

Chapter IXNouns.

107. (a) A noun (stem) in Kamrupi may end either in a vowel or in a consonant.

The final vowels generally are : - i, - e, - ā, - o, - u; for instance :

- i,	tiri	'woman'.
- e,	ākhe	'fried rice'.
- ā,	āpā	'boy'.
- o,	palo	'bamboo basket for catching fish'.
- u,	sokhu	'eye'.

Noun stems with - a and - e are rare. Only a few have been found :

xe 'salutation'; be 'children's term for a goat'; xa 'dead body'.

(b) The final consonants may be one of those which can appear finally

(see Part I § 8) in a word. For instance :

- p	sip	'an angling rod'
- ph	bhāph	'steam'.
- b	bhūi kub	'earth quake'.
- bh	lobh	'greed'.
- t	pāt	'leaf'.
- th	thoth	'beak'.
- d	xad	'taste'.
- dh	gandh	'smell'.
- k	pek	'mad'.
- kh	kākh	'side'.
- g	pāg	'heating, cooking'.
- gh	megh	'aloud'.
- n	man	'wax'.
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	bun	'grass'.

- ʒ	theʒ	'leg'.
- l	dol	'rope'.
- r	bar	'bride groom'.
- s	gās	'tree'.
- z	kāz	'ceremony'.
- h	tuh	'husk'.

Forms of the Stem.

108. In Kamarupi nouns generally have one form. With some speakers an alternate form ending in - a / - ak in a few words is found, e.g. mittuk 'death'; xikkhitak 'the educated'. The usual form of these words are mittu and xikkhit.

Number.

109. Like the N.I.A. languages there are two numbers in Kamarupi, singular and plural. The idea of duality is conveyed by the use of the numeral for two. The plural form is generally formed by addition of suffixes^{xx} or by the addition of some nouns of multitude. The case affixes are added after the plural suffixes, e.g. māhnu 'man'; māhnu - gilā 'men'; māhnu - gilāker 'of men'. Of the plural suffixes - gilā is more productive. The plural suffixes also carry some definitive sense.

110. The following are the main plural suffixes in Kamarupi :

- hāt (N.I.A. santa, Pres. Part. of √ as > E. As. - hanta
St. coll. - hāt), e.g.

soli - hāt	'children'
pite - hāt	'fathers'.
āi - hāt	'ladies'.

kāhār - hāt	'bell-metal workers'.
xudar - hāt	'people of the sudra caste'.
xutār kuisā - hāt	'people of the village sutarkuchi'.
otul - hāt	'Atul and others'.

- hānā (< santa). It is used with nouns of relationship and address with some honorific sense, e.g.

āi - hānā	'ladies'.
māi - hānā	'mothers'
dādā - hānā	'elder brothers'
bou - hānā	'sister - in - laws'.
manā - hānā	'uncles'.
bāpā - hānā	'boys'
gapāl - hānā	'Gopal and others'.

- hāmrā / - hāmlā . Used after proper names of persons and nouns of relationship. These are used by some speakers only, e.g.

rām - hāmrā	'Ram and others'.
māi - hāmrā	'mother and others'.

- gilā / - geilā / - gilāk / - gilān [cf. - gilā, - glā (North Bengali)

and Bg. - gulā, - gulān etc. < - kula - .

§ 488. O.D.B.L. According to Dr. Kakati

- gilā, - yglā etc. are of non-Aryan origin § 642. A.F.D.]

Examples :

goru - gilā / - geilā	'cows'.
soli - poli - gilāk / - gilān	'children'.
sāul - gilā	'rice'
māhau - gilā	'men'.
takā - gilā	'rupees'.

gulās - gilā	'glasses'.
sobī - gilā	'pictures'
bostu - gilā	'things'.
gāhāi - gilā	'people who are Goswamies'.

- gilāk is also used after genitive plural pronouns optionally to indicate plurality, e.g. āmār or āmār - gilāk - o - r 'of us'.

The forms - ṡgilā and - glā are found affixed to pronouns, e.g.

i - glā / i - ṡgilā	'these'.
xi - glā / xi - ṡgilā	'those'.

- the - . Used after nouns with case-endings (- the - k, - the - r, - the - t). It is never used for the nominative . It has the specific sense of indicating a family group suggested by the person or the relation referred to, e.g.

barghoirā - the - r	'of bridegroom's family'.
gapāl - the - t	'at Gopal and his family'.
mamā - the - k	'to uncle and his family'.
dakāni - the - k	'to the shop-keeper and his family'.

Dr. Kakati suggests the connection of this (- the -) with O.I.A. stavaka. But it seems to be connected with skt. sthā . cf. Kon. post-position of the ablative : thā (k)unu, thāunu < skt. sthā > M.I.A. thakka - or thakka. (§ 219. For.Kon)

III. The nouns of multitude added to indicate plurality are generally - xapā (sarva -), - mākhā (mraṡṡa -) and - xakāl (sakaṡṡa). Of these the former two carry some sort of inferior sense while the latter carries the sense of respect, e.g.

soli - poli - xapā / - mākhā	'children'.
māhnu - xapā / - mākhā	'men'.
tiri - xapā / - mākhā	'women'
āi - xakāl	'ladies'.
parbhu - xakāl	'superior and respected ones'.
āpnā - xakāl - o - r	'of you'. (plural).

Gender.

112. There is no grammatical gender in Kamarupi and only animate objects distinguish gender. Kamarupi also uses many words to denote common gender; such as : kaur 'crow'; soli 'child'; goru 'cattle'; sāgāl 'goat'; meukri 'cat'. etc. Sex is generally distinguished by the use of some qualifying terms; or by the employment of different words; or by adding terminations to masculine nouns.

113. The following are the feminine suffixes :

(a) - i . It replaces masculine forms in - ā; e.g.

<u>Mas.</u>		<u>Fem.</u>	
āpā	'boy'	āpi	'girl'.
betā	'son'	beti	'daughter'
mātā / matā	'male'	māti	'female'
perā	'he-buffalo'	peri	
pāthā	'he-goat'	pāthi	
tāznā	'a young horse'	tāzni	
māmā / mamā	'maternal uncle'	māni	

<u>Mas</u>		<u>Fem.</u>
mākundā	'male- elephant'	mākundi.
likrā	'bridegroom'	likri 'bride'
dhemnā	'a person taken as husband without performing the usual marriage ceremony'.	dhemni
rājā	'red'	rāji 'cow of reddish colour'.
kalā	'black'	koli.
bagā	'white'	bogi
mugā	'light brown'	mugi
gasmurā	'elephant headed, i.e. a man having no child, a term of abuse; destitute'.	gasmuri.
puhā	'a male person born in the month of Pausa'.	puhi
pāglā	'mad-man'	pāgli
burā	'old-man'	buri

(b) - i . Added after nouns and - ā before it becomes - e , e.g.

kūār	'prince'	kūeri 'princess'.
boitāl	'a notorious person'	boiteli.
bāndār	'monkey'	bānderi
pāgāl	'mad-man'.	ꣳ pāgeli

- i is also added after masculine forms in - ā preceded by a consonant cluster and after its addition - ā > - e and comes in between the consonant cluster, e.g.

<u>Mas.</u>		<u>Fem.</u>
keṣrā	'a wicked person'	keṣeri 'a female one'.
khedlā	'a dirty one'	khedeli
pākhṛā	'a spotted one'	pākheri

Names of female born in a particular time or month of the year are sometimes formed by adding - i , e.g.

dabhegi	'a female who was born at midnight'.
	cf. dabhāg (dvi - bhāga) rāti 'mid-night'.
boihegi	'a female born in the month of Vaisakha'.
	cf. boihāg 'the month of Vaisakha'.

(c) - eni :

bāmun	'a brahmin'	bāmuneni 'wife of a brahmin'.
māli	'gardener'	mālleni.
pihās	'a devil; an ugly and unclean man'	pihāseni.
pandit	'scholar'	panditeni.

With bhakāt 'a devotee' - eni is added and the last vowel - ā is dropped and the form becomes bhakteni 'a female devotee'.

(d) - ni :

<u>Mas.</u>		<u>Fem.</u>
bāgh	'tiger'	bāghni 'tigress'.
sur	'thief'	sur-ni > sunni
dāktār	'physician'	dāktānni.
māstar	'school-teacher'	māstanni.
sokidār	'a guard, a keeper'	sokidānni

<u>Mas.</u>		<u>Fem.</u>
zomidār	'a land lord'	zomidānni
metār	'sweeper'	metānni
ukil	'a pleader'	ukilni 'wife of a pleader'.
dum	'fisherman'	dumni.
bis	'son or daughter's father-in-law'	bisni
goirā	'a muslim male'	goireni.

- ni is added after the word agn 'an European lady' and there by a double feminine form is created : memni. The word gāhāi 'spiritual guide' with - ni gives the form gahni 'wife of the spiritual guide'.

(e) - ri . Used only with a few words :

kālā	'a deaf man'	kāleri 'a deaf woman'
bejā	'one unable to articulate clearly'	bejeri

(f) - ini and - uni. Used only after a few words :

rāikkah	'a demon, a glutton'.	rāikkah - ini > rāikkeihni.
zakh	'a devil'	zoukhni

114. The following are some of the examples of distinguishing gender by the employment of different words :

<u>Mas.</u>		<u>Fem.</u>
bar	'bridegroom'	koinā
dādā / kākā	'elder brother'	bou cf. bou - kākā - kot 'a songster bird'.

<u>Mas.</u>		<u>Fem.</u>	
dāmārā	'a young bull'	kāllā	
munh / marād	'man, husband'	tiri	'woman, wife'.
pīti	'father'	māi	'mother'
tāue	'father's friend'	āme	'father's friend's wife'.
balādh / bāsān	a bullock / a young bullock	gāi	'cow'
rāsā	'king'	rāni	'queen'.
gulān	'servant'	bāndi	'maid servant'.
lālāk	'husband'	māihnāk	'wife'.
poirā	'male pigeon'	pāri	'female pigeon'.
ātā / āti	'grand father'	ābu	'grand mother'.
dharā - kāur	(danda kāka), 'a raven'	pāti - kāur	'a female crow'.
bandā	'male cat'.	bundi	'female cat'.
girāsto	'house-holder'	girāteni.	

115. Sometimes sex is distinguished by the use of some qualifying terms like

āpā, āpi; matā, māti; pāti etc. e.g.

āpā - soli	'boy'
āpi - soli	'girl'
matā - xāilkhā.	cf. xāilkhā 'a kind of bird'.
māti - xāilkhā.	
pāti - kāur	'a female crow'.
pāti - hāh	'a duck'

116. There are some nouns which have no masculine forms, e.g.

āioti / āieti	'woman having husband'
pueti	'a woman after confinement'.

pieni / dueni	'milch cow' cf. pieni or dueni gāi.
paheri	'female stall-keeper or hawker'.
rueni	'a female sower'
bāneti / bāreti	'a female who husks paddy'.
māikā	'a female one of an animal or man'.
zouteki	'the female who accompanes the bride to the bridegroom's house as maid servant'.
bueni	'a female weaver'.

The sex of rāndheni 'cook' and bileni 'distributor' can be known only from the context.

Case

117. Case - relationship in Kamrupi is indicated by the addition of case endings or by adding some post-positional words with the genitive case-ending - r. The case endings in Kamrupi are the following :

nominative	- e.
dative-accusative	- k
genitive	- r.
locative	- t

The noun takes the case-ending - e in the nominative only when it is the subject of a transitive verb, e.g. rām xāi 'Ram goes'; rām -e kaue 'Ram says'. Again this - e is added after nouns ending in a consonant. After nouns ending in - a, - ā, - u, - o this - e becomes - i. With nouns ending in - i, - e, the case-ending is not used.

There is an oblique base in the case of nouns ending in a consonant, e.g. rāmo - k, 'to Ram'; gharo - k 'to house'; hāto - t 'in the hand'; gharo - r 'of the house' etc. The oblique base is formed by adding - o after the noun stem.

118. Unless special emphasis is laid upon the accusative, the dative-accusative case-ending - k is never used; e.g. māhnu mare 'man dies'; māhnu māre 'kills a man'; māi bhāt khāū 'I take rice'; kāhi - t bhāt neirbi 'do not keep rice left in your plate'; but xi me - kei - tā bhāto - k - e eillāk 'he has left even that amount of rice'. With proper names of course the case-ending - k is always used; e.g. rāmo - k māt 'call Ram'. etc.

Again very often the locative case-ending is used in place of the dative - accusative; e.g. ko - k zāh or ko - t zāh 'where do you go'; tāk iskulo - k or iskulo - t khedbā noru 'I cannot send him to school'.

In calling a person the enclitics here, ei, orā etc. are added before the nouns; e.g. ei muktā 'hallo Mukta'; ei soli - hāt 'O, the boys'; etc.

119. The nominative case-ending - e is from O.I.A. in-St. sig - ena. Another use of - e is like the St. coll. in the passive construction; e.g. hāte kātā xutā 'the thread spun by hand'; deue dharā māhnu 'the man possessed of evil spirit'. etc. The origin of this - e is also O.I.A. - ena. (cf. § 647, 649. A.F.D). In expressions like tār mukhe xuinlū 'heard from his lips'; - e has an ablative force.

120. The locative case-ending - t is from O.I.A. - tma. This is the usual locative case-ending. But in certain places locative - e also survives; e.g. tāne - muskile 'in adversity and like circumstances'.

bāte - bāte 'on every road'.

xāze rou mās khāi 'in every meals takes Rau fish'. (marriage song)

Sometimes the locative sense is expressed by using the word *moiddhe* (*madhyā -*); e.g. *ghar moiddhe etā soli* 'there is only one child in the house'. "The skt. word *madhya* was used as a post-position for the locative in the Apabhramas of Northern India. This post-fix is otherwise unknown to Bengali, and to Assamese and Oriya as well." (Ē 501. O.D.B.4.)

121. The genitive case-ending - r is related to the derivative formations of √kr like *kara, kāra, kārya, kṛtya*. (Ē 656. A.F.D). E. As. used several forms like - ka, - kara, - kera, - keri, etc. E. Awa also used forms like - kara, -kara, - kari, - kera etc.; e.g. *tā kari disiṭi* 'his glance'; *dirisa gosāi kēra* 'the sight of the Lord'. (Ē 275. Ev. Awa)

122. The dative - accusative case-ending - k is derived from skt. *kṛta* (Dr. Kakati Ē 660. A.F.D) cf. kon. - ka; Hin. - ko; Awa. - ka. This - k also indicates direction; e.g. *xi hāto - k geisi* 'he has gone to the market'; *māi kāli guāhāti - k zām* 'I will go to Gauhati to-morrow'.

The Instrumental and the Ablative.

123. The post-positions *dārāi, hāte* and *hātnāi* are added after the genitive case-ending - r with a noun or a pronoun and the instrumentality of a person by or through whom something is accomplished; is suggested; e.g. *gapālo - r dārāi / hāte / hātnāi māi kān - tu karām* 'I will get the work done by or through Gopal'; *tā - r dārāi nahbo* 'nothing will be done by means of him'.

124. The post-positions *pere* or *perāi* (skt. *parena* - Dr. Kakati) after the genitive -r convey the ablative sense. *perāi* in swift pronunciation becomes *pāi*. Examples :

tār pere / perāi / pāi 'from him'

gāsor pāi 'from the tree'.

upror pāi 'from above'

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er pāi 'from this place'.

barer puār pāi din mǎn - tuk legi 'from the very early in the
morning to the whole day'.

The ablative sense is also expressed by the addition of the word dhori after a noun without the genitive case-ending - r, e.g. xǎi din dhori 'from that day'.