix of endearment and is vocative in origin (See §. 527). As the vocative has references only to the first person, the vocative as an affix of endearment came to be attached to the first person; e.g. *bopāi*, O father, O my father = my father.

603. The second personal *-er* is pleonastic and is connected with M.I.A. *kera* (*kela*) used in a definitive sense, e.g. *ajjassa kerao, vessā-jana kerako, vappa kelake* (*Mṛcchakaṭikā*). Thus *bāper* may be equated to *vappa-kera*. The pleonastic nature of *-er* is shewn by the fact that in the second person (honorific), relationship is also indicated by adding only ã (*-ā*) to nouns ending in high vowels, e.g. *powã, powārā; zīyã, zīyerā*, your (Hon.) son, daughter. This *-ā* is the same as the honorific *-ā* in enclitic *janā* (§§ 585, 619). Pleonastic *-er* becomes *-erā* as an honorific definitive.

604. As Pleonastic definitives, *-er, -erā* are parallel to dialectical *-hān, -hun* (§§. 634-636) which are associated with the first person.

605. Some side light will be thrown on the nature and function of the terminations *-er, -erā* when they are compared with the variations, the O.I.A. vocative particle *he* under-

goes according to the nature of the rank of the person with reference to whom it is used. The bare particle *he* is used as a vocative in addressing only equals. But the following affixed forms are used according to the rank of the person addressed;

(a) *he-rà, he-rau̯*: used in calling to inferiors.
(b) *he-rā*: used in calling to equals (hon.).
(c) *he-ri*: used in addressing superiors.
(d) *he-rai̯, he-rei*: terms of address with endearment.

606. The following formations are used as terms of familiar address to a woman of equal or inferior status;

hañi, hañe, hañerā (O.I.A. *hañje* > Mg. *haññe* > ***hañe***, *hañi*). (§. 414).

607. The affixing of *-er, -r* to *he* in addressing people (grammatically in the second person) hardly leaves any room for doubt about the pleonastic origin of *-er*. As a vocative affix of endearment *-āi* appears in *he-rei* (*he-rāi* > *herai*, and also by vowel-assimilation, *he-rei*).

608. The identity of the separative affixes being thus established, the whole question resolves itself into accounting for the *rationale* of the association of some particular formations with different grammatical persons. In this respect the question is on a par with the use of distinct and separate words having originally the same signification to characterise different aspects of the same relationship. Cf. *bhinihī* (* *bhaginikā* + *-ssiā*) = sister's husband=elder sister's husband; but *bai̯nāi* (*bhaginīkā* + *pati*) = sister's husband = younger sister's husband. The use of *bāi* (? * *varyikā* > Mg. **vayyiā* > *bāi*) to refer to the elder sister (as worthy of respect) is imaginable, but why *bhànī* (**bhaginikā*) should only refer to the younger sister, passes one's comprehension. Similarly there is nothing in the formations *āi-kaṇ* and *māi-kaṇ* to cause differentiation in use with reference to the senior and junior respectively of two sisters. The same absence of principle seems to be at work with reference to the specific uses of

formations like *bopāi, bāper, bāpek* with reference to different grammatical persons.

609. It is very likely that behind the multiplicity of conjugational verbal forms in Maith. and Mag. with reference to the varying grades in the ranks of the subject and the object, there is a similar absence of principle working.

610. Taking the *suffixed* nouns of relationship by themselves, Sir G. A. Grierson (as noted above §. 600) has attributed this phenomenon to Tibeto-Burman influences. But in Tibeto-Burman, especially in Boḍo, which may be said to have influenced Assamese most, the pronouns are *prefixed* and not *suffixed.* Sir George has not accounted for this reversal. Moreover, Tibeto-Burman does not use different terms of relationship with reference to the age and rank of the person referred to. The principle of differentiation is not carried through to the same extent as in Assamese. The influence of the Muṇḍā language in these regards seems unmistakable. "The Muṇḍā languages belong to that class which possesses a richly varied stock of words to denote individual things and ideas but is extremely poor in general and abstract terms . . . . . Nouns denoting relationship are seldom conceived in the abstract but a pronominal *suffix* restricting the sphere of the idea is usually added. Thus Sāntālī *enga-ñ,* my mother; *enga-t,* his mother, but seldom *enga,* in the meaning of mother, alone. (Sten Konow: L.S.I. IV, pp. 23, 43).

611. "Similarly the complexity of the conjugation of the Bihārī verb in which different forms are used to denote an honorific or non-honorific subject or object and where the verb changes when the object is a pronoun of the second person singular can be explained from *Aryan forms* but the whole principle of indicating the object in the verb is thoroughly un-Aryan but quite agrees with Muṇḍā grammar". (Sten Konow: *ibid.*, p. 10).

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DECLENSION OF THE NOUN.

(A). The Gender.

612. Grammatical gender has disappeared from As. Bg. and O. languages. Sex is generally distinguished in Assamese by the use of some qualifying terms like *matā*, male, (Persian, *mard*) and *mātī* or *māikī*, female, or by the employment of different words like *damarā*, a bull, (*damya-*) ; *ceũrī, a* cow, (cf. O.I.A. *camūru,* a kind of deer) .

613. Where, however, it is admissible to use feminine suffixes as after adjectives or other qualifying terms to emphasise the sex, the suffixes used are *-ī* and *-ānī*. (Discussed under Formative Affixes §§. 544, 572). The feminine in *-ā* does not exist in Assamese, the N.I.A. *-ā* functioning as a definitive affix ; but dialectically the feminine in *-ā* is found in Western Assamese *māikā,* a female, a mother (St. Coll. *māikī*, cf. O. *māikiniā*). In St. Coll. the only examples of fem. *-ā* are ; *tirotā,* a woman, (Western As. *tirī*) ; *āitā,* grand-mother.

614. In certain adjectival formations, the affix *-rī* is used to emphasise the female sex ; e.g. *ḍekerī,* a youthful woman ; (masc. *ḍekā*) ; *kālarī,* a deaf woman, (masc. *kalā*) ; *bhāŋ-gurī,* a woman addicted to hemp, (masc. *bhaŋguwā ;* cf. Bg. *bhāŋgar*) ; *kāurī,* a female crow, (masc. *kowā*) ; *zī, zīyārī,* a daughter, etc.

The *-rī* is the same as M.I.A. *-ḍiā* (O.I.A. *-ṭikā*) used pleonastically. Where no sex difference is indicated, *-rī* is written as *-ri,* e.g. *bātari,* news, (*vattaḍiā*) (§. 573) .

In establishing *-rī* as a feminine suffix in the case of some nouns, might some remote influence of Sant. *-era* (the

feminine suffix) be suspected? There may be a convergence of Aryan and extra-Aryan forms in fixing up *-r-* as an accompaniment to the definitive As. feminine suffix *-ī*.

(B) The Number.

615. The Magadhan languages as a rule form the plural by the addition of some nouns of multitude. This is the general rule in Maith. Bg. O. and Assamese, but in Mag. and Bhoj. the plural is generally formed by the addition of *-n* (M.I.A. *-āṇa* < *-ānām*).

616. The ending in *-n* occurs as a pl. affix in dialectical Bengali (O.D.B.L. §. 486), and also as a secondary affix added to nouns of multitude to indicate the plural, e.g. *guli-n*, *-gulā-n*, besides *-guli*, *-gulā*. It has acquired the value of an honorific suffix in respectful forms of verbs, e.g. *kare-n gele-n*, etc.

617. In Western Assamese, *-n* occurs in the combination *-hun* used as a respectful definitive to nouns and as a plural affix to pronouns e.g. *tāhu-n*, they; *āhu-n*, these (people); *bāpāhu-n*, my father. (§. 593).

618. For relics of plural in *-s-* (O.I.A. *-sām* > M.I.A. * *-sã* > Ap. *-hã*. Cf. As. *eõ*, this (honoured) person; *teõ*, that (honoured) person. (§§. 176, 675, 678).

619. Mag. genitive plural in *āhã* > *-ā̃*, *-ā* has given Assamese honorific *-ā;* e.g. *si-jan*, that man; but *rajā-janā*, the king. So also *bāper*, thy father; but *bāperā*, your father, etc. The plural in *-ā* has been extended to the respectful forms of verbs in the second person honorific (orig. Pl.) e.g. *kàr*, do thou; but *karā*, do you; *karili*, thou didst; but *karilā*, you did, etc.

These are all the relics of the O.I.A. genitive plural in Assamese. The formations that function as post-positions to shew the plural are discussed below.

THE PLURAL SUFFIXES.

620. In E.As. the plural was formed by the addition of *ts.* words of multitude like *gaṇa, samūha, cāẏā, saba, melā* or *meleka bistara or some deśi* words like *jāka* (horde) ; e.g. *śiśu-jāka,* children ; *loka-bistara,* multitude of men ; *pātra-mela* or *meleka,* ministers.

621. In early Assamese, *māne* was used as a plural suffix in a specialised sense of " all included " ; e.g. *sabe caturbhuja puruṣa māne,* all males are four-handed ; *jateka sundarī padminī māne,* all beautiful women are padminīs ; *kaṭaka māne,* all soldiers. The specialised sense is preserved in modern Assamese also, e.g. *lorā māne āhā,* come all who are boys. In Oriyā, *māne* is an ordinary plural suffix but in Assamese its use is different. It is held to be related to O.I.A. *mānava* (O.D.B.L. p. 737). This etymology does not however explain the sense of " all ". (cf. §. 702).

622. Mod. Assamese has discarded the use of the above *ts.* words. Their place has been occupied by three other new suffixes,—*bor* (colloquially also *bhor, borāk, bolāk*) ; *-bilāk,* and *-hāt.* Of these, *-bor* is used as an ordinary plural suffix in a contemptuous sense ; *-bilāk* is used to show respect and *-hāt* is used in restricted senses. The origin of these suffixes has not been fully discussed. Dr. S. K. Chatterji suggests connection of *-bor* with O.I.A. *bahula* or *bahala* (O.D.B.L. Vol. II, p. 738). This derivation is supported by the fact that there is a dialectal form *-bolā-k.* There is a plural suffix *-bolā* in Mārwāṛ (Kellogg : *Hindī Grammar,* §. 255). This is the same suffix as Assamese *-bolā-k,* from O.I.A. *bahula* > **baüla* > *bola,* to which the modern definitive affix *-ā* and the pleonastic *-ka* have been added. Modern Assamese *-bor, -borāk, -bhor* may be regarded as phonetic variants of *bolā, bolā-k ;* or *-bor* with variants may be derived from O.I.A. *bahu* + O.I.A. suffix *-ṭa* > M.I.A. ** baüḍa* (**bhauḍa*), N.I.A. *bor* (*bhor*), *borā-k.*

623. *-bilāk;* it came into literary use much later than *-bor.* It is not met with in Mid. As. of the prose chronicles where *-bor, -hāt* are freely used. It makes its first appearance in literary compositions in the monthly periodical *Aruṇodaya* of the American Baptist Mission, published in 1846. Originally it was looked upon as a mere substitute for *-bor,* but in modern times it is used in a respectful sense.

Its origin has been regarded as obscure. It falls in a line, however, in point of formation with *-bolāk* (Western As. coll. *gilāk*) and may be taken as a blend between *viśāla* + *bahula;* or, might it be related to Khāsi, *byllāi,* "in great numbers", used also after other nouns of multitude to emphasise the Pl. e.g. Khāsi *bun-byllāi,* many, in large numbers; *bun*=many? (Cf. § 642).

624. *-hāt.* This is an example of an originally present participial word functioning first as an enclitic suffix indicating connexion (cf. § 591) and then as a plural suffix. It appears in E. As. as *-santa, -hanta* and is used after numerals and oblique forms of pronominal stems; e.g. *dui-hanta,* both; *tini-hanta,* all three; *sabe-hanta,* all included; *e-santa* this person (honorific); *tehenta, tenta,* they, he (honorific). *santa* (*hanta*) is the M.I.A. present participle of O.I.A. √*as,* and its use as an affix of connexion goes back to inscriptional Prākrit and it was later introduced in inscriptional Sanskrit, e.g. *amha-sa(n)taka,* our; *pitu-sa(n)-taka,* of the father (Senart: *Nasik Cave Inscription;* E.P. Ind. VIII pp. 73, 78; quoted in O.D.B.L. p. 753); also, *voṭa-santika, nāgaḍiya-santaka, asmat-sataka* (Fleet: *Inscription of Early Gupta Kings*; pp. 113, 118, 237). E. Assamese *santa* (*hanta*) seems to be allied to Mārwāṛi *handa,* Sindhī *sando* and Kāshmīrī *handu.* Its restricted use in Kāshmīrī after plural masculine nouns indicating living beings, bears some resemblance to the Assamese use of *hanta* after numerals (other than *one*) and of *-hāt* (<*hanta*) after nouns indicating human beings. (Grierson: *Manual of Kāshmīrī;* Vol. I, p. 34).

The use of *hanta* after oblique forms of demonstrative pronominal stems to shew respect (*ehenta, enta,* this person; *tehenta, tenta,* that person) has been referred to above.

625. Occasionally in E.As. *dui-hanta, tini-hanta,* etc. were preceded by strengthened forms of the genitive cases of the pronouns; e.g. *torā duhānta,* both of you; *tārā tini-hanta,* all three of them. Because of its use after numerals, *hanta* (> *hāt*) seems to have been regarded as a plural suffix, and in Mod. As. it has been transferred from the numeral to the pronominal base, e.g. *si-hāt dui-o,* both of them; *i-hāt tini-o,* all three of these; *tàhāt sakal-o,* all of you. The adjectival nature of *-hāt* has been preserved in the uses referred to above, so that Mod. As. forms like *si-hāt,* they; *i-hāt,* these, are elliptical genitival expressions after which some numerals have been dropped.

After nouns, *-hāt* as a Pl. suffix indicates only members of a trade, caste or group; e.g. *chātar-hāt,* students; *kāhār-hāt,* bell-metal workers; *dom-hāt,* people of the *Dom* caste, etc. It is used also after nouns of relationship in a respectful sense, e.g. *deutā-hāt,* fathers; *kàkāi-hāt,* elder brothers, etc.

626. *-sa-*. Used in E.As. only after oblique forms of the pronouns of the first and second persons (*āmāsā-k,* to us; *āmāsā-r,* of us; *tomāsā-t,* in you). It is found also in Bengali (Siripurīā, Purneā), *hams-ār,* our; *tums-ār,* your (L.S.I., Vol. I, p. 354). In this connection cf. Bihārī (Bhojpurī) *-sa* (*ghoṛā-sa,* horses) (L.S.I., V. II, p. 224).

The origin of this *-sa-* seems obscure. Dr. Chatterji taking the Assamese dative form in *-sāk* (*āmāsā-k ; tomāsā-k*) alone, affiliates *-sāk* to inscriptional *-sat-ka-* (O.D.B.L. §. 504). In slight modification and further development of Dr. Chatterji's argument it may be added that *-sa-* may be referred back to inscriptional *-sataka* < *-santak,* both of which forms are attested (§. 624). In that case *āmāsā-* may well be held to be related to *asmat-sataka* > * *amha-saa.*

The use of *-sa-* < *-sataka* after pronouns of the first and second persons would thus fall in a line with the use of *-hanta* (*-santa*) as definitives after demonstrative pronominal stems. (§. 624).

627. It may not be out of place to add that inscriptional *-santaka* has its progenies in Mār. *handa*, Sindh. *sando*, Kāshm. *handu*, all gen. post-positions, and in As. *hāt* (*hanta*), Kāmrūpī *hān* (§. 636) ; whereas *-sataka* has its progenies in Bhoj. *-sa*, Bengali (Purnea), *-s-* in *ham-s-ār*, *tum-s-ār*, and E. As. *sā*.

628. *-saba*, *-samba* : (O.I.A. *sarva* > M.I.A. *sabba*, * *samba*) .

Used in E.As. as Pl. suffixes after oblique forms of the second and third person pronouns ; e.g. *tomā-sab*, you all ; *tā-sambār*, of them all.

Dr. Chatterji registers an E.As. form *samha* (which I have not met with) but omits *samba*, which is very common (O.D.B.L. §. 493) . Is *samha* a mis-print for *samba* ?

629. *-lok*. Used after oblique forms of the first and second person pronouns (*āmā-lok*, we ; *tomā-lokar*, of you) cf. Bihārī. *ham-log*, we ; *tu-log*, you.

630. *-diẏek*, *-cerek*. These as Pl. suffixes indicate a small indefinite number, e.g. *guṭi-diẏek cintā*, a few thoughts ; *jan-cerek mānuh*, a few men. These two suffixes are compounds of *di* (*dvi*) + *ek* > *di* (*y*) *ek*, and *cāri* (*ciāri* preserved in early Oṛiyā) > *cer-* (§§ 239b, 594) .

631. *-khen*. As a plural affix it is used in a contemptuous sense ; *lorā-khen*, the boys, *kukur-khen*, the dogs, etc.

-khen is connected with O.I.A. *khaṇḍa* (a group, assemblage) > *khaṇṇa, *khanna* > *khena ; in *khen*, the change of *-a* to *-e-* is due to dialectical influence (cf. *e-khan ; e-khen ; du-khan ; du-khen*) (§. 469) .

632. *-ār ;* is found only in E.As. *āmi-ār*, we. This seems to be the same as Bihārī (Chhikā-Chhikī) *-ār* (*ham-ār*, we) (L.S.I. V. II, p. 99) . It may be traced to O.I.A. *apara*.

THE DIALECTICAL PLURAL SUFFIXES

633. The following plural forms are used exclusively in the Kāmrūpī dialect of western Assam. Some of them are met with also in early Assamese writings which were greatly influenced by the Kāmrūpī dialect. Of these, *-hān* is a phonological variation of *-hanta*, and *-hun* and *-the-*, are of different origins.

634. *-hun.* In western Assam (Kāmrūpī) there are forms like *tāhun, tāhnāi,* they; *āhun, āhnāi, ehnāi,* these, etc. There are also forms in Eastern Hindī like *dun-hun, don-hun* (L.S.I. Vol. VI, pp. 143, 150); *saba-kāhun,* all; *vāhun,* these (Kellogg § 241). The suffix *-hun* is a double genitive made up of gen. Pl. suffix *-na* (< *-ṇa*) added to the gen. Singr. suffix *-su* (cf. Ap. *tāsu, jāsu*) > N.I.A. *-hu.* Both the forms *jāsu,* and *jāhu* are found in the Braja Bhāṣā (Kellogg §. 266a)

635. In western Assam, *-hun* is added after nouns of relationship in a definitive sense but the definiteness indicated is with reference to the first person, e.g. *bāpā-hun,* my father; *māmā-hun,* my uncle. The demonstrative pronominal form (Pl.) *ā-hun,* these, is also used as a plural suffix after proper names of persons and nouns of relationship, e.g. *Hari-āhun,* Hari and others; *bāpā-āhun,* my father and others; b*āpe-āhun,* your father and others. Might this be related to Kāshmīrī gen. post-position *-unu* used after singular proper names of persons? (Grierson: *Manual of Kāshmīrī,* Vol. I, p. 34).

636. *-hān.* This is an exactly parallel form to *-hun* and is a phonological modification of *hanta* (*santa*) (§. 470). It survives in Western Assamese forms like *tāhnāi* (*tā-hānāi*). they, he (hon.) : *āhnā-i* (*ā-hānāi*) these, this person; *tehnāi* (*te-hān-*), they; he (hon.) ; *-hān* is also found, though rarely, in E.As. e.g. *dui-hānu,* both of the two. It is used also after nouns of relationship in a definitive sense, e.g. *bāpāhān,* my father.

637. Of restricted use there is another Pl. suffix *-tha-*, (*-ṭha-*), used after nouns of relationship, proper names of persons, and pronouns, with case-endings (*-ṭhek, -ṭher, -ṭhet*). It is parallel to Bg. *-dek, -der, -det.* It is never used for the nominative. It is found in early Assamese and it survives in western Assamese colloquial. After proper names and nouns of relationship, it has the specific sense of indicating a family group suggested by the person or the relation referred to; e.g. *āmāther,* of our family, *tāther,* of their family; *māmāthek,* to uncle and his family; *Gopālthet,* at Gopāl and his family. This *-tha-* (*-ṭha-*), seems to be related to O.I.A. *stavaka,* M.I.A. *thavaya.* The cerebralisation in *-tha* seems to be due to some vague association with *ṭhāi,* place.

The forms *-the-k, -the-t* seem to be back-formations from *-ther.*

638. *-hāmrā, -hāmlā.* Used after proper names of persons and nouns of relationship. It obtains only in Western Assamese colloquial, e.g. *Rām-hāmrā,* Rām and others; *bāpā-hāmrā,* father and others. This suffix seems to be the same as the North Bengali (Dināj pur) remote demonstrative plural *amrāh,* they (L.S.I. V. I, p. 355) used as a Pl. suffix like As. *āhun* discussed above. Cf. also Hāijong *omrā, omlāk.*

In St. Coll. we have *hāmār-bhāre,* in large quantity, "by waggon-loads". There is also the dialectal expression *hāmālā-hāmali,* eating something in large quantities at a time. The formations seem to be related to Santali *hamar,* granary; *hamram,* abundant, copious.

639. *bhellā.* In western Assam there is a dialectal word *bhellā,* numerous. There is also the Koc word *bhelela,* much, many, (Hunter: *Non-Aryan words of India and High Asia;* p. 80). This harks back to M.I.A. √*bhela,* to mix, collect (H. G. Sheth: *Prākrita-Hindī Dictionary*), Mārāṭhī *bhela,* Rājasthāni *bhele, bhelo,* collection (L.S.I. Vol. IX, Part II, p. 89). Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (*Wilson Philological*

Lectures, p. 190) derives *bhela* from O.I.A. *miśra* + *la* > M.I.A. *missa*+*lla* > **mihalla* **mhilla*, **bhilla-*, *bhellā*.

640. *-gilā, -gilāk, -gilān*; *-ŋglā-, -ŋglān*.

These are Pl. affixes very commonly used in western Assam dialects in preference to St. Coll. *-bor, -bilāk*. Of these *-gilā, -gilāk, -gilān* are sub-joned to noun substantives, e.g. *goru-gilān*, the cows; *puthi-gilā*, the books, etc., *-ŋglā, -ŋglan* are affixed to pronouns, e.g. *i-ŋglan*, these; also *i-ŋglā*; *si-ŋglā, si-ŋglān*, those, etc.

641. The suffix *-gilā* has been explained as a phonetic variant of *-gulā*, supposed to be affiliated to O.I.A. *kula-*, (O.D.B.L. §. 488). But this derivation seems to be based upon a wide assumption. First, there is the phonetic variation to account for, which may be quite *local* but when the corresponding forms *gulā/gilā* spread over a wide area covering Orissa in the west and Assam in the east (*gulā* being in use in Bg. and O. and *gilā* in Bg. & As.), such a variation should have been as widely recognised as the three-fold treatment in M.I.A. of O.I.A. *ṛ*. Secondly, a *sts.* form like *gulā* < *kula-*, supposedly dated from the early Middle Bengali times (O.D.B.L. p. 727) could not have spread over the areas covered by three different provincial languages.

Most probably *gulā, gilā* are entirely different forms and of different origins. *gulā* seems to be of *deśī* origin and affiliated to D. *guliyā*=*stabakaḥ* (*Deśīnāmamālā*: II, 103) = a quantity, a multitude.

642. As to *gilā*, it seems to be hardly related to *gulā*. There are the three dialectal Pl. suffixes in Bg. (*-gā, -lā, -gilā*, L.S.I. V. I, 372); and Western Assamese in addition to *-gilā*, has also *-ŋglā*. They all seem to be of non-Aryan origin. The following Austric forms may be compared.

lu, lo = many, much (M. 40).

Also, *biga, bigā, bi gā*=many, much (M. 42).

Also, *ma'-git, mu-git,* how many, (W. 78).
Also, *jngoy* = many (M. 44).

(C). The Case.

643. In As. as in Bg. case-relationship is indicated by two devices: (1) by independent post-positions, (2) by agglutinative case-endings which are archaic survivals of the old locative and the instrumental.

The post-positions are put on and off according to the nature of the construction and the sense meant to be conveyed. Only in the case of the gen. (*-ra*) and the loc. (*-ta*) the post-positions are inseparable from the case-formations.

The noun often takes the post-position *-e* in the nominative, when it is the subject of a transitive verb. In the case of the intransitive verb, the bare stem itself is used to indicate relationship in the nominative. There is no agent case, nor is there any oblique base except in the case of pronouns.

While the elision of the case-ending represents one stream of development, the use of the *-e* ending in the nom. of trans. verbs points to another line of development. The passive construction with the past-participles of O.I.A. verb-roots came much into vogue in latter day Sanskrit, and in M.I.A. periods, this method of expressing the past became almost a common rule (Hoernle §. 371).

644. In Sanskrit the past participle passive of intrans. verbs could be used in an active sense with the subject in the nom. case. In the case of trans. verbs, the real passive construction was used with the subject in the instrumental case. In the Western N.I.A. languages, the passive construction is retained in the agent-case, but in the Eastern languages, out of the contact of both these constructions in M.I.A. has emerged something like a passive-active construction. Originally passive in construction, a sentence like *bāṇe hānile,* the arrow struck, (< * *vāṇena hānita* + *illa-*= *vāṇeṇa,* > *vāṇeṁ,* > *vāṇẽ hāṇida* + *illa-*), has received an

active force and the construction is looked upon as active. In the establishment of such an idiom there must have been considerable influences of constructions like *vāṇaḥ patitaḥ* > ** vāṇe paḍida + illa.* The Assamese idiom *bān paril,* the arrow fell, represents the natural phonological development of nom. *vāṇe,* > *vāṇi,* > *vāṇa paḍida + illa,* whereas *bāne hānile* represents a blend between the passive and the active constructions.

645. The Assamese case-ending *-e* retains its two-fold characteristics; (1) *active-passive* and (2) *past-present,* in constructions with finite and participial verbs respectively; e.g. *Gopāle likhe,* Gopāl writes; but *Gopāle likhā puthi,* the book written by Gopāl.

The post-positions used to indicate other case-relations fell in a line with those of other N.I.A. languages and hardly present any difficulty in derivation.

THE CASE-ENDINGS.

The Nominative.

646. From the earliest times Assamese has the characteristic nominative ending in *-e.* After nouns ending in *-a, -ā* and *-u,* this *-e* becomes *-i.* In certain circumstances to be noticed below, the case-ending remains also quiescent.

The case-ending *-i* seems to be of recent development. In middle Assamese (of the prose chronicles), the characteristic affix is *-e* even after nouns ending in *-ā.*

Examples are: *kanyā-e; mahārājā-e,* etc.

647. The case-ending is invariably dropped when the subject is related to an instransitive verb except when special emphasis is laid upon it. But the subject of a transitive verb must always take on the characteristic inflexional ending. In establishing this *-e* as the characteristic affix used to denote the nominative, there was the influence of the *-ẽ, -e* affix of the instrumental, so that *-e* may be regarded as the instr. -nom. case-ending. In passive construction, the

instrumental *-e* is invariably used both in early and modern Assamese; e.g. *Rāghabe dibārà astra,* the weapon given by Rāghava; *āpuni nirmila śāstra,* the scripture composed by yourself; *Gopāle likhā ciṭhi,* the letter written by Gopāla: *hāte bowā kāpor,* the cloth woven by hand, etc.

648. The constant use of instrumental *-e* in the passive construction of transitive verbs might have influenced the habitual use of *-e* with the subjects of transitive verbs; e.g. *mānuh màre,* man dies; but *mānuhe māre,* a man beats. Moreover, as the dative-accusative post-position *-ka* is never used except when special emphasis is laid upon the accusative, the nominative case-affix is absolutely necessary in the subjects of transitive verbs to remove confusion between the subject and the accusative, e.g. *mānuh màre,* man dies: *mānuh māre,* beats a man; but *mānuhe māre,* a man beats.

The nominative case-ending in *-e* is shared also by Bengali and Oṛiyā.

The Instrumental.

649. The characteristic instrumental inflexional ending in Assamese is *-e.* It represents O.I.A. instr. Singr. *-ena*; M.I.A. *-eṇa, -eṁ*; Ap. *-ẽ.*

The use of *-e* in passive constructions has been noticed above. It is used also to form adverbs from nouns and adjectives and to indicate accompaniment, e.g. *bege,* rapidly; *anāyāse,* with ease; *lāhe lāhe,* slowly; *Rāme saṳite,* with Rāma. In expressions like the following, *-e* has an ablative force; e.g. *tār mukhe śunilo,* heard from his lips; *tār hāte pālõ,* received from his hand.

650. But when the instrument or means by which something is accomplished is meant, the instrumental *-e* is added to the pleonastic *-er-*, and *-ere* suggests the instrument or the agent; e.g. *hātere,* with hand, by means of hand; *bāṭere,* by the way. In Chittāgong dialect, genitive *-àr-* is

used with instrumental *-di ; put-ar-di*, with the son. (L.S.I, V. I, p. 293).

In early Assamese, the use of *-ker-e, -ere* to suggest accompaniment is very common; e.g. *henà śiśupāla-kere mài dibo biyā*, I shall give (her) in marriage with Śiśupāla of such merits (Śankara Deva: *Rukmiṇī Haraṇa*) ; *jàmāi-ere*, with my son-in-law; *tumi-ere*, with you; *Kṛṣṇa-ere* also *Kṛṣṇe-ere*, with Krishna.

The instrumental *-ẽ, -e* is found also in the Magadhan dialects; Maith-Mag. *ghoṛe*, by a horse; Bhoj. *ghoṛe*. The characteristic instrumental ending in Bengali is *-e*.

651. The sense of instrument is conveyed also by the instrumental *-e* followed by the conjunctive participle *di*, giving, or by the conj. part. alone; e.g. *hātedi*, with the hand; *bāṭedi*, by the way.

The instrumental *di* (*diā*) is noticeable in St. Bengali and also in some East Bengal dialects; e.g. *dari diā bāniā*, having tied with a rope; Chittāgong: *putar-di*, with the son (L.S.I. V. I. pp. 214, 293). It occurs also in Oṛiyā in the form *dei*.

652. The post-positional word *hatuwā-i* (connected with *hasta* > M.I.A. *hattha*, > *hāt-*) suggests the instrumentality of a person by or through whom something is accomplished; e.g. *tār hatuwā-i*, by means of him. Cf. Rangpur dialect: *hātā-y*.

The Locative.

653. The characteristic locative affix in Assamese from early times is *-ta*. It seems to go back to O.I.A. secondary derivative in *-tra* > M.I.A. * *-tta* > *-ta*, > *-t*. This *-tra* > * *-tta* > *-t* seems to have given Assamese derivative in *-tīyā* (*āgatīyā*, growing early; *sehàtīyā*, growing late, etc. (§. 513) having a *local* implication. There is another derivation suggested from *antaḥ*, within. (O.D.B.L. §. 750). But the loss of the nasal would remain unexplained in As.

654. The affix *-ta* has an ablative force in expressions suggesting comparison; e.g. *mot kaı̯ sàru*, younger than I; *gachat kaı̯ okh*, taller than the tree, etc. This use is noticeable also in early Bengali.

In the ablative use of the locative, there seems to be the convergence of M.I.A. ablative affix *-atto* from O.I.A. ablative affix *-āt* + *tas*; cf. *vacchatto, rukkhatto* < *vṛkṣāt* + *tas*: *rukṣāt*+*tas* (Pischel § 365). The locative *-e* survives in certain repetitive phrases in Assamese; e.g. *āpade-bipade*, in adversity and like circumstances; *sukhe-dukhe*, in prosperity and in adversity; *ghàre-ghàre*, house to house; *bāṭe-bāṭe*, on every road, etc. (Cf. also §. 187).

The Genitive.

655. The characteristic genitive affix in Assamese is *-ra*. Early Assamese used several imported forms like *-kerà, -erà, -karà, -kà*; (e.g. *bhāyākeri dukha*; brother's sorrows: *tākara guṇa*; his merits; *nāmaka sari*; the equal of (Lord's) name; *āmāṭhera Kṛṣṇa*; our Krishna, etc., (forms like *āmāṭher, tumāṭher*, etc., survive dialectically). These imported forms did not catch on and *-ra* established itself as the characteristic post-position.

This *-ra* post-position occurs also in Oṛiyā and the dialects of North Bengal and Sylhet amongst the Magadhan dialects, and in Mārwāṛī amongst the Western languages.

656. The origin of the genitive post-positions in the various N.I.A. languages has been discussed very exhaustively (Grierson; *Hindustānī*: *Encyc. Brit.*: Chatterji: O.D.B.L. §. 503). They are all related to the derivative formations of √*kṛ* like *kara, kāra, kārya, kṛtya*, already yielding adjectival affixes in M.I.A. *amhārā; mahārā; amhakera; pārakera; amheccaya; tumheccaya*. There are extended applications of these affixes in M.I.A. literature, cf. *mahaccia maṇe*, in my mind; *mama-kera, vappa-kera*, etc.

Amongst N.I.A. languages, *-rà, -erà* are the characteristic affixes of Assamese and Bengali respectively and *-ca* of Mārāṭhī, while Sindhī *-ja* is a modern form related to *kārya* > M.I.A. *kajja,* > *-ajja, -ja*. The Magadhan languages have

the gen. post-position in *-ka*. This seems to be a blend between M.I.A. *-kaa* < *kṛta* and the adjectival *-kka* which has also a genitival force.

The Dative.

657. The *-ka* genitive of the Magadhan dialects is used for the dative in Assamese and in North Bengal dialects. The use of the genitive for the dative is in conformity with O.I.A. uses. (Whitney. §. 297, a).

658. In the group *-ka*+*lai* (*lāgi*), *-ka* functions as a gen. to indicate direction, purpose, etc., e.g. *Kṛṣṇàrà pāśàkà lāgi*, to Krishna's side; *jātanākà lāgi* for the purpose of punishment etc. (Cf. Bg. *Rāmer lāgi*). In modern Assamese, *-ka* is dropped before *lai*: *ghàrà-lai*, in the direction of home; *mo-lai maram*, affection towards me, etc.

659. As a comprehensive source of the dative post-position in the N.I.A. languages and specially to account for early Eastern Hindī forms like *kaha*, *kahã*, *kahu*, *kahũ* and Sindhī *khe*, Beames suggested O.I.A. *kakṣa*, side, as the probable form from which N.I.A. affixes like Bg. *-ke*, O. *-ku*, Br. *-kaũ*, H. *-ko* etc. have sprung. Bengali *kāche* is no doubt related to *kakṣa* but *kāche* has never been regarded as an equivalent of Bg. dat. *-ke*.

Bhāṇḍārkār objects to this proposed derivation from *kakṣa*. To be "the original of the dative case-affix in nearly all the languages, it is necessary that it should have been used extensively in Skt. or Pkt. or in the old literature of the modern languages." (*Wilson Philological Lectures*, p. 246). Moreover derivations from *kakṣa* would not account for O. *-ku*, Br. *-kaũ*, H. *-ko* etc. It has been suggested that these are all to be connected with an Apabhraṅśa form for the ablative in **kakkhahu*, **kakkhahũ* etc. (O.D.B.L. p. 761). But the ablative does not seem ever to have been used in a dative sense in O.I.A.

In early Assamese specimens shewing influences of the Brajabuli style, we meet with both genitival and dative

uses of *kahũ, kahõ ;* e.g. *saba-kahũ hṛdaya,* the heart of all ; *Hari-kahõ caraṇā,* the feet of Hari ; also *saba-kahũ māri,* killing all ; *kuca-kahõ dhàri Hari,* Hari touching the breast. These are also used after conjunctive participles ; e.g. *śuni-kahõ,* having heard ; *khedāi- kahõ,* having driven away etc.

The E. As. uses of *-kahũ, -kahõ* both as dative and genitive post-positions seem to be extensions of early Eastern Hindī use of *-kahã, -kahũ* as only dative post-positions, e.g. *janma hetu saba-kahã pitu mātā* (Tulsīdās) ; with reference to all, the father and the mother are the cause of birth: *saba-kahũ sukhada Rāma abhiṣeku* (ibid.), with reference to all, pleasing is the installation of Rāma.

660. The extension of the genitive to the dative is well attested by M.I.A., and that of an affix of relationship (functioning as gen.) to the dative is warranted by N.I.A. ; but there is one category of forms observed by Sir G. A. Grierson which seems to point to the genitival origin of *-kahũ.* "Through all the Indo-Aryan vernaculars the sign of the conjunctive participle is always related to one of the signs of the genitive (L.S.I. VI, p. 159). In the early Assamese expressions quoted above, there are uses of *-kahõ* both as dative and genitive post-positions, and also as a conjunctive participle. If *-kahũ, -kahã* are genitival in origin, they can be explained as M.I.A. adjectival-genitival *-kka* + gen. *-hã, -hũ,* where the nasalisation may be due to analogy with the loc. *-hi* which was frequently used to form the oblique base. cf. Old Awadhī *kaha-i* (without the nasal) = *kahã* (Baghelī) (L.S.I. VI, pp. 22, 39).

In *Caryā* (35), appear the forms *makũ* = *mama,* and *mo-kakhu* = *mahyam,* as the commentary explains. The *-kũ* in *makũ* may be short for **makahũ,* and *-kakhu* in the sentence *Bājule dila moha-kakhu* may be related to *kakṣa-* = Mod. Bg. *kāche.* The forms *-kũ* and *kakhu* may not have a common origin.

In any case As. *-ka,* Bg. *-ke,* may be derived either from *kṛta* or M.I.A. *-kka* without postulating *kakṣa* as the root source.

The Dative in *-e*.

661. There are traces of a dative in *-e* in early As. Though this is common to both early As. & Bg. its use was restricted in As. to pronouns only, e.g. *moke ibār karuṇā karā*, shew mercy towards me this time. *uddhārā more*, save me (lit. as far as I am concerned). In the sentences *samaste tyāgila*, gave up all; *āpuni sakale jānā*, yourself know all; *ekowe namāne*, does not regard anything, the termination *-e* seems to be emphatic; (< Skt. particle *-hi*).

This affix is held to be the same as the oblique in *-ahi*, *-ahī* of Eastern and Western Hindī (O.D.B.L. § 499) and it has been traced back to M.I.A. *-ahi* of the locative. (Grierson: *Encycl. Brit. Hindustānī*). This oblique in *-hi*, survives in Mod. As. pronominal derivatives *a'r* hereof: *ta'-r* thereof (*a'*=ŏ) etc. earlier *aira*, *ahira* (§. 711)

The Ablative.

662. Assamese like Bengali does not possess any organic affix for the ablative. In E. As. the ablative sense was conveyed by various devices: (a) by the genitive in *-rà* with verbs implying removing, going away, descending etc.; (b) by placing the post-position *pàrā* after the gen.; (c) by subjoining *hante* (earlier *sante*) to the bare nominal stem or to the genitive or locative of the stem. e.g. *aịrà àntàrà*, remove from here; *garuṛàrà nāmi Hari*, Hari, getting down from Garuḍa etc. The use of the gen. for the ablative with certain classes of verbs is warranted by O.I.A. and M.I.A. traditions (Whitney §. 297, d; Hema Chandra: iii, 134).

663. The post-position *parā* (O.I.A. *pare*), primarily meaning 'beyond', 'further,' 'subsequent' etc. has suffered an extension of meaning in its use as an ablative indicating particle. Its primary significance is retained in certain contexts when sequence of events or procedure from a cause or occasion is indicated; e.g., *pānīr juddhar parā āru juddha nàhàl*, after the water-fight, there was no more fighting (*Burañji*: K.A.S. p. 149); *darab khowār parā ṭopani āhil*, fell asleep after (by

reason of) taking the medicine. *parā* is the strengthened form of *par* (O.I.A. *pare* > **pari, par*).

The meaning of 'from' seems to have developed out of 'after'. The use of an ablative in the sense 'after' though rare, is not altogether absent in O.I.A. (Whitney § 291, b). Dialectical (Kāmrūpī) *peren, perẽ,* from, seems to be connected with Skt. *pareṇa,* used with the ablative in the sense of "after."

664. *hante* (earlier *sante*) is the locative absolute of present participle *santa,* (√*as*). The ablative sense seems to have developed out of the absolute. In certain constructions, the absolute and the ablative senses seem to be inseparable, e.g. *bhàya sante nṛpatirà śiharila gāwa*: from fear (fear overcoming) the (hairs of the) body of the king stood on end; *età hante tānà dui caraṇata dhari*: such being the case, grasping both his two feet.

In such examples the absolute sense is unmistakable. In a border-line sentence, like *Mantharātà hante pāilā jàtà dukha,* from (by reason of) Mantharā, all the sufferings (you) received, an ablative sense seems to have developed out of the locative absolute. Such transition in meaning is intelligible because in O.I.A. the ablative is used to express both removal and procedure as from a cause*or occasion (Whitney §§ 290, 291a).

hante occurs in Mid. Bg. as *hante, honte, hãte, hane,* indicating the ablative with the base. It is found also in dialectical Bengali as *hãte* (Khaṛiā, Ṭhār), *hote* (Maldah).

hante corresponds to Mag. *satī*; Bhoj. *sante*; from, by (L.S.I.V. II, pp. 38, 50).

The uses of *hanta-* to express the plural and the conditional past have been noticed under respective sections. (§§ 624, 786 ff).

CHAPTER XV.

THE PRONOUN.

665. Except in the nominative, the pronoun in Assamese takes the same affixes and post-positions as the noun, but unlike the noun it has a definite oblique or common form (*sāmānya-rūpa*) to which the affixes or post-positions are added. This oblique form is generally the old genitive in M.I.A. In M.I.A. the genitive case-form could be substituted for all other cases except the nominative (Hema Chandra: iii. 134) and hence perhaps it came to be looked upon, when more distinctive and individualized forms were thought necessary, as the base to which other case-endings could be easily added. Even in O.I.A. the genitive " often bears the aspect of being a substitute for other cases as dative, instrumental, ablative, locative " (Whitney §. 294, b).

The Pronoun of the First Person.

666. Like nouns in the instrumental-nominative *-e*, Assamese pronouns also are capable of both active and passive constructions with the past participles of transitive verbs; e.g. *màì karõ*, I do; *màì karā kām*, the work done by me. So also *teõ kàre*, he does; *tcõ karā kām*, the work done by him etc. This leads to the supposition that the present-day pronominal nominatives of Assamese are either the products of two confluent forms or they were originally instrumental later used as the nominatives.

The pronoun of the 1st person Sg. is *màì*. It affiliates itself to M.I.A. instr. *mae*, *mai*, (Ap.) *maĩ* and not to M.I.A. nom. Sg. *ahaṁ*, *haṁ*; *hage*, *hagge*, or (Ap.) *haũ*.

The *Caryās* illustrate the passive construction of *màì* with the past or future (in *-il-*; *-ib-*) of a transitive verb e.g.

età-kālà haũ acchilẽ sva-mohe
ebe màì bujhila sadguru-bohe.

"For such a long time I was in my own ignorance;
Now by me it has been understood through the good master's instruction." (quoted from O.D.B.L. p. 808).

There was a confusion between the active and passive constructions and in *Prākṛta piṅgala* (1. 5) the active construction with instr. *tài*, thou, (O.I.A. *tayā*: M.I.A. *tae, tai*) occurs:

arere vāhahi Kāṇha nāva choṭi
daga-maga kugati na dehi;
tai ithī ṇadihī sātāra dei
jo cāhasi so lehi.

"Row on, O Kāṇu, this small boat unsteady, and put me not into distress;
You ferrying (me) across this river, take whatsoever you desire (from me)".

It appears that in late M.I.A. there was a free use of *mài, tài* etc. both in the active and the passive constructions.

The dialectical Bihārī forms are *maĩ, moe, moi;* dialectical Bg. and As. *mui.* The nasalisation in *ĩ, ẽ* is inherited from the AP. and seems due to the influence of the instrumental affix *-ena,* of the nominative: *maĩ moe* < as if **may' ena.* In *moẽ, moi,* the instrumental *-ẽ -i* (< *ĩ,*) has been extended to the oblique base *mo-*

The As. and Bg. dialectical *mui* is from *moi,* the change of *-o-* to *-u-* being due to vowel harmony.

667. The oblique base *mo-* to which post-positions are added with the value of different case-endings (*mo-k; mo-r; mo-t*) is derived from the genitive *mama,* which serves as the oblique base in M.I.A. (acc. *mama-ṁ;* abl. *mam-āo;* gen. *mama;* loc. *mama-mmi*); *mama* > **mawã, maũ, mõ, mo.* A dialectical form in *mà-* also occurs derived from *mama* > **mawã-, mã-, mà-.* In the early Assamese oblique base *moho,* the *-ha* (*-ho*) is an extension of the Mg. gen. affix *-ha* (AP. *-ho*) of nouns (cf. *puttaha, puttaho*).

668. The 1st person Pl. is *āmi,* we. It goes back to O.I.A. (Vedic) *asme,* we > M.I.A. *amhe* > **amhi, āmi.*

In AP. Pl. *amhaĩ*, the *-ĩ* seems to be an extension of the instrumental *-ĩ* to the M.I.A. oblique base *amha-*.

There is also a regular instrumental Pl. in *amhehi*. This seems to establish the instrumental origin of the nom. case-ending.

In forms like As. and Bg. *āmi*, O. *ambhe*, *āmhe*, the *-i*, *-e* seem to be the result of the fusion of M.I.A. *-e*, Mg. *-e* and the instrumental *-ẽ*, *-e*.

669. The oblique base *āmā-* represents O.I.A. *asma*, M.I.A. oblique base *amha-* strengthened by an *-ā* < *-āha*, of the genitive suffix of the noun. "In M.B. there is a frequent use of the base *āmhā* without the genitival *-rà* for the genitive." (O.D.B.L. p. 812). Cf. also Assamese *āmā-lok*, we.

The Pronoun of the Second Person.

670. The nominative Sg. is *tài* (inferior; orig. Sg.); *tumi* (superior; orig. Pl.).

The inferior *tài* is a parallel form to *mài* and derived from M.I.A. instr. *tae*, *tai*, (Ap.) *tàĩ*. The active construction with *tai* in late M.I.A. has been noted above.

The oblique base *to-* (dialectical *tà-*) represents O.I.A. gen. *tava*.

The formation of the E. As. oblique base *toho-*, corresponds to that of *moho-*.

The superior *tumi*, you, represents O.I.A. *yuṣme*, M.I.A. *tumhe* (a blend of *tva* + *yuṣme*) and is a fusion of M.I.A. nominative and instr. *-e*.

The instrumental use occurs in the *Caryās*: *tumhe jāiba* (O.D.B.L. § 550).

The oblique base *tomā-* is derived from M.I.A. oblique base *tumha-* plus *-ā* < genitival *-āha*.

E. As. honorific genitive *tuiwā*, *tàju*, (loans from Brajabuli) are connected with M.I.A. genitive *tuva*, *tuha*, strengthened by *-ā*, and *tujjha*: *tujjha* > **tujja*, **tuja*, > *tàju* (by vowel transposition).

671. There are dialectical (Kāmrūp) Pl. forms *tuhun, tohnāi, tàhnāi,* you. Oblique forms are *tu-, to-, tà-.*

The origin of *-hun* and *-hān* as Pl. suffixes has been already discussed (§§ 634, 636).

672. In early Assamese there are oblique bases *āmāsā-, tomāsā-,* in the 1st and 2nd person Pl. Their sources have been already discussed. (§ 626).

The Pronoun of the Third Person.

673. The nominative singular for the 3rd person (masc.) is *si* corresponding to M.I.A. *so ;* Mg. *śe* ; O.I.A. *saḥ.* In all probability the Mg. Ap. form was **śi* and Assamese *si* seems to have been an inheritance from the Mg. AP. form. The pronoun occurs in Bg. and O. as *se.* Both in *si,* and *se,* the vowels *-e* and *-i,* seem to represent a fusion as in *āmi, tumi* etc. of the nom. and instr. *-e (-i).*

674. The oblique base *tā-* is connected with Mg. gen. Sg. *tāha* > **tāa-* > N.I.A. *tā-.* The oblique in *tāhā-* is a strengthened form of the original genitive *tāha.*

The dialectical Pl. forms are *tāhun, tāhnāi, tehnāi ;* oblique bases being *tā-, te-* ; the Pl. suffixes *-hun, -hān* having been added to the bases (§§ 634-636).

In E. As. forms *tāhāŋka, tāŋka* ; *tāhānta, tānta* etc. the oblique base in *-āhāŋ-, -āhān-,* seems to be connected with gen. Pl. affix *-āhaṁ* > **-āhāṁ ;* also shortened into *-āṁ.*

675. The honorific Sg. is *teõ ;* early Assamese *tehe, tewe; teho, tehõ ;* Pl. *tehente, tente.* All these forms can be equated to AP. **tehã.* (O.I.A. *teṣām* > *tesaṁ, tesã,tehã*) cf. §. 176.

Corresponding to masculine *si,* there is also a feminine *tāi* in Assamese which may be traced to M.I.A. instrumental *tāe* (Pischel § 425).

The honorific genitives *tāna, tāhāna* are the M.I.A. gen. Pl. *tāṇa,* and gen. Sg. *tāha* plus Pl. *āna* (*-āṇa*).

E. As. honorific Pl. *tehente* = *tente* is made up of *te-hante* (§ 624).

The Proximate or Near Demonstrative.

676. The near demonstrative is masculine *i* (this man); fem. *ei* (this woman). Both the forms can be traced back to the stem *eta-*; *ei* being connected with M.I.A. instrumental *eīe*, of feminine stem *eī*=O.I.A. * *etī-* (Pischel §. 426). The masc. *i* (E. As. *e*; Bg. and O. *e*) can be similarly traced back to some M.I.A. form like instr.-nom. **etẽ* > **ete* > **eẽ*, *e*, > *i*. (O.I.A. *etena*).

677. The oblique base is masc. *iyā-*, fem. *ei-*. The formation is parallel to that of *tā-* (*tāhā-*) and *tāi*.

678. The honorific *eõ* (E. As. *eho*, *ehõ*) parallel to *teõ* (E. As. *teho*, *tehõ*) of the demonstrative, may be connected with late M.I.A. (AP.) **ehã* (O.I.A. *eṣām* > **esaṁ*, **esã*, **ehã*) (§ 176).

679. The dialectical (Kāmrūp) Pl. forms *āhun*, *āhnāi*, *ehnāi*; oblique bases *ā-*, *e-*, are parallel to *tāhun*, *tāhnāi* etc. of the demonstrative; and the base *ā-* can be connected with late M.I.A. (AP.) stem *āa-* (Hema Chandra: iv, 365). Cf.

āeṇa = *anena*; *āaho* = *asya* etc. (Pischel § 429).

E. As. *āk*, *ār*, *āt* are connected with M.I.A. base *āa-*.

E. As. *ehente*, *ente* are parallel formations to *tehente*, *tente*.

The Remote or Far Demonstrative.

680. The far demonstrative *o* of Bengali, and *o*, *u*, of the Bihārī languages do not exist in Assamese and Oṛiyā.

In both the languages the ordinary demonstrative *se*, *tāhā*, *tā* serves the purpose of the far demonstrative. In some Eastern Bengali dialects too, *se*, *tār* are frequently used in place of *o*, *or*.

The Relative Pronoun.

681. The relative pronoun in Assamese is *ji, jone*: the oblique form is *jā-*; neuter *jih*; dialectical *jāy*.

The source of this pronoun is the O.I.A. relative *ya-*. It is derived on the same principle as the demonstrative *si*.

The formations *jone, jāy, jih*, are parallel to *kone, kāy, kih* of the interrogative (discussed below).

The form *jāy* occurs also in the Raŋgpur dialect of Bengali.

The Interrogative Pronoun.

682. The interrogative *ki*, what? (undefined), obl. *kā-*, is derived exactly on the same principle as *si* of the ordinary demonstrative, from the pronominal stem *ka-*. It occurs as *ke* in other Magadhan dialects.

The forms used to indicate sentient beings are *kon*, who, and (dialectical) *kāy*.

683. The pronoun *kon* (*kaun, kawan* of the Bihārī dialects) can be affiliated to Western Ap. *kavaṇa-* which has been traced to O.I.A. *kaḥ punar* (Kellogg: § 285; Bhāṇḍārkār: *Wilson Philological Lectures*, p. 206; Chatterji: §. 583). The suggested derivation seems to be supported by the fact "that *kaun, kon* is found only in the nominative in the Northern Indian languages, although the oblique use is found in Gujarātī and Mārāṭhī". (O.D.B.L., p. 842).

684. Dialectical *kāy*, who, may be connected with M.I.A. base **kāa-* (cf. *kāi* = *kiṁ*, why, wherefore; H.C. iv, 367). It may be derived from instrumental **kāena* > **kāĕ, *kāi, kāy*.

685. The neuter base *kih-*, as in nom. *kihe*; instr. *kihere*; loc. *kihat*, etc. (E.As. *kisa*); Bg. *kisa*; "goes back to early M.I.A. gen. *kissa* or *kiśśa* (Mg.) = O.I.A. **kisya* (*kasya*). During the early M.I.A. period this form extended its sense to the ablative and became stereotyped into the

neuter nominative as well, in the sense of *what*". O.D.B.L. §. 584).

686. The ablative sense is preserved in E.As. *kisà-kà* (why, for what reason) ; *kisàkà kāndahà*, why do you weep? Cf. Mg. *kīśa kālaṇādo* = *kasmāt kāraṇāt*.

Modern Assamese adverbial *kiyà, kelaı̯* (*kiyà*+*laı̯*), why, wherefore, is connected with E.As. *kisa* ; M.I.A. *kiśśa*. (*kisa*>*kiha*>*kiya*, all forms being attested in E. As.). *kelaı̯*, < *kiyà* + *laı̯* (*-iya* > *-e* in As. § 239b.).

The forms *jā̃y, tā̃y, jih* are built upon the analogy of *kā̃y, kih*.

The Indefinite Pronoun.

687. The indefinite pronouns in Assamese are *keo* and *kono*. *keo* (E.As.) corresponds to Bg. *keha, keho, keu*. Dialectical *kā̃yo*. They are all constructed with negative verbs and mean "no body."

"It is a nominative Māgadhī form, coming from O.I.A. *kah api* > *Mg. **ke'pi* > **ke'vi* > * *ke-va* > * *ke-ẇa, ke-o* > *keha, keho* (with influence from the emphatic particle *hu, ho*)". (O.D.B.L., §. 588). Oṛiyā has *kei*. The Bihārī dialects have (Maith) *keo* : (Mg.) *keu* : (Bhoj.) *kehu, keu*. Eastern Hindī has both *kehū, kehi*. Western Hindī has the proper Saurasenī form *koi* (Kellogg : § 292).

In *kono* (Eastern Hindī, *kaunaı̯* ; Bhoj. *kaunu*) "affix *-api* has been originally added to the compounded form *kah* + *punar* ; the *-api* being reduced (as above) to *au* or *o*". (Kellogg : §. 292).

688. The oblique form of *keo* is *kā* (*ha*)-, or *kā* (*hā*) + case affix or post-position + *o* (< * *awa*, < * *ava*, < *api*). Dr. Chatterji (§. 563) connects this *-o* with the emphatic particle *hu* and *ho*. But the derivation from *api* conveys the sense better.

689. The affix *-bā* is often added to pronominal derivatives expressing manner or quality to suggest an indefinite sense; e.g. *kene-bā, kono-bā, jene-bā, ki-bā,* etc. With *-bā,* the forms *kono-, kāyo-,* give an affirmative sense "some body". It has been suggested that this *bā* is the same as the Skt. particle *vā* (cf. Bg. *kebā, keibā.*).

690. The neuter indefinite *kichu* is found also in other Magadhan dialects. In Oṛiyā it occurs as *kichi.* It represents O.I.A. *kim + cid,* appearing as *kiṁchi, kichi; kichi* in the Central and Eastern inscriptions of Aśoka and *kiṁchi* in the West. The aspiration has been explained as due to contamination with the masculine *kaścid* > * *kacchi.* (O.D.B.L. §. 589).

The final *-u* (in *kichu,* O. *kichi*) seems due to addition of *api* (cf. *keo;* O. *kei*), as explained above.

In negative constructions, there is also the indefinite *eko,* meaning "nothing" added; < *eka, ĕkka, eka, ek + o.* (§. 688).

The Reflexive and Honorific Pronoun.

691. The reflexive pronoun in Assamese is *āpuni,* by oneself. O.I.A. *ātman,* self, gave two forms in M.I.A. *atta-,* and *appa-*; which are both preserved as noun substantives in As. *ātā,* father, grandfather, *āta̲i,* a revered person, *āp,* a revered person, *āpā,* a boy, a son.

Assamese adjectival *-āpon,* one's own, is connected with M.I.A. *appaṇaa-* < *O.I.A. *ātmanaka-.*

The reflexive *āpuni* is in the instrumental case-ending of the bare stem *āpon-* (*ātmaṇaḥ=appaṇa-*). Both the forms, adjectival *āpon,* and instrumental *āpuni,* have been in use since early times; e.g.

"*āpuni āpona bandhu, āpuni āpona śatru, āpuni āponà rākhe māre;* One is one's own friend, one is one's own enemy; one preserves and kills oneself." (Mādhava Deva: *Nāma Ghoṣā*). In modern Assamese the reflexive *āpuni* has the sense of "by one self", "voluntarily".

692. As in Bengali, so in Assamese the extension of the sense from the reflexive to the honorific second personal pronoun is a recent phenomenon. Neither in early nor in middle Assamese (of the chronicles) is it found in this construction.

The *ts.* word *nija*, in the instrumental form *nije*, is also used reflexively in modern Assamese

693. The other honorific pronouns in As. are *ekhet, a't;* this person; *tekhet, ta't;* that person. Originally locatives in form (cf. E. As. *ahi-tà, a͡ità; tahi-tà, ta͡ità*), *a't, ta't* are used as honorific pronouns of the third person (also of the second person in a highly honorific sense), and they are regularly declined in the singular in all the cases (except the accusative), the declensional base being *a'-, ta'-;* e.g. instr. *a're;* gen. *a'r;* loc. *a't.* So also *ta're; ta'r; ta't.* The transfer of the locative *a't, ta't* to the nominative in an honorific sense takes place through semantic extension; *a't* = here, belonging here, the person belonging here, this presence.

694. *ekhet, tekhet* are similar in formation. In middle Assamese (of the chronicles) are found the forms *ekhet,* in this place; *ekher,* of this place; *ekhela͡i,* to this place. (*Puraṇi Asama Burañji,* K.A.S.). The extension of the locative *ekhet* to the honorific pronouns of the third and second persons took place in the beginning of the modern period. In Mod. As., *ekhet* is regularly declined both in the singular and in the plural in all the cases; the bases for the Singr. being *ekhe-, ekhet-.* In the Pl. *sàkàl* is added to the stem *ekhet;* e.g. instr. *ekhere, ekhetere;* gen. *ekher, ekhetàr,* etc.

The use of *tekhet,* to indicate place, is not met with in E.As. It must have owed its origin to analogy with *ekhet.* This is also shewn by the fact that the declensional base of *tekhet* in the Singular is *tekhet,* and not *tekhe-* also.

Originally supposed to be locative, *ekhet, tekhet* shew double forms in the locative; *ekhet, ekhetat; tekhet, tekhetat.*

695. In the evolution of *ekhet*, this honoured person, (earlier, "in this place"), there is the influence of analogy with *a't* (here: this honoured person). The *-t* (organic) in *ekhet* was confounded with the loc. in *-t*, and *ekhet* was construed as equivalent to "in this place". The back-formations *ekhe-r*, of this place; *ekhe-lai*, towards this place, etc., were made on that popular assumption. There is another line of development in modern times with *ekhet-* as the base. That explains double forms like *ekhet, ekhetat; ekher, ekhetar.*

ekhet thus looks back as origin to some form like *etat-kṣetra.*

THE PRONOMINAL DERIVATIVES.

Demonstrative and Multiplicative Adjectives.

696. The demonstrative adjectives are, *ei, eiyā; sei, seiyā; saṷ, saṷwā.*

The demonstrative adjectives *ei, sei* are the same as the demonstrative pronouns *e, se* as preserved in Bengali and other Magadhan dialects, plus the emphatic particle *hi.* Thus *sei* is parallel to O.I.A. *sohi*, M.I.A. (Mg.) *śehi; saṷ*, that yonder, $< *sa + hu$ (O.I.A. *saḥ + khalu*).

The extended forms *seiyā, saṷwā*, etc., are obtained by adding the definitive affix *-ā.*

697. The multiplicative adjectives are, *kei*, how many; *keibā*, many; *jei*, as many.

kei may be traced back to O.I.A. *kati* plus emphatic *hi.* So also *jei* is connected with *yati.*

keibā, many, a certain number, is an indefinite form of *kei.* The affix *-bā* has been explained (§. 689).

698. Adjectives of manner or quality.

These are *ene*, this-like; *tene*, that-like; *kene*, what-like; *jene*, which-like (E.As. *enaẏà, ehnaẏà, henaẏà, tenaẏà, jenà*, etc.).

These are related to Bg. *hena, jena, tena;* Bih. (Maith.) *e-han, te-han, ke-han,* etc. Dr. Chatterji traces them (O.D.B.L. § 600) to Mag. Ap. sources like **aihaṇa, *t̲aihaṇa, * jaihaṇa, * kaihaṇa,* which would represent earlier **aiśaṇa, *taiśàṇa* (Mag.) < M.I.A. *aisa, taisa,* etc., (preserved in E. As. § 703). The earlier forms in *-saṇa* are not traceable. The final *-e* in As. forms is due to emphatic *hi* > *i.*

The extended forms in *-kuẇā* (*enekuẇā, tenekuẇa,* etc.) are obtained by adding pleonastic *-ka* + adjectival *-uẇā.*

The early Assamese forms *kaichana, jaichana* may be traced back to O.I.A. forms in *-dṛkṣa* (*yādṛkṣa, kīdṛkṣa,* etc.) plus pleonastic *-na.*

699. Forms in *màtà, mànà* are found in early Assamese only. They do not occur in modern Assamese.

These have been traced back to O.I.A. *-mant-, -vant-* (O.D.B.L. §. 599). Derivatives in *-vant-*, if formed from pronominal stems, have the meaning of "resembling" instead of "possessing"; thus *ī-vant-*, so great; *kī-vant-*, how far etc. Macdonell. §. 235a). Early Assamese preserves stray instances of *-vant-* in the sense of resemblance; (cf. *Rāmāyaṇa,* p. 223; Mādhava Kandali) : *Bālīka dekhilā gaiyā, mūrchiterà ẇate āche*: going, saw Bali, (who was) lying like one fainting.

In Bengali, *-màt*; *-màn* are living affixes. Oṛiyā preserves it in the form *-manta.*

The group *-nt-* changes to *-t-* and also irregularly to *-n-* (§ 470).

Pronominal Adjectives of Quantity and Number.

700. These can be divided into the following groups:—

(a). *etek, tetek, ketek, jetek.*
(b). *eti-, teti-, keti-, jeti-.*
(c). *imān, timān, kimān, jimān, simān.*
(d). *sakalo; ketà-(bor), bhāle-(mān).*

The corresponding Bengali forms are *ata, tata, kata, jata;* and Oṛiyā forms are *ete, tete, kete, jete, sete.*

701. The sources of form-groups *ȧt-*, *tȧt-*, *et-*, *tet-*, etc. have been fully discussed by Dr. Chatterji (O.D.B.L. § 601). These form-groups are related to early M.I.A. (Pāli) *etta-ka, kitta-ka ;* second M.I.A. *ettia, kettia, tettia* etc. and are traceable to O.I.A. (Vedic) **ayattya, > *ayattiya ; *kayattya, > *kayattiya* etc. (Pischel : § 153) made up of the pronominal base + the affix *-yant (-yat)* + an adjectival *-tya, > -tiya (ihatya, tatratya* etc.), (ibid ; and O.D.B.L. § 601). Thus *ettaka > *ettaa, > *etta, etȧ-*. Similarly *ettia, kettia > *ettī, kettī, > -eti-, keti-*.

The forms *etȧ, ketȧ* etc. take the plural suffix after them ; *etȧ--bor ; ketȧ-bor ;* so many, how many etc.

The forms *eti-, keti-* etc. are followed by *kṣaṇa* to indicate time ; *eti-kṣaṇa, teti-kṣaṇa ;* this instant, that instant, etc.

702. The forms in *-mān,* indicating measure, quantity, are made up of pronominal base+the affix *-yant (-yat)+ts. māna* (measure, quantity). Thus ** iyat+māna > * iyam-māna > * īmāna, imāna, imān,* this much. The forms like *timān, simān,* etc., are built by analogy. *bhālemān,* good many, a good quantity, *< bāhula- > * bhāala- > bhāla-*.

sȧkȧlo, all, is derived from ts. *sakala+hu < -kkhu < khalu.*

Adverbs of Time.

703. These also can be divided into several groups :

(a) *etiyā ; tetiyā ; ketiyā ; jetiyā.*

(b) *athani ; tāhāni ; kāhāni ; jāhāni.*

Dialectical : *ethen ; tethen ; kethen ; jethen,*

Also : *keihni ; jeihni ; teihni,* etc.

Early Assamese : *ai̯sāni ; tai̯sāṇi ; kai̯sāni ; jai̯jsāni.*

(c) *āwe (ebho) ; jewe ; tewe.*

704. The first group *etiyā, ketiyā,* etc., can be equated to M.I.A. form-groups *ettia, kettia,* etc., (explained above) plus temporal affix *-ā*. (Cf. also M.I.A. *kaiā,* when, *< * kayidā, < * kayā + dā.*) .

705. The forms *athani* (*ethen, ethon*), can be traced back to M.I.A. *ettha;* O.I.A. *atra* > **itra, *etra,* > *ettha* + temporal affix *-na-* (cf. *adhu-nā,* now; Vedic *a-dhā,* then, Macdonell: *Vedic Grammar for students,* p. 212.) *ettha* + *na* > *ethen;* also variant *ethon.* So also *athani* < *atra,* > * *attha* + *n-.* Though *atra* is a locative formation, it has also a temporal sense in the Vedic language.

The forms *kethen, tethen,* etc., are connected with M.I.A. (Ap) *ketthu, tetthu,* etc., equated to O.I.A. *kutra, tatra,* etc.

706. Early Assamese *aisāni, kaisāni,* etc., are derived from M.I.A. *aisa, kaisa,* etc., (Explained above) + temporal *-ni.*

707. The group *tāhāni, kāhāni, jāhāni* may be said to be related to M.I.A. temporal locatives *tāhe, kāhe, jāhe* (from earlier locative feminine * *tāse, jāse;* Pischel. §. 425) and early Assamese *taisāni, kaisāni, jaisāni.* A form like *tāhāni* seems to point to * *tāse* > * *tāsi,* * *tās* + *-ā* (strengthened) + *ni.*

708. The Western Assam dialectical *keinhi, keihni; jeinhi, jeihni; keinhā, keihnā: jeinhā, jeihnā;* represent formations from two sources. There is the M.I.A. (Mg.) *iṇhiṁ, eṇhiṁ,* now, (the affix *-hiṁ* being related to locative *-smin* > Mg. *śśiṁ* > *śiṁ* > Mg. (Ap.) *-hiṁ*) (Pischel. §§. 313; 429); *eṇhiṁ* > *enhi, enhi* extended analogically to demonstrative pronominal adjectives, *ei, kei, jei,* give *einhi, eihni; keinhi, keihni,* etc.

The other set of forms, *keihnā, keinhā,* etc., goes back to E.As. *kaisāni* > * *kesāni,* * *kehāni* > *keihnā, keinhā* (by metathesis.)

709. There is another early Assamese set of forms, *ewe, ebho; jewe, tewe.* The formation *ewe* corresponds to M.I.A. (Ap.) *e~vahiṁ,* now, *e~vàhi* > **evẽ, ewe.*

So also from M.I.A. (Ap.) *je~va, te~va* (*yathā, tathā*) etc. + temporal *-hi,* we obtain *jebe, tebe,* etc.

ebho, now, < **eva* + *hu* < *evam* +*khalu.* (Cf. H. *ab, abhu, abho*).

710. E.As. *jāwe, tāwe, āwe,* are related to M.I.A. (Ap.) *jāmahi, tāmahi*=O.I.A. *yāvadbhiḥ, tāvadbhiḥ,* etc. (Pischel. §. 261) ; *jāmahi* > **jāvāi* > *jāve, jāwe.*

Adverbs of Place, Direction, etc.

711. Adverbs of place *ka't, ja't, ta't, a't* are related to early Assamese *kahi-tà, kaita ; jahi-tà, jaità ; tahi-tà, taità ; ahi-tà, aità.*

All these forms go back to M.I.A. (Ap.) *kahi, jahi, tahi,* etc. (O.I.A. *kasmin ; yasmin ; tasmin,* etc. Pischel. §§. 75, 313, 427) + Assamese locative *-ta,* = *kahi* + *ta* > **kàità,* > *kaità, ka't.* E.As. *tàÿà,* there, is related to M.I.A. *taha* < *tattha* < O.I.A. *tatra.*

712. There are dialectical forms like *kàhẽ, jàhẽ, sàhẽ, tàhẽ, àhẽ ;* also *kàhāi, jàhāi,* etc.

These forms go back to M.I.A. (Ap.) *kaha, jaha, taha* (O.I.A. *kutra, yatra, tatra ;* Pischel. §. 107) and Mg. ablative forms *kamhā, kahã ; jamhā jahã* (Pischel. § 425, *et seq.*). Thus *kaha*+locative *i* > *kahẽ ; kahã*+loc. *i, -i* > *kahãi.*

713. Adverbs of direction *jeni, teni, keni* may be derived from O.I.A. instrumental *yena, tena,* etc. (also used adverbially); **kenena* > **kenẽ, kene, keni.* Early Assamese has *kene* in the sense of 'why'.

The forms *kŏlai, jŏlai, tŏlai* are compounds of *kahi, jahi, tahi* plus *lai* < *lagi.*

714. Adverbial *tehe,* (E.As. *tewese*), 'and then', 'such having been the case' and *teo,* even then, notwithstanding; correspond to old Bg. *tẽe, teẽ ;* Ap. *teva, tevã,* (O.I.A. *tathā-*) ; and early Bg. *tẽu* (Ap. *tevã*+*hu*<*khalu*) ; *tehe, tewese* are equivalent to O.I.A. ** tathā sati* > M.I.A. ** teva sai* > ** tevese, tewese, tehe.* The nasal in early Bg. *tẽu* is due to the alternative nasalised M.I.A. (Ap.) form *tevã.*

CHAPTER XVI.

ASSAMESE VERB ROOTS.

715. The sources of N.I.A. roots have been discussed *in extenso* in standard works on the subject (cf. Hoernle, pp. 161 *et seq.*; Chatterji, pp. 870 *et seq.*; Grierson; *Prākrita dhātvādeśa; Introduction etc.*). From the Assamese standpoint there is hardly anything new to be added to the conclusions already established. In the following pages, the principal Assamese roots are arranged according to the scheme of classification drawn up by Dr. Chatterji for the grouping of N.I.A. roots.

Assamese roots may be broadly classified into two groups: (1) Primary roots; (2) Secondary roots. They fall again into the following sub-groups:

(1) Primary roots ..
- Primary roots inherited from O.I.A (*tbhs.*):
  - (a) Simple roots,
  - (b) Prefixed roots.
- Primary roots from causatives in O.I.A.
- Primary roots reintroduced from Skt. (*tss.* and *stss.*)
- Primary roots of doubtful (*deśi*) and non-Aryan origin.

(2) Secondary roots ..
- Causatives in *-ā-*;
- Denominatives—
  - -native (*tbh.*)
  - *-ts.*
  - -foreign.
- Compounded and suffixed.
- Onomatopoetic.
- Doubtful.

(I). Primary Roots.

716. Below is appended a list of some of the primary roots in Assamese. Denominatives derived from M.I.A. are classed amongst primary roots, since they have been inherited as roots by Assamese and behave exactly like primitive roots derived from O.I.A. (Cf. As. *tare,* pitches a curtain or a tent, M.I.A. *taḍai*=O.I.A. **tatati,* √*tan* ; As. *kāṛhe,* draws, M.I.A. *kaḍḍhai*=O.I.A. **kṛṣṭati,* etc). Roots like these might have been regarded as denominatives in M.I.A. but the nouns and adjectives from which they are derived are in many cases obsolete in Assamese.

717. Many of the roots can be traced back to O.I.A. sources and some only to M.I.A. sources where they were regarded as *ādeśas* or substitutes for O.I.A. roots owing to phonetic irregularities, alterations in meaning, or obscurity of origin.

718. Apart from phonetic modification and decay and the analogical tendency which brought about a general uniformity in conjugation, there are certain other modifications through which M.I.A. roots have passed. In M.I.A. the bases of active roots are frequently derived not from the active form in O.I.A. but rather from the passive, and in some cases apparently from the future, rather than from the present. Causative bases of O.I.A. also supplied the simple root forms of M.I.A. and N.I.A.

719. The cause of the confusion between the active and the passive seems to be due to the great likeness between the active forms of the Skt. *div-* class and the passive. Even in O.I.A. these forms could be distinguished only by the accent which in the *div-* class is thrown on the radical and in the passive on the suffixal vowel. (Hoernle : p. 170). Moreover, with the disappearance of the *ātmanepada* voice, the personal terminations came to be identical both in the active and the passive, e.g. O.I.A. active *yudhyati* and passive *yudhyate* would alike > M.I.A. *jujjhai.*

720. Passive-active constructions were not unknown to parent Sanskrit itself. "By their form, *mriyate*, dies; *dhriyate*, maintains itself, are passives from the roots √*mṛ* and √*dhṛ*, although neither is used in a proper passive sense and √*mṛ* is not even transitive. With these may be compared the stems *ādriya-*, heed; and *āpriya-*, be busy, which are perhaps peculiar adaptations of meaning of the passive from the roots √*dṛ*, pierce, and √*pṛ*, fill, (Whitney § 770). Active endings are also occasionally taken by forms properly passive, Cf. *ādhmāyati*, *bhūyati* etc. In the epics, active endings are by no means infrequently taken by the passive, cf. *śakyati*, *śrūyanti*, etc., (Ibid § 774). There was moreover, a greater vogue of the passive construction of sentences in later Sanskrit literature and the third person singular passive was freely made both from the transitive as well as intransitive verbs (Ibid § 999a).

721. M.I.A. verbal formations like *callai*, *laggai*, *phuṭṭai* etc. were derived from the passive.

Some very common Assamese verbs like *niye*, takes; *diye*, gives; *ruce*, is agreeable; *raje*, is suitable; *cohe*, sucks up; *game*, ponders over, etc. are derivable only from the passive forms *nīyate*, *dīyate*, *rucyate*, *rajyate*, *cūṣyate*, *gamyate* etc. The corresponding Bengali forms *ney*, takes; *dey*, gives, are connected with the active forms *nayati*, **dayati*.

(A).

722. The following is a list of some of the common primary roots. They include some roots illustrating the incorporation of O.I.A. class-signs.

ãc, draft, make an outline of; (cf. M.I.A. *añc*, draw a line or figure).

ãch, is, (M.I.A. *acchai*; O.I.A. **acchati*, O.D.B.L. p. 1035).

kãp, tremble, (*kamp*).

kãc, fasten tightly, (*kacyate*).

kãnd, cry, (*krand*).

kãh, cough, (*kās*).

kãc̃, cut up into pieces, (*kañcai*, *kaccai*, *kṛtyate*).

kāc, attire, (*kṛtyate*).
kăr, husk paddy, (*kaṇḍ*).
kin, buy, (*krīṇāti*).
kud, romp about, (**kund*, **kudd*, *kurd*).
kuṭ, chop, (*kuṭṭ*).
kõc, shrink, (*kuñc*).
khap, pass as a night, (*kṣapyate*).
khān, *khānd* } dig, (*khanyate*).
khel, play, (*khel*, *krīḍ*).
khund, pound, (M.I.A. *khundadi*, O.I.A. *kṣuṇatti*).
khõṭ, peck with the bill, (M.I.A. *khuṭṭ*).
gaṇ, count, (*gaṇ*).
gam, think over, (*gamyate*).
gaṛh, fashion, make; (M.I.A. *gaḍhai*, *ghaṭate*).
gal, melt, (*gal*).
gāj,, roar, (*garj*).
gắṭh, string, tie, (*gaṇṭhai*, *granth*).
gil, swallow, (*gil*, *gir*, *gṛ*).
gõth, string as a garland, (*gunthai*).
guṇ, ponder, (*guṇ*).
guc, be off, pass away (? *gluñc*).
ghõṭ, stir up, churn, (M.I.A. *ghoṭṭai*).
cā, look at, (*cāy*).
cāk, taste, (*cakkhai*).
cắc, smooth with an adze, (*tvakṣ* > **tyakṣ*).
cār, let go, release, (M.I.A. *chaḍḍai*, *chard*).
cop, lie in wait, (*cupyate*, √*cup*, to move stealthily).
co, touch, (*chuv*, *chup*).
chĩr, be torn, (M.I.A. *chindai*, *chinatti*).
jah, decompose, (*jas*).
jin, be victorious, (*jināti*).
jor, aim at, (*juḍyate*).
jor, clear jungles etc. (M.I.A. *jhoḍ*).
jắk, be annoyed, (M.I.A. *jhaṁkhai*).
jar, ooze out, (*jhar*, *kṣar*).
ḍhāk, cover, (M.I.A. *ḍhakkai*).
thāk, remain, (*thakkai*).

di, give, (*dīyate*).
deo, cross striding, (*ḍivvai*, √*ḍī*).
dho, wash, (M.I.A. *dhovvai*, connected with O.I.A. *dhauta*).
ni, take away, (*nīyate*).
pĩh, rub, pound, (*piṣ*).
per, squeeze out, (*pīdyate*).
phand, throb, (*spand*).
phir, return, (M.I.A. *phirai*).
phur, walk about, (*sphur*).
bȧ, weave, (*vayati*).
bak, babble, (*valk*).
bal, blow as wind, (*val*).
bāc, live, (*vañc*).
bhul, forget, (M.I.A. *bhullai*).
bhok, bark, (M.I.A. *bhukkai*).
bhir, bend, (*bhṛ*).
maj, be softened as a fruit, (*majjati*).
mal, wipe as tears, (*malai*, *mradate*).
mār, kneed as flour, (*maḍḍai*, **mardati*).
rȧ, stay, (M.I.A. *rahai*).
rengā, be inconsistent with, (cf. O.I.A. *riṇg*).
lor, gather as fuel, (*luṇṭh*).
suj, repay, (*śudhyate*).
sī, sew, (*sivvai*, *sīvyati*).
śo, sleep, (*svap*).
suṅ, smell, (Cf. *śiṇgh*).
sõwar, remember, (*sumarai*, *smarati*).

(B).

723. The examples of prefixed roots are :

āuṭ, smelt, (*ā-vṛt*) ; *ā-uj*, recline, (*ā-vṛj*) ; *ā-gur*, defend, (*ā-guṇḍ*).

ācõ, wash after eating, (*ā-cam*) ; *āchār*, throw off with force, (*ā*+*chard*).

ār, deposit, pledge, (*ā-dhā*); *ukal*, pass over as time, (*ut-kal*).

ujar, get frightened, (*ut-jhaṭ*) ; *ur*, fly, (*ut-ḍī*) .

urah, be scorched, (*ut-daṅś*).

uphā, be increased, (*ut-sphāy*); *okāl*, eject from the mouth, (*utkālayati*).
opaj, be born, (*ut-padyate*).
ophand, be puffed up, (*ut-spand*).
ophar, bound off, (*ut-sphar*).
obhat, turn back, (? M.I.A. *ovatt*; *apa-vṛt*).
omal, sport, frolic, (*un-√mrad*).
olaṭ, turn back, (M.I.A. *ullaṭṭai*).
olam, be suspended, (*ava-lamb*).
numā, be extinguished, (M.I.A. *numai*; O.I.A. *ni-√vī*).
neõc, contemn, (*ni-añc*).
pam, melt, wither, (*pra-mlai*).
põch, wipe, (*pra-uñch*).
pāhar, forget, (*pra-smṛ*).
sāmar, keep carefully, (*saṁ-bhṛ*).
sõcar, pass from one to another as disease, (*saṁ-car*), etc.

(C).

Primary roots of causative origin.

724. Certain O.I.A. causative roots have become primary roots in Assamese. The old causal sense has been lost and they are ranked as ordinary transitive verbs. New causative formations can be built up by adding causal affixes. *-ā*, *-uā*, *-owā*; e.g. *mare*, he dies; *māre*, he kills, (*mārayati*); new causative *marāy*, he causes to kill. The old causative in *māre* has acquired a mere transitive force.

725. The following are some of the examples of this class of verbs:

upār, dig up, (*ut-pāṭayati*); *ughāl* root up, (*ud-ghāṭayati*).
ubhāl, to root out, (*ud-bhārayati*).
ucāl, heave, (*ut-cālayati*).
kāṭ, cut, (*kartayati*).
cāl, sift, (*cālayati*).
cār, look over cows grazing, (*cārayati*).
chā, cover with thatch, (*chādayati*).
che, cut into pieces, (*chedayati*).

tiyā̃, moisten, soak, (**timāpayati*).
ṭān, pull, (**tānayati*).
tā, blow fire with a bellows, (*tāpayati*).
thà, place, (*sthāpayati*).
dā, reap, (*dāpayati*).
dõwā, bend, (*damayati*).
nowā, anoint before ceremonial bath, (*snāpayati*).
pā̃c, send forth on an errand, (*prāñcayati*).
phāl, split, (M.I.A. *phālei; sphālàyati*).
bā, row, plough, (*vāhayati*).
baṭ, pound, (*vartayati*).
sts. māp, measure, (*māpayati*).
nīrā, weed out, (*nir-dāpayati*).
ro, plant, (*ropayati*); *hān*, pierce, (**hānayati*).
sāŋgor, yoke together, (*saṁ-ghaṭayati*).
sts. śodh, enquire, (*śodhayati*) ; *sts. sādh*, accomplish (*sādhayati*).

(2). Secondary or Derivative Roots.

(A). Causatives.

726. The most characteristic of this class are the causatives. In Assamese (early as well as modern), causatives are formed by adding *-ā* to the primary verb root; e.g. *kare*, he does; *karāy*, he causes to do. There are also two extended forms of *-ā* in *-ōwā, -uwā*, e.g. *karowāy*, he causes to do ; *paṛhuwāy*, he causes to read, i.e. teaches.

The suffixes in other Magadhan dialects are; Bg. *-ā*, O. *-ā*, Maith. *-āb*, Mag. *-ā*, Bhoj. *-āw*.

727. The source of this *-ā* is M.I.A. *-āva* from O.I.A. *-āpa* which was primarily restricted in application to roots ending in the vowel *-ā*, though aberrations are also noticeable. The other O.I.A. causative suffix *-àya* which became *-e* in M.I.A. was largely superseded by *-āva* which in the main gave to the N.I.A. languages their distinctive causal affixes.

728. Assamese *-owā, -uwā* are double causatives in form, though not in sense. They are composed of *-āva* plus

-ā > **-āvā* > *-avā* > *-awā* > *-owā*. In respect of double forms, Assamese may be compared with the Bihārī and western dialects which also possess double causative suffixes both in form and meaning; e.g. W. Hindī *milanā*, to meet, *milānā*, to cause to meet; *milawānā*, to cause to mix; Maith. *dekhab*, to see; *dekhāeb*, to show; *dekhabāeb*, to cause to show. Bhōj. *dekhal, dekhāwal, dekhawāwal*, etc.

Most Assamese roots form their causatives optionally with *-ā, -owā* or *-uwā*. Primary and secondary roots ending in *-ā* always form the causative in *-owā*. There are, however, certain roots ending in consonants that form their causatives exclusively with *-uwā*; e.g. *dekhuwā*, √*dekh;* other roots are √*kānd*, to cry, √*lar*, to move; √*bah*, to sit; √*hāg*, to void stools, etc.

The causatives form their past participle in *-owā*. Those in *-uwā* have the past participle in *-uwā*.

(B). Denominatives.

729. A denominative conjugation is one that has for its basis a noun-stem. (Whitney § 1053). Judged by this standard, a large percentage of N.I.A. Assamese roots should be characterised as denominatives. They are formed from nouns and participles being treated exactly like roots.

730. The denominative affix in As. is *-ā* (the same as the causative *-ā*) < O.I.A. *-āya*. In M.I.A. there was a mix-up between the denominative affix *-āya* and the causative affix *-āpaya* (Pischel § 559). The form in *-āya* was more prominently used, and *-āya* > *-āa*, and *-āpaya* > *-āve, -āv*, converge and yield the same form in *-ā* in N.I.A.; and the distinction between the causative and the denominative is practically lost in N.I.A., it being preserved only in the Bihārī dialects (Cf. O.D.B.L. p. 1034).

731. The practice of using some nouns as verb-roots goes back to O.I.A., and even amongst the recognised O.I.A. roots, there are many which are really denominative in origin (Whitney, 1053a). In M.I.A. this practice had a still

greater vogue and a large number of M.I.A. roots are formed from O.I.A. past participles; e.g.

pallaṭṭai (*paryasta-*) ; *piṭṭai* (*piṣṭa-*) ;
taḍai (*taṭa-*) ; *kaḍḍhai* (*kṛṣṭa-*), etc.

732. Denominative roots that have come down from M.I.A. are treated as primary roots in Assamese and these do not take on the characteristic denominative affix *-ā*; but the denominatives that have been created in the Assamese period take on the suffixal *-ā;* e.g. M.I.A. denominative form *piṭṭai* (*piṣṭa-*) is Assamese *piṭe*, thrashes, and $\surd$ *piṭ* is regarded in Assamese as a primary root. Similarly M.I.A. denom. *jammai*, is born, (*janma-*), *kammai*, shaves, (*karma-*) might have given the expected forms **jāme*, ** kāme*. But Assamese formed new denominatives $\surd$ *jowā̆*, to plant seeds in a nursery, $\surd$ *kamā*, to shave, from the bases *jamma-*, *kamma-*; and these take on the characteristic denom. ending *-ā*. Thus denominative roots in Assamese without *-ā* may be regarded as earlier formations.

733. A selected list of denominative roots.

ă̆kowāl, embrace, (*aṃkapāla-*).
āguẇā, go in advance, (*agra* + *uka-*).
āmuẇā, satiate, (*amlāpaya-*, Dr. Bloch).
ugā, relapse, (*ut* + *gata*).
ukhā, boil slightly, (*ukhya*).
uṭhaṃgā, praise one up, (Cf. M.I.A. *utthaṃghai*).
ubh, to erect, (*ubbha*, *ūrdhva*).
umā, brood on; hatch, (*uṣma*).
okaṭ, turn up, tear asunder, (*apa* + *kṛṣṭa*).
ukhȧh, swell as a boil or wound, (*ut* + *khasa*).
kahā, tinge, colour as clothes, (*kaṣāya*).
kȧ, speak, (*kathā*).
kāṛh, snatch away, (*kaḍḍhai* < *kṛṣṭa*).
khajuẇā, scratch lightly, (*kharju-*).
khīrā, milk, (*kṣīra*).
gomā, be cloudy, overcast, (*gulma*).
goṭā, collect, (*gotra*, an assembly).

ghāl, discomfit, abuse, (*ghāta* + *la*).
ghumā, sleep, (* *ghurma,* √ *ghur,* snore).
cin, recognise, (*cihna*).
chān, spread over, cover, (*channa*).
chānd, lie in wait for opportunity, (*chandas*).
jurā, cool, refresh (?).
jār, cleanse, exorcise, (*jhāṭa,* cleaning sores). Cf. Bg. *jhāṛu,* broom-stick, duster (D. *jhāḍāvaṇa*).
jowā̃, cast seeds to germinate, (*janma*).
sts. *thag,* deceive, (*sthaga*).
ḍār, punish, (*daṇḍa*).
tār, pitch a curtain or tent, (M.I.A. *taḍai* < ? *tata*).
tīt, be wet, (**tinta*√*tim*).
thāy, be within depth, (*stāgha*).
nikaṭā, peel off, (*niṣkṛṣṭa-*).
nāth, tie together like a post beam, (*nastā*).
nikā, cleanse, (D. *ṇikka,* pure, clean).
pālaṭ, turn back, (*pallaṭṭa-* < *paryasta*).
pindh, put on, (*pinaddha*).
piṭ, thrash, (*piṣṭa*).
binā, moan in distress, (Cf. M.I.A. *uvviṇṇa,* distressed).
bik, sell, (*vi-kraya*).
bolā, colour, (? *varṇa*).
bhāg, break, (*bhagna*).
māṭh, smooth, (*mṛṣṭa*).
māt, call, (*mantra*).
mud, close, (*mudrā*).
sts. *sepiā, khepiyā,* to grope, feel with the hand, (*kṣepa*).
sondā, make sweet-smelling, (*saṳgandha-*).
hā̃c, to sneeze, (*hañji*).
hāmi, yawn, (*harman*).

(C).

Compounded and Suffixed Roots.

734. Compounded roots are "made up of either two roots combined, or a root preceded by a noun or adverb, or in the majority of cases, of a root primary or denom. modified by a suffix (O.D.B.L. §. 628). The first type seems to be

absent in Assamese, and of the second type, the only examples are $\surd$*nowār*, is unable (*na* + *pāraya-*), and $\surd$*nah*, is not, (*na* + $\surd$*as* > * $\surd$*ah*, $\surd$*hà*).

735. The large majority of the secondary and compounded roots in Assamese as in other N.I.A. languages are suffixed. The principal suffixes are *-k*, *-c*, *-ṭ*, *-r* (<*ḍ*), *-l*, *-h* (< *-ś*). "They modify the meaning of the original root or denom. base in various ways as an intensive or continuative, frequentative or approximate affix" (O.D.B.L. §. 629).

736. These roots may in a sense be looked upon as denominatives from the nouns subjoined to the several affixes; only in certain instances the corresponding nominal forms are absent in Assamese; Cf. *thamak*, stop, is both a noun and a verb, but *ṭalak*, reflect upon, is only a verb. Also the characteristic denom. affix *-ā* is not added and the personal endings are attached directly to the root.

737. The N.I.A. denominative suffixed roots may be connected with certain O.I.A. suffixed verbal formations with causal values like *pālaya-*, *prīṇaya*, *dhūnaya*, *bhīṣaya-*, etc. where "the causative is palpably the denominative of a derived noun." (Whitney, §. 1042 m.)

In first M.I.A. (Pāli) also occur forms like *upakkamalati*, to make diligence; *santarati*, to act well or handsomely (*santa-*), *jōtalati*, to make shine (*dyotayati*) (Duroiselle: *Pāli Grammar*, pp. 214, 215; Śāstrī; *Pāli Prakāśa*, p. 63). Dr. Bloch points out that these three formations do not occur in the Pāli Text Society Dictionary, and though *santarati* occurs, it has a different etymology and meaning in the dictionary.

Prof. Śāstri has referred me in a note to the Pāli Dictionary of Childers, 1909. On Pali *jotalati* (*dyotayati*) *upakkamalati*, Childers has quoted "*An introduction to Kaccayana's Grammar of the Pali language* by James D'Alwis, Colombo, 1863; and "*Kaccayaṇappa karaṇa*" edited by

Emile Senart, Journal Asiatique, Mars-Avril, 1871, and Mai-Juin, 1871.

santarati could not be traced.

In second M.I.A. there are suffixed roots functioning as causals, Cf. *bhamāḍai, tamāḍai,* (* *bhramāṭati,* * *tamāṭati*). The only difference between causative formations like *pālaya-, bhīṣaya-,* etc., and confessedly denominative formations in O.I.A. is in the causative accent *-áya,* the denom. having the accent on the suffix *-yá.*

738. The O.I.A. and M.I.A. traditions of forming the causal from suffixed roots are maintained in Western languages like Hindī, Gujrātī, Sindhī, e.g. H. *dhonā,* to wash; *dhulānā,* to cause to wash; *khānā,* to eat; *khilānā,* cause to eat; G. *lagāvũ,* adhere; *lagāḍavũ,* cause to adhere; S. *sikhanu,* learn; *sikhāranu,* teach.

In the Eastern languages, esp. Bengali and Assamese, suffixed roots are used as simple verbal bases without any causal implication.

739. Roots in *-k-;*

āṭak, be confined, fastened, (*aṭṭa,* rice-gruel).
khalak, be agitated, (√*khal,* tremble).
garak, trample, tread, (M.I.A. *goḍḍa*).
corok, clear with a hoe, (√*kṣur,* to scratch).
chiṭik, be sprinkled, (D. *chiṭṭa-*).
ṭālāk, reflect upon, (√*ṭval*).
thamak, stop, (*stambha*).
piṭik, shampoo, (*piṣṭa*).
poṭak, be dinted, (*puṭṭayati,* become small or diminish).
polak, slip off, (?) cf. *polā,* a bundle of reeds, etc.
phicik, whisper. } onomatopoetic.
phocak, effervesce }
bànàk, decorate with a cover of pigment (*varṇa,* colour, Dr. Bloch).
mocak, be sprained (?)
sàràk, pass through, (*sṛta*).
suruk, steal in, cf. Bg. *sur-sur,* creep stealthily.

semek, be moist, (*śīta* + *karma-*).
solȧk, be untied, (M.I.A. *sŏila*).
huruk, *huluk*, } scoop out, (M.I.A. *hulai*, scour).
hõhȧk, recede, (?).

The suffix *-k-* " indicates suddenness of the action or its continuity. It is intensive ". (O.D.B.L. §. 630).

740. Roots in *-c-* ;

kȧrȧc, gnaw, (√ *kaḍ*, to tear).
bec, sell, (*vyaya* + -).
khāmoc, to grasp, (Cf. Khās. √ *khām*, close the fist).
ṭakacā, put off with promises, (Cf. *tarka-*).
ṭeŋguciyā, limp, (√*taŋg*, to limp).
thekec, crush down, (Cf. √ *stak*).
mȧlȧc, to rub off, (√ *mrad* + *tya*).

The affix *-c-* is the same as the derivative in *-c-* and indicates resemblance.

741. Roots in *-ṭ-* ;

ghõkȧṭ, stir with a stick, (Cf. As. *ghõk*).
cikaṭ, pinch, (*cikka* + *vṛtta*).
japaṭiyā, entwine, (Cf. M.I.A. *jhampia*, entangled).
neoṭh, separate from the seed, as cotton. (connected with *aṣṭhi*, a seed, kernel).
pakaṭiyā, turn round and round, (Cf. *pāka* in *vipāka*, a bad turn).

The affix *-ṭ-* indicates continuity of action. (O.D.B.L. §. 631).

742. Roots in *-r-* ; < *-ḍ-* :

ăjor, bend, twist (√*añc*, to twist).
khõcȧr, turn up as earth with a rod (M.I.A. √ *khañc*).
gõjar, growl, (√ *garj*, to rumble).
gothorā, look displeased, scowl, (*grasta*).
cāpar, bend oneself, (M.I.A. √*cappa*, to press down).
cõcȧr, move by dragging, (√*cañc*, to move, shake).

sts. jāmàr, subside as a swelling, (*kṣāma*).
bāgàr, to roll about, (Cf. *varga-*)
mocàr, to wrench, (Cf. *mucuṭi;* a fist; snapping the fingers).
mohār, to crush, (√ *mṛṣ,* to rub, stroke).
śõṭàr, be shrivelled, (√ *śuṇṭh,* to dry).
Several suffixes discussed under derivatives have converged into this *-r-*. It comprises M.I.A. *-ḍa* and *-ra.*

743. Roots in *-l-*:

ondolā, darken, (*andha* + *la*).
kacāl, shake this way and that as a peg in order to drive it deeper (? √ *kañc*).
kuhuliyā, to deceive, (*kūha* + *la-*).
khejāl, jeer, mock, (*khidyate* √ *khid*).
ṭahal, to move about in a leisurely manner (√*trakh,* T.).
ṭakāl, tapāl, } smack the lips after tasting (?).
mokalā, to loosen, (M.I.A. *mukka,* D. *mukkala*).
ramaliẏā, to caw, (*rava* + *karma-*).
lerel, be withered, lessened (*liṣṭa* √ *liś,* become small).

744. Roots in *-h-; < -ś-*:

càràh, suck, (*caṣṭa,* √*caṣ*).
ḍemeh, be about to mature, (?).
thereh, be stiff, (*sthavira*).
The affix *-ha-* < *-śa-* indicates resemblance.

(D).

Onomatopoetic Roots.

745. These can be divided into two groups; (a) onomatopoetics proper used singly or duplicated, (b) roots reduplicated or repeated to produce a jingle.

Both these two types are found in the earlier languages (Vedic, Sanskrit and the Prākrit); e.g. single as in Sanskrit nouns: *jhaṅ-kāra, guñjana, kūjana;* reduplicated as in Skt. verbs: *caṭcaṭāyate, khaṭkhaṭāyate, pharpharāyate,* etc.

In Skt. the onomatopoetics are treated as denom. in *-āya*, but in M.I.A. we have the direct use of the stem as a root (cf. *tharahara-*, *caḍaphaḍanta-*). In Assamese, onomatopoetics take on the denom. affix *-ā*.

746. Examples of onomatopoetic verbs in Assamese: Onomatopoetics proper: single and duplicated:

phũka, be just born, breathe into life.
phẽkur, sob.
sìyār, mimic.
phõpā, pant, (as after running).
phãp, prove efficacious (as medicine).

Dr. Turner connects *phãp* with M.I.A. *phavvihai*, is successful in getting.

goŋā, groan with a muffled voice.
ḍeḍā, roar.
bebā, bleat as a cow or a goat.
kẽkā, groan as in bodily pain, etc.

747. Roots repeated: The same root may be completely repeated, or another root of similar sound and import to echo the sense of the previous root may be added; e.g.

dap-dapā, burst out in anger, (√*dṛp*).
ṭan-ṭanā, sense of binding pain, (*tan=ṭān*).
jal-jalā, be shining, (*jval*).
dal-dapā, have a shaky and wavy motion, (Cf. √*dul*).
ṭal-balā, be shaky and moving, (*ṭal*, *bal* < Skt. *val*).
dhar-pharā, feel restless and unsteady, (*dhar* < *dhaṭa*, a balance; *phar=phur* < Skt. *sphur*).
kel-melā, noisy chattering, (*kel* < Skt. *kil*; *mel*, Skt. *melaka*). etc.

For verbal roots of non-Aryan origin, cf. lists under non-Aryan loan-words (§§ 57 ff).

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CONJUGATION OF THE VERB.

748. In Assamese as elsewhere only two of the O.I.A. and M.I.A. tenses have survived in the finite verb : the simple present and the imperative. The past and the future are formed by adding personal affixes to the old past participle in *-illa,* and the O.I.A. gerundive in *-tavya, -itavya,* respectively.

749. There is only one periphrastic tense which functions both as present progressive and present perfect with reference to the setting in which it is placed. The periphrastic in Assamese is formed with the O.I.A. verbal noun in *-i+*ka,* and not with the participle.

750. Assamese has also a complete negative conjugation for all verbs made by prefixing the negative particle *na* which is assimilated to the vowel of the first syllable of the conjugated root. (§ 275).

The Passive.

751. The passive in O.I.A. was formed by adding *-ya* to the verbal root. This *-ya* occurs as *-ya, -iya, -iyya, -īya* in first M.I.A. and as *-ijja* or *-īa* in second or third M.I.A. In N.I.A. languages both *-ijja* > *-īja,* and *-īa, -ia* are found as inherited from the Apabhraṅśa, but they have not been preserved in all N.I.A. languages. The analytical mode of forming the passive supervened and the old inflected passive fell into disuse. The languages of the West have preserved the inflected passive but those of the Midland, South and the East have either entirely lost it or have only retained it as an obsolete or archaic form (O.D.B.L. § 653).

The inflected passive has been retained in Sindhī and is found optionally also in Mārwāṛī, Nepāli and Pāñjābī. It is formed by adding the following suffixes to the root ; S. *-ij;*

Mw. *-ij* ; Nep. *-iya* ; P. *-ī* ; e.g. S. *dīje, līje,* etc., let it be given, drunk, taken etc. N. *Paṛhiye ;* P. *paṛhīe ;* Mw. *paṛhījaj* etc., (Hoernle: §§ 480, 481).

All other N.I.A. languages form the passive analytically with the verb √*yā,* to go, (Hoernle § 480).

Relics of the old inflected passive in early and Mid. Bengali have been fully examined by Dr. Chatterji (O.D.B.L. §§ 655, *et seq.*).

752. There are relics of the old inflected passive in *-īya* in E. Assamese also. They occur as *-i, -iya, -iyā.* The passive in *-ijja* does not seem to have left any traces in E. As. e.g.

prâbâla puruṣa same bibāda na kari; A quarrel should not be struck with a powerful man.

nubuji tomāra līlā; your *līlā* is not comprehended.

Harira nāmese jānā saṁsāraka tari; Know that the world is overcome through Hari's name.

bujiẏà dharma adharma; What is duty, what is not, should be understood.

candrābatī rajanī dekhiẏa bahu dūra. In this moonlit night, a great distance is seen.

Rābanara mātṛ tāi buliyā Naĵkasī; She is Rāvana's mother called Naĵkasī.

In Modern Assamese the inflected passive is obsolete, but it is retained in a few idiomatic expressions; e.g.

batāh cakure nedekhi; the air is not seen by eyes.

śītàr kāraṇe Himālaya-laĵ jāba nowāri; owing to cold, going to the Himalaya is impossible (lit. cannot be performed).

āmṭo bhāl lāge ; the mango tastes well.

jvar hàle gā nodhowe; the body is not washed when there is fever.

753. E. As. preserves an imperative formation in *-io, -ioka,* which corresponds to E. Bg. *-iu* (O.D.B.L. §659). It is passive in origin and goes back to M.I.A. *-īadu,* (O.I.A. *-yatām*). It conveys the sense of a respectful and emphatic request; e.g.

Harirà nàmarà śunio mahimā; Do please listen to the glory of Hari's name (lit. should be listened).

mokà upadeśà diyo; Do please give (lit. may be given) advice with reference to me.

ājñā karioka mokà; Do please give command (lit. may command be given) to me; etc.

(A) The Analytical Formation of the Passive.

754. As mentioned above, the inflected passive survives only as relics. The living method as in Bengali is analytical and periphrastic. In all N.I.A. languages except the ones noted above, the passive is grammatically formed by adding to the past participle of the active verb, the auxiliary verb √*jā*, to go. But the passive sense is often more idiomatically expressed by means of verbal compounds; e.g. *si mār khāle,* he was beaten; *si marā paril,* he is lost (ruined); etc. (Cf. Hoernle § 479).

The passive with √*jā* occurs in the following constructions in Assamese; e.g. *mok dekhā jāy,* I am seen.

megh dile suruj dekhā nejāy; The sun is not seen when it is cloudy.

bhakti karile īśvarak powā jāy ; through devotion God is accessible (lit. is reached) etc.

In the case of intelligent beings the nominative is always put in the dative.

755. The origin of this *jā-* passive has been attributed to the influence of M.I.A. passive in *-ijja.* (Hoernle, § 481; Beames, III, pp. 73, 74; O.D.B.L. § 663). It has been said that old forms like *paṛhījai, karījai,* began to be looked upon as compounds of the past participles *parhi, kari=* (Pkt. *paṛhia, karia* = Skt. *paṭhita, kṛta*) and the verb *jai* (contracted for *jāy,* Pkt. *jāi* Skt. *yāti*). But considering that no *-ijja* forms are found in the relics of the inflected passive in Bg. and other Mg. dialects (O.D.B.L. p. 924) it is likely that the passive in √*jā* might have come from some other source. Moreover, there does not seem to be

any reason as to why *-i-* of *-ijja* should be dropped in the Mg. dialects while the *-i-* of *-iya* persists in the relics quoted above. In O.I.A. are noticed forms like the following: *te surāḥ parājitā yanto dyāvāpṛthivī upāśrayan*, those asuras *getting beaten* took refuge with Heaven and Earth" (Whitney § 1075, a). An O.I.A. expression like *"*dhautam yāti"* may perhaps be equated to an As. expression like "*dhowā jāĕ*," gets washed i.e. is washed. A source like this would, of course, be an eastern novelty.

(B). The Passive in *-ā-*.

756. The passive in *-ā-* seems to be a distinctive feature of Bengali. (O.D.B.L. § 677). In Assamese there are a few idiomatic expressions. Early Assamese does not seem to shew any trace of it. Mod. As. examples are:

kathāṭo bhāl nuśunāy; the word does not sound well.
kāpor khàne nuśuwāy ; the cloth does not suit well.
kāṇ bindhāy; the ear is bored.

This *ā-* passive has been characterised as an extension of the denominative *-āya-* of O.I.A. (O.D.B.L. p. 929).

(C). The Passive-Active Constructions.

757. Assamese like Bengali (O.D.B.L. § 658) shews certain examples of impersonal constructions which seem to have been originally extensions of the inflected passive in *-ya;* e.g., *kāpor chire*, the cloth gets torn; *bāh bhāŋge*, the bamboo gets broken; *epāṭ tāle ketiyāo nebāje*, one piece of cymbal never emits sound; *kàlàh bhàre*, the jar gets filled. Here *chire, bhāŋge, bāje, bhàre* etc. have been explained as passive forms derived from earlier, fuller, **bhariai* > *bharie; chiṇdiai* > *chiṇḍie*, **bajjiai* > **bājie ; *bhaŋgiai* > **bhāŋgie etc.* (O.D.B.L. § 658).

(D). The Passive in General.

758. Barring these special constructions, the passive sense is commonly suggested with the help of the conjugated form *haĕ*, of the verb root √*hà*. The subject of the active voice is

put in the dative and a verbal noun functions as the subject; e.g.

mok diyā haĕ; I am given; lit. with reference to me, given i.e., giving takes place.

puthi (k) paṛhā hàbà; book will be read; lit. with reference to the book, read, i.e. reading will take place.

kām (a) (k) karā hŏl; work has been done; lit. with reference to the work etc.

The (*k*) represents the dative post-position. It is uniformly dropped after neuter nouns. It appears after nouns indicating living beings in a definitive sense, e.g. *rowā bhāt garuk diyā haĕ;* with reference to the cows (and none else), surplus rice is given.

759. The passive construction is, however, very general in phrases indicating relationship between the doer and the thing done. The subject is put in the instrumental-nom. in *-e*, or the gen. in *-ra ;* and the verb is put in the past participle in *-ā;* e.g.

Rāme or *Rāmar karā kām ;* the work done by Rām.

Gopāle likhā ciṭhi or Gopālar likhā ciṭhi; the letter written by Gopāl.

The construction with the instr. in *-e* is regarded as more idiomatic.

THE PERSONAL AFFIXES OF VERBS

(I). The Radical Tenses.

The Present Indicative.

The First Person.

760. The suffix of the 1st P. is *-õ* ; (dialectical) *-ũ*. E. As. suffixes were : *-aõ ; -ahu ; -ahõ ; -ohõ; -haõ* (e.g. *āchaõ; kahaõ; jāhaõ; karahu ; karahõ; māgohõ; karõ; karũ*).

The corresponding O.I.A. form Sg. is *-āmi;* M.I.A. *-āmi ; -ami ; -imi ;* AP. *-aũ : (jānāmi ; lihami ; karimi ; kaḍḍahũ ; jānaũ).*

In common with many northern languages, Assamese *-õ* points to AP. *-aũ* as its origin (cf. E.H. *-õ;* W. H. *-ũ*; Br. *-aũ*). The forms in *-ũ*, *-õ* are found in North Bengali also (L.S.I. Vol. I, p. 87).

The extended forms *-ahũ, -ahõ, -ohõ,* common to both early Bengali and early Assamese, have been identified with the 1st personal pronoun *haũ* (<**hakam*, <**ahakam*) agglutinated to a basic form of the root in *-a*. (O.D.B.L. p. 934). But considering the presence of *-h-* in the 2nd personal affixes (*-aha; -āhā; -ilihi; -ibihi*; *-ilāhā; -ibāhā*), it may be questioned whether the presence of *-h-* in *-ohõ* is not due to analogy and added to cause a musical prolongation of the articulation.

761. This derivation of *-ahũ,* (<**hakam*) does not explain 1st personal Pl. affix *-ahũ, -hũ* found in the *Caryās;* e.g. *ahme dehũ,* we give; *ambhe na jānahũ,* we know not (*Caryās,* 12, 22). Unless the plural use of *-ahũ* is regarded as due to confusion between the singular and the plural, which does not seem likely, the *-ahũ* of the *Caryās* may be traced back to AP. Pl. personal affix *-ahũ* (cf. *vaṭṭahũ=vartāmahe*). The origin of *-ahũ* is obscure but some sort of connection with *-āmahe* is suspected.

The Second Person.

762. With the introduction of the second person comes in an element of differentiation between the *inferior* second person corresponding to English "thou," and the *honorific* second person corresponding to English "you." It has been found (§ 670) that the inferior and honorific forms of the second person correspond respectively to the singular and plural forms of the pronouns in O.I.A. The same distinction is observed in the conjugated forms of verbs also, originally Sg. and Pl. forms accommodating themselves to the inferior and the honorific second persons respectively.

But the inferior second person affix of Assamese seems to be the same as the honorific second person affix of Bg. e.g.

As. (inf.): *tai karà;* (hon.) *tumi karā.*

Bg. (inf.): *tui karis ;* (hon.): *tumi karà.*

Bg. *-à* obviously goes back to O.I.A. Pl. *-tha* > M.I.A. *-ha* > N.I.A. *-à.* In E. As. the inferior second person affixes are *-sa* ; *-isa* (rare) ; *-ha* ; *-à* (e.g. *jāsa ; karisa ; bakhānaha; jānà*). The corresponding O.I.A. form is *-si* > M.I.A.*-si* ; AP. *-hi.* The early Assamese *-sa, -ha* may be affiliated to M.I.A. *-si, -hi,* and *-à* may be said to represent the weakening of *-ha* (AP. *-hi*). Thus O.I.A. *-si* > M.I.A. *-si, -hi* > N.I.A. *-sa, -ha, -à* would converge towards O.I.A. *-tha* > M.I.A. *-ha* > N.I.A. *-ha, -à.*

If, however, Assamese *-à* (inf.) were to be equated to Bg. *-à* (hon.), then this would be the only instance where an originally Pl. form functions as a singular.

For derivation of inf. *-is* (*karis, calis*), a form like Mg. AP. **caliśi*<**calisi*<**calasi* has been postulated. But the personal suffix *-is* may perhaps be looked upon as representing a confluence of the present *-si*>*-sa* and the future *-is* (O.I.A. *-iṣyasi* > M.I.A. *-ihisi* > N.I.A. *-īs, -is*). Many Pres. indic.-verbal forms in M.I.A. are only O.I.A. future forms, e.g. **dṛkṣyati* > **dikkhai* > *dekhe,* he sees ; *daṅkṣyati* > **daṅkkhai* > *ḍãke,* he bites.

763. The honorific affix *-ā* is the same in all moods and tenses in Assamese, e.g. *karā* (indic./imp.) *karilā* (past) ; *karibā* (future); *karichā* (periphras); *karilā hẽten* (past conditional). The E. As. forms are *-āhã̄ ; -āhā ; -ā. (phurāhā ; bolāhā ; karā*).

The *-ā* functions as an honorific affix also with the enclitics (§ 619). It seems to go back to M.I.A. (Mg.) nominal Pl. in *-āhã* (ibid.). Considering the uniform use of *-ā* as an honorific affix in all moods and tenses, it seems likely that it is an extension of the honorific *-ā* of enclitic derivatives to conjugated verbal forms. (Cf. also § 786 c).

The Third Person.

764. The affix for the 3rd person both inferior and superior, is *-e.* In E. As. there was also an hon. *-nta, -nti, (āchanta ; karanta ; jānti ; ujānti,* etc.).

The corresponding O.I.A. form is *-ti, -ati* > M.I.A. *-ai*; also *-e*. The Pl. is *-nti*.

The Sg. form in *-e*, is the same in all N.I.A. languages except in E.H. and Braj. where it appears as *-ai*. In O. it occurs also as *-ai* (an early form). The Pl. in O. is *-nti* and in Bg. *-en* (hon.) where *-n* represents the gen. Pl. used as a Pl. verbal affix.

The Imperative.

The First Person.

765. The affix of the 1st person is an extension of that of the Pres. indicative.

The Second Person.

766. The 2nd personal affixes are: inf. *-ও*; hon. *-ā*. E. As. forms are: inf. *-à*; *-sa*; hon. *-ā*; *-āhā*; *-āhā̃*; (*parà*; *opajà*; *kàhà*; *mārasà*; *bolā*; *ānāhā*; *jānāhā*; *cāhā̃*).

The corresponding O.I.A. forms are: Sg. *-à, -hi*; Pl. *-ta*; M.I.A. affixes are Sg. *-a, -asu, -esu, -āhi- -ehi*; AP. *-ahi*; *-u*; (*viramasu, āṇesu, bhaṇahi, bhaṇa, vāhehi, jālehi, pekkhu*).

Pl. *-ha, -dha, -edha*; AP. *-ahu, -ehu*. (Same as 2nd person indic. Pl.).

767. O.I.A. *-a* continues down through M.I.A. to E. As. *-à*. It is quiescent in modern As. *ও*. The hon. *-ā* is an extension of the Pres. indic., so also E. As. inf. *-sà*.

The M.I.A. Pl. affixes are also occasionally found in E. As. (*śunàhà*; *karahà*; *bolahu*; *bhajahu*; *smarahu*).

The Bg. and O. Pl. *-à* represents the contraction of the sound group in M.I.A. *-aha* (O.I.A. *-atha*).

The Third Person.

768. The Mod. As. Sg. form is *-àk*; E. As. form is *-o*; *-oka*; (*ācho*; *āsoka*; *miloka* etc.). E. As. Pl. forms are *-nto, -ntoka*.

The corresponding M.I.A. form is *-u* (O.I.A. *-tu*). It appears unaltered in O. *-u* (*karu*). In Bg and As. there is a pleonastic *-ka* following, making the affix appear as Bg. *-uk* (*karuk*), As. *-ok* > *-ăk* (with medial *-o-* changing to *-a-*).

The Pl. form *-nto, -ntoka* (O. *-ntu*) represents O.I.A. *-ntu*. In As. and Bg. the Sg. and the Pl. are used without any discrimination.

(2). The Past Base in *-l-*.

769. The evolution of the *l*-past has been fully examined by Dr. Chatterji (O.D.B.L. pp. 937 ff). The past base in *-il* in Bg. As. and O.; in *-al* in the Bihārī speeches, and in *-il, -al*, in Mārāṭhī, and similar *-l-* forms in the other N.I.A. languages originated from the O.I.A. *-ta, -ita* plus the O.I.A. diminutive or adjectival suffix *-la-*, in the extended forms *-ila, -ala* > *-illa* (*-ĕlla*), *-alla*. (O.D.B.L. § 682). The *-l-* affix is established for the past tense in Bg. and other Magadhan speeches (ibid. § 685).

The participial nature of *-l-* forms persisted in E. Bg. and E. As. side by side with the passive participle in *-ā*; but in modern Bg. and As. the non-*l-* form is employed as the adjective and the *-l-* form has been restricted to the predicate. Personal affixes were added later.

The First Person.

770. The adjectival sense must have continued for a long time even when *-l-* forms came to be regarded as verbal bases for the past. In E. As. and E. Bg. there are examples of simple *-l-* forms without personal affixes in all persons. In E. As. the 1st person had the following forms; *-ila* (without any affix); *-ilaõ; -ilo; -ilõ; -ilohõ; (lakhila; karila; bujila; marilaõ; pujilo; śuniloho; karilohõ* etc.). In all these examples we find instances of the use of both the bare base and also of the addition of personal affixes which are extensions of the endings for the Pres. indic. These fluctuations of forms point to an unsettled state of the idiom before the addition of personal affixes was fully established.

In O. also the personal affixes *-i* (singular) and *-ũ* (Pl.) are extensions of the Pres. indic.

771. The Bg. form *-ām* belongs to a new order. It is shared in common by the *l*-past, the *it*-habituated past, and the dialectical form of the *ib*-future, (*karil-ām ; karit-ām ; karĩb-ām*). It has been suggested that Bg. *-ām* is equivalent to Bg. pronoun *āmi*, I (we), affixed to the past base. It would seem more likely, however, that Bg. *-ām* is affiliated to *smaḥ ; calitaḥ smaḥ* > **calia* + *illa* + *mha*. The affix *-ām* must have been first used with the past base and then extended to the future. Although in its fully developed form *-ām* is a modern Bg. affix its earlier forms can be detected in E. Bg. terminations in *-am ; -om ; -āŋ* (past habitual); (O.D.B.L. pp. 960, 975).

The Second Person.

772. The 2nd personal affixes are; inf. *-ili ;* hon. *-ilā*. E. As. inf. *-ila ; -ili ; -ile ; -ilihi* (*nạpāila ; bhạili ; āile; thạilihi*). Hon. *-ile; -ilā -ilāhã ; -ilāhā* (*āile ; karilā ; āsilāhã ; dekhilāhā*).

The Pl. form (used without any plural implication) is *-ilanta.*

773. Here also great fluctuation is noticeable before the characteristic suffixes were definitely established. The forms for the 2nd person have not been successfully traced. But the coincidence of the forms for the *b*- future furnishes a clue about their origin. The forms for both these tenses may be set forth thus :

As. Inf.	*karili.*	Hon.	*karilā.*
	karibi.		*karibã.*
Bg. Inf.	*karili.*	Hon.	*karile.*
	karibi.		*karibe.*

O. Sg. *karilu ; karibu.*

774. In As. and Bg. the future has also an imperative-precative force, and it is likely that the O.I.A. imperative-optative had something to do with the evolution of these end-

ings. Hema Chandra enjoined *-i*, *-e*, *-u* as the AP. terminations for the O.I.A. imperative Sg. *-hi* (IV. 387). Pischel (§ 461) traces *-i*, *-e* to the O.I.A. optative Sg.; M.I.A. *kari*, *kare*=O.I.A. **kareḥ* (=*kuryyāt*) ; *cari*=*careḥ*. Thus imperative in origin these suffixes were added first to the future and then extended to the past in the N.I.A. form in *-i*.

The characteristic suffix in O. is *-u* in all tenses and traceable to M.I.A. imp. *-u*.

Though Dr. Chatterji considers *-i* as of obscure origin (O.D.B.L. p. 978), he has referred dialectical Bg. *-u*, of Oṛiyā affinity, to the imperative in *-u* ; thus indirectly supporting the imperative origin of the *-i* affix.

775. There are extended forms *-ilihi*, *-ibihi* (*thaͣilihi*, *dekhibihi*) in the past and the future in E. As They are contemptuous in sense and were originally Sg. They seem to correspond to *-ilis* in E. Bg. (O.D.B.L. § 708). From the use of *-ihi* both in the past and the future, it seems likely that it is future in origin and traceable to O.I.A. *-iṣyasi* > M.I.A. *-ihisi* > N.I.A. *-īs*, *-is*>*-isi* (by extension of the basic form) > *-ihi*.

The As. Hon. *-ā*, *-āhã̄*, *-āhā* are the same as those of the Pres. indic.

776. The Bg. hon. *-e* (earlier *-ehẽ*, *-ẽ*) is perhaps the same as the Magadhan *-e* (M.I.A. imp. Sg. *-e* + nominal Pl. *-hã* to shew the plural). Thus **ehã* > *-ehẽ* (by extension of the vowel) > *-ẽ*, *-e* ; (in this respect the addition of the gen. Pl. *-ṇa* to Bg. verbs may be compared ; *karilen*, *karibeṇ*). (Cf. § 785 *et seq.*)

Dr. Chatterji suggests the possibility of deriving Bg. *-e* by vowel harmony from *-ilā*, *-ibā* ; and also from E. Bg. *ehẽ* ; but considers *-ehẽ* itself as of obscure origin (O.D.B.L. § 712).

The Third Person.

777. The affixes of the 3rd. person are different with the intrans. and trans. verbs ; being *-il* (with intrans. verbs)

and *-ile* (with trans. verbs); dialectical *-ilā, -ilāk* with trans. verbs.

E. As. forms are : *-ila ; -ilā ; -ileka ; -ile.* In E. As. *-ilek* is used indiscriminately both after trans. and intrans. verbs; e.g. Trans. (*kahila ; mārila ; dila ; jvalilā ; jogāilā; caṛilā ; eṛileka ; sahileka ; cintile*). Intrans. (*āsileka ; parileka ; gaileka* etc.).

The Pl. form is *-ilanta.*

778. Here also the bare base is used along with *-ā, -ek, -e,* as 3rd personal endings. In modern As. and Bg. a distinction in the 3rd personal affixes has sprung up according as they are added to a trans. or intrans. verb, (*si maril,* he died; but *si mārile,* he beat). In the case of an intrans. verb, the base itself is used without affixation of any personal ending. This peculiarity is shared also by Kurmālī Ṭhar (Bihārī). In the case of trans. verbs, the characteristic ending is *-āk* (*delāk ; guchāolāk*). After intrans. verbs all terminations are dropped (*gel*).

779. The observations of Dr. S. K. Chatterji on this phenomenon seem exactly to the point. The intrans. past is in its origin a verbal adjective qualifying the subject; here no special verbal suffix was necessary, for the adjectival nature remained long with intrans. verbs. Hence the simple *-ila* > *-il* was enough for it. But the trans. past was not like that and its nature developed into that of a proper verb with an object and an affix came to be attached (O.D.B.L. pp. 983, 984). Dr. Chatterji takes this affix *-e* to be the same as the *-e* of the radical present extended to the past transitive base (O.D.B.L. p. 984) and the pleonastic *-ka* was added first to trans. verbs and later extended to the intrans. forms (O.D.B.L. p. 992).

Thus the affix *-il* satisfying the needs of the active construction of intrans. verbs, *-ilek, -ile,* came to be regarded as suffixes marked out only for active construction with the transitive. But both in Bg. and As. there are certain intransi-

tive verbs that take on *-e* in the past tense; cf. Bg. *nācle,* he danced; *kā̃dle,* he wept; *khāṭle,* he laboured etc. (O.D.B.L. p. 985); As. *kāhile,* he coughed; *larile,* he ran; *śule,* he slept. In all these the cognate object is understood.

The Pl. *-lanta* (also rarely, *-lanti*) is the extension of the Pres. Pl. *-anti* > *-anta,* to the past.

(3) The Future Base in *-b-*.

780. The characteristic suffix for the future base in Bg. As. and O. is *-ib-* = *-ab-* of Bihārī and of Eastern Hindī. It comes from the O.I.A. future Pass. participle (gerundive) in *-tavya* or *-itavya*>M.I.A. *-avva, -abba, -ĕbba* and other forms (Pischel. § 570). This suffix carries a vague mandatory sense with an express future implication, and in N.I.A. the simple future notion evolved gradually.

The Eastern languages have the verbal noun in *-ab-, -ib-,* as well as *-ab-, -ib-* as the base of the future tense with personal terminations added (O.D.B.L. § 697).

The First Person.

781. The future suffixes are in a line with those of the past and the origin of the common affixes has been discussed above. The affixes of the 1st. person are Mod. As. *-m;* E. As. *-ibà; -ibaõ; -ibõ; -ibo; iboho;* (*jāibà; karibaõ dekhibaõ; dibõ; maribo; kariboho*).

782. Mod. As. personal ending *-m* is shared also by some dialects of Bihārī (cf. Kurmālī Ṭhar: *pāyam, kaham,* I shall get, I shall say) and North Bengali (cf. Rangpur and Dināj̃pur forms: *pām, balim, dim,* etc.). This *-m* is merely a phonetic change, a softening of *-b-* in connection with the nasal to *-~w-, -m-.* (O.D.B.L., pp. 967 and 531-32).

The Second Person.

783. The endings for the 2nd person are: inf. *-ibi;* hon. *-ibā.* E. As. inf. *-iba; -ibe; -ibi; -ibihi;* (*cāiba; huibe;*

maribi ; dekhibihi) ; hon. *-ā ; ibāhā ; (karibā ; thākibāhā)*. Both the sets are the same as in the past.

The Third Person.

784. The bare base *-ibà* is used without any personal ending (*karibà ; jābà*). E. As. *-ibà ; -ibā ; -ibeka ; -ibe. (karibà ; badhibā ; chedibā ; kahibeka ; palāibeka ; cintibe ; karibe* etc.).

These affixes are also in a line with those in the past. Mod. As. does not add *-e* after future *-ib-* as it does after the past trans. Mod. Bg. however, adds *-e* after both the trans. and intrans. verbs in the future tense.

CHAPTER XVIII.

POST-POSITIONS, PARTICIPLES, INFINITIVES.

(1) Nominal-verbal Post-positions.

785. The following personal affixes have been isolated for a separate treatment as they seem to constitute an eastern novelty and as, moreover, so far as Assamese is concerned, they are optional, i.e. they may or may not be added on to conjugated verbal forms according to the option of the writer. They are added mostly to convey the sense of an emphatic affirmation corresponding to English constructions like "we do go", "you do go". Thus, *tumi jowā*, you go; but *tomālok jowā-hāk*, you do go. *āmi jāõ*, we go; but *āmi jāõ-hāk*, we do go.

786. The Eastern languages, notably Assamese, Bengali, and the Magadhan languages present a spectacle of the transfer of plural suffixes from nouns to verbs. The suffixes that lend themselves to such shiftings are mostly connected with the M.I.A. genitive plural endings.

With the increasing sense of the loss of number in verbs, such transfer was often called for to emphasise the plural in verbs. Moreover, with the development of honorific nouns and pronouns in N.I.A. languages, corresponding verbal forms with plural affixes to shew respect were much in demand.

(a) *-na-* (< *-ṇa*). It has been examined as a suffix forming the plural with pronouns. It is used also with Bengali verbs in the third person to shew respect (originally, the plural); e.g. *tini kare-n*, he (hon.) does.

(b) *-hã-*; used in early Bengali to shew respect or to form the plural in the 2nd personal verbs. E.Bg. *nil-ehẽ* (*-hã*). The use of *-hã-* to form the plural

with pronouns has been discussed under the section on pronouns. (§§. 675, 678).

(c) *-hãk, -hõk ;* (*-hã, -hõ* + pleon. *-ka*) ; these have not been traced as plural suffixes in any one of the Magadhan dialects. In Assamese, early as well as modern, they are used after plural verbs in the first and second persons; e.g. *khāõ-hãk,* we eat; *gàlõ-hãk,* we went; *karim-hãk,* we shall do. The form in *-hõk* (*-hok*) is found only in middle Assamese (of the chronicles).

(d) *-hãt ;* discussed above (§. 624) as a nominal plural suffix. It is used also after plural verbs in the first and second persons, e.g. *khālõ-hãt,* we have eaten ; *jābā-hãt,* you will go.

(e) *-hàr, -hor ;* these are used in the Western languages as plural suffixes (L.S.I., IX, II, p. 55 ; and Turnbull : *Nepāli Grammar ;* p. 12). They appeared in middle Assamese (of the chronicles) as plural verbal suffixes in the first and second persons, e.g. *dim-hàr,* we shall give ; *pātilõ-hor,* we have established.

(f) *-hun;* discussed (§. 635) as a pronominal plural affix in Eastern Hindī and Assamese. It obtains as a verbal suffix in the second person honorific (Pl.) in Mag. *dekhala-hun,* you saw ; *dekhaba-hun,* you will see, (L.S.I., V\ II, p. 39).

(A). The Conditional Past in *-hẽten.*

787. Assamese is the only N.I.A. language which has no form for the habitual past. There is a conditional past tense but it is formed on a different principle from that of other N.I.A. languages. The base of the past conditional in other N.I.A. languages is the present participle or some analogous formation to which are added the different personal affixes. In As. however, from the earliest period the past conditional sense is conveyed by the post-position of the locative absolute *hante* (earlier *sante*) of the Pres. participle

of O.I.A. √*as*, after the inflected past in *-il*. The Pres. participle of O.I.A. √*as* > M.I.A. *santa* > N.I.A. *santa, hanta*. In loc. absolute it is *sante, hante* > Mid. As. *hãte*. In modern Assamese *hẽten*, which is also derived from *hante*, the final *-n* is pleonastic and *hante*>*hẽte-* owing to the influence of the nasal which reduces a preceding *-a-* to *-e-*. A few illustrative sentences will make the whole phenomenon clear;

jadi āji gharata āchila hante svāmī,
tebe āni tomāka rākhilo hante āmi;

(Daityāri: *Śankara Carita*).

If my husband had been at home to-day, I would have taken you in and kept you.

Satrājitaka dhari āniba pārilo hãte,
kintu mitrar kāraṇehe nowārilo;

I could have got hold of Satrājit and brought him, but I could not do (so) for the sake of (his being) a friend.

si ahā hẽten mai tār lagatei galõ hẽten,
Had he come, I would have gone with him.

Thus, "in a conditional sentence, the word *hẽten* is added to the past tense in the apodosis. In the protasis either the same form is used with the conjunction *jadi*, if, or else *hẽten* is sub-joined to the past participle (in *-ā*) without *jadi*". (L.S.I. V. p. 403). In the protasis *hẽten* may often be substituted by the conjunctive in *-ile*; cf. *tumi kale si āhil hẽten*, had you said, he would have come.

788. Mid. As. prose (of the chronicles) developed a present subjunctive with *hãte*, but that did not catch on; e.g. *mok ājñā kare hãte khuci māriba pārõ* (*Burañji*, p. 64), if (he) commands me, I may pierce (him) to death.

lāge hãte ji bastu kai āhàk, āmi diñõ, if necessary, whatever thing is asked for, we (shall) give.

Bihārī (Kurmālī, Ṭhar: L.S.I. V. II. p. 151) preserves the use of *hãte* as a locative absolute without any subjunctive sense; *tākare hãte; ekare hãte*, that being the case; this being the case..

789. In Western Assamese, *hãy* > *hai*, (§. 470) is used for *hẽten*. In E.As. there are stray instances of the use of *hãy* in a similar sense; *prāṇaka tejilo hãyà tomārà santāpe*, (*Rāmāyaṇa*: Mādhava Kandali), we would have given up lives for sorrow for you.

790. The Cāchār dialect forms the past conditional by adding *ane* to the past tense; e.g. *bhālā pāila ane*, would have found it good (L.S.I. V. I. p. 234). This *ane* is perhaps a highly decayed form of *hante* > * *hande* > * *hanne*, * *anne*, *ane* (§. 470).

(2) The Participles.

(A). The Present Participle.

791. The present participle in As. is *-õte*, E. As. *-ante*. Occurring always in the locative it implies "while doing a particular deed". In the strengthened form *-õtā*, E.As. *-antā* (with the definitive *-ā*), it gives attributive adjectives and nouns of agency; e.g. *karõtā*, *karantā*, a doer; *rākhõtā*, E. As. *rākhantā*, a preserver, etc.

792. The strictly participial sense is preserved only by the locative form; e.g. *phurante rajanī gaila kṣaya*, (Śankara Deva), while wandering about, the night wore off; *jāhantà jena nācante* (ibid), walks as though dancing; *cāi thākõte nohowā hàl*, while looking on, it disappeared.

793. In an unaffixed form, the Pres. participle hardly exists except in a few stereotyped expressions, e.g. *jiyat māch*, fresh fish; *aphuranta bhārāl*, inexhaustible treasure. In the form *-anta*, it is regarded as archaic.

The Pres. participle in Oṛiyā is *-anta-*, and both the As. and O. forms go back to O.I.A. and M.I.A. active participle in *-ant-*.

(B). The Past Participle.

794. There are three types of past participle in Assamese: (a) *-ā*; (b) *-ila*, *-ilā*; (c) *-ibā* (*-iba*). Of these

the type in *-ā* is the only living form and the last two are preserved only in some sporadic examples in E.As. The form in *-ā* comes from O.I.A. Past part. in *-(i)ta* > M.I.A. *-a*, to which the definitive *-ā* has been added (discussed under Formative affixes).

795. The form in *-ila, -ilā* is the same as the base for the *-l-* past. It preserves the participial sense and use in some stray expressions in E. and Mod. As. It seems to have been profusely used in early Bengali (O.D.B.L. §. 692).

Some examples as preserved in E. As. literature are as follows:

Rāghabe paṭhāilā Jāmbabantaka pāilanta, received Jāmbabanta, sent by Rāghaba. (*Rāmāyaṇa,* M. Kandali);

birāila bāghinī same kara parihāsa, thou jestest with a tigress just delivered of a calf. (ibid.).

bāchilāto bāchila āchila jata ghorā, all the horses that were the choicest amongst the chosen; (Candra Bhāratī: *Kumar Haraṇa*); *gaịlà kathā,* things past; cf. also *ghāilà* wounded; *phutilà puwā,* morning just dawned; *āpuni nirmila śāstra, tāko paṛhā huyā chātra* (Śankara Deva), becoming a student, you read the scriptures composed by yourself.

(C). The Past Participle in *-ib-*.

796. There is no instance of the use of the *b-* past part. in Mod. As. There are some traces of it only in early Assamese. Cf. *Jame dibā śara astre Rābane hānila,* Rābana wounded him with a weapon in the form of an arrow given by Jama; *Indrajite māribāra sabe senā jīla,* all the fighters killed by Indrajit revived; *jāhāra prasāde harāibāra rāja pāilo,* through whose favour I have received a lost kingdom; *Hanumanta acetane paribāra dekhi,* seeing Hanumanta fallen unconscious.

Agasti dibāra dhanu tuliyā laịlanta, took up the bow given by Agasti.

Bāsabe dibāra astra guṇata carāila, placed on the strings the weapon given by Bāsaba.

pākhi gajibāra dekhi haịlanta ullāsi, became jubilant on seeing the (lost) feathers grown.

Brahmāra dibāra astra juribāka cāhe, wished to fit up the weapon given by Brahmā.

śanāibāra śara jata hānanta apāra, endlessly hurled all the whetted arrows.

guṇī-gaṇa māje jāhāka likhibā, who was counted (as one) amongst the meritorious.

All these examples are from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Mādhava Kandali. As only five cantos of his translation have been recovered till now, it can not be ascertained how many times similar uses occurred in his work. Similar uses are noticeable also in other writers of the pre-Vaishnavite period. The following examples are from the *Mahābhārata* of Rudra Kandali.

dunāi dhanu chedibāra bege je larilā, a second time the bow having broken, swiftly he ran away.

tini śare bhedibāra āṭāseka dilā, three arrows having pierced, he gave out a cry.

prajā māribāra phale jāibà adhogati, he will go down as a result of having killed the subject people.

The following is from Hema Saraswatī of the same period.

puribāra prabhābe adhika jale kānti, (his) beauty shines out more owing to (his) having been burnt.

No example of the *b-* past has so far been noticed in any writer later than the Pre-Vaishnavite period.

797. Amongst other N.I.A. languages, Oṛiyā, the Halabī dialect of Mārāṭhī and the Hāijong sub-dialect of Bengali seem to be the only ones that preserve uses of the *b-* past. In Halabī, there are examples of both *b-* past and *b-* future; e.g. *mai karabe-se,* I have done; *ham mārabā̃,* we will strike; *marabo,* dead (L.S.I. VII. p. 335). The *b-* past has been supposed to be originally a future participle (ibid). In Oṛiyā the *b-* past is used in idiomatic constructions with the verbal phrase *-thib-* to express the past-future conditional, e.g. *dekhithibi,* I may have seen. It (*-thib-*) occurs also as a relative participle, e.g. *mu-dei-thibā ṭaŋkā,* the rupee which I gave.

(L.S.I. V. II p. 381). There are past-future constructions of *-b-* forms in Bg. and As. also, with the verb root √*thā* (cf. As. *tomāloke śuni thākibā*, you may have heard).

798. But in the Hāijong and early Assamese *-bā* with suggestions of a definite past, there seems to be a confluence of Aryan *-b-* and non-Aryan (Boḍo Past Participial) *-bā*. All the Boḍo dialects form their past tense and often the past participle with the affix *-bā* (L.S.I II. pp. 51, 58, 63, 105) and from similarity of sound with the Aryan form, the influence of the Boḍo *-bā*, may easily be imagined.

799. Its presence in the Hāijong dialect need perhaps cause no surprise. The Hāijongs are a Tibeto-Burman clan settled at the foot of the Garo Hills. And even though they have long abandoned their tribal speech, Tibeto-Burman idioms linger on here and there in certain formations. Thus the full form in *-bā-*, is retained in the past e.g. *māribā-r*, *māribā-n*, killed ; *thākibār, thakibān,* remained; but the Aryan future survives in *-bà ;* e.g. *maribà*, will die (L.S.I.V. p. 215).

800. Boḍo influence may also be assumed in the case of the As. forms. All the three poets quoted above have mentioned as their patrons some Hinduised Boḍo kings. The influence of the court as a passing phase on contemporary idioms will perhaps explain the E. As. forms.

In another respect Boḍo *-bā* seems to have left a deeper impress. The Boḍo *-bā* has also other functions. It is the suffix of the present and the past conditional, *e.g. nu-bā*, if I see or if I had seen. In its implications as a present or past subjunctive, it survives in certain Assamese idiomatic constructions; e.g.

Assamese : (present subjunctive) :

tumi jadi nu-śunibā, kāk no kàm, if you do not hear (lit. will not hear), to whom shall I speak ?

Assamese : (past subjunctive) :

tumi jadi āhibā, ene nahal hĕten, if you had come (lit. will come), such would not have been (the case).

Having once been surreptitiously admitted, it was easily confused with the Aryan *-ab, -ib* and was furnished with the necessary connecting vowels.

(D). Gerundive or Future Passive Participle.

801. There is no gerundive proper in As. In As. there are relics of the O.I.A. gerundive in *-(i) tavya*>*-iba, -aba*; e.g. *tomāra krodhata io svāmī mariba/tebe kona jaśa pāiba* (*Rāmāyaṇa*: Kandali), this husband also (of mine) may die due to your anger/what credit then will be got by you? *birālira jadi doṣaka dhariyā/niteḥi hāṇḍī pelāiba* (ibid), if a cat is found fault with (i.e. considered impure), the cooking vessel is to be every day thrown away.

802. This kind of use no longer obtains. But an idiom conveying the gerundive sense has been developed in Mod. As. by subjoining *lagīyā* to a verbal noun in *-ba, -iba*; e.g. *khāba lagīyā*, to be eaten; *kariba lagīyā*, to be done, etc. *lagīyā* is a secondary formation <*lāg* (cf. As. √*lāg*, be necessary, connected with O.I.A. *lagyate*).

(3) The Conjunctives or Gerunds.

803. There are three indeclinable conjunctives or gerunds in As. in (a) *-i*; (b) *-ile*; (c) *-ilat*. The *i-* conjunctive is consequential in meaning and the other two (verbal nouns with loc. endings) indicate a completed act. (§§ 806, 807).

The conjunctive *-i* is derived from M.I.A. *-ia* < O.I.A. *-ya*. In Bg. it appears in the strengthened form *-iyā*. In E. As. both the forms in *-i, -iyā* are found.

In Mod. As. the *i-* conjunctive is used with finite verbs in all tenses; e.g. *mai āhi karõ, karilõ, karim*, coming I do, did, shall do.

(4) The Verbal Nouns.

804. The verbal nouns in As. are represented by the following forms:

(a) Nouns in *-an* with extensions in *-anā, -ani. -anī* (discussed under Formative Affixes § 514).

(b) Nouns in *-a* which is quiescent but traceable in roots ending in a consonant; e.g. *māt-bol; mār-dhàr; pàk* etc.

(c) Nouns in *-ā* from passive participles in *-ta* (§ 524) e.g. *ahā-jowā; khowā etc.*

(d) Nouns in *-il-* from the pass. participle in *-ila.* They persist in Mod. As. with loc. endings *-e, -ta,* in a gerundial sense. E. As. preserves a few examples with other case affixes, e.g. *antake āsi dharileka parā,* from death coming and seizing you (Śankara Deva: *Kīrtan*).

antake pāileka parā,/Rāma, Rāma, buli tarā, from death overtaking you, be saved by calling on Rāma (ibid).

805. Modern As. has developed a distinction between the uses of *-ile,* and *-ilat* (both loc. in form), though no such distinction is recognised in E. As.

806. The *-ile* conjunctive (locative in *-e* of past participle in *-il-*) is used with finite verbs in the future, e.g. *mai āhile tumi jābā,* on my coming, you will go. Cf. E. As. *ei bīrà parileka sabāro susthra haỳà,* on this hero falling, everybody will be at ease.

807. The conjunctive in *-ilat,* (also locative in *-t*), is used with preterite verbs, e.g. *mai āhilat teõ gàl,* on my coming (having come), he went away. But in E.As. *-ilat* is used in connection with both the past and the future verbs; Cf. *āmi erilatà bhūmi/aỳità nāthakibā tumi,* on my having left the earth, do not stay on here, (Śankara Deva: *Kīrtan*); *tumi erilatà morà/milibe santāpa ghora,* on your having left, a great sorrow will come upon me (Śankara Deva: *Kīrtan*); *ei bulilat gohāñi boreo kāpar ek jorà dile,* on (his) having said this, the ministers also gave him a pair of clothings. (*Burañji* K.A.S. p. 163).

808. Sometimes the double locative form in *-ilet, -ilate* is also found in E. As. *tumi erileta mai śoka duḥkha pāibo,* (*Rāmāyaṇa,* Kandali) on your having left, I shall get pains and sorrows; *snānilate sahasra janmara pāpa nāśa* (*Rāmāyaṇa:* Kandali), on bathing, the sins of a thousand births are purged away. *cintilate milibe sakala,* everything will be gained at the very thought.

Nouns in *-i* (discussed under Formative Affixes) (§ 537) e.g. *māri; bāri; pāri; gāli; hāhi* etc.

(5). The Infinitives.

809. The infinitives in Mod. As. are *-iba* and the extended form *-ibalai.* In E. As. the infinitives are represented by the forms in (1) *-ibe, -ibāk* (to which *lāgi* is often subjoined); (2) *-ita, -ite.* e.g. *pṛthibīka eribe āmāra āche mati,* (Śankara Deva: *Kīrtan*) I have a desire to leave the world. *sabe sampattika ehi muṭhi dibe pāre,* (Śankara Deva: ibid), this handful can bestow (on you) all prosperity. *khaṇḍibāka lāgi pṛthibīra mahābhāra* (Śankara), to remove the great burden of the world.

810. The infinitive in *-ib-* is common to other Magadhan dialects and the Western languages. It is much used in North Bengali. It occurs also in Oṛiyā, Bihārī and in Western languages like Rājasthānī.

In Bihārī (Khoṇṭāi) we find it in the inflected form *-ibe;* e.g. *cummā khābe lagalai,* began to kiss. (L.S.I. V. II, p. 182).

811. The infinitive base in *-ib-* is the same as the verbal noun in *-ib-,* inflected in the various cases; *-ibe* is the locative and *-ibāk* is the dative-accusative form of the verbal noun. Often they are followed by the post-position *lāgi* and sometimes they go without it. e.g. *etikṣaṇe āmi mṛga māribāka jāiba,* just now I shall go out to hunt a deer. In the Rangpur dialect of Bg. the strengthened form in *-ibā* side by side with its inflected forms in the various cases is used as the infinitives; e.g. *karibā, karibāk, karibār, pārõ;* I am able to do.

812. Mod. As. expresses the simple infinitive sense with the base *-ibà* and the gerundial implication is conveyed with the help of the post-position sub-joined to the base.

For the use of the infinitives with varied case-endings in O.I.A. (Vedic) cf. (Macdonell: *Vedic Grammar*, §§. 583-586). In M.I.A. the base form, alone and also with case-endings, is used in the infinitive; cf. *-aṇa;* gen. Pl. *-aṇahã;* loc. Sg. *-aṇahĩ;* (Pischel: § 597).

(A). The Infinitive in *-ità, -ite.*

813. The infinitive in *-it-* is found in E. As. but its use does not seem to be very popular:

jaisāni khujita moka āilā Hanumante, when Hanumanta came to seek after me.

mohoka badhita lāgi utapati bhaila, you were born with a view to kill me.

kona kona bīragaṇa, āmāka jujite āse, who are the heroes, who come to fight me?

baikuṇṭha jāite bhaila kācha pārà, became ready to go to heaven, etc.

The infinitive in *-ita,* could not establish itself as a literary favourite nor did it catch on in popular use. It became the infinitive proper in Bg. in the locative *-ite.*

The East Bengal dialects form the inf. in *-it; -itām;* cf. (L.S.I. V. I. pp. 210, 240); *barat,* to fill; *kaitām,* to say.

814. Dr. Chatterji explains *-ite* as the verbal noun in *-i* plus the locative affix *-te* and finds in it a recent formation in Bengali (O.D.B.L. p. 1014); but it is as old as the one in *-ibe* as attested by E.As. Its appearance in Bg. might have been late. Moreover the formative in *-i* seems to have a different function in As. cf. § 817.

Dr. Bloch is of opinion that the *-t-* in *-it-* is of participial origin and the *-i-* is due to the mix-up of *-a-* (in *-ant-*) and causative *-e-* (*-ent-*).

(6) The Periphrastic or Compound Tenses.

815. Properly speaking there is but one periphrastic tense in Assamese. While the other languages of the Magadhan group have, each one of them, a progressive and a perfect compound tense, there is but one tense-form of the type that functions for both and the implication of the progressive or the perfect sense has to be understood with reference to the setting in which it is placed.

In Bg. and the Bihārī languages the present progressive is indicated by subjoining the verb substantive to the Pres. participle. Thus Bg. *dekhite-chi ;* Maith. *dekhait-chi ;* Mag. *dekhait-* (*-at, -it*), *-hī*; Bhoj. *dekhat-banī̃,* also *dekhatānī̃,* I am seeing. The Oṛiyā formation is different, being *dekhu-chī̃.*

The perfect in all these languages is constructed on a different principle. It is formed by adding the verb substantive to the past. participle in *-al* in the Bihārī dialects, being Maith. *dekhàl achi ;* Mag. *dekhalũ hai ;* Bhoj. *dekhale bānī̃.* In Bg. it is *dekhiyā-chi ;* O. *dekhi-chī̃.*

816. For both these types As. has only *dekhi-chõ.* In its perfect implication, the As. form is parallel to the Oṛiyā form. There are instances of its occurrence in E.Bg. (O.D.B.L. §. 755) but it has dropped out of use in Mod. Bengali.

817. Dr. Chatterji traces Oṛiyā *-u* to O.I.A. derivative in *-uka,* having the meaning and construction of a present participle (Whitney. §. 1180 ; O.D.B.L. pp. 678, 1026). He connects also the Assamese periphrastic form in *-i* with the past participle in *-ita,* (ibid. p. 1024). But while the past part. in *-ta* lives in Mod. As. as past part. in *-ā,* the past participle in *-ita* does not seem to have left any trace in any Assamese formative. The periphrastic form in *-i* may be better connected with O.I.A. primary derivative in *-i,* yielding adjectives and agent-nouns (Whitney. §. 1155) and forming in the strengthened form *-i* + * *ka,* verbal adjectives in modern Assamese (Cf. Formative Affixes § 537). This

derivation is supported by Sir G. A. Grierson's general observation that the periphrastic tenses are formed with verbal nouns in O.I.A. and not with participles. (*Enc. Brit.* 11th edition; *Bengali Language*).

The *-iyā* type passing for the perfect compound in Bg. is also met with in E.As. in the forms in *-iyā, -i* (< *-iyā*) followed by the unclipped verb substantive *āch*, e.g. *jono āniyāche Kṛṣṇa sandeśa*, may hap, has brought messages about Krishna. The form in *-i* (< *-iyā*) + √ *āch*, has come down to modern Assamese. But the meaning has changed. From the present perfect it has acquired the sense of perfect progressive; e.g. *kari āchõ*, have been doing.

CHAPTER XIX.

PLEONASTIC SUFFIXES.

(I) The Conjunctives.

818. The Magadhan dialects present the strange phenomenon of using conjunctive participles as pleonastic suffixes after fully inflected verbal forms to add a certain emphasis. Let us begin with the easternmost Bengali dialects. The conjunctive participles *giyā*, *gai* from the defective root √*ga*, to go, "is often added to other verbs to make them more forcible". (L.S.I. V. I. p. 293). The conjunctive sense having been lost, the participle is added to inflected verbs in all tenses and moods as an emphatic particle; e.g. *dūrai bidesh gechil giyā*, went away to a distant country; Kāchār dialect (L.S.I. V. I. p. 234); *lai gece gai*, took away; Tippera dialect (L.S.I. V. I. p. 244); *gelām gai*, I went away; *deo gai*, give away; Chittāgong: (ibid. p. 294); *durai mulluke gel gai*, went away to a far country; *kari gai*, let us make; Noākhāli: (ibid. pp. 309, 313).

The use of *gai* in this sense is a highly characteristic feature of middle Assamese prose of the chronicles. The following forms are taken at random from *Puraṇi Asam Burañjī*, published by the Kāmrūp Anusandhān Samiti.

dharile gai, caught him up (p. 104).
rahil gai, he stayed there (p. 160).
thākil gai, he remained there (p. 107).
bheṭile gai, he did meet him (p. 109).
diye gai, he does give, etc.

This use of *gai* persists in Mod. As. It is used in narrative prose to give a certain swing and a sense of finality to an expression.

In standard Bengali, *ge* < *giyā*, "added to the imperative expresses the imperative in the immediate future with a slight precative sense". (O.D.B.L. p. 908); e.g. *āmi*

karige ; tumi kàràge. "With the simple past and the future, it has the force of "though", "nevertheless", "however", "even now", "immediately" (O.D.B.L. p. 909) ; e.g. *se kŏrle ge,* and then he did ; *tumi kŏrbe ge,* and you will do.

In middle and modern Assamese there is a similar use of the conjunctive *āhi* (coming : $\surd$ *āh,* to come) > *hi.* e.g. *Phukanat baril hi,* took shelter in Phukan ; *garh dilehi,* constructed a fort ; *Pāṇḍu pālehi,* reached Pāṇḍu, etc.

This use of *hi* continues in Mod. As. There is just the difference between 'going' and 'coming' in the uses of *gai* and *hi.* The former is used to indicate the consummation of the action of the verb further away from the speaker, while the latter denotes the contrary, i.e. towards the direction of the speaker; e.g. *pāle gai,* reached, going ; *pāle hi,* reached, coming.

Some East Bengali dialects illustrate a similar use with *hāri* (§ 823), *kāri*>*āri,* e.g. *giyā hāri,* having gone ; Sylhet (L.S.I. V. I, p. 231); where *hāri* is not pleonastic but continues the conjunctive sense of the preceding verb. The more characteristic illustration is from the Tippera dialect (ibid p. 244) ; *bāper bāri gelām āri,* went to the house of the father.

819. The standard Bengali pleonastic affix *khan, khun,* met with in expressions like *jābo-khan,* I shall go ; *dilum-khun,* we gave ; *habe-khun,* it will be (O.D.B.L. pp. 997, 998), though connected by Dr. Chatterji with O.I.A. *kṣaṇa,* instant, is in reality a conjunctive participle occurring in the forms *kahan, kohon, khan, khã* in the Bihārī dialects. (For derivation see below § 823). Cf. Pāch Paraganiā (L.S.I. V. 11).

khāy-kahan, eating.
dhair-kahan, catching (p. 171).
uiṭh-kohan, uiṭh-kahan, having risen (p. 167).
Nāgpuriā (ibid. p. 298); *āi-kohon,* coming.
Sadrī Kol : *serāi-khan,* having completed ; *kāmāi-khan* having earned (ibid. pp. 159, 160).
Bhojpurī dialect : *āwat-khã,* coming in (ibid. p. 206). Cf. also E. Hindī. *-kan, -khan, -kehen* (L.S.I. VI, pp. 177, 178, 225).

As Sadrī Kol where the exact form *khan* is registered is an Eastern Magadhan dialect and just in the immediate neighbourhood of Bengali, the migration of *khan* is easily imaginable and a postulate for a separate origin of Bg. *khan* is uncalled for. The following expressions from the Gospel of St. Mark in Magadhi (quoted in O.D.B.L. p. 998) only illustrate the pleonastic use of the conjunctive participle *khan* in Magadhi; *kariai-khan*, I do, I shall do; *ailai-khan*, came; *kahal kai-khan*, said etc.

(2) The Conjunctives in *-na-*.

820. Bg. *-ne*, (*debo-ne*, I shall give; *jābā-ne*, you will go) and the dialectical Assamese (Kāmrūp) *-ni* (*khāwā-ni*, do eat; *jawā-ni*, do go) are conjunctive endings used pleonastically.

The origin of the conjunctive participles in *-na* in the various dialects and sub-dialects of N.I.A. may be briefly indicated here.

The forms in the Bihārī dialects as above noted are; *kahan, kohon, khan, khā.*

The Nepālī form is *-kan* (shortened for *ke-ne*).

In Bengali sub-dialects (L.S.I. V. I) Chākmā: *-inai; jei-nai*, having gone.

Khaṛiā Ṭhar (Mānbhum) : *-nā; henā*, being; *ānā*, taking.
Māl Pāhāriā : *-henak; guṭiāi-henak*, having collected
Jalpāi-guri : *hāne; jāyā-hāne*, having gone.
In Rājasthānī dialects : (L.S.I. IX. II.).
Mārwāṛī : *-nai, -knai.*
Mālvī : *-ne, ī-ne.*

821. The *-n-* in all these formations seems related to O.I.A. *-na* in *-tvāna* which persists through M.I.A. *-ttāṇa, -ccāṇa, -yāṇa* (Pischel § 592).

822. Bihārī *kahan;* Nep. *kan* (<*ke-ne*); Bengali *henak, hāne,* are double conjunctives. In the Bihārī dialects the termination of the conjunctive participle may be either *kai* or *ke* (shortened for *kari*>*ka* (*r*) *i*). In this use *kai* or *ke* lost

all traces of the verbal significance and became a mere conjunctive suffix subjoined to the conjunctive form of the principal verb. The Rāj. dialects preserve an affix in *-nai, -ne* parallel to *-kai, -ke.*

823. The several groups *kehen, kahan, kohon etc* are the results of the blending of *kai*+*hai*+*na* > *kehen.* The forms *kahan, kohon, khan, khã̄,* etc. are dialectical variants. So also *hāri* is a blend of *hai* + **kāri.*

(3).

824. *con.* A pleonastic suffix found in modern As. It is used after nouns, pronouns and also after verbal forms. After imperative verbs, it softens the sense of command and expresses the meaning of English " would please " etc. *āhibā-con,* you will please come; *jāõ-con,* let me just go.

After indicative verbs it expresses a mild sense of surprise, a little unexpectedness, the sense of English " after all"; e.g. *marilei-con,* (contrary to expectation) died, died after all; *gaichili-con,* you went after all.

(4).

825. *de ; dekhon.* Corresponding to the two shades of meaning of *con,* that of mild command, asking to do something that is only too natural, and that of surprise, there are the verbal formations *de, dekhon* (also written *dekhõ*), the former expressing a mild request and the latter expressing surprise at something contrary to what is said or expected; e.g. *āhibā de,* you would please come (the party asked being already willing to come); *bahibā de,* do please sit down; *si dekhon āhil,* (contrary to expectation) he has come; *darab khowāto ṭopani nāhil dekhon,* even after taking medicine there was no sleep (as was expected) etc.

These formations (*con, de, dekhon*) are conjunctive participles; *de* is shortened for **diyā* and *dekhon* seems to be a compound of *de* + *khon,* parallel to Bihārī *āi-kohon, kāmāi-khan etc.*

con, also written *cõ,* seems obscure.

(5).

Disguised Conjunctive formations as Pleonastic affixes.

826. The above discussions will throw light upon the origin of certain affixes tagged on to inflected verbal forms and so long regarded as pleonastic without any assignable reasons. It will be found that they are highly worn out conjunctive participles added on to emphasise the meaning of the principal verb. The following are the affixed verbal forms:

Noākhāli dialect (L.S.I. V. I, p. 307).

mari-(y)er; I am dying.
kari-(y)er; I do.

Cf. E. H. (Baigāni): *maratha-nā*, I am dying; *jāthe-nā*, he goes.

Chittāgong dialect (ibid. p. 293).

kari-r; also *kari*, I do.
kara-r; also *karas*, thou dost.
kare-r; also *kare*, he does.
khā-er, also *khār*, he eats.

Hāijong of Mymensingh (ibid p. 215).

mārib-ār; mārib-ān, he struck.
thakib-ār: *thakib-ān*, he remained.

Sylhet (ibid. p. 226).

jāi-yār,
jāi-r-ām,
jāit-r-ām,
} I am going.

Early Bg. (*Kṛṣṇa Kīrtan*).

ācherà, he has; *beṛhile-rà*; surrounded.
dibõ-rà; shall give; *haibe-rà;* shall be.
geli-rà, passed.

In all these examples, *-ra, erà* have no clearly definable meaning. They are all used in a vague sense of emphasis and obligatoriness associated with English auxiliary verbs like 'do', 'did', 'shall', 'should' etc., and conveying the same shades of meaning as the conjunctive participles examined in the previous sections.

827. In reality they are only decayed conjunctive participles. In Bihārī, there is also the conjunctive formation *kar* (L.S.I. V. II p. 39) side by side with *kai, ke.* In the Western languages *kar* often appears as *-ar.* There is also the Nepālī conjunctive in *-(y)er,* Eastern Hindī, *-ker* (Turnbull: *Nepālī Grammar* p. 111; L.S.I. VI. p. 159).

We have already met with expressions in East Bg. with pleonastic use of *hāri, āri*<**kāri* (*gelām āri*), and a Chittāgong form like *khāi-r* may be regarded as equivalent to **khāi kar(i)*, I do eat. Similarly, Noākhāli *mari-yer* may be equated to * *mari ker(i)*, I am dying (The Māl Pāhāriā dialect has a verbal root $\surd$ *ker*; cf. *ānand kerib; hāsi-mojā kerib;* L.S.I. V. I, p. 102).

Dr. Chatterji regards this *-r-* as a contracted form of *kar* and a verbal auxiliary added on to the root (O.D.B.L. p. 996). But he has left the history and function of this *-r-* undiscussed.

(6) Inverted Conjunctives.

828. There are certain analogous formations in early Bg. (*Kṛṣṇa Kīrtan*) and in early As. (*Rāmāyaṇa*: M. Kandali) in which the position of the characteristic conjunctive ending has been inverted. The principal verb takes on the conjunctive termination, and what in similar contexts pass on as conjunctive participles have personal affixes added on to them. The following are the examples;

E. Bg. { *di-ārà,* do give; *āni-ārà,* do bring.
kahi-ārà, do speak; *khā-ārà,* do eat.
kahi-ārõ, I do speak.

E. As. { *kari-erà,* do thou do; *tāri-erà; māri-erà;* do save; kill etc.
lukāi-erõ, I shall have concealed.
gucāi-erõ, I shall have removed.
hāni-ere, he does strike etc.

829. Here *-ārà, -erà* are clearly related to *karà, kerà,* and the formations *di-ārà, tāri-erà* may be equated to expressions like **diā kàrà; *tāri kera*=giving, do; saving, do;=

do give; do save. In this respect they may be regarded as compound verbs with the principal verbs put in the conjunctive forms. *āniārà* may be regarded as equivalent to Mod. Bg. *āniyā phelà;* bring off. This use of *-āra, -era* may be due to the fact that though originally conjunctive in sense, they were used without the characteristic conjunctive terminations and were perhaps mistaken for finite verbs in the imperative. This notion once established, personal affixes of the other persons also were added on to them. Cf. Western Assam (Kāmrūp) dialectical forms: *khā-n-i,* do thou eat; *khā-n-ā,* do you eat; *khā-n-õ,* let me eat; where *-n-* is a conjunctive particle.

Dr. Chatterji connects *-iā* with the verbal noun in *-ita* (O.D.B.L. § 996). But the explanation suggested does not seem to be quite satisfactory.

(7). The Pleonastic *-ka.*

830. The use of *-ka* as a pleonastic affix after verb-form is so well established and it has been so fully discussed (O.D.B.L. pp. 989-994) that a fresh discussion seems unnecessary. A few examples will be enough to shew the extent of its pleonastic uses, in N.I.A. languages:

After Pres. indic. early Bg. *poṛe-k,* burns;

„ imperative Sing. (3rd P.): As. *dekhà-k:* Bg. *dekhu-k;* O. *dekhu.*

„ imperative Pl. (3rd P.): E.As. *māranto; pālanto-k;* O. *dekhantu.*

„ passive imp. E. As. *śuniyo; śuniyo-ka.*

„ conjunctive in *-ile:* E. As. *parile-ka,* on his having fallen.

„ infinitive in *-u* (O.I.A. *-tu*); (Halabī) *jāuk,* to go; *puchuk,* to ask.

„ imp. Sing. (2nd P.); *māre-k; mār,* strike. (Hāijong) (L.S.I. V. I, p. 215).

(8) The Pleonastic *-la-*.

831. Corresponding to the *-ga* affix, there is an affix *-la-* in the Western languages (Rājasthānī and Mārāṭhī) and in some Magadhan languages like Bengali and Bhojpurī. Its grammatical function is to some extent like that of *-ga-*. It forms the future in Western languages, and the present definite (also used in the future) in Bhojpurī; it is pleonastic in Bengali ; and in the solitary instance *haba-lā,* where it happens to occur, in Assamese.

Early Bengali (*Kṛṣṇa Kīrtan*) has a suffix *-li* added to the future imp.

karihà-li; dihà-li ; calihà-li, you will do ; give; go.

In dialectical Bengali the suffix occurs in *-lo;* e.g. *kara-lo; āiche-lo* (*Maimansing Gītikā*) ; *kaha-lo.*

Here *-l-* is pleonastic, it does not function as a tense-forming affix. It is added to the inflected verbal forms.

832. Assamese preserves the use of *-lā* with the word *haba* (*habalā*), perhaps, may be; e.g. *āhil habalā;* may be, he has come. Cf. Rājasthānī ; *ū ghoṛai caḍhyo hvaĭlā,* he must have mounted his horse (Kellogg, p. 213).

(9) The Pleonastic *-tā ; -to.*

833. In the Māyang dialect there is the pleonastic suffix *-tā ;* e.g. *eil-tā,* he came ; *eilā-tā,* they came ; *peilaŋg-tā,* I got, etc. (L.S.I. V. I pp. 419 *et seq.*).

This affix seems to correspond to Assamese-Bengali *-to* ; e.g. *khowā-to,* do eat ; *dharā-to,* do hold ; *āhil-to,* he has come ; *jāba-to,* he will go. So also in Bengali; *jācche-to,* he is going; *gela-to,* he has gone.

It is used to express a mild assertion or to soften a command or an injunction. It is often used after nouns and pronouns also.

Dr. Chatterji affiliates *-tā* with the enclitic definitive *-ṭā* (cerebral). Dr. Bloch suggests connection with *tāvat* (Hindī *to* < *tau*).

CHAPTER XX.

CONCLUSION.

The Extent of Probable non-Aryan Influences.

834. The essay is now brought to a close. As the foregoing pages shew, it is a study in details of sound-changes and of grammatical forms in Assamese. Starting from O.I.A. sounds and forms, these changes have, as far as practicable, been traced through M.I.A. periods to N.I.A. Assamese.

835. By origin an Indo-Aryan vernacular, Assamese is surrounded on all sides by non-Aryan speeches. It may even be said that Assamese is a small island in a sea of diverse non-Aryan languages, and as such Assamese may be regarded as being more open to non-Aryan influences than other N.I.A. vernaculars. But the extent of non-Aryan influences does not appear to be as great as it might have been expected to be. This seems due to two outstanding historical facts. It has been noticed in the introduction (§§ 46, 47) that Assam lay on the high way for emigrants from all parts of India to the Far East, and this kept Assam in constant contact with the rest of Aryan-speaking India, and checked non-Aryan tendencies from making any radical changes in the structure of Assamese. Then there was the rise of a varied popular literature in the early part of the sixteenth century in connection with the Vaishnavite movement of Śankara Deva. Songs, poems and dramas were composed in large numbers and they are as popular even now amongst Assamese-speaking people as the *dohās* of Tulsidas amongst Hindī speaking population.

This rise of a standard literature exercised a stabilizing influence upon the speech and resisted the inroads of non-Aryan idioms to a considerable extent. But still as pointed out in the body of the text, non-Aryan influences have been large and varied. For convenience of reference, they are summarised below.

Phonological.

836. Bodo influence in imparting alveolar sounds to O.I.A. cerebrals and dentals in Assamese has already been referred to (§ 429).

837. The same influence has been postulated in fronting O.I.A. palatals to dentals in Assamese. (O.D.B.L. p. 79).

838. A certain amount of non-Aryan influence is suspected in causing vowel-mutation and vowel-harmony (§§ 249ff). But to what definite extent the influence might have operated is not known.

839. Non-Aryan influence has been postulated to explain the phenomenon of spontaneous nasalisation by Sir G. A. Grierson (§ 293).

840. A certain amount of non-Aryan influence is suspected in the matter of aspiration of O.I.A. stops (initial and medial) (§§ 366, 375).

Morphological.

841. Reduplication of a word to produce a jingle. The whole root or its first elements can be doubled and in this way the meaning is intensified in many ways. This has been noted as a characteristic of the Kolarian and the Dravidian (Sten Konow: L.S.I. Vol. IV, p. 23). There is a lavish use of reduplicating phrases in the Khāsi language. Reduplication and repetition, regular and with variants, have been noted as frequent modes of word-formation in the aboriginal Malayan dialects. This is now a pan-Indian phenomenon and its origin is extra-Aryan.

842. The origin of the enclitic numeratives is also extra-Aryan. They constitute a characteristic both of the Austric and the Tibeto- Burman languages with some differences in

use. "The aboriginal dialects of the (Malay) Peninsula often *annex* to their numerals certain words which roughly express the genius or some general characteristic of the things enumerated. The numeral and this numerical co-efficient then go closely together and form an inseparable word-group which may either follow or precede the substantive that represents the things enumerated (Blagden: Vol. II p. 775).

In the Tibeto-Burman languages, generic *prefixes* are commonly used with numerals which follow the nouns. They are many and various according as they qualify "flat" or "globular" things, "things standing as trees," "persons," "animals," "parts of body" etc. (L.S.I. Vol. III, Part II, p. 385). In the Austric the co-efficient *follows* the numerals and in the Tibeto-Burman the co-efficient is *prefixed* to the numerals. In Assamese the definitive is *annexed* not *prefixed* (§§. 577 ff).

843. Extra-Aryan influence seems responsible for the use of personal affixes to nouns of relationship. In this respect also contrariness is noticed between the Austric and the Tibeto-Burman. In the Tibeto-Burman, the personal definitive is *prefixed*, but in the Austric, it is suffixed. In Assamese the personal definitive is suffixed (§§ 599 ff).

844. Non-Aryan influence is noticed also in the use of different words to express distinct aspects of relationship according to the age of the person with whom relationship is conveyed. This is characteristic of the Austric. In Assamese, of the two words used to denote a senior or a junior, one is often of Austric or unknown origin and the other Aryan: e.g. *kakāi*, elder brother; but *bhāi*, younger brother; *bāi*, elder sister, but *bhanī*, younger sister. Sometimes both the words are of Aryan origin but artificial distinction is drawn in their uses; e.g. *bhinihī*, elder sister's husband; but *baināi*, younger sister's husband. (§§ 595-598).

845. Non-Aryan origin is suspected of the Pl. suffixes *-bilāk, -gilā-, -ŋglā, -gā, -lā,* (§§ 623, 642).

846. Non-Aryan origin has been suspected of the derivatives in *-cā, -mā* and of the past participle in *-ibā* (§§ 79, 80, 816). There may be convergence of Aryan and non-Aryan sounds in the establishment of derivatives in *-ŋ-, -aŋā -āŋ* (§§ 521-522).

847. Prefixing the negative to the verb-root. Amongst the Eastern languages, Assamese stands isolated in prefixing the negative as an integral part of the conjugated verb-root. In Oṛiyā, the verb-substantive only shews a negative conjugation. But a negative conjugation is a characteristic feature of Assamese from the earliest times. As in the case of the *b-* past, a fully developed practice in Assamese is found only as an idiom in Oṛiyā.

Amongst the Tibeto-Burman languages of Assam, there is a two-fold use of the negative. In some, the negative follows the root of the word it qualifies, while in others it precedes the root. In Kāchāri (Boḍo) which may be said to have influenced Assamese most, the negative *follows* the root of the verb, but the imperative negative *precedes* the root (L.S.I. Vol. III. part II. p. 198). But for Oṛiyā, an extra-Aryan influence could have been assumed. As it is, nothing more than confluence of Aryan and non-Aryan practices can be suggested.

848. In the establishment of the prothetic *a-*, there is room for suspicion of the convergence of non-Aryan influence with O.I.A. forms (§ 286).

849. In vocabulary similarities between Assamese and non-Aryan words have been noted.

———:o:———

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CORRECTIONS

Certain irregularities that have crept in due to oversight are corrected below :

Page	Line	Read
8	18	Bihārī
38	15	*leŋgā*
70	10	(*Śāsana*)
71	14	*Sáŋghaṭa*
85	29	Bihārī
87	11	*-u*
88	6	*Śŏ*
89	1	*-īa*
92	11	*ă-*
92	27	*-u*
98	30	*nasṭā*
105	8	*ĕ-*
114	31	or *-ẇ-*
120	12	-i∼wa
129	9	*ɛṭā*
132	25	cf. (576a) *to be deleted*
132	35	*aṭṭa+*
139	25	**puṇia*
141	5	*-hiṁ, -hĩ.*
143	3	**Śuŋghati*
143	22	*candāla*
150	16	*-āa-, -āā-*
152	29	*-u-*
162	11	*sp(h)*
164	27	to *-n*
166	5	*phormān*
174	24	*Sātdiniyā*
177	32	**mukna*
186	31	*ṭṛtīya*
187	14	*Sáurasenī*
188	18	*+carcikā*
188	29	*hañji*
191	16	*√jhamp*
192	19	*Sãj*
193	7	*ṭṛtīya*
217	20	*vṛnta*
218	5	**taḍḍu-*
220	24	Initially *r-*
241	16	*Kãiṭ*
268	8	*ṭāṛā*
268	9	*ṭāṛ*
277	3	*meleka, bistara* or some
294	20	*maĩ, moe*
304	10	eti-
304	21	*ts*
323	1	*dije, liji*
360	4	*-ŋ*

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