

Reception of Indo-Aryan words in Boro

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Abstract

In this paper an attempt has been made to discuss and analyze the reception of Indo-Aryan words in Boro language. It is observed that in case of Boro language fulfillment of necessity and impact among the languages is the major reasons behind reception of words. The present paper will basically highlight the reception process and how these words have been used into Boro language. All these have been tried to analyze and exemplify in the main paper based on morphological and phonological view point.

Keywords: reception, impact, adaptation, Indo-Aryan languages (Assamese, Bengali, Hindi), morphological and phonological processes

1. Introduction

Boro language is belonging to the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family of languages. This language has abundant of inherited words. As this language is one of the major languages of Tibeto-Burman group many words from T-B origin can also be found in this language. But these basic words of TB origin are not sufficient for filling up the need of academic and literary purposes of the language. As a result this language has also adapted many Indo-Aryan origin words i.e. from Assamese, Bengali and Hindi languages. These adapted words are used in intact form and some are used with a slight changed form. Boro language has received some words with the adaptation process and it is also observed that this language has used some Indo-Aryan words though they have their native words to express the ideas or thought. Fulfillment of necessity of language and impact of other languages is the reasons of reception of words. Reception and adaptation of words in every language is a natural process whether it is a rich or poor language.

1.1 Methodology

In this study required data has been collected from both primary and secondary sources as per necessary and their suitability. As it is a study of reception of words it has been analyzed based on structure of words.

1.2 Aims and objectives of the study

The study aims at analyzing the reception of Indo-Aryan words in Boro language. The reception process and ways of formation of such words in the language have been done with an illustration and critical analysis. There are many languages under the Indo-Aryan languages. But this present study has been studied within a periphery of four languages i.e. Assamese, Bengali and Hindi languages.

1.3 Discussion

Reception of Indo-Aryan words in Boro language is the main topic of discussion. At present in Boro language existing of various Indo-Aryan words is very much remarkable. These have been observed in written form as well as in discourses.

The common Indo-Aryan words found in Boro language in many areas are discussed below:

2. Reception of Assamese words into Boro Language

Assamese is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in North-Eastern part of India, which is developed from rich Indo-European language family. But basically, large numbers of Assamese speakers are found in Assam. "Assamese is the easternmost New Indo-Aryan language spoken in the Assam valley districts with Lakhimpur in the extreme east and Goalpara in the extreme west" (Kakati 1987:1) [8]. This is a dominant language and also recognized as official state language in Assam. Assamese language is a very rich in both oral and written literature. Boro language has gradually developed their written literature after the Bodo Sahitya Sabha was formed in 1952 and the language was recognized as medium of instruction in 1963. Boro has adopted Assamese script for their writing purposes at early period. *Later on during post-independence period Boro has adopted Devanagari script from 1974-75 onwards* (Chainary 2005:277) [7]. The written literature of Boro has gradually developed after the Assamese literature. In this regard the impact of Assamese literature on Boro literature cannot be denied. Though Boro and Assamese languages are not belonging to same language family, some similarities have found within these two languages. Due to the closer living with these two linguistic communities for a long time in the same geographical area the Boro speakers have received various linguistic elements from Assamese knowingly and unknowingly through the process of socialization. *The Bodos live in scattered groups of villages that spread out from the extreme North-East of Assam to the districts of North Bengal. They are a people who lived mostly in the plains and came in almost daily contact with the 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, - Living long in the plains and in immediate neighbourhood of Aryan-speaking people, the Bodos borrowed words freely from the Aryan dialects.* (Kakati 1987:42) [8]. This remark on linguistic community is very acceptable. Because when two linguistic communities are living closer in a same geographical area it is mutually impact

with each other on language and culture etc. It is not possible to say that Assamese has not been influenced by any other languages of the world. Assamese language has also received quite a good number of Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi and Arabic origin words etc. Besides that the contribution of Tibeto-Burman languages on Assamese language cannot be denied. In this regard the contribution of Boro language on Assamese language is very much remarkable. The famous linguists Banikanta Kakati and Birinchi Kumar Boruah were also agreed that thousands of Boro words are entered to Assamese vocabulary. Vocabularies of every language are almost bound to intermingle with the words of other languages. Borrowings and adaptation in a language is a natural process. This same happens is also occurred in Boro language. In Boro language adaptation of words from Assamese language observes in phonology, morphology and lexis. The Assamese adapted words in Boro language are found in many areas which are discussed below

2.1 Birds Name

Through the process of socialization many Assamese words related to birds have entered the Boro language which the structure and origin of words are not comparable with Boro words and other Tibeto-Burman group of languages. According to the structures of words of TB languages denoting birds are composed of two grammatical units. In Boro language also finds birds name are composed of two grammatical units. The basic word (free morpheme) {dau} (bird/fowl) is used before the name of particular birds and another morphological unit i.e. bound morpheme is added with this basic word 'dau'. e.g.- dau-sen > dausen- a kind of small bird, dau-k^hok^hliŋ > dauk^hok^hliŋ - a kind of bird, dau-k^huuuu > dauk^huuuuo- cuckoo, dau-hudu>dauhudu- a kind of owl, dauma-sar>daumasar –a wild cock, dau-t^hep> daut^hep- a small bird etc.

But in Boro language there are many birds name which, however find no mention of the word 'dau' (bird) and from the morphological view point the structure of such birds name are not common with structure of all T-B languages. So comparing with the word structure of T-B languages it can be said that these kinds of words have been derived from Assamese language through the mutual impact of socialization. Here interesting point is that such kinds of words are adapted through their native articulation system. While receiving the words into native language the impact of vowel and consonant phonemes are to be pointed. For example: the word /sigun/ (vulture) is adapted from Assamese /səgun/ via Sanskrit origin word. Here Assamese vowel phoneme /ɔ/ is replacing with vowel phoneme /i/ and adjusted the word with their articulation system. Actually the origin of this word is from Sanskrit /sokun/. One more adapted word from Assamese sila/siloni has been used in Boro language as *sila* (kite) in an intact form. At the early period the word *dauliŋ* had used. In Dimasa also *dauliŋ* is used to refer kite. The word *haŋsu* (duck) is an adapted word from Assamese *hah* via Sanskrit origin *həŋsɔ*. In this example the middle consonant phonemes /ŋ s/ and the final vowel phoneme /u/ is inserted in the adapted word and it is used as *haŋsu*. But now Boro language has borrowed Dimasa word *daup^hlam* to having similar structure with other Boro words as above mentioned. Boro language has adapted *p^hesa* to mean owl. The word structure of this word is also not similar as above given

words. It is seen that now Boro language has adapted *dauk^hu* from Dimasa language to refer the same structure with Boro language. Another bird name from Assamese *parɔ* has been used in Boro as *p^haruu* (domestic pigeon).

2.2 Animals Name

Generally it has been observed that the words related to animals are composed of two morphological segments in TB languages. In Boro language also we can find that some words which denote the names of some animals are composed of two morphological units. e.g.- muu- suu > musuu- cow, muu- su > muuisu- buffalo, muu-dui > mudui –porcupine, muu-t^ham> mut^ham-otter etc.

But there are many words in Boro language referring to the names of animals where the above structure of words is not found. So, from this structural analysis such animal's names are from Assamese source. These kinds of words have been used by the Boro speakers due to impact of Assamese language. e.g.- Br. sial < Ass. xial < Skt. srigal- fox, Br. neulai < Ass. neul < Skt. nəkul- mongoose, Br. k^haseu < Ass. kasɔ < Skt. kossop- tortoise, Br. zolost^hi < Ass. jolhosti(skt. jol, pani+hosti, hati) (Hemkosh p.545), Br.hat^hi (muider>muider) < Ass. hati- elephant. Generally the native speakers are used the word /hat^hi/ in spoken form. But in standard Boro language the word /muu-der/ is used. If analyze the word 'muu-der' we find /mi-geder> muider/. Here the word /mi/ denotes animal and /geder/ means big. To denotes the big animal like elephant thus the word /mi-der>muider/ is used in Boro language. In Boro, the word /mi/ denotes animal and has relationship with other TB languages.

2.3 Fish Name

It has been observed that the words related to fish have the basic word {na} (fish) in TB languages. e.g Bd. na-t^hur, Gr. na-t^huk, Rb. na-t^huk, Dm. na-t^hu which is prawn in English. Bd. na, Gr. nat^hok, Rb. na, Dm. na which is fish in English. Boro, as a language of TB group to referring different kinds of fish the noun word {na} is used by adding different bound bases. e.g. na-srai > nasrai- a kind of fish, na-balabut^hia > nabalabut^hia- a kind of small fish, na-t^hengguana > nat^hengguana- a kind of small fish, na-k^han^hlia- / k^han^hlia-na > k^han^hlianana- a kind of fish having thorn on mouth. The words related to fish which have the noun word {na} is a Boro basic word. But in Boro language many words related to fish have been used by the speakers, which however can find no mention of word {na} (fish) and the structure of words of such fish name are not common to TB languages. These kinds of words have derived from other Indo-Aryan languages due to impact of linguistic acculturation. For example: Br. barli < Ass. bərali- a kind of fish, Br. k^hauui < Ass. kaoui- a kind of fish, Br. gurui < Ass. gəroi- a kind of fish, Br. siŋgi < Ass. xiŋji- a kind of fish etc.

2.4 Miscellaneous Words

Boro language has adapted many words from Assamese language. Both the language speakers dwelling in a same geographic region or social context is one of the factors of it. The famous Assamese linguist Upendranath Goswami remarks in his book Asamiya Bhashar Udbhav-Samridhi Aru Vikash- several words of Boro language are almost similar with standard Assamese language, kamrupi and goalparia. According to him the origin of these words are of either

Sanskrit or other languages. Again he strongly commented that these words have entered to Boro language from Assamese language. In Boro language adapted words have been used *either* intact form or fit with articulation system of this language. Bathwu is the ethnic religion of Boros of Assam. They have been worship many deities related to Bathwu. To referring worship they have been used the word *p^huza* via Assamese *puza*. The word *p^huza* (worship) has adapted from Assamese *puza*. As per the phonological character of Boro language the use of unaspirated voiceless bilabial stop /p/ has not found in this language. So in this example the unaspirated voiceless bi-labial stop /p/ has been changed to aspirated voiceless bi-labial /p^h/. Here, /p/ has been adapted as /p^h/. From this very articulation system it refers that this word is adapted word. However, Boro language has their native word to refer *p^huza* i.e. *sibinai* (worship). But the word *p^huza* is frequently used by the speakers of Boro language. The Assamese phonemes /p t k/ (unaspirated voiceless bilabial, alveolar and velar stops respectively) are articulated as /p^h t^h k^h/ (aspirated voiceless bi-labial, alveolar and velar respectively) by the speakers of Boro language. e.g. - Br. t^hak^ha (raj) < Ass. Taka /taka – money, Br. k^hut^ha (bat^hra) < k^hut^ha – word etc. The Assamese words *taka* and *k^hut^ha* are articulated as t^hak^ha and k^hut^ha respectively in Boro through the process of phonological change. Besides above words, various phonological adaptation words are found in Boro language, it is possible only due to impact of Assamese language. The word *p^hat^hal* has adapted from Assamese *patal* which is found in Boro's *kherai* chanting and as well as speakers of this language also used their day today conversation. Bhaben Narzi, the famous folklorist of Boro who wrote the book titled 'Boro-Kacharir Samaz Aru Sanskriti.' Here in this book the word '*p^hat^hal*' is found in chanting of *kherai*. (Narzi: 197). Generally the word *p^hagla* is used in Boro to refer mad or madman. But this word has been used with phonetic change from the Assamese word *pogla*. Boro has their native word to mean mad i.e. *zaolia*. The word *p^hut^har* (grazing field/field) is adapted from Assamese *pot^har*. In written form of Boro the word *dubli* is used to refer paddy field. Mostly the word *p^hut^har* uses frequently by the eastern dialect speakers of Boro language. The speakers of Boro language are used large numbers of Assamese loan words in their everyday conversation. It is possible only due to socialization. These words have been used with a phonological change and sometimes remain the same. The voiceless bilabial, alveolar un-aspirated /p t/ are used as /p^h t^h/ aspirated voiceless bi-labial, alveolar respectively in Boro words. In Boro language there can also be found a few numbers of hybrid words i.e. forming with combination of both Assamese and Boro words. The word *maslan^har* (kingfisher) is a hybrid word where there is one Assamese word 'mas' (fish) and Boro word 'lan^har' (runaway). One hybrid word *mat^hi galdab* (khera daphini) is generally used among the Boro speakers. This is one kind of leaf vegetable. Here *mat^hi* (soil) is an Assamese word and *galdab* is Boro word. The word *bibar dani* (decorating flowers stand) is composed of two elements-one Boro word *bibar* (flower) and another Assamese word *dani* (stand).

3. Reception of Bengali words into Boro language

Bengali is an Indo-Aryan language under the great language family of Indo-European. The speakers of this language are

scattering in different region of Assam. Assamese and Bengali languages are belonging to the same group of Indo-European language family. These two languages are closely related to each other. In this regard P. Goswami opined, "*Bengali and Assamese are closely related languages and at one time for several decades Bengali was even a language of the court and the school. The new Bengali communities that settled in the large towns came to have some influence in Assamese life- in dress, food habits and social activities.*"(Extracted from Linguistic Situation in North-East India: Mrinal Miri (ed.) P.113). In Assam Bengali language was used by the common people of Assam at the early period. In this regard, Hemchandra Boruah writes-"*Axomot Bongali vashar bor ador asil; matri vashak sokoloi ghinailsil- iskulot Bongali, kacharit Bongali, dekabilakor alapot Bongali Aru teulokor sithito bongali vasha solisil.---oboise moiyo ei niomor bahira nasilo.*"(Goswami 1994: 235-236). Vocabulary of every language is mixed up with other sources. This same happen is occurred in Boro language also. The Bengali words can be found in Boro vocabulary. Due to influence of Bengali language, speakers of Assamese language adapted some Bengali words. Similarly, in Boro language also find adaptation of Bengali words which entered to Boro language indirectly or via Assamese language which is a very close language to Boro. Now a day in standard Boro language the entering of Bengali word is very much noticeable. However, some writer of old and modern period have also been used Bengali words in their creative writing such as novel, short story, poetry etc. Besides it in day today conversation a few Bengali words have been used by the Boro linguistic speakers. The speakers of Boro language have used Bengali words to express their idea or thought. The Boro speakers as dwelling with other Indo-Aryan like Assamese and Bengali language speakers and as a result they have received Bengali terms to express their thoughts. e.g.- Br. b^hezal < Bg. b^hezal- complex, Br. bundu < Bg. bond^hu- friend, Br. gan < Bg. gan- song, Br. k^helen^hk^hari < Bg. ke^hlenkari- scandal, Br. k^huri < Bg. kuri-twenty, Br. emonk^hi < Bg. em^honki- even, Br. k^hurma kutumbo < Bg. kutumb^h- relatives, Br. dewal (inzur) < Bg. deyal- wall etc. Here in this above example a slight phonological change is observed- the unaspirated /k/ is changed to aspirated /k^h/ and /y/ becomes /w/. In counting system the Boro speakers used the term /k^huri/ at the early period. But now a day with the advancement of education they are counting by their native language. Due to development of society many new food items are also entered in Boro culture. They can't lead their life only with tradition process. That is why peoples have received conveniently many new items in respect of food; as a result words related to food of Bengali language are entered in Boro language. e.g. - Br. rosogolla < Bg. r^hosog^holla- a kind of sweet item, Br. sondes < Bg. s^hondes- a kind of sweet, Br. lusi < Bg. luchi- a kind of small cake, Br. k^homla < Bg. kamla, Br. lebu < Bg. lebu- lemon etc.

4. Hindi words used in Boro language

Hindi is a language of Indo-Aryan branch under the great Indo-European language family spoken in Northern India. The Hindi words have been used by the speakers of Boro language in respect of words related to dresses, food items and their day today conversation. These words are entered in Boro language directly or indirectly or through other Indo-Aryan languages like Assamese and Bengali etc. In this regard, it is possible to

say that literate peoples of the native speakers are used Hindi words in their everyday life. However, it is observed that illiterate peoples are also using Hindi words. It is noticed that in some food items Hindi words have been incorporated in Boro language. *e.g.*- Br. samosa < Hd. samōsa- a spicy food, Br. nast^ha < Hd. nasta < Persian- breakfast, Br. basmut^hi < Hd. basmōti- a kind of rice etc. Besides these words many Hindi words are used naturally by the Boro speakers in everyday interaction. The using of Hindi words is also entered chiefly through the medium of television, radio, movies and mass media etc. *e.g.*- Br. k^huli(besad rugagra) < Hd. kuli¹[T]- a porter, Br. lut^hinai < Hd. lut, Br. dera < Hd. dera- temporary sheet, Br. bek^har < Hd. bekar- un-employed, Br. bindas < Hd. bindas, Br. mehenat^h < Hd. mehnat- hard work/labour, Br. k^husi < Hd. k^husi²(T)- pleasure, Br. zindigi < Hd. zindigi-, Br. modod < Hd. mōdōd- help, Br. suk^hidar < Hd. chowkidar³(P. dar)- a guard etc.

5. Conclusion

The Boro language has received and adapted Indo-Aryan words like Assamese, Bengali and Hindi in many areas. These reception words have observed in the linguistic levels of phonology, morphology and lexis. Here this present study basically lexical analysis is given more interested. From the discussion it comes to know that Boro language has received those adapted words to fulfill the needs of language. Besides it interesting point is that Boro linguistic speakers have used some Indo-Aryan words though they have their native words. Contact with other linguistic speakers and impact of other languages to Boro language is the main cause.

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¹McGREGOR: THE OXFORD HINDI-ENGLISH DICTIONARY, P-209

²Ibid-242

³Ibid-332