Chapter III
LINGUISTIC AFFINITY OF THE BODO
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3.1 Language is a dimension, which constitutes a very important premise for the reconstruction of history and civilization of a society. Language is not only a medium of interaction between man and man, man and society and society and society but it also provides clues and informations, which immensely help in the reconstruction of history. A highly developed form of language is the expression of total society, its features and characteristics, of culture, habits, customs, traditions, mores etc. Historical perspectives of a language, has intimate connection with the history of the other aspects of society, such as history of economy, political science, and religion, family culture etc. The history of a language also exposes the history of migration, settlement, distribution, relation assimilation of a group and their socio-cultural relationship with the other groups. History of language cannot be separated from other aspects history of a society.
Language is often taken as the criteria of segregating human beings. Differences in languages become a force always attributing to the formation of ethnicity among the people. In earlier studies, both historians and philologists tried to identify both race and language as identical. Particular language or linguistic family was identified with particular race. In the reconstructions of the histories of all Indian regional nationalities and local communities of their languages, cultures, nationalities, ethnology or civilizations, the scholars frequently used the term ‘Arya’ or ‘Aryan’ as a concept of language and race as identical to each other. On the basis of the similarity of Indo-Aryan and Indo-European languages, the nineteenth century Indologist and Orientalists evolved the theory of ‘Aryan Race’. This theory influenced the Indian scholars of the 19th century very much in their writings. But the later studies carried by different scholars with the application of inter-disciplinary approaches including archaeology, raised serious questions on the authenticity and validity of this theory. Regarding the validity of ‘Aryan’ as a theory of race based on the similarity of languages G. P. Singh says, “But the truth runs far from it. Recent anthropological discoveries have proved that the Aryan races in Europe and in Asia viz., the Teutons, the Celts, the Slaves, the Hellenes, the Persians and the Hindus (Indo-Aryans) are not actually descent from the same stock although they speak languages derived from the same ancient tongue of which the Sanskrit language is the oldest. So, race and language are not same.” Stating the similar view Romila Thapar says, “Speaking of same language does not mean common ancestors.” People belonging to different races can be found to be speaking the same language and the reason why people used or adopted a particular language is the more important historical question. Clarifying the contention of Aryan race-language dichotomy Romila Thapar further says, “Indo-European and Indo-Aryan are language labels, but in the nineteenth century these were also incorrectly used as racial labels and this confusion persists. The correct usage should be ‘Indo-European Speaking people’ and ‘Indo-Aryan Speaking People’, but the shorten labels, Indo-European or Indo-Aryan or Aryan, is commonly used. Language is a cultural label and should not be confused with physiognomy or race.”

Extension of culture or language necessarily does not mean movement or migration or extension of population in new areas who are the descendents of the speakers of the same language. Many of the scholars try to see this process of socio-cultural extension and transformation as racial and biological process of extension. The history of the origin, development, and extension of Indo-Aryan languages in northern, eastern and north-eastern states of India exposed plenty of evidences how non-Aryan people accepted Aryan language and sacrificed their ancestral languages in favour of Aryan language. The history of Aryanisation as a process of socio-cultural and linguistic extension in different parts of Indian sub-continent is as old as Vedic Civilization. It has its history of origin and development. The origin and development of the New Indo-Aryan languages in different parts.
of India is also an integral part of this socio-cultural process. It is said that the language of the Vedas was archaic in form, which is identified as Old Indo-Aryan (Old form of Sanskrit). The structure and physiology of Old-Indo Aryan language was quite different from the structure and physiology of later or new Indo-Aryan language (Later form of Sanskrit). It is also said that formation and development of New Indo-Aryan (regional) languages were fusion of Sanskrit and structural and physiological elements derived from the indigenous non-Aryan languages. Some languages have developed quite recently in various places around the world where European colonial powers established commercial enterprises. The establishment of British Empire in India helped in the crystallization of regional languages in different parts of India. The foundation and structural bases of Indo-Aryan culture and languages was already existed in the Pre-British India. In the interest of the construction and development of regional nationality based on Aryan culture and civilization, extensive studies were conducted by the national and regional scholars on the history of Aryan culture, language and religion blending with regional cultures, religion, languages etc. They insisted on building regional nationality with the pre dominance of Aryan culture and civilization over the autochthonous culture and civilization. The scholars paid little interest on the history of the civilizations, cultures and languages of the indigenous non-Aryan speaking people and their contribution to the history and civilization of ancient India.

Repeated mentions have been made about the incorporation of non-Aryan people to Aryan fold without mentioning their Proto-Aryan or Pre-Aryan position, in terms of race, ethnicity, language, culture, religion etc. However the history of India would always remain incomplete, defective and faulty until and unless covert, hidden and ignored histories of the autochthonous people of ancient India are properly reconstructed. However Kirata Bodos have close relationship linguistically with the Aryans and other non-Aryan linguistic groups in local and national (original) levels. Here in this chapter some limited areas of languages will be dealt to show how the Bodo language is related to local cognate languages and also with the Aryans languages.

3.2 The definitions of 'Indo-Mongoloid' or 'Kirata' given by the 19th century scholars, i.e., historians, ethnographers, anthropologists, linguists are purely based on tangible factors like languages and physical features of the people of 19th century India. From the present demographic point of view the definitions seemed to be correct. While stratification of the peoples was made in terms of language, culture and race; only two things, i.e., language and race were taken as the factors of primary consideration. Historical and dynamic perspectives of society, culture, race etc. were totally ignored and uncounted in case of structuring the history of Indo-Mongoloid or Kirata people. Indian classical literatures enormously depicted the glories and prides of the Indo-Mongoloid people in the form of myths and fables. These myths and fables give us gloomy pictures but certainly it gives us some important clues giving a new direction in restructuring of the history of Kirata-Bodo society and culture. It also provides gloomy pictures about the settlements and distributions
of Kirata people throughout the Indian sub-continent in ancient time. Greek classical literatures are rather, in this regard, clearer and closer to the truth and indicated distributions of Kirata people in the plains of Ganges, Mahanandi, Brahmaputra and western, north-western, South, South-eastern, eastern, north-eastern, hills-mountains and many other parts of India. But the historians, linguists, ethnographers, anthropologists, particularly of Indian, try to eliminate the history of Kirata Indo-Mongoloid people from the plains and valleys and driven out their cultures and civilizations to hills, forests and mountains. According to them since pre-historic time Indo-Mongoloid people have been mountain and cave dwellers. Whereas the latest historical studies based on archaeological science on the histories of Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Kamrupa, Magadha etc. bears testimony of the fact that, Asura, Danavas, Rakshasas, Bratya, and Kirata etc. people of Indo-Mongoloid origin established great kingdoms with glorious histories of their own. The glorious history of these people started to disintegrate only with the arrival and acceptance of Aryan culture and civilization. History of ancient India, of Aryabatta and beyond Aryabatta was so much blended and branded with the colours of Aryanism that the social scientists or historians of the last decades of 20th AD are under great confusion and hesitant to accept as historical truth and begging time for reviewing and reconstruction of the same. Recent archaeological discoveries made in the sites of Indus valley civilization, Ganga-Yamuna doab, northern plains of Ganges, watershed of Ganga-Saraswati have totally changed the structural elements and fabrics of ancient Indian history. The cultures, which were earlier, identified with Vedic civilization now shifted to other non-Vedic cultural groups after archaeological excavations. For example:-

The OCP culture (Ocre Colour Painting: mid-second millennium B.C) which was found to be concentrated in Upper Ganga and Yamuna doab and north-western India was an independent culture different from both Indus Valley civilization and the civilization of the Vedic literature. PGW culture (Painted Gray Ware: 1200-400 B.C.) is a post or later OCP culture which was predominant in the western Ganga plain. PGW culture has been found extended in Indo-Ganga watershed and Punjab. It has been found to be overlapping of the Late Harrappan culture and PGW culture BRW culture (Black and Red Ware) was found distributed through out western India, Rajasthan, the fringes of the Doab, Central India, Middle Ganga valley and parts of eastern Ganga plain And this distribution covered a long period starting earlier in the west. Attempts have been made to identify some one among these many archaeological cultures with the “Aryans” but such attempts remains hypothetical. NBP culture (Northern Black Polish mid-first millennium B.C), developed in the middle Ganga plain as separate cultural entity. It has been suggested that rather than identifying archaeological culture with the Aryans or the Dravidians and so on. It might perhaps be more feasible to try and correlate them with the major lineage such as Purus with PGW and Yadavas with BRW. So, from the above archaeological information we can undoubtedly say that major socio-cultural bases of Northern-India in ancient time was provided by the Purus (PGW) and
Yadavas (BRW) which were racially and culturally not Aryan. If they were not Aryan, to what race they belonged and what was their language before they were aryanized culturally and linguistically? Romila Thapar indicating the cultural similarity of the people of Iran as stated in Avesta with that of non-Aryan people of ancient India says, “In terms of religious concepts, the attributes of gods are often reverse. Thus, Indra is demonic in the Avesta as are daevas (devas or gods) in Sanskrit and Ahura/asura emerges highest deities.” Recognition of the Asura, but not the Indra, as the highest deity indicates that the followers of Avesta were distinctly different group from the Aryans of the Aryabatta though both of them were belonged to the same language family.

Mr. Buhler and other German scholars have referred archaic language of India, which might have been also spoken by some Kirata people in ancient times. Gordon Childe, about the possible existence of common means of communication among the ancient people has remarked, “The primitive culture must be the stage of development reach by several peoples while living sufficiently close together to communicate.” While observing the Kiratas of Nepal, Denil Wright has stated that all races had different language or a dialect of their own. From the experiences of Buddhist and Jaina literature. G.P. Singh says with great confidence as, “the Kirata used to speak Mleccha language, which can be amply substantiated by other evidence too. From the Pali, Sanskrit and Jaina sources it is quite evident that the Kiratas of the North and North-Western frontier region (Uttarapatha) and some other parts of India were the speakers of the Mleccha language.” Buddhaghosa in his two Pali commentaries, one in Digha Nikaya and Abhidhamma Pitaka has recorded the language of the Kirata as Milakhas. In his Abhidhamma Pitaka he mentioned eighteen Milakhabhasa and includes in it the Kirata, Ottas (Oddaka), Andhakas (Andhras), Damila (Tamsils), Yavana, Okkala, and others. The Jaina Canonical text by Acharya Amigati, known as Jambudvipa Prajnapathi (Jambudvipa Pannati) also refers to the Mleccha language of Kiratas and others, which were thirteen in number. Other Jaina texts also mention the mlecchas (Milikkas) and Arya (Arya) as the two earliest people and refer to the mleccha language of the former. These texts place the Barbaras, the Sabaras and the Pulindas under the denomination of Milakhu. R.N. Saletore classified the languages of the Kiratas and other non-Aryan as ‘Milakkhas’. According to him these languages might have shared certain common features. One of the inscriptions of Ashoka mentioned a mleccha people also tally with the lists of the mleccha peoples mentioned in other sources, but he never called them as mleccha. Many of the Kirata groups of people spoke their own (Mleccha or pichasa) languages till they were completely Aryanized and accepted Prakrit form of languages. They moved from Pichasa form of language to Prakrit form of language. Prakrita form of language is the initial stage of the origin of Indo-Aryan language in regional level. Prakrit form of languages slowly extended to different parts of India with the extension of Buddha religion during the time of Buddha and Ashoka. The origin and development of Prakrit language has close relation with the origin and development and extension of Pali language. Origin and development of
Pali language contributed a much towards the development of Prakrit language. It is also a fact that, the Sanskrit was never a language of the general people. The development of Indo-Aryan languages occurred through a similar process, shifting from Pichasa to Prakrit, and Prakrit to regional Modern-Indo-Aryan Languages. This process was taken place in all parts of northern-India. This process was started from the adjacent area of non-Aryan settlement and slowly extended to other parts of India. Example of linguistic shifting from Pichasa to Indo-Aryan languages was just in the tangible process in Arunachalpradesh and Nagaland even just before the arrival of British people in North-Eastern India. The process of cultural and linguistic shifting was just stopped by the British ruler through the policy of integration. The Pichasa culture and languages gained a new direction towards existence and survival due to protective measures taken by the British government.

Many scholars try to explain the origin of the Indo-Aryan languages among the non-Aryan people in bias manner and try to ignore the influence of Sanskritic elements on the people of non-Aryan speaking people. For example Newari people of northern Bihar, Nepal and Sikim were basically Indo-Mongoloid by race and Tibeto-Burman by language. But they want to say that, Newari people are originally belonging to Indo-Aryan family racially and linguistically. It is quite contradictory to the theory of origin and development of Indo-Aryan languages in India. We do not have any historical or archaeological evidence of accepting Mleccha culture and Picchasa or non-Aryan language by the Aryan speaking people after the establishment of Aryan culture and civilizations. Indo-Mongoloid or Kiratisation as a process of socio-cultural and linguistic extension definitely might have been there in ancient India prior to the arrival of the Indo-Aryan speaking people and it was gradually declined with the emergence of the process of Aryanisation. Archaeological evidence found in different parts of India, Classical Indian literature, ethnographic description written by Greek and other European travelers, Geographical and Geological Surveys conducted by British government bears testimony about the settlement and distribution, extension and influence of the Kirata or indo-Mongoloid people. In case of the Koch-Rajbonshis of Assam and Bengal similar type of explanation have been made by a few scholars. Prior to the acceptance of Indo-Aryan language they spoke their Mleccha or Picchasa language, i.e., Bodo language. That part of pre-Aryan history is completely ignored Indo-Mongoloid influences can also be seen on Assamese and Bengali, Maithili, Brajbuli, and other languages of North India.
TABULAR REPRESENTATION OF THE SINO-TIBETAN LANGUAGE
(FOLLOWING THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA)
Sino-Tibetan (or Tibbeto-Chinese) Speech Family
(Table -A)

Classification of the Sino-Tibetan family as proposed By Transfer Benedict

- Sino-Tibetan
  - Tibeto-Karen
    - Tibetan-Kanouri
    - Tibetan-Burman
  - Karen
    - Gywung
  - Burmese-Lolo
  - Nu(ia) eyung
  - Lusu Taman
  - Boro-Garo
  - Konyak

1 Kuki-Naga
2 Mikar
3 Mesta
4 Stru

(68)
Detailed Indication of the speeches in the two Branches of Sino-Tibetan.

(I) Tibetan-Burman

(a) Tibetan

Himalayan Group

(d) North-Assam Group

(b) Non-pro nominalised (pure Tibeta-Burman) Group

(c) Pronominalised Group

(Austro Influence)

(e) Assam-Burma Group

Old Tibetan

(Bod), c 650 AD

(b) Modern Tibetan Dialects

(Pro, Pho)

Aka, Adi (Abor), Min, Dafia, Mahnir

Bodo - Naga

Burmese-Kuki-chin Kachin-Lolo
(II) Siamese-Chinese

Proto-Chinese c 18000 B.C. ('Tai-Ku')

Old Chinese, c 1000 B.C. 'Shang-Ku'
'Archaic Chinese' of K.T. Kang

Transitional Old Chinese about
the time of Christ ('Chung-Ku')

Middle Chinese, c 600 A.D.
('Ku-Tai', 'Ku-Ya or Ku-Un')

Transitional Middle Chinese, c 1200
('Chung-Tai',...)

New or Modern Chinese ('Haien=Tai')
(Northern Chinese: Standard and Provincial forms)
Tabular Representation of the Sino-Tibetan Languages (Following the 'Linguistic Survey of India')

Sino-Tibetan (or Tibetan-Chinese) Speech Family

- Sino-Tibetan Proper
- Probably Early Modification of Sino-Tibetan
  - Man or Miao-tsze
  - kareng

(I) Tibet Burman
(II) Siamese Chinese

Dai or Thai
(Siamese, Lao, Rham or Shan, Ahom etc)

Chinese or Sinite

(a) Tibetan
(b) Pure
(c) Modified
Bodo-Naga Group

(d) North-Assam

(e) Assam Burmese

Burmese-Kuki-Chin-Kachin-Lolo Group
A More Recent Classification as proposed by Robert Shaper

Sino-Tibetan Family

Branches

Sinitic
(Chinese)

Karenic
(Karen)

Bodic (Tibetan)
including
Himalayan
dialects

Burmic (Burmese,
Lolo, Kachin, Kuki-
Chin)

Manic
(Miao-tsze)

Daic
(Thai)

Baric (Bodo & Naga)
3.4 Inspite of the fact that the eastern and North-eastern India in ancient time was the abode of heterogenous Indo-Mongoloid Kirata people with diversity of their own cultures and dialects definitely they might have developed a common language for the exchange of ideas in inter community level. We cannot say exactly about the nature of this language. But from the common features shared by languages of the Baric groups we can assume that, the Bodo language might have been the lingua franca, the link language connecting different groups of Eastern and Northeastern India in pre-historic time. The languages of Indo-Mongoloid people are to what extent close to each other have already been shown.

Now, the Bodo groups (Baric Division of Sino-Tibetan Linguistic Family) of people living in different parts of east and northeast India become divergent from one to another and become distinct socio-cultural and linguistic groups. Numbers of scholars investigate on the process of linguistic divergence and identify certain factors attributing to it. The most vital factor helping in the linguistic and cultural divergence is the break down of communication network. Not to speak of early India, even during the time of Muslim rule the transport and communication was so bad that people hardly knew even a very serious socio-cultural event that was taken place to their adjacent villages. The hostile geographical situation became a stimulating force leading to linguistic and socio-cultural divergence. The languages of the Bodo, Garo, Rabha, Tiwa, Dimasa, Kok-brok (Tripuri), Karbi, Hajong, Deori, Sonowal etc Tibeto-Burman languages share many common structural and physiological features. Different sub-groups of this language family distributed in different parts of north-eastern region in different geographical circumstances. We can easily presume that the geographical difference or physical distance in which they live conditioned for linguistic variations among them. That is why we find many variations in their dialects in spite of sharing common major structural and physiological features in their languages though they spoke same language in the remote past.

The degree of divergence is greater in which the means of communication is separated by physical barriers. And the degree of diversity is less where the communication is fair. Ember and Ember say, "when a groups of people speaking the same language loss communication with one another because they become separated either physically or socially, they begin to accumulate small changes in phonology, morphology, and syntax (which occur continuously in any language) Eventually, if the separation continues, the former dialects of the same language, that is, they will
become mutually unintelligible, as German or English now are.\textsuperscript{21} Nagendra Nath Basu has identified a number of non-Aryan names from the 1\textsuperscript{st} century Bengal found engraved in large number on ancient copper plates.\textsuperscript{22} Nagendra Nath Basu and Sunity Kumar Chatterjee say that these are ancient form of Bodo-taxonomy. Some scholars on the other hand insisted that some of these terms are of old Austric language. Most of the names found in ancient taxonomy that are identified, as Austric by the scholars are quite similar to Bodo taxonomy. This similarity indicates possible socio-cultural and linguistic affinity or relationship between Austric and Bodo groups and now is a subject matter of investigation. From the mythological time, religion and culture have been playing a very strong role in the formation and development of present Indian culture and civilization, and shifting of other indigenous non-Aryan socio-cultural groups into Aryan Socio-Cultural fold. Religion was the primary factor which made non-Aryan speaking people to accept Aryan culture, language, custom, tradition sacrificing their ancestral language, religion, custom, tradition etc. Many of the Austric people from middle India and Sino-Tibetan people from north and northeast India accepted modern Indo-Aryan languages like Oriya, Bengali, Mithili, Bhojpuri, and Assamese etc.

Bilingual groups within a culture may also introduce foreign words, especially when the main stream language has no real equivalent.\textsuperscript{23} In different stages of Indian history different types of structural and physiological elements of language from different non-Aryan languages were incorporated into Indo-Aryan Languages constituting its integral parts. Many of the agricultural terms of Sanskrit language are derived from Dravidian and other non-Aryan language and many of the names of plant and animals are Austric and Tibeto-Burman derivation. Hundreds of Bodo elements are found place in the Indo-Aryan languages and a few evidences are shown below in this chapter.

Conquest and colonization often result in extensive borrowing. The Norman conquest of England introduced Franch as the language of the new Aristocracy. About 50 percent of the English general vocabulary has been borrowed from French. War and invasion between Aryan and non-Aryan people made them closer to each other and helped extension of Indo-Aryan languages in entire Indian sub-continent. Vanquished also accepted many elements from the language of the victor. Borrowing sometimes becomes morpheme instead of grammar and sometimes both morpheme and Grammar.\textsuperscript{24}
We cannot stratify all the people of the world into watertight compartment of race or linguistic family. Generally language is commonly identified with the Race. But such action is not justified. There are groups of people who are linguistically belonged to one group but racially belonged to other. There are people who are linguistically Indo-Aryan, but racially Indo-Mongoloid. For example the Hazong, the Koch-Rajbongsi, Bishnupriyas, the Sanowal, the Chutiyas, the Saraniya Kacharis are racially Mongoloid but they speak Assamese and Bengali languages that are linguistically belong to Indo-Aryan family. But the Khasis are on the other hand in spite of being Mongoloid by race linguistically belonged to Austric family. The ethnic names coined by the Britishers for different groups of people of India and for their languages have now been rejected by the groups concerned and they changed their names into their own languages. Many tribal speeches have now been achieved a high level of standard language and literature and recognized by the constitution of India as a Major Indian Language. Earlier studies were made only on the local languages of Assamese branches of Indo-Aryan families. And little interest was paid on the non-Aryan dialects and languages. Indeed some European scholars paid much pain in their studies of non-Aryan culture, history, dialects and languages. They pave the way for the survival of tribal culture, language and history. For example, earlier our indigenous scholars from Assam undertook for studies only on a few dialects under Indo-Aryan family like Kamrupi, Goalporia, Rajbonsi, and Bishnupriya etc. But now studies and researches are undergoing on more than twenty-five languages of the autochthonous people of Assam. Scientific studies are undertaken by the government agencies and other individual scholars on the non-Aryan speeches of major and minor tribes of Assam, Arunachal, Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya and Mizoram etc. The studies conducted so far brought new light on structural and physiological dimensions of their language. Recent studies conducted on these speeches exposed very close relationship not only among these Sino-Tibbetan languages but also striking relationship between the Indo-Aryan and Sino-Tibbetan languages. These studies brought changes in the attitude of the scholars on stratification of the Languages of India into different linguistic family. Many striking structural and physiological similarities between Sino-Tibbetan and Indo-Aryan languages have been discovered. These studies confirmed that, the relationship and closeness of Indo-Aryan and Sino-Tibbetan people just cannot be diluted and segregated by the superficial theory of race and caste.

The ethnic names of the Bodo sub groups and their language have been changed. Earlier they were known as Kocharis, Lalungs, Mikirs, Tripuris, Mikir, etc by the names given by their...
neighbouring Hindus. But now, they are known by their community names like, Boro, Kok-Brok, Tiwa, Deori, Dimacha, and Rabha etc. They do not like to be called by the community names given by Hindu neighbours. Recognition has been accorded to Hojai, Dimacha, Boro, Mech, Hadjong, Ko-Brok, Tiwa, Moran, Rabha, Atong, Ruga, Konch, Tintikeya, Garo, Asik, Sakar, Chutta-Deori, Sonowal, languages as the sub-ordinate language of the Baric (Bodo) division of the Sino-Tibetan family. The language of the Moram has been completely extinct. In Garo hills and Koch Behar existing Banga Supra, Harigaya, Dasgaya, Satpuriya dialects together are emerging a language known as Kocha language. Tintikiya desired to be recognized their language as a subordinate language of Rabha. Atong, Rogu etc. dialects are included under Garo Language inspite of having close affinity to Rabha language.

3.5 Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India stated a number of structural and Physiological elements in Assamese, which are not present in Sanskrit and its' cognate Indo-Aryan languages. Instead, found these structural and physiological elements in Bodo and its Tibeto-Burman cognate languages. On the other hand Banikanta Kakati tries to argue that Austric elements are lager and more prominent in Assamese language instead of Tibet-Burman language. But recent researches conducted by a number of scholars showed that the elements, which are identified by Kakati as Austric-Dravidian, are also found in similar and equal forms in Tibeto-Burman languages. In most of the cases he used the term"Austric origin", without mentioning the specific branch of the Austric group, such as Santal, Khasi, Ho, Savra, Khol etc. Modern researches indicate that Austric formation, linguistically and physically had taken place in Indian socio-cultural situation and there is sufficient grounds to believe that Indo-Mongoloids were the Proto-Dravidians and proto-Austric people. Some of the scholars try to project Dravidians and Austric as the ancestors of Mediterranean but failed to establish link linguistically and racially. Whereas in earlier chapter it was shown that researches conducted by some renowned anthropologists and linguists from Assam and abroad clearly shows link between Indo-Mongoloid, Austric and Dravidian people linguistically and biologically. Many of the terms identified as Austric are found in Bodo and its cognate languages in the same form and meaning. Comparative studies on Austric, Dravidian and Indo-Mongoloid languages will exposed the actual truth and the relationship and closeness among these groups linguistically, culturally and biologically.

The origin of Assamese language is basically has its in Sanskrit or Old Indo Aryan language and it is a branch of Indo-Aryan family. But the formation and development of Assamese language
was very much influenced by other non-Aryan elements. The evidence of old Assamese language is available in the inscription, copperplate, pre-Sankari and post-Sanskrit classical literatures. All these literatures are written in Kamrupi Prakrit style. We experience the influence of non-Aryan elements on different branches of Assamese language of northeastern region of India like on the dialects of Kamrupi, Goalparia, and Bishnupriya, Rongpuria and Koch-Rajbonsis. The speeches of Deori-Chutias, Morans, Motoks, Sonowals, and Sarania Kocharis are very much allied to Assamese language. The shifting of Mongolian people linguistically to the Indo-Aryan family is primarily due to conversion and the influence of Hindu culture and religion. As soon as they convert to Hindu religion they give up their ancestral language in favour of Assamese. But they retain certain structural and physiological features of ancestral language in the Indo-Aryan speech what they subsequently accepted. When the area of operation of such dialects or languages encompasses a wide area it makes a linguistic area. The entries of non-Aryan elements start in the local dialects and penetrate to Sub-regional level and later extend to regional and other neighboring cognate languages. In modern Assamese and Bengali languages number of non-Aryan structural and functional elements of language are incorporated.

Nagamese is very commonly spoken by the people of Nagaland. Similarly all the tribes throughout Arunachal Pradesh use speak NEFAmese. The tea gardeners in Assam also use to speak a synthetic form of Hindi and Assamese language. Indo-Aryan language in the form of Nagamese, NEFAmese extended to the areas inhabited by other non-Hindu and non-Aryan tribes of Northeastern region are basically due its better communicability and marketability. Broken Assamese has great demand in exchanging ideas in the inter ethnic, socio-cultural interaction situation

Most of the roots in Assamese language, which are not Sanskrit in origin, are definitely derived from Tibeto-Burman group of languages. Many of the Assamese roots are found in either Bodo or its cognate languages, in the pure form of noun, pronoun, adjective, verb etc. The numbers of such words are very large and the sources are indeed diverse. Some of the important Tibeto-Burman derivations in Assamese language are shown below.

Harupeswar mentioned in the Tezpur rock inscription is according to Mahamahopadhyaya P N Bhattacharyya was a Mleccha king and he claimed descent from Bhaskar Verma and shifted
his capital owing to infamy of descent (to hide his infamy of race). Mahamahopadhyaya is absolutely correct in his observation to ‘infamy of descent’ as a fact. 28 ‘Infamy of descent’ suffered by the non-Aryan and lower Hindu castes was the result of social-cultural exploitation, suppression and discrimination meted against them by the upper caste Hindu people due to their distinct socio-cultural and ethnic position. Exploitation, suppression and social discrimination were regular pan Indian socio-cultural feature in pre-British India. Stratification of society was based on caste, ethnic and race dimension along with other factors like holding of economic and political power, domination, numerical strength of the group, ritual position etc. Infamy and discrimination based on the feeling of high and low, purity and pollution was so deeply rooted in practical life, people would hardly like to disclose their actual descent, caste or ethnic identity in fear of infamy or to avoid hatrate, exploitation of high caste people. People of non-Aryan origin once they convert to Hinduism, never exposed their original ethnic identity. Even the Saranias, who converted to Hinduism lately during the time of British rule, were not psychologically prone to expose their ancestral ethnic identity.

Kakati says that the term ‘Harupeswar’ is Santali origin. Kakati explain the term Harupeswar as hara, a hill; harup, to cover with a basket. His explanation seems not convincing at all. It seems that Harupeswar is not the actual name of the king but a title as the name indicates. In Bodo, ha means land, and in Bodo, number of suffixes are used after ha to indicate the nature of land such as ha-jou (high land or hill), ha-phao (high land like a dom), ha-khor (deep land), ha-sam (fertile land), ha-srao (dry land), ha-rung or ha-rubu (soft or fertile land) etc. ‘Ha’ means land, ‘rubu’ means soft or fertile and ‘pha’ means father or lord. Complet ethnological term in Bodo is most probably ‘Harubupha’ or ‘Harubpha’ means Lord or father or king of the Fertile Land or country. Harubpha was later, most probably, taken a Sanskritic form by adding ‘Iswar’ and transformed into Harupeswar Hence the actual meaning of ‘Harupeswar’ may be Lord of the Fertile Land or Country.

Regarding the origin of Kamrup and Kamakhya ethnological Bodo derivation has been stated in earlier chapter. Ethnological explanation on the origin of Kamrupa and Kamakhya from structural and physiological point of Bodo language offered by Promod Chandra Bhattacharjee is not much convincing. He explains the derivation of Kamrupa as, Kham (Burn) + bru or brud (stretch by drawing) > Khambrud (stretched of burn land) The second part of the explanation, i.e.
the meaning of bru or brud as indicated by Bhattacharya is completely absurd. The term bru or brud is not standing for stretching but definitely standing for dust of ashes. The term bru or brud here stood after kham as a suffix. The exact Bodo ethnological meaning is thus Mother, who was burnt into dust (of ashes) His explanation is not complete and conforming to the physiological point of Bodo language. In fact, the terms Kamrup and Kamakhya are identical. Both of the terms are closely associated. Without Kamrup there cannot be Kamakhya. The Bodo derivation of Kamakhya may be explained in this way, Kham (burn) + ai (mother) + Kha (structuring or to built). The full meaning is, mother goddess who is structured or restructured out of the burnt ashes (of her own body). Whether one admits or not both the terms Kamrupa and Kamakhya are closely associated with the myth of Lord Siva and mother goddess Sati of Hindu Purana. The very mythology is associated with ‘Kama’ or ‘Yoni’ or fertility worship. Indo-Aryan meaning of ‘Kamrupa’ is ‘image’ or ‘structure’ evolved out of the sexual desire (kamo). The term ‘Kamalupa’ referred by Chinese traveler Hieuen Tsang also convey similar meaning. ‘Kama’ means sexual desire and ‘lupa’ means extinction. The term Kamrupa indicates the existence of fertility cult and fertility worship in ancient Kamrupa. Here, the term ‘Kamaikhya’ most probably stood for ‘Mother Creator’ or ‘Fertility Goddess’. The very concept of Kamrupa and Kamakhya are based on Hindu myth that might have been derived out of the sanskritisation of Bodo or some indigenous tribal myth. This is quite probable, because the study conducted by D.D. kasombi as shown in the earlier chapter indicates that during the time Buddha, most of the northern part of the entire Ganga valley, worship of ‘Ai’ or ‘mother goddess’ was popularly practiced. The worship of ‘Kamakhya’ was most probably the similar type of practice that had been followed by the people of ancient Kamrupa. Modern scholars are trying to find out ethnic meaning in it. Both Lord Siva and Goddess Sati were indeed recognized as Kirata God and Goddess and the ancient Kamrupa is identified as the country of the Kirata-Asura. Hence the Bodo ethnic meaning identified by the scholars with Kamrupa and Kamakhya though seems to be co- incidental are quite logical from Bodo philological point of view.

The explanation of Bhattacharya on the origin of ‘Kamrupa’ is more synonymous with the term ‘Kamlupo’ referred by Hiuen Tsang In Bodo, some common suffixes are used after ‘kham’ (to burn) as, bru, brud, ho, he, fram, gli, ble, lwp, blab etc And accordingly we may have terms like, khambru, khambrud, khamho, khamhe, khamfram, khamgli, khamblab, khamlwb etc If the explanation of Bhattacharya is to be accepted, undoubtedly the term Kamrupa was derived of ‘kamlwp’ or ‘kamlab’. The complete meaning is, kham- to burn and lwp or lab-extending or
stretching e, i.e., extending or stretching by burning i.e., land or Country of the shifting (burning) cultivation. Jhuming or shifting cultivation involving fire was a common feature for every society in primitive stage of civilization. Sanskritization of 'kamlwb' or 'khamb' into Kamolupa or Kamrupa is not impossible. The Economic history of eastern and north eastern India shows that plough and settled cultivation developed in this area comparatively later than the western part of India and most probably developed with the arrival and extension of Islamic traditions in this part.

Many terms that are claimed by Kakati as Austric, Santali, Khasi, and Munda derivation are also found in the similar form and meaning in Bodo and their cognate languages. Sometimes Kakati has mistaken some Tibeto-Burman terms as the terms of Austric derivation. For example the terms like dingu, japa, domuja, tari that are found in Assamese language are according to Kakati are Austric derivation. But these terms are found in Bodo and in its cognate languages in equal and similar forms and meaning. Bela, juti, latum, buka, muga, sota, lekhia, dobla, tip, gab, touga, topola, boga, chesa, song, dalang, heap, hapa, jit, jeng, kon, kerketua, makari, ghila, nanan, nana, pagla, tangun, tiya, tila, uh, siju, etc. which had acclaimed by Kakati as Austric origin are at the same time used in Tibeto-Burman languages in equivalent forms and meaning.

In Assamese without referring person, some specific kinship terminology are used instead of person concern to refer the kinship relationship. For example- ai, ero/era, ek: Ma-ai, (my mother), ma-ero/ma-era (your mother), ma-ek (his mother). Bap-ai (my father), bap-ero/bap-era (your father), bap-ek (his father). According to Kakati such structural norms are derived from Kolario.

Such type of kinship demonstration cannot be found in Bengali and other Indo-Aryan languages except in Tibeto-Burman languages. For example in Bodo: a, nw/nwm, bi are used instead of 1st person, 2nd person and 3rd person. In demonstration; a-pha= angni apha (my father), nw-pha= nwngni apha (your father), bi-pha= bini apha (his father); ai, a-ma (my mother), nw-ma (your mother), bi-ma (his mother). Assamese speaking people are physically closer to Tibeto-Burman speaking people and hence the possibility of deriving such system from the Tibeto-Burman languages is greater than any other language.

With the kinship terms and relative pronouns some definitive suffixes are used in Bodo, Rabha and their cognate languages. This is a distinct characteristic in Tibeto-Burman language,
which is not found in other Indo-Aryan languages. For example, in Bodo; lei (aphalei, adalei), bra (jadwbra, lwngdwbra etc.), hai (lwgwhai, abohai etc.), thang (nwngthang, bithang); In Rabha language also similar terms are used. In Garo- gipha, thang terms are used in similar forms.

B. K. Kakati strongly claimed that the kinship terms popularly used in Assamese language like, ata, abu, ai, amoi, okon, okoni, are Austric origin. But, there is a possibility of Tibeto-Burman derivation of such types of diverse terms referring to kinship relation according to age variations. But comparative studies conducted by some scholars exposed that, system of using such kinship terms according to age and sometimes sex variation are commonly found in Tibeto-Burman language. The said terms, which are claimed by Kakati as Austric derivations, are undoubtedly and rationally Tibeto-Burman origin. In Tibeto-Burman there are certain terms which are specifically used for a particular gender like, ada laoga (high brother), laogi, haithu, haitha, dabla, dable, gala, gali etc.

The kinship terms used in Assamese like bopai/bapo, kokai/kaka, bai etc that have been considered as Austric derivation by B. K. Kakati are equally found in Tiwa, Deori languages of the Bodo family in similar form and meaning.

Kinship terms according to age variation are used in Tibeto-Burman language. For example, ada (elder brother), fonbai or agwi (younger brother), abo (elder sister), agwi or binanao (younger sister). The term agwi is commonly used both for younger brother and younger sister.

There are some words used in Assamese, which are equally used in both Austric and Tibeto-Burman languages in similar forms and meanings. The derivation of these words to Assamese is uncertain. These terms are the elementary parts of the morphology of Bodo and their cognate languages as there is no other equivalent term for each of these terms in their languages. There is no question of borrowing these terms by the Bodos either from Assamese or Austric or by the Austric from Bodo or other Tibeto-Burman languages. It indicates only a common linguistic affinity of a section of Assamese speaking people, Austric and Tibeto-Burman people in the remote past. Some of the common terms used both in Austric and Tibeto-Burman languages are given bellow:-

Khasi-moina: Garo-mona; Rabha-moina, Boro-mwina, Tiwa-moin; Karbi-mainu; Assamese-moina Probability of the Khasi, borrowing the term from Tibbeto Burman speaking
people is greater, because the Mongoloid Baric speaking people around them surround Khasi people.

Khasi-kasuloi (gun): Boro/Garo/Tiwa/Rabha-Silai; Karbi-hile; Ahom-hiloi; Assamese-hiloi.

Khasi-ba (to carry on back): Boro, Garo, Rabha-ba; Tiwa-pa; Mishing- buuh; Karbi-bu, Goalparia Ass. -boka lo.

Khasi-katari (knife): Karbi-taris/ tarlon; Rabha-katrai; Boro-khatri; Deori-katai; Dimasa-Khatari/ gatari; Ao, Angami-kotari; Assames-kotari.

3 6 Contrary to Kakati, Kaliram Medhi stated that the influence of Austro-Asiatic languages, like Mundari, Santali, Khari, Juwang, Ho etc. on Assamese language is very rare. He mentioned only four kinship terms (apa, dada, kokai, bai) and one elementary word (beli) in Assamese. Indeed all these terms are also found used equally in Boro and other Tibeto-Burman languages. Contrary to Kakati’s views he shows detail explanation on the joint influence of Dravir and Tibeto-Burman elements in Assamese language with example. He stated a number of elements from Prakrit and pre-Vedic Sanskrit in Boro and other Tibeto-Burman languages in the equivalent form and meaning, eg. abu, al, or (ora), ghopa (gopha), johora, dak, deo, nao, pam, lesa, pora, etc. The terms apo (apa), api, kharu, mena, pre-Vedic terms are also found in Tibeto-Burman languages.

Most of the scholars in Assamese language ignored the contributions of the Tibeto-Burman and they insist that all these common languistic elements found both in Dravira and Tibeto-Burman are derived from Dravir but not from Tibeto-Burman. Their views are very much doubtful not based on scientific studies.

The origin and development of Assamese language is not prior to Bodo or Tibeto-Burman language or Austric-Dravir language. In fact the formation and development of Assamese language started some thousands years later after the arrival of the Aryan speaking people in India. On the other hand it is a fact that both Dravira and Tibeto-Burman people formed pre-Aryan civilization in ancient India with their own language, culture, religion, custom and tradition. Hence, there is no doubt that prior to the arrival of Aryan language Dravira and Tibeto-Mongoloid people maintained close interaction linguistically and socio-culturally. Hence possibility of derivation of all these elements from Tibeto-Burman by the Assames-Aryan speaking people is greater and more viable because geographically Assamese people are more adjacent to Bodo or Tibeto-Burman speaking people.
Another point is that before more than two thousand years ago when Assamese society and language was non-existent in the world, there was interaction between the Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman and later on with the Aryan speaking people in different parts of India. The Aryan speakers from either Dravira or Tibeto-Burman language must have accepted all these Dravira and Tibeto-Burman elements. Assamese language by inheritance must have inherited all these elements from Sanskrit or old – Indo Aryan language. Anthropologically it is also proved that the Modern Indo-Aryan speaking people of eastern and northeastern India were linguistically, racially and socio-culturally affiliated to non-Aryan groups. Only after the conversion to Hinduism they gave up their language and culture in favour of Indo-Aryan language. The structural and physiological elements of their ancestral (previous) language must have been knowingly or unknowingly crept in Assamese language.

In Assamese language only a few kinship terminology, specific for male and female are used. And in most cases male and female terminology are used after animal or human beings for gender differentiations. Although this type of gender differentiation is found only in Dravira and Tibeto Burman language, but we do not find such type of Dravir elements in Assamese language. This type of gender formation found in Tibeto-Burman language is also found in Assamese language. “It may be cordially inferred that Assamese have borrowed these characteristics from the Bodo language alone.” For example: - Boro- bunda (male cat), Ass.- bonda; Bodo- bundi(female cate), Ass.- bondi; Bodo-bangra( dog), Ass.-dhekura; Bodo-bangri,Ass.-dhekuri; Bodo-phantha( he goat), Ass.-potha; Bodo-panthi(she goat), Ass.-pathi, etc.

Both Kakati and Medhi say that, the term ‘beli’ (Sun) is Dravir Origin. To indicate time the term bela and beli is very commonly used in Assamese. But the possibility of derivation of this term from Bodo is greater. Because this term is used in Bodo in different form to indicate different time as, fungbili (morning), mwnabili (evening), belasi (afternoon), obla (then), akhonbla (sometimes), mabla (when) etc.

According to Kakoti ‘ti’ or ‘di’ referring water or river in Bodo is derived from Austric But he was not specific to what particular Austric language these terms belonged to. Whether these terms are derived from Santhal, Khasi, Kohl, and Savara that is not clearly stated. Sometimes Munda and Oraon languages are stated as Austric language. But recent studies say that Munda and Oraon are not Austric language. These two languages are similar to Hindi Prakrita language. On the other hand in Bodo and its cognate languages ti, di, dwi, tsu, ji, chi are commonly used as
suffix and some times as prefix to refer water or river. Comparative studies on Austric, Dravid, and Tibeto-Burman languages have not yet been made. Limited informations are gathered only on the basis of theoretical studies of great scholars. Subsequent studies are made on the basis of limited information recorded by great scholars. However the studies so far made by the scholars reflected genuine aspects the languages of Austric, Dravir and Tibeto-Burman indicating their close socio-cultural relationship in the remote past. Comparative and scientific studies on different aspects of their socio-cultural life in the field situation are needed to understand the actual relationship among these non-Aryan groups. The recent development in the study of dialects of different tribal groups of Tibeto-Burman groups shows vital informations which have changed the attitude of the scholars towards Tibeto-Burman language and their relation to Austric, Dravir and Indo-Aryan languages. The elements in Assamese language that are firmly identified as Austric and Dravidian origin are equally found in the Tibeto-Burman languages in similar form and meaning. These studies clearly show that, prior to the emergence of Assamese and its cognates languages there must been close relationship between Tibeto-Burman and Austric-Dravidian speaking people. By close examination of some terms identified by the renowned scholars as Austric derivation are found to be non-existent as Austric derivation, rather found to exist as Bodo derivation.

3.7 Synvian Levi, Przylusky, I Bloch, S.K. Chatterjee, P.C. Bagchi T.Burrow, J. Gonda and many other scholars tried to identify the sources of many non-Aryan elements of Sanskrit Language and studies are undertaken by many scholars in the regional languages to find out Austric, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman (Baric) elements in Indo-Aryan languages. Earlier studies show lack of interest and initiative on the part of Tibeto-Burman languages. It also reflected the absence of knowledge and command over the Tibeto-Burman languages. Number of elements in Sanskrit language, which were identified as Austric and Dravidian derivations, are also found in the same forms and meanings in Tibeto-Burman languages. Even many more Tibeto-Burman terms are found in Sanskrit and Modern Indo-Aryan languages in comparison to Austric and Dravida. From that viewpoint the possibility of influence of Tibeto-Burman and its cognate languages or Sanskrit and Indo-Aryan languages particularly on Assamese seems greater than Austric and Dravir. Following are there examples:

Sans.-matanga (elephant); Boro-mwedid; ‘mwi’ means animals, ‘det’ means big. i.e., big animal. Sans.-mayuar (pea-kock); Rabha-moyra, Tiwa-miras; Boro-dao-ra; Dimasa-dairo; Santhali-morok; Tamil-moyil
Sans.-alavu (watergaurd); Boro-lao/laothai; Garo, Mishing-lao; Maloy-labu; Kmer-lobub; Munda-rhaba.

Sans.-langal (plough); Boro-nangwl; Mishing-nangol, Karbi-nangoi langal (plough); Rabha-langhon; Khasi-ka-lyanger.

Sans.-linga (male genital organ); Dimasa-li; Boro-lwdei; Garo- ringo; Rabha-ri-khu; Khasi-lah.

Sans.-Shiva (God Shiva); Boro- Sibrai (meaning, shiv = clean, to clean or pure), Rabha-Sibu darmang.

Sans.-morkat (monkey); Dravir-morkat; Rabha-makra; Boro-mwkhra; Tiwa, Garo-makhri; Dimasa-magucha.

Sans.-mrig (deer); Boro-mwi; Rabha-masi, Garo-maksak.

3.8 Historians, geographers, ethnographers, philologists, anthropologists etc have made lots of studies on the toponomy of Assam. In their studies local Tibeto-Burman tribal languages were not taken into consideration. It may be due to untouchable attitude maintained towards non-Aryan ethnic groups and to their culture, language history etc generated out of the racial and caste prejudices. Once there was time when the history and civilizations of the non-Aryan people of eastern and northeastern region was rationalized and Sanskritised in favour of Hindu culture and civilization. There are many words in Assamese, the origin and derivation of which have not yet been discovered in conclusive form acceptable for all. Some of the most controversial terms are shown below:-

Asom: Some of the scholars try to identify the term ‘Asom’ as the derivation of Thai language ‘yham’. Yham> yhwam>ahom>a-sama>asam. S.K.Chatterjee also holds similar type of opinion. According to Kakati the ‘Asam’ was derived from ‘Vcham’ meaning vanquished or defeated. Prefix ‘a’ was added to vcham (Cham) to mean undefeated. and pronominalised term ‘Assam’ was originated. Golok Goswami refuted the theory of Kakoti and S.K.Chatterjee. According to him from philological point of view that cannot be accepted in no way. Possibility of changing of the sound ‘h’ or ‘kh’ into ‘s’ is hardly possible. Goswami further says that the theory of Kakoti, e. i. ‘Assam’, (land of the undefeated or victors) coined by the local and defeated people with the language of the victor is hardly rational and acceptable. It is also to see whether the term, vcham is found to exist in Shan language or not.

According to Baden Powel Assam is derived from ‘hasong’ or ‘hasom’ (hasam). Baden Powel referred hasong or hasom (hasam) as low land. The prefix ‘sam’, referring to low or fertile
is still used by the Bodos to indicate the land producing more grain or heavy grain. But the term hasung, or hasong, hayung, haden, hadab, halam, haded or hadwd undoubtedly refers to political area. Hasung is an administrative area consisting a single village, the head of which was known as hasungwra. And Hadeng is an administrative area consisting of twelve villages. The head of the Hadeng was known as Hadengwra or Hadungwra. The terms hayung, halam are found to be used by even Assamese historian in their writing to mean political areas.

The explanation of Promode Chandra Bhattacharya is imaginary and extremely absurd. He tries to correlate the term hasam with burning or shifting cultivation, which is a popular practice among the hill people. Baden Powel is in this regard absolutely right referring the meaning of hasam as low land or fertile land. Earlier when there was no modern system of irrigation low land was selected for plough cultivation. Rationally people would not select low land for burning or shifting cultivation. He also referred the 'hakham' as Proto-Bodo. In Bodo 'ha' means land, 'kham' means burn. The source of Bodo and Garo language is more or less same. Most of the structural and physiological elements of Bodo, Garo, Rabha and other Tibeto-Burman languages are more or less same. His identification of 'hakham' or 'hasam' as Garo or Proto-Bodo is absolutely wrong. The logic raised by Golok Chandra Goswami again may be pointed here in this connection. From phonetically and philological point of view as he says, transformation of 'kh' or 'h' into 's' is not possible. If it is the fact, the possibility of transformation of ha-kham into hasam or hasom is less.

U pen Rabha Hakasam explains the Assam as green land. But from structural point of Tibeto-Burman language that cannot be considered as accurate. 'Sam' or 'swm' refering (colour green or black or otherwise) plants and trees or anything else always stands as prefix not as suffix. Such as Swmkhwr, swmbla, swmble etc. In case of land 'ha' we never say 'swmha' or 'somha'. If we put 'sam' or 'song' as a suffix after 'ha' then the compound will be a meaningful and appropriate e,i, hasam or hasong, meaning low land or fertile land. Hence the theory of Baden Powel seems more appropriate than any others. We never say somha or swmha and hasam never mean green land.

Ass.-paro (peagion): According to Kakati the term paro is derived from Sans (OIA) paravata>parvao>parawa>paro. Golok Chandra Goswami does not agree with Kakati. According to him the term paro have been found in used in non-Indo Aryan languages too, such as -
Khasi-Paro/parosylera (imperial peagion); Tiwa-phraseo/phurguma; Dimasa-frew; Boro-phraseo; Rabha-parak, Deori-pao, Garo-paroa. Hence the derivation from Tibeto-Burman or non-Indo-Aryan language is more appropriate.

Formation of plural number by adding collective noun is a common feature in Mithili, Bengali, Oriya and Assamese languages. This system of plural formation in Assamese language maybe derivation from Bhutiya, Deori, Boro, Garo and other Tibeto-Burman language such as manuh-bur (men), Lora-bilak (boys). Ass.-bur; equivalent in Boro-fwr; Ass.-bilak; equivalent in Garo-philak/kaphlak. Golok Chandra Goswami and Nagen Thakur accepted the view of Kaliram Medhi that this system of plural formation in Assamese language is derived from Sino-Tibetan languages. According to Upen Goswami the plural signs, ‘bur’ and ‘bolak’, popularly used in Assamese language are derived from Sino-Tibetan language.

Ass.-bhatou (parrot): According Kakati the term ‘bhatou’ in Assamese is derived from Sanskrit ‘bhatta’ (a panegyrist). Kakoti traces the origin of the term ‘tiya’ an equivalent to bhatou in Maloy language. The terms bhatou and tiya are used in Bodo, Rabha, Tiwa and other Tibeto-Burman languages in the equivalent forms and meaning. For example in Bodo-batho/tiya; Rabha-bato/tiya; Tiwa-patho/bato; Karbi-botek; Mishing-pube; Khasi-tuta; Kamrupi-bhatou.

Ass.-mekuri (cat); equivalent terms are used in Tibeto-Burman languages. Karbi-meng; Bodo-maoji; Garo-mengong; Rabha-mingku; Mishing-menkuri/mender; Khasi-miao; Goalparia Ass.-makar.

3.9 According Dimbeswar Neog the Assamese term ‘bacha’ (baby/children) is from bochera. But the term most probably derives from ‘ba’ (carrying baby or child on back who is totally dependent on and needs care of other) and ‘sa’ (baby or small children); ‘ba’ also means to bear child or gestation of child. Rabha-‘ba’ (to carry on back).

Ass.-tenton; Kamrupi-tenton; Boro-thunthini (in case female)/thenthon (male); Rabha-tenton.

Ass.-teteli (tamarind); Old Indo-Aryan-tintidi: Charyapada—tentali; Madhab Kandali-tenteli; Mishing-tentali; Karbi-tentili; Boro-thinthlang; Rabha-senteleng; Dimach-tintiri.

Ass:-Charya-langgat/langa(naked); Kamrupi-langat, Goalparia-langtiya; Boro-langthia/longthong; Rabha-laingta/leniga/langtai; Garo-nangade.
Certain structural elements of indigenous languages are found in original form in Assamese language.

Some of the examples are as:-

Ass.-gamocha (scarf or towel); Goalparia-gamcha; Kamrupi-gamcha; Boro-gamcha (gan = to wear, sa = small, referring to small cloth for wearing); Rabha, Deori, Garo-gamcha;

Ass.: Kamrupi-salika/saliki < sarika (Sans.); Goalparia-saruk/saru; Deori-iriki; Mishing-aliki; Boro-dao-sri; Karbi-saru Garo-saru/saruk; Rabh-serok/seru.

Ass.-moh (buffalo), Goalparia-meish; Tiwa-mish; Rabha-mishi; Boro-mewisw; Mishing-menjek; Kashi-meit.

Ass.-dorikona < donikona, donika; Boro, Rabha-dinkhiya/dinkina.

Ass.-theng < tanga/thenga (foot); Goalparia-theng; Boro-athing; Dimasa-yathong; Tiwa-Iyathong; Rabha-ta-theng.

Ass.-sorai < sore; Goalparia, Kamrupi-sore; Hindi chirhiya: the corrupted form the Bodo root ‘siri’ or ‘sri’ meaning bird.

Ass.-dhoka (a person, living in the house of wife’s father); Boro-dongkha; Rabha-dhongka/dhangkai.

Ass.-jora (big orange); Goalparia-jambura; Boro-jumbra.Rabha-jada.

Ass.-hakuta/hakuti (hanger); Boro-hangtha; Rabha-hamgotha;

Ass.-gol (neck) < gol (Sans); Tibeto-Burma-gol (mgol-pa)™

Ass.-deo/devata; Boro-mwdai/deodai; Garo-mutti; Deori-mudi;

Numbers of terms used in Tibeto-Burman dialects are incorporated in Assamese language subsequently which have sanskritised and took regional character. Many roots of Tibeto-Burman origin are found in Sanskrit language.

Sanskrit-anthu (knee); Bodo-hanthu or anthu. In Bodo, the some terms of human organism, particularly parts of hands and legs are started with prefix ‘a’, like, akhai, athing, adwi, afa, akhob etc. And hence, Sanskrit anthu may be Bodo derivation. The origin and development of structure and physiology of languages have close link with the origin and development society and culture. Certain structure and physiology of a language develop in a particular stage and some other structure and physiology develop in other stages. In order to identify the origin of ceratin roots (words) we have to understand the different stages of evolution of that society from different angales. For example certain structural elements of a language relating to hunting and food gathering practices.
develop in the stage of hunting and food gathering stage of society or social evolution. Most of the agricultural terms in Sanskrit language are proved as non-Aryan origin. From this angle anthropologists and historian comes into conclusion that settled agricultural economy was already developed in Northern India prior to the arrival of Aryan speaking people in Aryabartta. Language of the primary level of civilization, biological terms, environmental terms, terms referring to animal, plants, activities of Bodo and other Tibeto-Burman languages are found in similar and equivalent forms and meaning in Sanskrit. This fact proved that Baric or Tibeto-Burman speaking people and Old Indo Aryan speaking people maintained close interactions in the remote past linguistically and socio-culturally. Perhaps a major section of Old Indo Aryan speaking people was once derived from Baric speaking people. Some words in Sanskrit is found in the same form and meaning, and sometimes in the form of verb or noun or pronoun or vis a vis.

Some Examples of common linguistic element between Sanskrit and Bodo:

- Sanskrit.-shwan (dog); Bodo- seima (noun), swng (to burk)
- Sanskrit-moyu (deer and deer family); Bodo-mei (deer, referring to all deer).
- Sanskrit-mader (elephant).
- Sanskrit-monda (worthless).
- Sanskrit- morkot (monkey).
- Sanskrit- morju or monjan (to rub or clean); Bodo-manji.
- Sanskrit-mol (dirt).
- Sanskrit-monushyu (man); Bodo-manshi.
- Sanskrit-marjer (cat); Bodo-maoji.
- Sankrit-musthi (feast); Bodo-muthi or mutha.
- Sanskrit-murcha (senseless); Bodo-mwcha-nangnai
- Sanskrit-yam (tolerance); Bodo- jom (wait with tolerance).
- Sanskrit-onu (molecule); Bodo- on (dust of ground rice).
- Sanskrit-stha (to stay); Bodo- tha or thado; Hind- thedo.
- Sanskrit-go; goti, gomon (to go); Bodo- go (to go, to release)
- Sanskrit-noyon (eye); Bodo-nai (to see), nu (to see).
- Sanskrit-meda (fat); Bodo-mejem, mwdwm
- Sanskrit-yomoj (twin); Bodo-jaoja.
- Sanskrit-yuto or juto (fabricated); Bodo- jethw.
- Sanskrit-Sanskrit-ja (to bear child), Bodo- ja (to bear child)
Sanskrit-yoni (that part of organ in which intercourse is done); Bodo-jo or Joni (to intercourse).
From yoni or jo, terms like jonon, jouvan, youno etc. are originated.
Sanskrit- rachana (to creat); Bodo- ranchai (to create or erect).
Sanskrit- rongo (to please or to enjoy); Bodo-ronja (to enjoy);
Sanskrit- ronda (widow); Bodo- randi.
Sanskrit- rovo (sound); Bodo- rao.
Sanskrit- rag (angry); Bodo- raga.
Sanskrit- rupon (to grow or plantation); Bodo- rojo (to grow).
Sanskrit- rumon (fur); Bodo- Khwmwn.
Sanskrit- lumo (part of the body which makes swest); Bodo-gwilm (swet).
Sanskrit- ling (male genital organ); Tiwa-li; Garo-ling; Bodo-lwdei;
Sanskrit- lekh (to write); Bodo- lith (to write).
Sanskrit- loka (people); Bodo- lwgw, lwg (friends, people).
Sanskrit- saswot (always); Bodo- samfrwm.
Sanskrit- Sunda (trunk); Bodo- sundai.
Sanskrit- sarmeyo, shwan (dog); Boro- seima.
Sanskrit- suk, sulo (spear, thorn); Bodo- su (thorn, to spear); suli- spear. The tradition of ‘sulogobya’
of Aryan society might have connection with su or suli. It is heard that in the remote past Bodo
people killed animals by piercing with weapons that is suli or sulo made of bamboo.
Sanskrit- sringa (horn); Bodo- gong.
Sanskrit- sousha (purify, to clean); Bodo- Sushra, su (to wash, to clean).
Sanskrit- sush, sushon (chip, absorb, to exploit); Bodo- shwb (chip, absorb, exploit).
Sanskrit- Sanskrit- sram (labour, working); Bodo- swm (action with sincerity). eg. Barswm, maoswm,
jaswm.
Sanskrit- sloth (lose, weak); Bodo- sloth( lose).
Sanskrit- sanskar (som+kar) meaning, refinement; Bodo- son or sin (to clean, beautify)
Sanskrit- sonskhep (brief); Bodo- suntheep.
Sanskrit- stha (stay); Bodo- tha or thado; Hindi- thedo.
Sanskrit- soshwo (clear, clean), Bodo- srasra (clear).
Sanskrit- bhao (exposure, pose); Bodo- fao.
Sanskrit- bodh (sense, knowledge); Bodo- bod (sense, knowledge).
Sanskrit- omolok (amllokhi); Bodo- amlai.
Sanskrit-jwal (burn); Bodo-jwng. Assamese ‘jui’ is the derivation from Bodo ‘jwng’ (to burn)
Sanskrit-utahi, utaola (emotional); Bodo-uchao badao.
Sanskrit-topta, tapo (very hot); Bodo-thipu.
Sanskrit-udar, udan (belley or stomach); Bodo-udei.
Sanskrit-udoy (rising); Bodo-ud or ur (coming up): eg, ud-khang, ud-dao, ud-khao, ur-rai etc.
Sanskrit-udukhol, urol (husking pot); Bodo-ual.
Sanskrit-undur (mouse); Bodo-anjor.
Sanskrit-orni (fire); Bodo-or.
Sanskrit-ornya (jungle); Bodo-oron.
Sanskrit-bela (time); Bodo- bela, bili (time), eg., belase, fungbili etc.
Sanskrit-ogro (front part, in the first); Bodo-grw or gro; eg. thang-grw (go in the first); ja-grw (eat in the first) etc.
Sanskrit-ohong (I, me); Bodo-ang;
Sanskrit- tong (you); Bodo-nwng-thang.
Sanskrit-vah (he); Bodo-biyw or bi.
Sanskrit-achur or kacchur (rubbing by nail); Bodo- khur (rubbing by nail), asugur (nail).
Sanskrit-koti (heap); Bodo-khitu.
Sanskrit-kon, forkhund (grain); Bodo-khud (engkhud).
Sanskrit-kodoli (banana)-Bodo-thailit.
Sanskrit-kopal (fore head); Bodo-khapal.
Sanskrit-korkot (crab); Bodo-kangkhrai.
Sanskrit-korna (ear); Bodo-khwna (to hear), khwma (ear).
Sanskrit-nasika (nose); Boso-mwamsu (to smell)
Sanskrit-srigal (fox); Bodo-siyal.
Sanskrit-kusmand (gourd); Bodo-kumbra.
Sanskrit-kupa (wel); Bodo-khor (ha-khoar, dei-khor).
Sanskrit-kurma (tortoise); Bodo-khusung.
Sanskrit-kesho (hair); Bodo-khanai or khaso (meaning, to knot or tie).
Sanskrit-koupin (female genital organ); Bodo-khibu.
Sanskrit-khondo (part); Bodo-khwnda or khwndw( eg., bai-khwnda, ja-khwnda)
Sanskrit-gonda (rhino), Bodo- ganda.
Sanskrit-go, goccha, gocchati (to walk, to move); Bodo-ga (stepping).
Sanskrit-gorol (wound); Bodo-garai.
Sanskrit-gorto (hole); Bodo-khod (ha-khod).
Sanskrit-lumo (fur); Bodo-golom or gwlm (sweating), khwmwn (fur).
Sanskrit-granthi (joint, knot); Bodo-ganthi.
Sanskrit-ghyansha (grass); Bodo-ganshw.
Sanskrit-Gordon (neck); Bodo-godona (gwdwna).
Sanskrit-cho (all); Bodo-chocho (all, mass people).
Sanskrit-jombir (lemon); Bodo-jumbra.
Sanskrit-jombu (black berries); Bodo-jambu.
Sanskrit-jaya (wife); Bodo-jw. (Fisajw, bihamjw)
Sanskrit-juto (fabricate); Bodo-jethw
Sanskrit-jyoti (light, lamination); Bodo-jwngthi.
Sanskrit-jui (fire); Bodo-jwng (to burn).
Sanskrit-jvalan (burning); Bodo-jwnglu, jwnglang.
Sanskrit-jhampa (jump); Bodo-jrap (phinjrap).
Sanskrit-chvor (sneaking of water); Bodo-sor, swrkhi (filtration or sneaking of water).
Sanskrit-dundum (dhora snake); Bodo-donda jibou.
Sanskrit-dhokka (cover); Bodo-dakhwn.
Sanskrit-topto (very hot); Bodo-thiphu.
Sanskrit-tosa (then); Bodo-dohai.
Sanskrit-edo, edaning (now); Bodo-da, dania (now).
Sanskrit-deyo (to put); Bodo-dwn.
Sanskrit-donsok (one kind fly); Bodo-dangsw.
Sanskrit-Shaho, shohon (to bear or tolerate); Bodo-shohai, swi,
Sanskrit-doncho (biting of snake); Bodo-chou.
Sanskrit-dondo (big stick); Bodo-danda.
Sanskrit-nol (rid), Bodo-nwlw.
Sanskrit-nodi (river); Bodo-di (no=house, di=water).
Sanskrit-nokur (mongoose); Boro-neolai.
Sanskrit-modhuphol (papaya); Bodo-mwdwmphul.
Sanskrit-kusha, kahi (one kind of stroke), Bodo-khasi (Khasi hagra).
Sanskrit-gomtha (stable); Bodo-gwmtha;
Sanskrit-domya (ox); Bodo-dambra.
Sanskrit-dari (bear); Bodo-dari.
Sanskrit-nao (boat); Bodo-nao.
Sanskrit-ayoti (unmarried girl); Bodo-aitha.
Sanskrit-broti; Bodo-beirathi.
Sanskrit-bonti (bamboo stick use for carrying death body) Bodo-bathi.
Sanskrit-gondo (dirty); Bodo-genda.
Sanskrit-soma (drinks); Bodo-jumai.
Sanskrit-ondha (blind); Bodo-andai.
Sanskrit-sosok (hare); Bodo-secha.
Sanskrit-bhogni (sister); Bodo-bigieini, bigei; Tiwa-baini.
Sanskrit-pita (father); Bodo-pipha.
Sanskrit-ma, mata (mother); Bodo-ma, bima.
Sanskrit-bhrata (brother); Bodo-bida.
Sanskrit-Chaya (shadow); Bodo-chaya.
Sanskrit-gadhura (lazy); Bodo-gadura.
Sanskrit-lubho (greed); Bodo-lubei.
Sanskrit-rowti (female servant): Bodo-ruathi.
Sanskrit-ghansha (grass); Bodo-gangshw.
Sanskrit-hari, hara (green, grass); Bodo-hagra.
Sanskrit-lonjot (tail); Bodo-lanjai.
Sanskrit-hangsho (swan); Bodo-hangshw.
Sanskrit-Chakrika (butterfly); Bodo-sikhri.
Sanskrit-lashyo, aloyshya (lazy); Bodo-laseilasei, olsia.
Sanskrit-amak, ama (unclean grain); Bodo-aoa.
Sanskrit-Pracchad (skin disease with burning sensation); Bodo-phashra.
Sanskrit-rakhal, rakshapal (shepherd); Bodo-laokhar.
Sanskrit-nogno (naked); Bodo-nanga-gan (without wearing)
Sanskrit-langta (naked); Bodo-long thong.
Sanskrit-lo (to take); Bodo-la.
Sanskrit-do, dodati (to give); Bodo-dwn.
Sanskrit-pira, pindu (thigh); Bodo-phenda.
Sanskrit-shung (to smell); Bodo-chu (mwnam-chu).
Sanskrit-cheleko (lick); Bodo-swla; salai (tongue)
Sanskrit-ustho (lip) Bodo-gusthi.
Sanskrit-pao (leg); Bodo-pha (athing-apha-daodei)
Sanskrit-pratyay (faith); Bodo-phwthai.
Sanskrit-byakhan (praise); Bodo-bakhnai.
Sanskrit-lojya (shy); Bodo-laji;
Sanskrit-khunta (post); Bodo-khuntha.
Sanskrit-peasock (owl); Bodo-phecha.
Sanskrit-tulsi; Bodo-thulsi.
Sanskrit-manjon (to brush); Bodo-manji.
Sanskrit-prasthika (puthi fish); Bodo-phithikhri.
Sanskrit-simli (simli tree); Bodo-sumli.
Sanskrit-angar (ash); Bodo-hangar.
Sanskrit-ahar (food); Bodo-adar.
Sanskrit-bilva (one kind of fruit); Bodo-bel.
Sanskrit-nihar (dew); Bodo-nehwrr.
Sans op(water); Bodo-O. Ololo (liquid).
Sans. -jimut(cloud): Bodo-jwmwi:
Sans. -duhan(to bring out): Bodo-dihun.
Sanskrit-ucchingo (an insect); Bodo-khuchingra.
Sanskrit-narong (lemon); Bodo-nareng.
Sans. Mri, mor (to die): Boro-mwrwn( fade away).
Sans - Saha, Sahan(to tolerate): Bodo-Sai.

All these facts are collected from the Sanskrit-Assamese Dictionary Written by Narendra Nath
Sarma, ‘Sanskrit-Asomiya Abhidhan’, 2000, published by Ganesh Prakashan. This dictionary is
very very brief without touching physiological and morphological and structural aspects Sanskrit
language. Structural, Physiological and morphological comparision of the Bodo and Sanskrit needs
extensive time and systematic study. It is just translation of some words from Sanskrit to Bodo
without dealing structural, physiological and morphological aspects of e languages. Morphological
and physiological studies will definitely highlight many unknown elements, which are common to
Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages and broaden our knowledge.
There are some very common terms found both in Baric language and Indo-Aryan language, as:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indo-Aryan Language</th>
<th>Baric Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theng (foot)</td>
<td>atheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ongusthi (finger)</td>
<td>achi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baksha, (heart)</td>
<td>bikkha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bokko, Boka</td>
<td>Bikhung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukho (face)</td>
<td>mwkhang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lomba (long)</td>
<td>laoga, longla, laobong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khato (short)</td>
<td>Khanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoto (small)</td>
<td>shungdo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boro, bur (many, much)</td>
<td>burja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhouji (wife of elder brother)</td>
<td>bajei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kali (yesterday)</td>
<td>dakhali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorto (hole)</td>
<td>gudung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do (deep)</td>
<td>thou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gura, guri (ground, grain)</td>
<td>gundra, gundri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gota (solid)</td>
<td>gotha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Septa (flat)</td>
<td>semtha, sep-tha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonga (pointed)</td>
<td>jong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butua (blunt)</td>
<td>butra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gedhela (bouncy belly for male)</td>
<td>gendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gedheli (do for female)</td>
<td>gindri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are number of words which are commonly shared in the similar forms and meaning both in Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages. Regarding the origin of these terms the scholars are not unanimous. Indeed, scientific studies carried by the scholars of the day highlight new informations and help in removing the confusion created by earlier studies and confirmed many of the words as Tibeto-Burman origin. According Rabha Hakasam, the terms referring to birds, plants and animals, fruits and vegetables and water animals in Indo-Aryan languages, particularly in Assamese are most possibly Bodo derivation. From morphological point of view it seems that the terms are belong to same linguistic family. The examples such words are:-

Ass.-chun (lime); Sans.-sarna; Khasi, Garo, Tiwa-sun; Rabha, Boro-suni/sunei.
Ass.-sogun; Sans.-sokun; Karbi-batakun; Mishing-sugun; Tiwa-sikun, Boro-sigun;

(96)
Garo-sakin; Rabha-sugun; Deori-sagun.
Ass.-manuh(man); Sans.-monushya;Boro-mansi; Rabha-marab; Tiwa-munush; Deori-moshi; Garo-
mande; Karbi-munit.
Ass.-boga (white); Malaya-baka; Sans.-boloksh; Ahom-puk; Rabha-boka; Boro-phurga.
Ass.-moh (buffalo); Sans.-mohisha; Tiwa-mis; Rabha-misi; Deori-meh; Boro-meishw;
Ass.-Kaso (tortoise, turtle); Sans. Kashyap; Boro-Khaseo, Khusung; Rabha-kusung; Mishing-
kusu; Deori-kasu.
Ass.-Hati (elephant); Sans.-hosti; Tiwa-hadi, Khasi-hati.
Ass.-garh (rhino); Sans.-gonda; Boro-ganda; Dimasa-ganda; Rabha-gandai.
Ass.-kenchhu (earth worm); Tiwa- khinjuri; Garo-khansuri; Boro-khansri; Deori-guari; Sans.-
kinsuluk.
Ass.-sella (centipede): Sans.-chilla; Deori-cheri; Boro-silimala;
Ass.-cri (castor); Sans.-erendu; Boro, Hindi-endi;
Ass. -khar, lime made of ashes); Sans.-kshar; Boro-kherei/khardei; Rabha-kharsi; Garo, Tiwa,
Dimasa-khari.khasi-kyri.
Ass.-ber / bera (bamboo fencing); Sans.-berta; Deori, Dimasa-bhari; Boro-bera;
Ass.-Ass.-fan / fand (trap); Sans.-fand; Rabha, Boro-fan / fansari;
Ass.-khota/khonti (hoe); Sans.-khonitra; Boro, Dimasa-khonta; Mishing-khonti;
Ass.-bota; Rabha, Karbi-bata; Boro-batha; Khanti-banta.
Ass.-nigoni (rat); Sans.-nigonika; Boro-ingini.
Ass.-baduli (bat); Sans.-vatuli /baduli; Boro-badamali; Tiwa-paktuli.
Ass. - Kekora (crab); Sans.-korkota; Bor-khangkhrai; Deori-kokring; Tiwa-khagri; Thankul-
khairao.
Ass.-dhuli (dust); Sans.-dulika; Tiwa-haduli; Boro,Dimasa-haduri; Rabha-dhuri /ha-daburi;
Ass.-burha( old man); Sans.-briddha; Sans.-bwarai; Karbi-bura; Rabha-buda; Garo-bude-fa, Tiwa-
bure, Khasi-barim.
Ass.-ai, ma (mother); Sans.mata; Tamil-ayee, Boro-ai, ama, bima; Rabha-aya; Deori-yoyo;
Ass.-bopa /bapo (father); Garo, Boro-apha; Tamil-appan; Tiwa-pha; Kuch-aoba; Bhutia-appa.
Ass.-log /logoria (friend); Sans.-logan; Boro-lwgw. Rabha-ligu; Dimas-lugu; khasi-lok.
Ass.-borola (widower); Sans.-ronda; Rabha-bandra; Boro-balonda;
Ass.-bari (widow); Sans.-bandika, randi; Rabha-bandri; Garo, Boro-randi; Tiwa-palondi; Munda-
randi,
Ass.-bihu; Tai-Ahum-paihu; Rabha-bisua; Boro-beisagu; Tiwa, Dimas, Deori-bisu.
Ass.-gamucha (towel); Garo, Rabha, Deori, Dimas-gamsa (gan means to wear + sa means small cloth); Karbi-kramsa;
Ass.-deo; Sans.-dev; Tiwa-teo; Boro-mwdai; Deori-mide; Gar-mitti.
Ass.-tangun; Mishing-tukun; Boro-thangwn; Karbi-takin; Tiwa-thakoni.
Ass.-kaori; Sans.-kako /dahuko; Boro-dao-kha; Dimasa-dao-kha; Garo-dokha, Rabha-tuka; Deori-duka.
Ass.-bogoli /bobula (strok); Sans.-boko; Rabha-bogila; Garo-boga; Bor- dao-bo; Dimasadaoboga.
Ass.-hapa (wild cat); Rabha, Karbi-hapa; Boro- bon-hapha; Maloy-hampet.
Ass.-alohi (guest); Boro-alasi; Karbi-alohi.
Ass.-deori (priest who performs rites); Deori, Karbi-deori; Rabha, Boro-deori.
Ass.-bogori (plum); Sans.bodori; Karbi-bokori; Dimasa-thaikundi; Garo-angkhil.
Ass. - nora (stalk); Rabha, Boro,Garo-nara; Deori-nargao.
Ass.-athu; Sans.-asthibala; Tiwa-athu; Boro-hanthu.
Ass.-takuri; Sans.-turka-tika; Karbi-takuri; Rabha-takuri; Boro-thaokhi.
Ass.-Ass.-pogola (made); Hindi-pagol: Rabha-pagla; Boro-phagla; Tiwa-phaola.
Ass.-moma; Sans.-Matul; Garo, Rabha-mama; Boro-amai.
Ass.-gha (wound); Sans.-gorol; Boro-garai; Rabha-gharai; Deori-gari.
Ass.-gali (to rebuke); Sans.-garha; Rabha-garai; Bodo-rai.
Ass.-pora (from); Rabha-para; Boro-phrai; Tiwa-phara; Dimasa-phrang.
Ass. - bur (plural form suffix); Tiwa-bur; Boro-fwr.
Ass.-Ugar: Bodo-gwr.
Ass.-dang(to lift, touch): Bodo-dei, deikhang, dang.
Ass.-da(Knife): Bodo-dan(to cut).
Ass. Hat( hand). Bodo-hat (to give).
Ass., Hindi-Shorkha(Spinning wheel): Boro- Sorkha, Swrkhi.
Ass.-nyai(justice): Bodo-nai( to see, to examine).
Ass. Ho, hol( to become, to complete): Bodo- to win, to complete.
Ass.-thak(to stay): Bodo- tha(to stay).
Ass.-dang(To lift, to hold) Bodo-dang.
Ass.-Cha(to see): Bodo-chai, chaikho.
3.10 Many elements of Indo-Aryan language are found in the structure and physiology of Bodo and other Tibeto-Burman language. Some of the terms of Indo-Aryan language are incorporated in their languages in the same form and meaning, as they are only with minor change in sound system.

Terms in Sanskrit: Assamese: terms in Bodo:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Assamese</th>
<th>Bodo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Papo (sin)</td>
<td>phap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punya (virtue)</td>
<td>Phunya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhormo (religion)</td>
<td>dwhwrwm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotyo (truth)</td>
<td>seithw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patal (hell)</td>
<td>phathal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sworg (heaven)</td>
<td>Swrgw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nork (hell)</td>
<td>norokh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukho (happy)</td>
<td>sukho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dukho (misery)</td>
<td>dukhu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorib (poor)</td>
<td>gorib</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhoni (rich)</td>
<td>dwhwni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonka (rupee)</td>
<td>thakha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paisa (passe)</td>
<td>phaisa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorbho</td>
<td>gwrwbw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bol (energy)</td>
<td>bwltw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kripon (miser)</td>
<td>khirphin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basumata</td>
<td>bwiswmatha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botor (weather)</td>
<td>bwthwr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bokhan (praise)</td>
<td>bakhnai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuber</td>
<td>khuber</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putola</td>
<td>phuthula</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gakhir</td>
<td>gaikher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gram</td>
<td>gami</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aru</td>
<td>arw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Bodo phonetics the sound for k, t and p stand as kh, th and ph respectively. And sound for gho, dho, bob, jho, do as gohao, doho, boho, and johoho respectively. For example:-

- Bhut: buhut
- Ghonta: gontha or gohontha
- Ghora: gorai
- Bhang: bahang
- Bhogovan: bogoban

The Indo-Aryan letters, prthom cho, deete sho, talibyoso, modhunyoso, dainty’s etc. sound in Boro as chg. or kh, as-

- Soka: chakha
- Desh: des
- Gosai: gochai
- Bosor: bwchwr
- Sotru: suthru

The sounds for ksh, rh, in Sanskrit stand in Bodo as kh and r respectively.

- Kshama: khema or khoma
- Rakshas: raikos
- Burah: bwrai

This study highlights only some of the aspects of Tibeto-Burman language, i.e.; structural and physiological relationship among the Tibeto-Burman languages, Contribution of Tibeto-Burman languages to Indo-Aryan languages and their relationship. It also focuses a glimpse on the morphological and physiological relationship between the Tibeto-Burman and Austric and Tibeto-Burman and Dravir languages. Earlier studies give an impression that Bodo and other Tibeto-Burman people have little relation with Austric and Dravidian people socially, culturally, linguistically and racially. No scientific studies have been made till now on the relationship of Tibeto-Burman, Austric and Dravidian people from social, cultural, racial, linguistic point of view. Studies that have so far been done are influenced and guided by certain prejudices like caste, religion, race specially Aryanism and castism and covered the actual truth in hidden.
This study indicates that Dravir, Austric and Tibeto-Burman speaking people share certain elementary elements of the languages of primary civilization, morphological and physiological. This fact logically encourage us to say that in the remote past some sections of Austric, Dravir and Tibeto-Burman speaking people shared common culture, language and tradition and most probably a major sections of them shared a common racial origin. Prior to the arrival of Aryan speaking people in India with the strong forces of Aryanisation and Sanskritisation as a process of socio-cultural change along with them definitely there had been another socio-cultural process influencing and subordinating other minor socio-cultural groups. It might have been happened in the form of extension of Dravidian or Tibeto-Burman culture and traditions. Aryanisation is the later socio-cultural process after Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman and before Islamization sweeping the entire Indian sub-continent. Latest studies on Aryanisation and Sanskritisation showed how non-Aryan people give up their culture, language, tradition in favour of Aryan culture and religion and ultimately losing their distinct ethnic and biological characters too. It also shows that Bodo and other Tibeto-Burman languages are too closest to Indo-Aryan languages rather than any other languages of the world. It also seen that major sunk of the Indian people, i.e., Scheduled castes, lower and backward castes and in many parts including kshatriyas, kayasthas were the people just incorporated from non-Aryan fold. In earlier chapter it is also shown that the biological differences between the people of north and south is basically geographical or environmental not racial. In order to find out the actual reality we are to examine the facts of our study from all angles of evolutionary points, i.e., from the angles of history, language, anthropology, ethnography, economics, political science, sociology and social dynamics, genetics, archaeology, environmental and geographical points of views. Most of the earlier studies during British period and earlier were based on ancient Indian classical literature the authenticity of which is challenged by modern scholars. The validity of the facts enshrined in all these classical literatures hence needs scientific testing.
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