PART III

THE KARBI LANGUAGE
The Karbi language genealogically falls under the great Tibeto-Burman group of languages, the speakers of which are the inhabitants of this vast north-eastern region of the country. The following tables No. 1 and No. 2 prepared by Grierson¹ and Goswami² will give a clear idea of its relation with the various languages and dialects of this family of languages.

Table No. 1

From these two tables it appears that the Mikirs, i.e. Karbis occupy the intermediatory place between the speeches of Naga and Kuki-Chin group. The Karbis had little affinities with distinct Boro tribes like the Dimasas and the Lalungs. The Karbis are found in neighbouring plains districts particularly in Nagaon, Kamrup, Darrang and Golaghat. This speech shows a further few spoken varieties as prevailed in Karbi Anglong and other districts of Assam. Thus the language shows some dialect variations. But the Karbis who settled down near Guwahati city viz., Hengrabari, Beltola, Narengi, Kahilipara, Sonapur and such other small pockets within the greater Guwahati and its neighbourhood

2 Goswami, S.N.: 1988: Studies in Sino-Tibetan Languages, p.4
converse in their own Karbi tongue within their own community. Their spoken Karbi appears to be slightly different with that of the Karbi language spoken in the Karbi Anglong. They also converse in Assamese outside their community for all practical purposes. This spoken Assamese of these plain Karbis is very much influenced by their own tongue and it shows some differences with the spoken Assamese of the locality. Moreover, Assamese is, till now, their first language in academic life. They have accepted Assamese as such at their own necessity.

Another scholar Dr. Benedict\(^3\) has shown the classification of Tibeto-Burman languages in a different way as noted below:

```
Sino-Tibetan
   /\     /
  /   \   /   \   
Tibetan-Karen  Chinese
   \     \       \       
    \    \       \       
     \  \       \       
      \ '\     \     \     
       \ \   \   \   \   \   
        \ \   Kachin  Gyarmug  (\)
          \     /       /       /
           \   /       /       /
            \ /       /       /
             \ /     Lepcha  Burmese-Lolo
              \ /       \        \       \       
               \ /         \        \       \       
                \ /          \        \       \       
                 \ /           \        \       \       
                  \ /            \        \       \       
                   \ /              \        \       
                     \ /                \        \       
                      \ /                 \        
                        \ /                  \      
                          \ /                    \    
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                                                            \ /   
                                                              \ /  
                                                                
                                                                
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3 Benedict, K. 1972: Sino-Tibetan, A Conspectus, p.6
All these afore-said linguists have elaborately discussed about the relations of these tongues and their classifications in their books. According to Dr. Grierson Karbi is very close to Kuki-Chin group of languages. It is very interesting to point out the famous opinion of Sir Charles Lyall on this point. He stated 'they (Karbi people) therefore belong to the common stock of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Assam and do not by themselves prove any close connection of Mikir with Boro.' The great Indian linguist Chatterji has dealt about these languages in details while he talked about the society, civilization and culture of these people, who are termed as Kirata by Chatterji. His elaborate comments and opinions are represented by the Table No. 3 in brief below:

Table No. 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tibet©-Burman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tibetan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himalayan group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-Assam group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam Burma group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodo-Naga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burmese Kuki-Chin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kachin-lolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodo(Boro)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuki-lolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kachin or Singpho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Burmese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 Lyall & Stack: 1908: The Mikirs, p. 165
6 Chatterji, S.K.: 1951: Kirata-JanaKriti, p. 15
After proper scrutinisation of the opinions of these above scholars it is observed that majority of them are in favour of showing the links of Karbi with Bodo Group of languages. This opinion is more convincing.

4.2 General features of the Karbi language: The Karbi language is very rich with its phonological and morphological peculiarities. Besides that, the rich varieties of Karbi vocabulary is another notable feature of the language. These are indicated below:

4.2.1 Phonological peculiarities:

(i) The vowel phonemes in the Karbi language are classified according to their production i.e. tongue position:

   (a) manner of articulation: high, high-mid, high-mid-low, lower-mid and low.

   (b) place of articulation: front, central and back.

(ii) There is no difference of short and long vowels in Karbi. Vowel length is shown in writing only to indicate the difference of meaning while in articulation length is not indicated at all in respect of vowel 'i', e.g.

   akhi 'deer'     akhi 'filth of fish'
   pi 'great/big'  pf 'femine suffix'
   phi 'grand-mother' phi 'be born(animal)
(iii) There are no separate vowel sounds in Karbi to indicate high-mid-low /ə/; it is being shown by high-mid /e/.

(iv) All vowel phonemes occur in all positions in the word. e.g.

Initially -

/ɪ/ iṅhu 'mouth'
/e/ emek 'eye'
/a/ akhi 'deer'

Medially

/ʌ/ həm 'horse'
/ɑ/ phāk 'pig'
/o/ chōpə 'son'

Finally

/a/ mira 'flower'
/o/ zirlə 'mid night'
/u/ phizə 'rat'

(v) There is no difference of short and long u, u in Karbi. But length and short are indicated in writing just to differentiate the meaning while in articulation they appear as identical. e.g.

āduk 'dust' ādūk 'a black line depicted on the forehead of a Mikir girl'.
āru 'name of a month' ārū 'and'
wür 'disease' wūr 'to sting on body'
(vi) Karbi possesses vowel diphthong, which occur in all positions. e.g.

/unit/  āini  'lethongy'
/ūn/  wāk  'crow'
/ūi/  ruipi  'python'
/ūe/  zu̯e  'swing'

(vii) Karbi possesses triphthongs i.e. cluster of three vowel phonemes which occur initially and medially only. e.g.

/aiu/  āiupə  'a king of plant'
/aiu/  āiupə  'a king of plant'
/aiu/  āiupə  'a king of plant'

(viii) All Karbi consonant phonemes occur initially excepting /n/ and /y/, while /ph, b, th, d, kh, e, ch, z, l, w/ consonant phonemes do not occur finally. e.g.

Initially -
/p/  pāl  'fencing wall'
/ph/  phu  'head'
/b/  bāp  'grass'

Medially -
/t/  lāntuk  'well'
/th/  cethak  'neck'
/d/  kedak  'sweet'
Finally -

\[
\begin{align*}
/m/ & \quad c^i\text{t}im \quad '\text{mosquito}' \\
/n/ & \quad i^\text{nm}un \quad '\text{beard}' \\
/\text{n}\text{\text{\textbackslash a}}/ & \quad c^i\text{nini} \quad '\text{sky}'
\end{align*}
\]

(ix) The bi-labial voiced aspirate /bh/ occurs only in loan words. It is considered as an irregular phoneme of the Karbi language. e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{As.} & \quad b^\text{x}\text{e}l\text{ek}i & \quad \text{K.} & \quad b^\text{x}l\text{e}k\text{i} & \quad '\text{witch craft}' \\
\text{As.} & \quad b^\text{h}\text{ul} & \quad \text{K.} & \quad b^\text{h}\text{ul} & \quad '\text{mistake}' \\
\text{As.} & \quad r^\text{a}b\text{h}\text{\textbackslash a} & \quad \text{K.} & \quad r^\text{a}b\text{h}\text{\textbackslash a} & \quad '\text{pandal}'
\end{align*}
\]

(x) No sibilants occur in Karbi like Boro. The loan words in Karbi have shown the changes of sibilants to 'h'. e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{As.} & \quad x^\text{i}y\text{\textbackslash a} & \quad > & \quad hiz\text{\textbackslash a} & \quad '\text{jackal}' \\
\text{As.} & \quad x^\text{a}n\text{\textbackslash a}r\text{\textbackslash i} & \quad > & \quad h^n\text{\textbackslash a}r\text{\textbackslash i} & \quad '\text{worldly}' \\
\text{As.} & \quad x^\text{u}m\text{\textbackslash a}r\text{\textbackslash i} & \quad > & \quad h^m\text{\textbackslash a}r\text{\textbackslash i} & \quad '\text{orange}'
\end{align*}
\]

(xi) Karbi does not possess /g, gh, dh/ consonant phonemes. The Assamese loan words in Karbi with these phonemes have been changed to /k, kh, d/ respectively. e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
g & > k & : & \text{As.} & \quad g^\text{a}r\text{\textbackslash a} & > & \quad k^\text{a}r\text{\textbackslash a} & \quad '\text{the bank of river}'
\quad \text{gh} & > k^h & : & \text{As.} & \quad g^\text{h}\text{n}t\text{\textbackslash a} & > & \quad k^\text{n}t\text{\textbackslash a} & \quad '\text{bell}'
\quad \text{dh} & > d & : & \text{As.} & \quad b^\text{u}d\text{\textbackslash i} & > & \quad b^i & \quad '\text{intelligent}'
\end{align*}
\]
(xii) The Karbi language possesses two distinct tones, \textsuperscript{7} which are low-rising and high-falling. e.g.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{low} & \textbf{high} \\
phu & 'head' & phù & 'grand mother' \\
mek & 'eye' & mek & 'wound' \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

(xiii) The stress is most important in Karbi as it indicates the meaning of word. Stress are two types in Karbi: long and short. e.g.,

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{short} & \textbf{long} \\
āru & 'to give smoke' & āru & 'name of the Mikir month' \\
phi & 'back' & phi & 'grand-mother' \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

(xiv) Karbi possesses consonant clusters of two and three consonant phonemes. e.g.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
c+c : /pp/ zappur & 'to uproot tree by wind' \\
/pr/ prāp & 'fast' \\
/tz/ etzō & 'shine' \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
c+c+c : /kkl/ cecākklin & 'confirm' \\
/mpr/ nempren & 'fragrance' \\
/rpr/ tharprek & 'acidity' \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{7} Goswami, U.N.: 1976 : Bhāsā Viñān, p.36
\textsuperscript{8} Terang,R.B.:197+: Karbi Lāmtachām, Karbi Bhāsār Pariciti.
Karbi does not possess the alveolar voiced lateral 'l', and the 'l' of the loan words are also changed into 'i'. e.g.

kapāi 'luck' < As. kapāl
nārikai 'cocoanut' < As. nārikal.
nāñai 'plough' < As. nāñal.

4.2.2 Morphology:

(i) The Karbi language possesses both prefix and pleonastic suffix. Such prefixes are ke, ki, kā and pleonastic suffixes are nei, par, pik. e.g.

Verb
me 'to be good'
mi 'to be new'
helo 'to be far'

Adjective
keme 'good'
kimi 'new'
kahelo 'far/distant' etc.

Pleonastic suffix -

keme 'good'
kechē 'painful'
kethe 'great'
menei 'very good'
chōpik 'very painful'
thepar 'very great' etc.

(ii) The plural is indicated by suffixing. Such suffixes -tun, -mār, -hār, -heihur etc. e.g.

mēnit 'man'
chō 'child'
wo 'bird'

mēnit ātum 'men'
chō mār 'children'
wo heihur 'birds'
(iii) The negation is formed either by adding suffix 
-e or -ane/kali to the verb root. e.g.

ne un 'I can'
ne una 'I can not'
ne reDEN pica 'I have coin'
ne reDEN awe 'have not coin'
lake caina 'This is a cow'
lake caina kali 'This is not a cow'

(iv) The genitive case-ending is not added to the 
preceding noun. But a prefix a- is added to the third 
person in such cases. e.g.

ne hem 'my home': no case ending is added 
to ne.
ala akitip 'his book': a- is added as prefix 
to lani.
ala akitum apha 'their pigs'.

(v) The tense is always indicated by the verbal 
suffixes with exception in case of present tense Ist person. 
e.g.

netum anco-bam lani 'we are eating rice'
netum ancoik t-lo 'we have eaten food'
ne an cotaile 'I was eating rice'
ne an cozi 'I shall eat rice'
netum wani 'we shall come'
ne an colo 'I ate rice'

Exception: ne an co 'I eat rice'
4.2.3 Vocabulary:

(i) The root words of the Karbi language are monosyllabic.

(ii) The prefixes or suffixes are added to such root words.

(iii) There is no inflectional change in Karbi words.

(iv) Some new words are formed in Karbi by haploglottal changes. e.g.

\[
\text{arni} - \text{kechi} = \text{nichi} \quad \text{'west'}
\]
\[
\text{arlān} - \text{kechar} = \text{lānchar} \quad \text{'a small hilly spring'}
\]

(v) Some words are formed in Karbi by adding affixes and such words give completely new meaning. e.g.

\[
\text{āri} = (\text{ār} + \text{i}) \quad \text{'to wish'}
\]
\[
\text{āru} = (\text{ār} + \text{u}) \quad \text{'to love'}
\]
\[
\text{āre} = (\text{ār} + \text{e}) \quad \text{'the right hand'}
\]

(vi) The Karbi loan words show much phonetic changes. e.g.

\[
\text{As. a} > \text{As. dākāit} > \text{dākai} \quad \text{'dacoit'}
\]
\[
\text{As. a} > \text{ānkur} > \text{ānkur} \quad \text{'root'}
\]
\[
\text{As. gh} > \text{b} \quad \text{As. siṅgha} > \text{hiṅha} \quad \text{'lion'}
\]
\[
\text{As. s} > \text{b} \quad \text{As. samāj} > \text{hamāz} \quad \text{'society'}
\]
\[
\text{Kh. u} > \text{āi} \quad \text{Kh. rukam} > \text{rākam} \quad \text{'oath taking ceremony'}
\]
\[
\text{Kh. nt} > \text{t} \quad \text{Kh. linti} > \text{lāti} \quad \text{'road'}
\]
\[
\text{Eng. school} > \text{As. school} > \text{Ka. iskur'}
\]
\[
\text{Eng. zebreā} > \text{As. zebreā} > \text{zibrā}
\]
4.3 The Karbi language shows two principal dialect variations: Plain Karbi and Hill Karbi. Karbi living in plains come into close contacts in their daily life with the local non-Karbi population who speak some other languages like Assamese, Hindi, Bengali etc. The spoken tongues of these languages have influenced their spoken variety of the Karbi language. This way the Karbi spoken in the plain district shows some differences with that of the Hill areas. The minute investigations and extensive field studies among the Karbi people will give some data to trace out some more dialect variations of the Karbi language.

4.3.1 Karbi dialects: The two prominent dialects of the Karbi language, viz., (i) the Hill Karbi and (ii) the Plain Karbi are further divided into two types -

(a) Karbis living in dense forest and hill top,
(b) Karbis living in the hilly region in the remote villages.

Similarly, the plain Karbis are also of two types -

(a) Karbis living in Kamrup and Nagaon districts,
(b) Karbis living in Arunachal and Assam borders.

Further, some more small divisions of the Karbis are also traced as below:

9. See 4.3.3 p.32.
(a) Karbis living in the Border area of the Khasi district in Meghalaya;
(b) Karbis living in the border area of adjoining Nagaland;
(c) Karbis living towards North-Cachar Hills closed with Karbi Anglong;
(d) Karbis living adjoining area of Manipur.

4.3.2 The language of the Karbi people living in different border areas are influenced mainly by the local languages, and so, the spoken Karbi in those areas shows different vocables, which are incorporated from Khasi, a few Naga languages, Kuki-Dimasa and a few from Kuki-Meitei etc. Thus the Karbi language develops some dialect varieties in different places. The differences occur mainly on the vocabulary and in certain phonological points. These are illustrated below:

4.3.2.1 Khasi words used in Karbi with certain modifications:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khasi</th>
<th>Karbi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kātuŋ 'dried fish'</td>
<td>kāktuŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kint 'to speak'</td>
<td>kint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klet 'forgetfulness'</td>
<td>kelet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chilen 'half a bottle'</td>
<td>ceteni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zari 'friend'</td>
<td>zari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zihur 'vegetables'</td>
<td>zihur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duwān 'alter'</td>
<td>duwān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 4.3.2.2 Words used in a few Naga dialects incorporated into Karbi with certain modifications:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Naga dialect</th>
<th>Karbi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kāchāi</td>
<td>'to eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāchāwō</td>
<td>'to beat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāti</td>
<td>'to die'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pö</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mei</td>
<td>'fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mik</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mān</td>
<td>'dream'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.3.2.3 Kuki-Chin words in Karbi with certain modifications:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kuki-Chin</th>
<th>Karbi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cuin</td>
<td>'frog'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chapö</td>
<td>'son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thei</td>
<td>'fruit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thum</td>
<td>'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>'father's sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nān</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi</td>
<td>'grand-father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu</td>
<td>'grand-mother'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.3.4 Boro vocables used in Karbi with some modifications:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Karbi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ātheni</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khńā</td>
<td>'mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cīmān</td>
<td>'dream'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tham</td>
<td>'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nań</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nańsur</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nukān</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pā</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mā</td>
<td>'what'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēgan</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rupā</td>
<td>'silver'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.3 There are sufficient differences between plain Karbi and hill Karbi and these are observed particularly in respect of phonology and morphology. These are illustrated below along-with the salient features of these two prominent varieties of the Karbi language.

4.3.3.1 Phonology: The differences in phonology are observed both in the use of vowel and consonant phonemes. These are carefully pointed out with examples.

(i) Hill Karbi *i* > ā in plain Karbi initially, e.g.

kipi > kāmpi 'monkey'
(ii) Hill Karbi i > e in Plain Karbi initially and medially. e.g.

\[ \text{chinif} > \text{chunen} \quad 'sky' \]

(iii) Hill Karbi i > ei in Plain Karbi finally. e.g.

\[ \text{te}²\text{pi} > \text{te}²\text{pei} \quad 'free' \]
\[ \text{tepi} > \text{ta}²\text{pei} \quad 'sister-in-law' \]

(iv) The Plain Karbi shows vowel syncope. e.g.

\[ \text{cāin} > \text{cāni} \quad 'lime' \]

(v) Plain Karbi shows sometimes loss of initial syllable. e.g.

\[ \text{p}²\text{nu} > \text{nu} \quad 'aunt' \]

(vi) Hill Karbi i > l in Plain Karbi medially. e.g.

\[ \text{thalthe} > \text{thalthe} \quad 'a kind of melor' \]

(vii) Hill Karbi y > l in Plain Karbi finally. e.g.

\[ \text{inhay} > \text{inhal} \quad 'stool' \]
\[ \text{inkay} > \text{inkal} \quad 'twenty' \]

(viii) Hill Karbi o > a in Plain Karbi finally. e.g.

\[ \text{p}² > \text{pā} \quad 'father' \]

(ix) Hill Karbi p > w in Plain Karbi initially. e.g.

\[ \text{pei} > \text{wāi/āi} (\text{As.loan}) \quad 'mother' \]

(x) Hill Karbi e > å in Plain Karbi medially. e.g.

\[ \text{te}² > \text{tāpå} \quad 'brother-in-law' \]
(xi) Nasalization shows in the Plain Karbi in countable words. e.g.

pho > phoŋ 'five'

4.3.3.2 Morphology: The morphological differences between the Hill Karbi and the Plain Karbi are illustrated below:

(i) The tense suffix -zi in Hill Karbi becomes i/e in Plain Karbi. e.g.

konat dāmzi > konat dāmi/dāme
'where will you go?'
ne hām wānzi > ne hām wān/i/wānë
'I shall come home'

(ii) The future tense suffix 'pɔ' in Hill Karbi becomes 'bɔ' in Plain Karbi. e.g.

ne dāmpo > ne dāmbɔ 'I shall go'

(iii) The verbal suffix in 1st person present tense in Hill Karbi always remains understood, but in Plain Karbi i/ban suffix is added to the verb. e.g.

ne ān cɔ > ne ān cɔi/cɔbān 'I eat rice'

(iv) The verb 'dɔ' in Hill Karbi becomes 'dɔmàn' in Plain Karbi. e.g.

lān ālān ak dɔ > lān ālān ak dɔmàn
'The fishes live in the water'

(v) The compound verbs are also present in Plain Karbi. e.g. cɔdɔ 'eating'

wānidɔ 'going'
(vi) 'ne' is used to form negation in Hill Karbi, but in Plain Karbi ita/e suffix is added to mean negation. e.g.

- cori > coita/coe 'do not eat'
- zunri > zunita/zune 'do not drink'

4.3.3.3 Vocabulary:

(i) The Plain Karbi has incorporated quite a good number of addressing terms of relationship etc. from Assamese. e.g.

(a) As. kakai > kākā 'elder brother'
As. dadai > dādā 'uncle/elder brother'

(b) As. ātā/kakā > ātā 'grand-father'
As. ābu/ātā > ābu 'grand-mother'
As. bāi > bāi 'elder sister', etc.

(ii) Use of different words in Pk. and Hk. in the same meaning. e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hk.</th>
<th>Pk.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āwe</td>
<td>inzān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōwe</td>
<td>ākreň</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāmklem</td>
<td>chāltiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>theitheň</td>
<td>mikhar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>methān</td>
<td>methān/hik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rumāpi/phak</td>
<td>phāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rec</td>
<td>rāzā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(iii) The pronominal form nell 'we' is considered as plural form in Pk. while it carries the singular sense in Hk., where plural form is nelitom/netom.

(iv) The addressing terms of relationship in Hk. are quite different from their counterpart Pk. These are illustrated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hk.</th>
<th>Pk.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ik</td>
<td>kākā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>bāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tepo</td>
<td>tāpo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tepi</td>
<td>tāpei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pō</td>
<td>pā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāi</td>
<td>wāi/āi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinu</td>
<td>nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pumu</td>
<td>dādā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phu</td>
<td>ābu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.4 The Pk. shows two distinct variations as spoken by the Karbi settlers in the (a) Yamunamukh area i.e., a border of Nagaon and Karbi Anglong and in the (b) South Kamrup. These two varieties of Pk. is indicated by the Karbis as Yamunamukh Karbi (=Yk.) and Kamrupi Karbi (=Kk.). The prominent points of differences between Yk. and Kk. are illustrated below:

(i) Vocabulary:

K. kənāt 'where' Yk. kənāt Kk. dante
(ii) Addressing terms of relationship:

K. pə 'father' Yk. pə Kk. pə
K. pei 'mother' Yk. wāi Kk. āi

(iii) Negation:

K. klemkle 'not more' Yk. klemkle Kk. klemkle
K. cori 'will not eat' Yk. cət Kk. cē
K. zunri 'will not drink' Yk. zunit Kk. zune

(iv) Sentence construction:

(a) K. kɔnāt dāmzi 'when will you go?'
   Yk. kɔnāt dāmḥ?
   Kk. dōnte dāmbo/dāme?

(b) K. ne ān cə 'I eat rice'
   Yk. ne ān cəbo
   Kk. ne ān c ban

(c) K. ne həm wanzi 'I shall come home'
   Yk. ne həm wənī
   Kk. ne həm wərie

(d) K. lānī ālaŋ ak də 'Fish lives in water'
   Yk. lānī laŋ ak dəmān
   Kk. lānī ālaŋ ak dəmān

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