Chapter XIII

A NOTE ON THE DIALECTS OF GOALPARA

I. The Peculiar Position of Goalpara Dialects

Goalpara district has two clearly well marked forms of dialect with a considerable degree of local variations in each. The two broad dialectal patterns may be termed Eastern Goalpariya and Western Goalpariya—the former being spoken in the eastern part of the district on both banks of the Brahmaputra and the latter on the western and south-western parts. In the area lying in between the two regions in which the two principal dialects are spoken, there is an intermediary form in which elements of both the dialects have been incorporated.

There was a time when much controversy raged as to whether Goalpara was Assamese-speaking or Bengali-speaking, owing to the fact that some of the dialects spoken in the district differed more or less substantially from those spoken in other parts of the Brahmaputra valley and bore some resemblance to Bengali. Claims and counter-claims, in which not only laymen but even scholars and eminent personalities took sides, were frequent and often acrimonious. There were even unscrupulous attempts to rig the census figures.


2. The story of this unfortunate confrontation is too long to be recounted in detail here. But the following extract from the Report of the Census of 1911 (Vol.III, Assam, p.97) bears clear evidence of machinations aimed at showing the whole of Goalpara as overwhelmingly Bengali-speaking.

'According to the Linguistic Survey the dialect of western and south-western Goalpara is pure Rajbansi, a dialect in use in the north-east of the Rajshahi division. In the eastern part
Few of the arguments put forward by either were based on a scientific and objective study of the situation. It was only Grierson who had made some valuable observations about the dialects of the district in his monumental Linguistic Survey of India. Incidentally, it was these observations which had helped in putting at rest much of the controversy referred to above. However, Grierson had not attempted any detailed study of the Goalpara dialects in particular; his remarks on them were of a general nature. In fact, he had studied in some detail the Rajbangsi dialect, a variety of which is spoken in western and south-western Goalpara. Dr Kakati's Assamese, Its Formation and Development also contains some references to the dialects of Goalpara. But until now no comprehensive and exclusive study of the Goalpara dialects on scientific lines seems to have been attempted.

Grierson considered western and south-western Goalpara to be Bengali-speaking by virtue of the fact that he regarded Rajbangsi, the district the dialect is western Assamese i.e. Assamese influenced by the neighbouring Rajbansi Bengali. ... It would appear ... that expert opinion has decided that people of the east of Goalpara speak Assamese. The number of people speaking the latter language at the last four censuses is given in the margin:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>106,151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>27,595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>11,397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>85,329</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It shows a rapid decline up to 1901 and a sudden rise at the present census. From local inquiries it would appear that the language of the Hindus in the east of at least Dhubri sub-division was shown as Assamese mixed with Bengali in the schedules of 1901, and apparently this was shown as Bengali in the tables, though Sir G. Grierson is of opinion that it is Assamese. The Goalpara district schedules of the present census contained very many corrections ... It appeared that the returns were vitiated mostly in the direction of showing less Assamese and more Bengali speakers than really existed.
a variety of which is spoken in the area, as a dialect of Bengali. The rest of the district, according to him, spoke an Assamese dialect. About Rajbangši Grierson says the following:

'This well-marked dialect is spoken in the country to the North-East of that in which Northern Bengali is spoken. As in the rest of Northern Bengal, this tract has been subject to the domination of the Koch; but the conquest was much more complete, and the Koch tribe predominates through the land. Those Koch, who are now Hindus, are principally known under the name of Rajbangši. But large numbers of them have become Musalmans, so that the mere number of peoples of the Rajbangši tribe affords no idea of the number of people of Koch extraction in the country. The name Koch itself is retained in the name of the state of Cooch, or Koch, Behar. The Koch originally came from across the Brahmaputra, and hence the Bengali which they speak may reasonably be expected to bear traces of its eastern origin. This, it will be seen, is the case. The Rajbangši dialect bears many close points of resemblance to the dialects of Eastern Bengal.

'The dialect is usually known as Rajbangši from the tribe of that name already alluded to. It is also frequently called Rangpuri from one of the districts in which it is spoken.

'The dialect is not confined to the Bengal province, but extends into the Goalpara District of Assam, in which it gradually merges into Assamese. It is the language of the west and south-west of that District.'

'The dialect of Western and South-Western Goalpara in Assam is pure Rājbangśī.'

The above observations of Grierson have to be taken with certain reservations in so far as their applicability to Goalpara dialects is concerned.

1. Grierson almost identifies the Rājbangśī dialect with the dialect of Rangpur and even suggests the alternative name Rangpuri for it. People of Western Goalpara who speak a form of this dialect, however, call it neither Rājbangśī nor Rangpuri. Rather they refer to it as 'deśi kathā' (i.e. the local speech) or Goālpā-riyā bhāsā (i.e. the Goalpariya language).

2. His remarks that 'the Rājbangśī dialect bears many close points of resemblance to the dialects of Eastern Bengal' is based on the notion that 'the Köch originally came from across the Brahmaputra, and hence the Bengali which they speak may reasonably be expected to bear traces of its eastern origin'. But the eastern origin of the Köch cannot be traced either to or via Eastern Bengal.

3. As Grierson himself admits, in the Goalpara district the Rājbangśī dialect gradually merges into Assamese. While in Rangpur, which is contiguous to Eastern Bengal, traces of Eastern Bengali are very likely to occur (and they do occur), they are not likely to be (and, in fact, are not) as prominent in Goalpara, where the dialect approaches Western Assamese. Thus the position that the language spoken in western and south-western Goalpara is a dialect of Bengali is not acceptable.

1. Ibid., p.166
The close affinity between the dialects of Northern Bengal and Assam has been brought out by Grierson himself in no uncertain terms.

'It [Magadha Apabhraṃśa] was the principal dialect which corresponded to the old Eastern Prakrit ... East of Magadha lay the Gauḍa or Prācyā Apabhraṃśa, the headquarters of which were at Gaur, in the present district of Malda. It spread to the south and south-east and here became the parent of modern Bengali. Besides spreading southwards, Gauḍa Apabhraṃśa also spread to the east keeping north of the Ganges and is there represented at the present day by Northern Bengali and in the Valley of Assam by Assamese. North Bengal and Assam did not get their language from Bengal proper but directly from the west. Magadha Apabhraṃśa, in fact, may be considered as spreading out eastwards and southwards in three directions. To the North-East it developed into Northern Bengali and Assamese, to the south into Oriya and between the two into Bengali. Each of these three descendants is equally directly connected with the common immediate parent and hence we find North Bengali agreeing in some respects rather with Oriya, spoken far away to the south than with Bengali of Bengal proper of which it is usually classed as a sub-dialect.'

It is true that by Northern Bengali Grierson meant the dialect spoken in the Rajshahi division of undivided Bengal, and he regarded Rajbangsi as a separate dialect. But it has to be remembered that the area where Rajbangsi is spoken, especially Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar (and also western Goalpara), lies between old Rajshahi

division and Assam, and naturally the affinity between it and Assamese may be expected to be even closer. This, in fact, is the case, particularly in Goalpara.

Dr S. K. Chatterji's division of Eastern Magadha Prakrit and Aprabhrāṃśa into four dialectal groups also points to the close relationship between Assamese and the dialects of North Bengal. These groups, according to Dr Chatterji, are (1) Rādha dialects which comprehend Western Bengali which gives standard Bengali colloquial and Oriya in the south-west, (2) Varendra dialects of North Central Bengal, (3) Kamarupa dialects which comprehend Assamese and the dialects of North Bengal, (4) Vānga dialects which comprehend the dialects of East Bengal.

Thus according to these two great authorities on linguistics, the links between Assamese and the dialects of North-Bengal (which by implication include those of Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar and Western Goalpara) are very strong. Though the standard colloquial Assamese of eastern Assam acquired a very distinct form under the influence of a long and strong Ahom rule, and some of its links with North Bengal dialects have become rather loose, the dialects of western Assam have maintained these links to a very large extent. And they must have been even stronger in older times. As Dr Kakati observes, 'It was under the patronage of Kings outside the western limits of modern Assam,—under the patronage of the Kings of Kāmatāpur, fourteen miles to the south-west of Cooch Bihār, that the earliest Assamese books were written. Even now the spoken language of North Bengal and western Assam (districts of Kāmrūp and Gaolparā) is substantially the same and seems to form one dialect group.'

1. B. K. Kakati: Assamese, Its Formation and Development, p.6
The present divergence between North Bengal dialects (including the 'Rajbangsi' of western Goalpara) and Assamese should not surprise us when we remember that 'Assamese under her independent kings and her social life, entirely self-contained, became an independent speech, although her sister dialect, North Bengali, accepted the vassalage of the literary speech of Bengal.'

The existence of many dialects in western Assam including Goalpara, has been explained by Dr Kakati in the following manner: 'Western Assam was never for a long period under any dominant power. It was the cockpit of several fighting forces,—the Koches, the Muhammedans and the Ahoms, and political fortunes passed from one power to another in different times. A steady commanding central influence that gives homogeneity to manners as to speech was never built up by any ruling power in western Assam.'

Speaking further about the dialects of western Assam, Dr Kakati at one place remarks that 'the spoken dialects of the Goalpara district seem to have been greatly contaminated with admixtures of the Rajbangsi dialects.' This remark has to be taken with the qualification that it can apply only to the dialects of Eastern Goalpara and not to those of Western Goalpara. The dialect of western Goalpara, according to Grierson is 'pure Rajbangsi' and by implication Dr Kakati has accepted this contention, for the specimen of the Goalpara dialect (of Salkocha which is in west Goalpara) given by him has been classified by himself as 'Rajbangsi'.

2. B. K. Kakati: A.I.F.D., p.17
3. Ibid., p.18
4. Ibid., Appendix A(7), p.392
We shall now try to give some of the more important characteristics of the two principal dialectal forms of the district. We have termed them as Eastern Goalpariya and Western Goalpariya.

II Eastern Goalpariya

This is a dialect of Assamese having much in common with Western Kamrupi, both phonologically and morphologically, with admixtures of the neighbouring Western Goalpariya. There are quite a few local variations. For example, areas around Abhayapuri on the north bank and Goalpara town on the south bank have a common pattern, whereas the areas around Krishnai, Dudhnai, Dhupdhara, etc. have a distinctive tang owing to the fact that a very large number of speakers here belong to Rabha and Bodo groups. It may also be pointed out that some elements of this dialect have crossed the eastern limits of the district and are found in the adjoining areas of Kamrup district, especially on the south bank. The dialect spoken around Krishnai is popularly known as Habrāghatiya, that to its north as Bausă and that spoken farther west as Namdāniya. Bārahājāri is the term associated with the dialect spoken in the eastern part of the district on the north bank.

Characteristics

(a) Phonological

1. All the distinct sounds of the Western Kamrupi dialect are also found in this dialect, although the intonation pattern is a bit different. However, in this dialect the alveolar fricative 's' is used in place of the guttural spirant 'x' in many words of common use.
For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M. Goalpara</th>
<th>W. Kamrup</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sukh</td>
<td>Xukh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sānti</td>
<td>XSnti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āsa</td>
<td>āxa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, sāt, sollo, satorio, etc. are used to denote the numerals seven, sixteen, seventeen respectively, whereas in Western Kamrupi they are pronounced as xāt, xalla, xatra (or xatara) respectively.

(b) Morphological

2. Basic vocables: Most of the basic vocables are the same as, or very similar to, those in Western Kamrupi. But there are quite a number of words which are either not found, or if not unknown, are at least not commonly used in Kamrup.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bāsur 'calf'</td>
<td>bara 'big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boi 'book'</td>
<td>bangā 'deaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhois 'buffalo'</td>
<td>bitlā, bittal 'naughty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gusti 'relatives'</td>
<td>malā 'many' 'a lot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāwā 'child'</td>
<td>phārā 'torn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāwā-soto 'children'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarā 'earth worm'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adverbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>akhan 'now'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kakhan 'at what time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>takhan 'then'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jakhan 'when'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>idi, eidi 'this way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xidi, xeidi 'that way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eike, keike 'like this', 'like what?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>moi</td>
<td>'I'</td>
<td>toi</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ami</td>
<td>'we'</td>
<td>tuhā, tuhun, tuhuni</td>
<td>'you all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tahā, tahun, tahāni</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pronoun xi is used to denote both 'he' and 'she' and no separate form (like tāi in other Assamese dialects) is found.

4. Rules regarding number, gender and case are almost the same as those in Western Kamrupi. Only, there are some peculiarities in case-endings.

**Case-ending**

**Nominative** = (a) -e (Peculiarity: the case-ending -e is often used even when the accompanying verb is intransitive, e.g., Rāme āhse 'Ram has come')

(b) $ (i.e. nothing)

**Accusative** = (a) -k, -ok, (b) $ (i.e. nothing)

**Genitive** = -r, -or

**Locative** = -t, -ot

**Dative** = There is no separate case-ending for the dative. The accusative -k or -ok is used here also. Another form is obtained by adding post-position bade after the genitive e.g. Rāmor bāde 'for Ram'.

**Instrumental** = No separate case-ending. The form is obtained like this -ok + post-position di -or + hāte
Ablative = No separate case-ending. The form is obtained by adding para/para after the genitive form. bazar para 'from the market'.

5. Conjugation of verbs in different tenses is similar to that in Western Kamrupi in all respects except in the past tense where the formation in the third person is peculiar. The suffix -l or il is added to the verb-root.

Example:
khà > khàl 'ate'  jà > gel 'went'
di > dil 'gave'  dhar > dhoril 'caught'

Also in the 1st person in the present tense sometimes the formation differs a little from Western Kamrupi.

Examples:

E. Goal. W. Kam.
moi khāng 'I eat'  mai khān
moi dāng 'I give'  mai dān

6. Negative and interrogatives are exactly similar to those in Western Kamrupi.

Examples:

E. Goal. W. Kam.
moi nājang 'I don't go'  mai nājān
xi nede 'he does not give'  xi nede
Rāme pārā nahaē 'Ram don't be able'  Rāme pārār nohoi

7. Interrogatives are formed by adding nāki, nekin, etc.

8. Definitives: The only difference from Western Kamrupi is that in place of tu of western Kamrupi, here we have tā, which is added to a noun of any gender.
W. Kam.  

mən hustu  'the man'  
tiritu  'the woman'  
əpətu  'the boy'  
əpitu  'the girl'  
kaltu  'the banana'  
ghartu  'the house'  

The other definitives are khan/khan, dhal/dhal, khar/khərə  

tamul khan  'the pan'  
bəh dhal  'the bamboo'  
xəp khar  'the snake'  

9. Personal Definitives: Formations are similar to those in western Kamrupi, e.g., bəpə 'your father', məve 'your mother', bəyəyk  'his/her brother', bəinək 'somebody's sister'.

10. Sentence structures of the two dialects, East Goalpariya and Western Kamrupi, are identical and the following examples will serve as ample illustration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eastern Goalpariya</th>
<th>Western Kamrupi</th>
<th>English rendering</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. āmi diphar bala/ dipra-bhət khəŋ</td>
<td>Ami dipra bhət khəŋ</td>
<td>We eat rice at noon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. moi səxhan həti jəbə rəpərə/pəbə nəhəd</td>
<td>maikəthan buəli/həthi jəbə norə/pəbərəbəhəi</td>
<td>I cannot go on foot now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. səwətə kəndəbə lægə</td>
<td>solitui kəndəbə lægə</td>
<td>The child is crying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. tər bəde mithəi/ mithe ænbi</td>
<td>tək logi mithe ænbi</td>
<td>Bring sweets for him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. sxən təmul khəlu- hoï</td>
<td>sxən təmul khəluhoi</td>
<td>I would like to chew a tamol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. bəhəl kaltə kəə khəl? bəh kaltu kəə khəlāk?</td>
<td>Bəhəl kaltə kəə khəl? Bəh kaltu kəə khələk?</td>
<td>Who ate the good banana?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. tuhun kor pərə æhli? tuhun kor pe æhli?</td>
<td>Tuhun kor pərə æhli? Tuhun kor pe æhli?</td>
<td>Where have you (Pls.) come from?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The cultivator has gone to the field in the morning.

Why did elder sister and others not come

The work will not be done like this

III Western Goalpariya

We have already seen that according to Grierson the dialect spoken in western and south-western Goalpara is 'pure Rājbangśi' whereas the people of Goalpara who speak the dialect rather refer to it as 'desī kathā' (the local speech) or Goalpāriyā bhāsā (the Goalpāriyā language). We have also noted that though there are many sharp points of divergence between this dialect and Assamese, especially the standard colloquial form, its differences from Western Assamese dialects are less sharp; and here too the phonological differences are more marked than the morphological ones. At the same time, its resemblance with Eastern Bengali is also not negligible.

Again, Western Goalpāriyā itself can be divided into two subvarieties—the farther-western sub-variety bordering on Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar and Rangpur and the near-western sub-variety bordering on the area where Eastern Goalpāriyā is spoken. The dialect spoken in around Gauripur may be taken as representing the former and that spoken around Salkocha may be taken to represent the latter. Henceforward we shall refer to them as the Gauripur and Salkocha dialects respectively. Locally these two varieties are often popularly designated as Ghulliya and Jhārūā respectively.
The Gauripur dialect is more in conformity with the characteristics of the Rajbangsi dialect given by Grierson whereas the Salkocha dialect, while retaining many of these characteristics, takes on many of the elements of western Assamese. Grierson's note on the grammar of the Rajbangsī dialect, based on his own 'Notes on the Rangpur dialect' and 'The Song of Manik Chandra' leans heavily on the Rangpur dialect and hence many of the rules mentioned in his note do not apply to the western Goalpariya dialect, especially to the Salkocha form.

Thus, instead of taking western Goalpariya as a dialect of Bengali, we shall attempt to study its main characteristics with particular reference to its similarities with, and differences from, Western Assamese with which it has so much affinity.

Characteristics

(a) Phonological

1. The guttural spirant ǂ is absent.

2. There are two sibilants, the alveolar fricative s and the palatal fricative ʃ.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mās} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft fish\textquoteright} & \quad \text{kās} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft near\textquoteright} \\
e.g. & \quad \text{mās} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft mouth\textquoteright} & \quad \text{kās} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft cough\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

3. The palatal affricates c and ch are present and they do not always become alveolar s as in Assamese

\[
\begin{align*}
e.g. & \quad \text{coca} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft the skin of fruits and vegetables\textquoteright} \\
& \quad \text{socā} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft true\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]
However, the tendency of c and ch to become s is there, especially when they occur finally or sometimes medially.

e.g. Can 'the moon' Chilek 'was'

nāsan 'the act of dancing' āsil 'was'

nās 'dance'

However, many speakers of this dialect are not particular about the pronunciation of c and ch and alveolarization is quite common:

e.g. chāgal is also pronounced as sāgal, chāwā as sāwā. This tendency is more marked in the Salkocha dialect.

4. The distinction between dental stops (t, th, d, dh) and cerebral stops (ṭ, ṭh, ṭ, ḍh) is maintained and all these do not become alveolar as in Assamese.

e.g. ṭālā 'a wicker' basket dar 'price'

ṭālā 'a lock'

ṭhotā 'that part of the head of a fish that is usually thrown away'

ṭhotā 'chin'

5. The r has a harsh sound and it is in most cases either flapped or rolled.

In the Gauripur dialect the initial r is often elided

e.g. rājā > ājā, rāit > āit 'night'

6. The palatal voiced fricative j often becomes aspirated jh or alveopalatalized z

e.g. jālā > jhālā, zēlā
7. The use of jh is quite common
e. g. jhori 'rain' jhapi 'country hat'
jhala 'hot' jhār 'forest'
jhagré 'quarrel'

8. Sometimes l becomes n (in Gauripur dialect)
e.g. lāge nāge 'needed' nāltang 'lantern'
lāl nāl 'red' nāmpo 'lamp'

9. Nasalisation rarely takes place except in some pronouns
the use of which is restricted generally to some communities, e.g.,
kaí, ēi, tāl, iyāi. Rather there is a tendency towards denasalisation,
e.g., bās > bāś, pās > pāś, hās > hāś.

In the Gauripur dialect the final a is often elongated
into ie e.g., nilā > nīlīe, burā > burīe.

(b) Morphological

10. Basic vocable: Of the basic vocables many are the same
as, or similar to, those in Western Kamrupi and many others are iden-
tical to those in Eastern Bengali, while some are peculiar to this
dialect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maṭha</td>
<td>māṭha 'head'</td>
<td>pokhi</td>
<td>pokhi 'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍari</td>
<td>ḍari 'house'</td>
<td>dimā</td>
<td>dimā 'egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āgun (Gauripur)</td>
<td>āgun 'fire'</td>
<td>carāi</td>
<td>sare 'fowl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɪɔmɪ</td>
<td>ɪɔmɪ 'land'</td>
<td>kākoi</td>
<td>kāke 'comb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kala</td>
<td>kāla 'black'</td>
<td>āpā</td>
<td>āpā 'boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɢāro</td>
<td>ɢāro 'eleven'</td>
<td>ɢāi</td>
<td>ɢāi 'girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāro</td>
<td>bāro 'twelve'</td>
<td>ʌta</td>
<td>ʌta 'grand-father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāro</td>
<td>tāro 'thirteen'</td>
<td>ʌbo</td>
<td>ʌbu 'grandmother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>choiddo</td>
<td>choiddo 'fourteen'</td>
<td>nīyar</td>
<td>nīyar 'dew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ʌnja</td>
<td>ʌnja 'curry'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A short list of basic vocables will be found at the end of this essay.

11. Pronouns:

**Gauripur dialect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>mui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>tui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>superior and honorific</td>
<td>tomrā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>uwāē, tāē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Salkocha dialect**

| 1st person     | mui             |
| 2nd person     | tui             |
| 3rd person     | āē, tāē         |

It is to be noted that in the third person the same form is used both for the masculine and the feminine and no separate form equivalent to Assamese tāē is used.

In either of the above dialectal forms, there is no equivalent of the superior personal pronoun in the second person equivalent to tumī of Assamese and Bengali. In the Salkocha dialect the reflexive and honorific ānne and āneghar (in the singular and plural respectively) are used. In the Gauripur dialect, on the other hand, tomrā and tomṛgulā are used as the superior and honorific terms in
the singular and plural respectively. It is interesting to note that in early Assamese also tomrā was frequently used as an honorific term.

'tomrā sabe jānā bhāle āmār māwar kathā' (Madhavadeva: Bargit)

Even now in the exclusive mode of speech of the bhakats of the Vaishnava satras in Assam, the honorific personal pronoun is tomrā and not āpuni.

12. Numbers:

From the singular, plurals are formed by the addition of the following suffixes: gula, gilā, ghar, khān, etc.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{sāwā} > \text{sāwāgula} \quad \text{'children'} & \text{āpi} > \text{āpīgila} \quad \text{'the girls'} \\
& \text{mānsi} > \text{mānsigula} \quad \text{'the men'} & \text{kukur} > \text{kukurgula} \quad \text{'the dogs'} \\
& \text{gas} > \text{gāsgila} \quad \text{'the trees'} \\
\end{align*} \]

Ghar is more or less equivalent to Assamese hāt.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{mā} > \text{māghar} \quad \text{'mother and others'} \\
& \text{didi} > \text{dīdīghar} \quad \text{'elder sister and others'} \\
& \text{mukul} > \text{mukulghar} \quad \text{Mukul and others'} \\
\end{align*} \]

Khān is found in such formations as sāwākhān 'children', gotāikhān 'all'.

1. 'As in Bengali, so in Assamese, the extension of the sense from the reflexive to the honorific second personal pronoun is a recent phenomenon. Neither the early nor in middle Assamese (of the chronicles) is it found in this construction. — Dr Kakati, A.I.P.D., 2nd Ed., p.319.

2. It appears that in the language of the Vaishnava bhakats also the suffix ghar is sometimes used either as a plural indicator or as an honorific derivative, e.g., bāpūghar (vide Kantiram Burhabhakt Phakāra, pp.127,128,129,130, etc.).
The suffix ra is used to form the plural only in case of some pronouns.  

*e.g. mui 'I' > amra, amira 'we' tui 'you' > tomra, tumira
uwae, e 'he/she' > umra, umira 'they'

13. Gender:

From the masculine the feminine form is obtained by the addition of suffixes like i, ni, ani

*e.g. mami > mami jamadar > jamadarni majhi > majhini
kaka > kaki mastar > mastarni chakar > chakrani
patha > pathi boruwa > boruwani thakur > thakurani

Irregular forms:

bap > mao
raja > rani
balod > gai
bhai > boini
dantal > ghui
bar > koina

There are no definitives like to and jani as in standard Assamese colloquial to distinguish between male and female objects.

14. Case: Case-endings are as follows:

Nominative: (a) (i.e. nothing) e.g. Naren koil 'Naren said'
(b) e e.g. baghe khaise (tiger has eaten).

Accusative: (a) -k, -ok
(b) (i.e. nothing)

Genitive: -er, -r

Locative: -t, -ot

1. In early Assamese also -ra was frequently used in such formations: tomra, terr, err, etc. Early A. -ra seems to be either a plural or an honorific morpheme—Dr. G.C. Goswami's note in Kakati's A.I.P.
Ablatives: (a) hate e.g. dur hate 'from afar'
              bazar hate 'from the market'

Also (b) genitive -er + post-position thaki
Salkocha: genitive -er + post-position parä

Dative: No separate case-ending. Accusative (k, -ok) is used here also.

Also genitive ( -r, -er) + post-position bade or joinne.

Instrumental: Accusative ( -k, -ok) + post-position diya.

15. Definitives: -ta, -khän, jhan/zan are the common definitives.

  e.g. harita 'the house' garikhän 'the car'
       kamta 'the work' pirakhän 'the stool'
       akjhan manäi 'one man'

  In the Gauripur dialect, konä or khonä is also frequently used to denote a definite object or a quantity.

  e.g. cengri khonä 'the girl'
       at konä 'this much'

  In Salkocha -khani/ -khini has an identical use.

  sawakhani 'the child' apikhini 'the girl'
  etokhini/khani 'this much'

16. Pronominal Derivatives

Adverbs of time - alä 'now'
               sala 'then'
               sala jhala 'when'
               kumbalä 'at what time' etc.
Adverbs of place - 
eti, etāi etikonā  'here' 
odi, otiāi, otiikonā  'there' 
kutī, kōtai, kote, konte  (where) 
jeti, jetai  'at which place'

Salkocha:
eithe, ete 'here' oithe, ote 'there' 
kutī, konthe 'where' jeithe, jote 'at which place'; ekhinte, okhinte are also used.

Some more adverbs:
ang kori, amon koriya  'in this manner'
kaṅkori, kāmon koriya  'in what manner'
gīgkori, 'in that manner' etc.

In Salkocha dialect these expressions are conveyed by ente, kente and ante respectively.

Kane stands for why. In Salkocha kiya is also used.¹

Adjectives of quality:
amon  'like this' kamon  'like what', jhamon  'like which'
temon  'like that'
ei san  'like this', oi san  'like that', ki san  'like what'
are also used (c.f. Early Assamese oisana, koisana, etc.)

In Salkocha dialect eṅkā, oṅkā  kāṅkā are also used to mean like this, like that, like what respectively.

Expressions like iyār nekhan 'like him', kār nekhan  'like whom' are also found (Salkocha : ar hānā)

(Note: nekhan  cf. nexna Western Assamese hānā  cf. Western Assamese han)

¹. It is to be noted that kane was frequently used in Early Assamese e.g. kane māti khālī ore Gopal.
Adjectives of Quantity:

*ato* 'this much', *kato* 'how much', *jato* 'as much'

In the Salkocha dialect, expressions like *etomān, katomān, otomān* mean this much, how much, that much are used and are comparable to Assamese *imān, kimān, timān* etc.

17. Verbal conjugations

Verbal conjugations are similar to those in western Assamese in different tenses, although the different formations have their own peculiarities.

A very striking peculiarity to be observed is that (in the Gauripur dialect) verbs are inflected differently in the singular and the plural in the first and second persons. (This however does not seem to be a general rule; many speakers of the dialect use the same form in both the singular and the plural).

There are five principal tenses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present Tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td><em>mui jāng</em></td>
<td><em>tui jāis</em></td>
<td><em>uwāē jāē</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td><em>mui geilang/gemu</em></td>
<td><em>tui gelu</em></td>
<td><em>uwāē geil/geilek</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Perfect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td><em>mui geisang/geicang</em></td>
<td><em>tui gesis</em></td>
<td><em>uwāē geice/geise</em></td>
<td><em>āmrā gesi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Past Perfect

1st person  mui geislong/gesnu  amrā geislām
2nd person  tui geslu  tomrā geislen
3rd person  uwāe gesil/geislek  umrā gesil/geislek

Future

1st person  mui jāim  amrā jāimo
2nd person  tui jābu  tomrā jāiben
3rd person  uwāe jāibe  umrā jāibe

In the Salkocha dialect the verbal forms are as follows in both the singular and the plural in the first, second and third persons respectively:

Present - jāng, jāis, jāē
Past - gelung, geli, gel
Present Perfect - gesung, gesī, gese
Past Perfect - geslung, gesīl, gesil
Future - jāim, jābi, jābo

There is no distinct form (like jācchi or jāitechi in Bengali) for the continuous tense. The sense of continuity is conveyed by forming compound verbs through adding the perfect form of the root 'dhar' or 'lāg' after the infinitive of the main verb.

Present continuous

e.g.  mui jābār dhoircang  'I am going'
     tomrā jābār dhoircen  'You all are going'

Another form:

mui khāyā āsung/ācang  'I am eating'
     tomrā khāyā āsen  'You are eating'

Past continuous

mui āsir dhoircilang  'I was coming'
     uwāe āsir dhoircil  'he was coming'
Also

mui jābā āislang 'I was going'
tui jābā aslu 'You were going'

In Salkocha dialect the forms are as follows:

āē jābā dhocche 'He is going'
āē āsibā dhocchil 'He was coming'

Past condition:

Here also there is no separate verbal form like Bengali khetām, jetām etc. But the form is obtained by adding hae or hayā after the past form as in Western Kamrupi.

e.g. mui khānuhaē 'I would have eaten'
uwāē geilhayā 'He would have gone'

The Imperatives: In the second and third persons the forms are as follows:

tui jā/jāīē 'you go' (alternate forms āīēk 'come'
boīēk 'sit')
tomrā jān 'You (all) go' or 'You (honorific) go'
uwāē jāuk 'Let him go'

18. The Infinitives: Forms of the infinitive are as follows:

jā > jābār
kar > korir, koribār
barā > barer, barēbār

In the Salkocha dialect they are jābā, koribā, barēbār respectively.

19. The Passive Voice: Sentences in the passive voice are formed in the following manner:
Expression like 'I have to go', 'He has to go' are conveyed in the following manner:

\[ \text{mok jawa laigbe} \]
\[ \text{uwak kara laigbe} \]

One peculiar form found in the Gauripur dialect is like this:

\[ \text{mor kamta kara khae} \]
'I have to do the work'

20. The Negative Conjugation: The negative formations of a verb are generally obtained by prefixing \text{nā} to the affirmative forms. But the \text{nā} is not wholly assimilated to the vowel of the first syllable of the conjugated root as in Assamese.

West Goal.  
West Kam.

\[ \text{e.g. nājang '}(I) \text{ do not go'} \]
\[ \text{nājāu} \]
\[ \text{nākoril 'he) did not do'} \]
\[ \text{nokorlāk} \]
\[ \text{nāhoibe 'won't be'} \]
\[ \text{nahabo} \]

However, the \text{nā} may also be placed after the conjugated verb to convey the negative meaning as in Bengali.

\[ \text{e.g. jāim nā, koril nā, hoibe nā} \]

21. Denominatives: Nominal verb roots are formed by the addition of the suffix \text{ā} after nouns.

\[ \text{e.g. kil > kila} \]
\[ \text{guri > gūrā} \]
\[ \text{car > carā} \]
Causative verb-roots are obtained by adding *a to the original verb-roots

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{kar} > \text{karā}, \]
\[ \text{khâ} > \text{khāwā} \]

22. Participles are formed by adding either i or iya.

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{āśi, āśiva} \text{ (having come)} \]

23. Onomatopoeic formations, both adjectival and adverbial, are very common

\[ \text{e.g. sal-salā} \text{ (lanky, straight)} \]
\[ \text{jhar-jharā} \text{ (dry, clean)} \]
\[ \text{lāŋg-lāngā} \text{ (thin)} \]
\[ \text{mar-marā} \text{ (crunchy)} \]
\[ \text{khasí-khasā} \text{ (rough)} \]
\[ \text{har-hareyā} \text{ (with a jerky noise), jham-jhameyā} \text{ (in torrents),} \]
\[ \text{masí-maseyā} \text{ (with munching sound), kar kareyā} \text{ (with a screeching sound)} \]

Such nouns as pēkar-pēkar, bakar-bakar, phēs-phēs are also common.

The specimens of the ten sentences given in illustration of Eastern Goalpariya will have their respective forms in Western Coalpariya (two varieties) as follows:

Gauripur Salkocha

1. āmrā dupra bhat khāi āmrā duphar bāla/dipra bhat khāng
2. mui glā hāti jābār nāpāng mui glā hātiyā jābā nāpāng
3. chāwātā kāndir dhoicce sawātā kāndibā lāgse/dhorse
4. uwar jiinne mitoi/mithāi anis' ar bāde mithāi ānis'
Animals

Goru 'cow'
bhois, mois 'buffalo'
pokhi, pâkhi 'bird'
pâro, koitar 'pigeon'
kukrâ, carâi, murgi 'fowl'
śâro 'common myna'
đamrâ 'male calf'
bâsur 'calf'
bilāi 'cat'
bondâ bilâi 'tom cat'
kâso 'tortoise'
kâuwâ 'crow'
bâcâ 'white crane'
ćilâ 'kite'
âtâ 'rabbit'
mâs 'fish'
eghorivâl 'crocodile'
neul 'mongoose'

Agricultural and allied objects

iomi, māti 'land'
bhu 'farm land', 'ground'
pâtar 'field'
pângal 'plough'
jōngal 'yoke'
hâl 'ploughing device'
bicân 'seeds'
rowâ 'seedlings'
tongsi 'raised platform'
gosâli 'cowshed'
golâghâhar, bhândâr 'granary'
âsu or bitri | 'kinds of paddy'
âlî or hēutî
wârâ 'threshing'
bârâ 'pounding'
dhân bâri 'paddy field'

Men, women and children

mânsî 'man'
marod, bâta châwâ | 'male person'
apâ mânsî
Natural objects, seasons etc.

ākāē 'sky'
bāō, bātāē 'air', 'wind'
dēwā 'cloud'
hori 'rain'
bānā 'flood'
kharāli 'dry season'
baīśā 'rainy season'
bāla 'sun'
cān 'moon'
roud 'sunshine'
jonāk 'moonlight'
garom 'warm', 'hot'
jār 'cold'
din 'day'
rātī, rāit 'night'
biyānā, bihānā 'morning'
duprā 'midday'
bēlā bāthī 'afternoon'
śoindā 'evening'
nodi 'river'
bīl 'small lake'
hurkā, tufān 'storm'
niyr 'dew'

Verbs
āise 'comes'
boiē 'sits'
khāē 'eats'
jāē 'goes'
sōte 'sleeps'
jīrāē 'rests'
kaē 'says'
hāīsē 'laughs'
kānde 'weeps'
gān kāre, goāē 'sings'
hāl boāē 'ploughs'
rowā gāre 'plants seedling'
bārā bāhen 'husks'

Men, Women and Children (contd.)

betī chāwā, āpi mānsī 'female, person'
tiri, mātā
chāwā 'child'
kācuwā 'infant'
chēngrā 'boy'
chēngri 'girl'
juwān, gābur 'young'
būrā 'old man'
būrī 'old women'

Adjectives
bhāl 'good'
beyā, kharāp, mando 'bad'
mitā 'sweet'
tītā 'bitter'
tēngā 'sour'
jhālā 'hot'
dhāngā, lambā 'tall'
khāta, bānghā 'short'
bāōnā 'dwarf'
kēngtā 'very thin'
dur 'distant'
osor, kās 'near'
sōug 'all'
khānīk, alpo 'a little'
dhālā 'white'
kālā 'black'
lāl 'red'
nīlā 'blue'
būnā, tāsā 'deaf'
bobrā 'mute', 'dumb'
totā 'stammerer'
gomtā 'reserved', gloomy'
khar kharā 'dry'
maś maśā 'crisp'
khit khitā 'thin'
Verbs (contd.)

mēra mēre 'thrashes'
rānde 'cooks'
pinde 'wears'

Organs of the body

gāo 'body'
māthā, mātā 'head'
culi 'hair'
coku, couk 'eye'
hāt 'hand'
pāo 'leg'
nogul 'finger'
coru 'thigh'
dēnā 'arm'
galā 'neck'
ḥot 'lips'

thuthri 'chin'
buk 'chest'
piṭi 'back'
gorāli 'heal'

hārā 'bone'

kāni-hārā 'rib'
kamor 'waist'
topinā, tāpilā 'buttock'
jība 'tongue'

Relationships

bābā, bāp 'father'
māo, mā 'mother'
dādā 'elder brother'
didi, bāi 'elder sister'
bhai 'younger brother'
boin, boini 'younger sister'
ātā, āju 'grandfather'
ābo 'grandmother'
kākā, khurā 'father's younger brother'
jāthā 'father's elder brother'
mādi 'mother's sister'
māusā 'mother's sister's husband'
bhūnī, bonu, bonāi 'elder sister's husband'
sālpoit 'wife's sister's husband'
jeithāni 'husband's elder sister'
bhūnī ' elder brother's wife'

bhusāni 'younger brother's wife'
gosuri 'mother-in-law'
bhāsur 'husband's elder brother'
boinjamāi 'younger sister's husband'
tāwāi 'father of bhūnī or bhūnī'
mīwāi 'mother of bhūnī or bhūnī'

The House and Household Articles

bāri, ghar 'house'
aignā, cotāl 'courtyard'
cali, pirāli 'veranda'
duor 'door'
nun, nemok 'salt'
tel 'oil'

sekā, khār 'alkali, alkaline preparation'

ānjā, bējan 'curry'
khirki (window)
māi jā, majā 'floor'
ākā, coukā 'oven, 'fireplace'
āngrā 'charcoal'

hārī-bāri 'cooking place'
hārī-dōka 'utencils'
dagun, jui 'fire'
A few loan words not normally used in Assamese or Bengali

kechā 'story' (Urdu qissā)
nin, nind 'sleep' (Hindi nīd)
gosā 'anger' (Urdu gussā)
damān 'bridegroom' (Hindi damād)
tālim 'rehearsal' (Urdu tālim, training)
judā 'separate' (Urdu sūdā)
tāmām 'whole' (Urdu tāmām)
sagā 'relatives' (Hindi saagā)

A Few Peculiar Expressions

bācēyā khāwā 'to give (a girl) in marriage'
kharoc kārā 'shopping'
nodi phira 'to have frequent loose motions'
phām pāsūrā 'to be forgetful'
dhorī ānā 'to bring along', 'to fetch'

A Few Proverbs

nekāile cokāile māti
pindāile orāile beti

The land looks nice when properly cleaned
A girl looks nice when properly dressed up.
The thief has eaten the malbhog banana. [Now it is] the thief who shouts much.

The cloud that thunders much does not send rain.

The husband that shouts much does not beat his wife.

N.B.: More specimens of the dialects are to be found in Chap. IX, Sec.IV. Samplings of words and expressions are spread over other parts of the work.