

CHAPTER-III

3.0 Impact of Lexis of Indo-Aryan languages on Boro

3.1 Introduction

The lexis denotes sets of words in particular language. The enormous numbers of words have been received in Boro language due to impact of other Indo-Aryan languages. In Boro language adaptation of lexis has been used both in written form and spoken discourses. Crystal stated-

“A unit of vocabulary is generally referred to as a lexical item, or lexeme.”¹

In Boro language many lexical items of Indo-Aryan languages i.e. Assamese, Bengali and Hindi in particularly are adapted to fulfill the needs of language and some words have also been used in habits of speakers due to inhabited in multilingual context. Besides the Indo-Aryan words the Indo-European elements have been found in Boro language. The Perso-Arabic (PA) origin of words has entered into Boro language through the contact of Assamese, Bengali and Hindi languages. These words are acquired to Boro language through Assamese or Bengali language. Some of these words have been used in an intact form and some have been used by their native articulation system of Boro language. These words have been used in their everyday spoken discourses and as well as in many academic purposes. Due to the close relationship among other linguistic speakers in a same geographical region in Assam and owing to fulfill the needs of language and due to the development of educational and literary Boro language has received a lot of words from Indo-Aryan languages basically through Assamese language.

“Assam is a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural state. In such a vibrant context, the Boros may have been influenced by other linguistic

¹ Crystal, David: A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics, P-279

communities surrounded by Indo-Aryan languages like Assamese, Bangla, Hindi and some other European languages.”²

The Boro language speakers are surrounded by the different Indo-Aryan speakers throughout the state of Assam. Many adapted words are found from Indo-Aryan languages i.e. Assamese, Bengali and Hindi due to process of socialization and any other processes. Besides these languages Boro language has adapted Sanskrit (old Indo-Aryan language) words through Assamese, Bengali and Hindi languages.

3.2 Words adapted from Assamese

Assamese is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in North-Eastern part of India, which is developed from Indo-European language family. The large numbers of Assamese language speakers are found in Assam.

*“Assamese is the easternmost New Indo-Aryan language spoken in the Assam valley districts with Lakhimpur in the extreme east and Goalpara in the extreme west.”*³

This is a dominant language and also recognized as official state language in Assam. Boro language has gradually developed their written literature after the BSS was formed in 1952 and the language was recognized as medium of instruction in the year 1963. Boro has adopted Assamese script for their writing purposes at early period. After the use of Assamese script Boro has adopted Devanagiri script for writing purposes as their preferable. About the adoption of Devanagiri script Swarna Prabha Chainary remarks-

*“Later on during post-independence period Boro has adopted Devanagari script from 1974-75 onwards.”*⁴

The written literature of Boro language has been emerged after the Assamese literature. In this regard the Assamese literature influenced on Boro language. Boro and Assamese languages are not belongs to same language family, but some similarities have

² Basumatyary, P. Ch. & Chainary, S.P: Monograph of the Boros, P-99

³ Kakati, B: Assamese Its Formation And Development, P-1

⁴ Chainary, S.P: Boro and Garo: A Comparative Linguistic Analysis, P-277

found between these two languages in linguistic levels. These two linguistic communities have been living in a same geographical area for a long time. As an outcome the Boro speech community has received various Assamese linguistic elements knowingly and unknowingly through the process of socialization.

“The Bodos live in scattered groups of villages that spread out from the extreme North-East of Assam to the districts of North Bengal. They are a people who lived mostly in the plains and came in almost daily contact with the Aryanised people. It is natural to expect that they should make some contribution to the vocables of the people with whom they lived in close neighbourhood, - Living long in the plains and in immediate neighbourhood of Aryan-speaking people, the Bodos borrowed words freely from the Aryan dialects.”⁵

When the two linguistic communities are living closer in a same geographical area it is mutually impact with each other on language and culture. Assamese language has also been influenced by other languages of the world. Assamese language has also received quite a good number of Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi and Arabic origin words etc. Besides that, the contribution of Tibeto-Burman languages on Assamese language is also very much remarkable. The famous linguists Banikanta Kakati and Birinchi Kumar Boruah are also agreed that excessive number of Boro words is entered to Assamese vocabulary. Vocabularies of every language are almost bound to intermingle with the words of other languages. Borrowings and adaptation in a language is a natural process. It occurs in case of every language. This same happen is also occurred in case of Boro language in such a multilingual and multicultural state like Assam. In Boro language adaptation of words from Assamese language observes in the level of phonology, morphology and lexis. This chapter is only the discussion of lexical level. The Assamese adapted words in Boro language are found in many areas which are discussed below:

⁵ Kakati,B: Assamese Its Formation And Development, P-72

3.2.1 Birds Name

Through the process of socialization many Assamese words related to birds have entered to Boro language. In Boro language the names of birds are composed of two grammatical units. The basic word (free morpheme) {*dau*} (bird/fowl) is used before the name of particular birds and another morphological unit i.e. bound morpheme is added with this basic word {*dau*}.

“The structure of words used for denoting birds, animals and other objects are composed of two different morphological segments. In all the cognates, words related to different kinds of birds have two segments. In Boro, {dau} means bird/chicken; it is a free morpheme and mono-syllabic in nature. To denote different kinds of birds, another morphological segment is added with the word {dau}.”⁶

Bird names of the above mentioned structure in Boro is given below. e.g.-

Structure of words	Meaning in English
dau-sen > dausen	wagtail/a kind of small bird
dau-k ^h ɔk ^h liŋ > dauk ^h ɔk ^h liŋ	a kind of bird
dau-k ^h uuuu > dauk ^h uuuu	cuckoo
dau-hudu > dauhudu	horned owl
dauma-sar > daumasar	a wild fowl/like a cock
dau-t ^h ep > daut ^h ep	a small bird
dau-blur > daublur	nightingale/bulbul
dau-t ^h u > daut ^h u	dove
dau-bɔ > daubɔ	heron
dau-sri > dausri	martin

⁶ Basumatary, P. Ch: Comparative Vocabulary of Boro-Garo Languages, A Structural Analysis, P-52

In Boro language there are some bird names which do not follow the above structure and from the morphological view point the structure of such birds names are not common with Boro origin. These bird names have been derived from Assamese language through the mutual impact of socialization. The interesting point is that such kinds of words are adapted through their native articulation system of Boro language. The adaptation of the words into native language the impact of vowel and consonant phonemes are to be pointed. For example: In Boro language the word /*sigun*/ (vulture) is adapted from Assamese /*xɔgun*/ which is Sanskrit origin. In this example the Assamese midial vowel phoneme /ɔ/ is replaced with vowel phoneme /i/ and adjusted the word with their articulation system. The origin of this word is from Sanskrit /*səkun*/ (vulture). The Boro language speakers have used the word /*sila*/ (kite) which is adapted from Assamese *sila/silɔni*. The Proto Boro word is *dauliŋ*. The word *han̄su* (duck) is an adapted word from Assamese *hah̄* which comes from Sanskrit origin *h̄aṅsə*. At present Boro language has borrowed Dimasa word *daup^hlam* to having similar structure with other Boro words as above mentioned. Boro language has adapted *p^hesa* to mean owl. The word structure of this word is also not similar as above given words. Presently Boro language has adapted *dauk^hu* (owl) from Dimasa language to refer the same structure with Boro language. Another bird name from Assamese *parɔ* has been used in Boro as *p^haruu* (domestic pigeon). In this word unaspirated /p/ having initial position in Assamese word *parɔ* has adjusted with aspirated /p^h/ of Boro language and has used as *p^haruu*. However, at present the newly constructed word *daup^hri* is used in Boro to mean the domestic pigeon. The word *b^hatou* (parrot) is adapted from Assamese as *bat^hɔ* *dau* in Boro language. Here, the initial consonant phoneme /b^h/ in Assamese word has adjusted with phoneme /b/ in initial position and after constructed as *bat^hɔ* in Boro language.

3.2.2 Animals Name

Generally the words related to animals are also composed of two morphological segments in Boro language. In Boro language {*mi*} refers animal which is free noun and with this noun word another bound base is added either prefixation or suffixation to identify a particular name of animal. The noun {*mi*} (animal) is used as {*mu*} with some animals' name. The noun *mi* is also used as *ma* with a few animals name. e.g.-

Structure of words	Meaning in English
muu- k ^h ra > muuk ^h ra	monkey
muu- sa > muusa	tiger
muu- suu > muusuu	cow
muu-dui > muudui	porcupine
muu-p ^h uu > muup ^h uu	a big lizard
muu-t ^h am > muut ^h am	otter
muui- su > muisu	buffalo
muui-der > muider	elephant
bur-ma > burma	goat
sui-ma > suima	dog
o -ma > oma	pig

But there are many words in Boro language referring to the names of animals where the above structure of words is not found and these kinds of words are not Boro origin. From this structural analysis it is considered that such animal names are from Assamese source. These kinds of words have been used by the Boro speakers due to impact of Assamese language. The native speakers have articulated such adapted words with the articulation system of Boro language. e.g.-

Assamese	Boro	Meaning in English
xial (Skt. srigal)	sial	fox
neul (Skt. nṛkul)	neulai	mongoose
kasṓ (Skt. kṛssṓp)	k ^h aseu	tortoise

zɔlfɔsti (Skt.zɔl, pani+fɔsti,fiati)	zɔlst ^h i	hippopotamus
g ^h onɪa	gɔrai/g ^h ɔrai	horse
nigɔni	niŋni/iŋgini	mouse
xiŋfɔ	siŋhɔ	lion
g ^h onɪijal	guɪer	crocodile
timi	t ^h imi	whale
ke.ɪketuwa	k ^h erk ^h ut ^h ia/mandab	squirrel
gad ^h ɔ	gad ^h ɔ	donkey/ass
keŋgaru	keŋgaru	kangaroo
ut ^h	ut ^h	camel
b ^h aluk	b ^h aluk	bear

The word *hat^hi* is generally used in Boro language through Assamese word *fiati* (elephant). Generally the native speakers are used the word *hat^hi* in spoken form. But in standard Boro language the word *mui-der* is used. In Boro language *mi* means animal in general and has used at earlier. The word {*mi*} denotes animal and *geder* means big. To denotes the big animal like elephant thus the word *mi-der* > *muider* is used in Boro language.

3.2.3 Fish Name

In Boro language the fish names are structurally made by two morphological units i.e. one noun base or free morpheme and another bound morpheme. The words related to fish have the noun word {*na*} in Boro language. To referring different kinds of fish names the noun word {*na*} is used by adding another bound bases. e.g.-

na-srai > nasrai

ceylon snakehead

na-t ^h ur > nat ^h ur	prawn
na-balabur ^h ia > nabalabur ^h ia	guntea loach
na-t ^h enḡuna > nat ^h enḡuna	a kind of small fish
na-gaṅgat ^h ep ^h a	puffer fish
na-k ^h aṅk ^h ila > k ^h aṅk ^h ilana	garfish

The words related to fish which have the noun word {na} is a Boro basic word. But in Boro language there are some fish names which do not follow the above structure. But interesting is that with such fish names the Boro basic noun word {na} is added. These kinds of words have derived from other Indo-Aryan languages or Assamese due to impact of linguistic acculturation. e.g.-

Assamese	Boro	Meaning in English
bɔ̃ali mas	na barli	barilius barila
kaɔi mas	na k ^h auui	climbing perch
gɔ̃ɔi mas	na gurui	spotted snakehead
xiṅi mas	na siṅi	stinging catfish
magur mas	na magur	walking catfish
b ^h ɔ̃uka mas	na b ^h uuk ^h a	Indian carp
put ^h i mas	na pit ^h ik ^h ri	pool barb
ɔ̃u mas	na ruu	labeo rohita
bami mas	na bami	bam fish
turi mas	na t ^h uri	lesser spring eel
kuisa mas	na k ^h usia	swamp eel

3.2.4 Fruits Name

The above same structure is occurred in fruits name. In Boro language the noun base {*t^hai*} refers to different kinds of fruits. The {*t^hai*} is added with another bound bases to referring particular fruits name in Boro language. For example:

<i>t^hai-zuu</i> > <i>t^haizuu</i>	mango
<i>t^hai-gir</i> > <i>t^haigir</i>	elephant apple
<i>t^hai-k^ha</i> > <i>t^haik^ha</i>	a kind of sour fruit
<i>t^hai-lir</i> > <i>t^hailir</i>	banana
<i>t^hai-suri</i> > <i>t^haisuri</i>	a kind of sour fruit
<i>t^hai-beŋ</i> > <i>t^hai-beŋ</i>	cucumber etc.

Besides the above words there is some fruits name in Boro language, where the above structure of words is not found. These kinds of words related to fruits are adapted from other Indo-Aryan languages. The voiced back rounded /ɔ/ placed in middle position of the word becomes low central un-rounded vowel as /a/ in Boro language. e.g.-

	Assamese	Boro	Meaning in English
ɔ > a;	kɔt ^h al	k ^h ant ^h al	jackfruit

In this above example, the initial change of phoneme is also occurred. The unaspirated /k/ becomes as voiceless velar aspirated /k^h/.

The Assamese word *narikɔl* (coconut) has been used with a slight phonological change into Boro as *nareŋk^hɔl*. The voiced back rounded /ɔ/ in the middle position of the word is changed into high back unrounded vowel phoneme as /u/ in Boro words. For example:

ɔ > u;	bɔgɔ.ɪ	buiɣri	a kind of fruit
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There are some fruit names in Boro language which is found in an intact form and a minor change in case of a few words as also available in Assamese language. e.g.-

anarɔs (P)	anarɔs/ruimali	pineapple
aŋuɪ (PA. aŋgur)	aŋgur	grapes
badam (PA. badam)	badam	almond
naspɔti (PA. naspɔti)	nasp ^h ɔt ^h i/nazp ^h ɔt ^h i	pear
lesu	lesu	litchi
zam	zam	berry
zɔlp ^h ai	zɔlp ^h i/zɔlp ^h ai	olive
xilik ^h a	silik ^h a	a kind of fruit
amlɔk ^h i	amlai	a kind of fruit
dalim	dalim	pomegranate
teteli	t ^h iŋk ^h laŋ	tamarind

3.2.5 Vegetables Name

Boros have their many basic words which are not able to compare with any other Aryan words to refer the name of different vegetables found in kitchen garden and neighboring forest area also. For examples: *duusrem*, *dau p^henda*, *basik^ha bibar*, *zuɠlauri*, *maisundri*, *simp^hri*, *zari*, *ɔnt^hai bazab*, *sibru*, *helasi*, *manzia*, *sibuŋ* etc. Besides these basic words Boro speakers have been used some vegetables names which are generally found in Assamese language also. The words related to vegetable names in Assamese language are of Sanskrit, Hindi, Perso-Arabic and Portuguese origin etc. e.g.-

Assamese	Boro	Meaning in English
gazɔr (Pr. gazzara; Skt. gɔrzzɔɪ; Hd. gazar)	gazɔr	carrot
tɔɪmuz (PA. tɔrbuz)	t ^h ɔrmus	watermalone
pɔdina (PA. pɔdinafi)	p ^h udina/p ^h ɔdina	mint leaf
mula (Skt.mulɔk; Hd.muli; Bg. mula)	mula	radish
zika (Skt. ziŋgak; Bg. ziŋga)	ziŋk ^h a	cornered gourd
alu (Skt. alu; Hd. alu; Bg.alu)	alu	potato
mɔtɔɪ	mɔt ^h ɔr	peas
d ^h undia	d ^h undia	coriander leaf
kɔlmɔw	k ^h uluum/mandia	a water borne weed
lao	lau	gourd
bɔnd ^h a kɔbi (P. kɔbi)	banda k ^h ɔbi	cabbage
p ^h ul kɔbi	p ^h ul k ^h ɔbi	cauliflower
ul kɔbi	ɔl k ^h ɔbi	kalrobi/nolkol

3.2.6 Administrative term

Boro speech community has been used some native words related to administration in their society. For example- *haduŋgura* (a leader/leadind man), *halmazi* (a village messenger) these words are administrative term in Boro society. Besides these words, in Boro language a few number of words related to administration are adapted

through Assamese language. The origins of some adapted words are from other sources.
e.g.-

Assamese	Boro	Meaning in English
ain (PA.)	ayen	law
k ^h alas (PA. k ^h alas)	k ^h alas	release
zɔ.ɾimana (PA. zu.ɾimana)	zurimana	fine
ze.ɾa (PA. jirɔh)	zera	investigation/argument
k ^h azana (P-A. k ^h ɔzana)	k ^h azna	land revenue
ukil (P-A. wkil)	uk ^h il	advocate
bisari (Skt. bisari)	bisari/nalish	a search/an investigation
t ^h ikadai	t ^h ik ^h adar	contractor
big ^h a	biga	it is used in counting of land
bɔnd ^h ɔk	bɔndɔg	mortgage

3.2.7 Trade and commercial term

The Boro people have used many words related to trade and commerce through Assamese language to express their ideas or thoughts either in everyday conversation or writing purposes. It is worth to mention that at present in Boro language words related to this domain are newly constructed. Presently Boro language speakers have used either adapted words or newly constructed words as their suitable. The adapted words into Boro language are given below. e.g.-

Assamese	Boro	Meaning in English
fiazar (Bg., Hd.)	hazar	thousand
fiisap (Bg., PA.)	hisab	count

gudam (P. gudau)	gudam	godown
xut (PA. xud)	sud	interest
dokan (PA. dukan)	dək ^h an/gəla	shop
baki (PA. baki)	bak ^h i	a balance/credit
kaɪk ^h ana (PA. kar+k ^h anfi)	k ^h ark ^h ana/darimin	industry/a workshop
masul (PA. mɔ̃sʊl)	masul	fee/dues
k ^h ɔ̃rɔs (PA. k ^h ɔ̃rɔs)	k ^h ɔ̃rɔs/k ^h ɔ̃rsa	expense
dalal (PA. dɔ̃lɔl)	dalal	broker
dɔ̃.mɔ̃ɦa (PA. dɔ̃rmɔ̃ɦ)	dɔ̃rma/dɔ̃rmaha	monthly salary
ɔ̃grim (Skt.)	ɔ̃grim	advance money
lak ^h (Skt.)	lak ^h	one hundred thousand
salan (Skt.)	salan	export
bətɔn (Skt. bətɔn)	bət ^h ɔn	salary
d ^h ai (Skt.)	raŋ dahar/d ^h ar	a loan
lɔksan	luk ^h san	loss
xɔnari	sɔnari	goldsmith

3.2.8 Household Articles

In Boro language enormous numbers of basic words related to household articles name are found. For example- *k^hamp^hlai* (low wooden seat), *sandri* (sieve- made of bamboo), *ual* (a wooden husking implement), *k^hada* (basket-made of bamboo), *k^huri* (bowl), *gisib* (fan- made of bamboo), *ɔ̃rdab* (fireplace), *k^haduu* (a stick used in cooking which is made of bamboo), *duihu* (pitcher), *zerbanj* (a long comb made of bamboo and

particularly used for female) etc. Besides these household articles the Boro people have used variety of essential new things in their social life. Some of non-basic words related to household articles are entered to Boro through Assamese language. e.g.-

Assamese	Boro	Meaning in English
sabi (P. sab ^h e)	sabi	key
almari~almi.ia (P.a.ima.ia)	almari	almirah
samus (Skt. sams)	samus	spoon
balti (Skt. balde)	balt ^h i.ŋ	bucket
sekoni	sek ^h ni	strainer
paleŋ	p ^h aleŋ	couch
tola	t ^h ala	lock
lep	lep ^h	quilt
mohoi/at ^h ua	musri	mosquito-net
bizi	bizi	needle

3.2.9 Miscellaneous Words

The Boro speakers have been adapted various words from Assamese language. Due to the dwelling in a same geographical area since the immemorial the Boro and Assamese; these two linguistic communities have mutually received knowingly and unknowingly a huge numbers of word. The noun word ‘zunt^hur’ (machine) has been adapted from Assamese noun word ‘zont^h’. In this example, the vowels are inserted in between the consonant cluster to adjust with the phonological process of Boro language or to make it easy to articulate as ‘zunt^hur’. At present Boro speakers have also used ‘zunt^hi’ (machine). The Assamese noun word ‘ka.ik^hana’ has been adapted to Boro as ‘k^hark^hana’ meaning industry. Boro language has not the use of unaspirated phoneme

/k/. By using aspirated phoneme /k^h/ the word is adapted as 'k^hark^hana'. Presently in Boro language the word 'darimin' is also used for 'k^hark^hana'.

The famous Assamese linguist Upendranath Goswami remarks in his book entitled '*Asamiya Bhashar Udbhav-Samriddhi Aru Vikash*'- several words of Boro language is almost similar with standard Assamese language, kamrupi and goalparia. According to him the origin of these words are of either Sanskrit or other languages. He also strongly commented that these words have entered to Boro language from Assamese language. In Boro language adapted words have been used either in intact form or fit with articulation system of this language. Bathou is the ethnic religion or folk religion of Boros of Assam. They have been worship many deities related to Bathou. To referring worship they have been used the word *p^huza* through Assamese *puza*. The word *p^huza* (worship) has adapted from Assamese *puza*. As per the phonological character of Boro language the use of unaspirated voiceless bi-labial stop /p/ has not found in this language. In this example the unaspirated voiceless bi-labial stop /p/ has been changed to aspirated voiceless bi-labial /p^h/. Here, the phoneme /p/ has been adapted as /p^h/. From this very articulation system it refers that this word is adapted word. However, Boro language has their native word to refer *p^huza* i.e. *sibinai* (worship). But the word *p^huza* is frequently used by the speakers of Boro language. This happens only due to impact of neighboring languages or language contact. The Assamese word *gɔrib* (PA. *gɔrib*) has been adapted as *gurib* in Boro language. The Assamese back rounded vowel phoneme /ɔ/ is replaced as high back un-rounded vowel phoneme as /u/ in Boro language. However, in standard form of Boro language the word *nik^hawri* (poor) has used instead of *gurib*. The word *bazar* (Br.hat^hai) has adapted into Boro language through Assamese *bozaɪ*. However, the noun word *bazar* (market) also exists in Bengali and Hindi language. In this example, the low back rounded /ɔ/ is become as low central un-rounded vowel /a/ in Boro language. The Assamese back rounded vowel phoneme /ɔ/ is replaced as high back un-rounded vowel phoneme as /u/ in Boro language. The Assamese phonemes /p t k/ (unaspirated voiceless bi-labial, alveolar and velar stops respectively) are articulated as /p^h t^h k^h/ (aspirated voiceless bi-labial, alveolar and velar respectively) in adapted words by the speakers of Boro language. e.g.-

Assamese	Boro	Meaning in English
taka/tɔka	t ^h ak ^h a (Br. origin- raŋ)	money
kɔt ^h a	k ^h ut ^h a (Br. origin- bat ^h ra)	voice/word

The Assamese words *taka* and *kɔt^ha* are articulated as *t^hak^ha* and *k^hut^ha* respectively in Boro language through the process of phonological change. Here, in the word *kɔt^ha*, the voiced back rounded /ɔ/ in the middle position of the word is changed into high back unrounded vowel phoneme as /u/ and articulated as *k^hut^ha* in Boro language. Besides the above words, various phonological adaptation words are found in Boro language, it is possible only due to impact of Assamese language e.g.-

The word *p^hat^hal* has adapted from Assamese *patal* (Skt. *patal*) which is found in Boro's kherai chanting and as well as speakers of this language also used their day today conversation. Bhaben Narzi, the famous folklorist of Boro who wrote the book entitled '*Boro-Kacharir Samaz Aru Sanskriti*'. In this book the word '*p^hat^hal*'⁷ is used in chanting of kherai.

Generally the word *p^hagla* is used in Boro language both in written and spoken form to refer mad or madman. But this word has been used with minor phonetic change from the Assamese word *pvɔla*. Boro language has their native word to mean mad i.e. *zawlia* and they also use idiomatic word *k^hɔrɔ gazri* to represent the lunatic or madman. The word *p^hut^har* (grazing field) is adapted from Assamese *pv^hat^har*. In written form of Boro the word *dubli* is used to refer grazing field. In spoken form this word uses frequently by the eastern dialect speakers of Boro language. The speakers of Boro language have used large numbers of loan words through Assamese language in their everyday conversation. It happens only due to socialization. These words have been used with a slight phonological change and sometimes remain the same.

⁷ Narzi, B: Boro Kocharini Somaj Arw Harimu (Translation Book), P-197

The Assamese consonant phoneme /p/ has become /p^h/ in adapted Boro words. e.g.-

Assamese	Boro	Meaning in English
patal (Skt. patal)	p ^h at ^h al	hell
punya (Skt. punya)	p ^h uinɔ	virtue
putɔla (Skt. puttɔlika)	p ^h ut ^h ula	doll
pap (Skt. pap)	p ^h ap ^h	sin
pitɔl (Skt. pittɔl)	p ^h i ^h t ^h lai	brass
rup (Skt. rupya)	rup ^h a	silver
map	map ^h /nimaha	forgive

The Assamese consonant phoneme /t/ has become /t^h/ in adapted Boro words. e.g.-

fiaturi (Bg. fiaturi)	hat ^h ura	hammer
ita (Skt. istɔk, Bg. itfi)	it ^h a	brick
bətɔn (Skt. origin)	bet ^h ɔn	salary
sinta (Skt. sinta)	sint ^h a	thought
xɔitjɔ (Skt. sɔtja)	swit ^h u	truth
zota	zut ^h a	shoe
tɔla	t ^h ala	lock

The Assamese consonant phoneme /k/ has become /k^h/ in adapted Boro words. e.g.-

sɔrɔk (Bg. sɔrɔk)	sɔrɔk ^h	street
kintu (Skt. kintu)	k ^h int ^h u	but
kɔstɔ (Skt. kɔst)	k ^h ɔst ^h ɔ	troubled

ku:ma	k ^h urma	relative
kafi	k ^h aŋsi/t ^h ursi	dish
kesi	k ^h emsi	scissors
kɔbi:ɾaz	k ^h ubiraz	physician
kodal/kɔdɔl	k ^h ɔdal	spade
kriɔn	k ^h irp ^h in	miser
salak	salak ^h /sulugunaŋ	cleaver
sɔka	sak ^h a	wheel

Besides the above mentioned words a huge number of words of other languages have been used in an intact form through Assamese language to Boro language. Some words have been used with a minor change which has been included in this list. e.g.-

alna (Bg.alna)	alna	a cloth stand
mit ^h ai. (Bg. mit ^h ai)	mit ^h ai	a kind of sweet
fisap (Bg,PA.fisab)	hisab	a counting
dam (Bg. dam)	dam/besen	price
nidan (Bg. nɔtɔ)	nidan	diagnosis
alpin (P. alp ^h inete)	alp ^h in	pin
tupi (P. tɔpɔ, Hd.tɔupi)	t ^h up ^h i	cape
gi:za (P. igreza)	girza	church
amdani (PA. amdani)	amdani	import
alada (PA. alaiɔdɔfi)	alada	different

aram (PA. a:am)	aram	pleasure/happy
bagan (PA. bagan)	bagan	garden
bɔsta (PA. bɔsta)	bɔst ^h a	a bag
ostad (PA. ostad)	ɔst ^h ad/ɔst ^h ar	expert
dɔ:za (PA. dɔrwazɔfi)	dɔrza	a door
fazira (PA. fazira)	hazira	daily wage
aina/arsi (PA. aŋgɔna)	aina	lookingglass, mirror
nefiat (PA.)	nehad	at all
golap (PA. gulab)	gɔlab	rose
ɹumal (PA. ɹumal)	rumal	hand towel
pɔ:da (PA. pɔrda)	p ^h ɔrda	screen
k ^h ɔbɔɹ (PA. k ^h ɔbɔr)	k ^h ɔbɔr/k ^h uuraŋ	news
k ^h atiɹ (PA. k ^h atiɹ)	k ^h at ^h ir	respect
fukum (PA. hukɔm)	huk ^h um	order
k ^h ɔɹɔs (PA. k ^h ɔɹɔs)	k ^h ɔɹɔs/k ^h ɔrsa	expenditure
nɔkɔl (PA. nɔkɔl)	nɔk ^h ɔl	imitation
zini (PA. zini)	zini	things/objects
tɔp ^h at (PA. tɔp ^h at)	t ^h ɔp ^h at ^h	difference
tabiz (PA. tɔbiz)	tabis/tabiz	amulet
dɔ:k ^h astɔ (PA. dɔrk ^h ɔwastɔ)	dɔrk ^h ast ^h ɔ	application
nimki (PA. nɔmkin)	nemk ^h i	namkin/a salty item

baɪ (Skt. baɪ)	bar	a day of week
bɛɪ/bɛɪa (Skt. bestən)	bera	wall
bɔsɔɪ (Skt.bɔtsɔɪ,Bg.bɔsɔɪ)	bussur	a year
bidai (Skt. bidai)	bidai	farewell
bisaɪ (Skt.)	bisar/nalish	a search/an investigation
xɔndɛfi(Skt. sɔndɛfi)	sɔndɛhɔ	suspect/doubt
xɔn (Skt. swarna)	sɔna	gold
k ^h ema (Skt. k ^h ema)	k ^h ema	forgive
xɔnman (Skt. sɔnman)	sɔnman	respect
xɔmpɔtti (Skt. sɔmpɔtti)	sɔmp ^h ɔt ^h i	wealth
gun (Skt. guna)	gun	virtue
bɔndi (Skt. Persi. bandi)	bɔndi	a servant
papi (Skt. papin)	p ^h ap ^h i	sinful
upai (Skt.upai)	up ^h ai	effort/chance
kɔlɔm (Skt.,P-A. kɔlɔm)	k ^h ɔlɔm	pen
nɔgɔɪ (Skt. nɔgɔɪ)	nɔgɔɪ	city/town
nɔstɔ (Skt. nɔstɔ)	nɔst ^h ɔ	destroyed
nimɔntrɔn (Skt. nimɔntrɔn)	nimɔnt ^h rɔn	invitation
niyɔm (Skt. niyɔm)	nem	rule
nil/nila (Skt. nil)	nila	blue
purofit (Skt. purofit)	p ^h urɔhid	priest

bṛnd ^{fi} ṛ (Skt. bṛd ^{fi})	bṛndṛ	closed
mukti (Skt.)	mugt ^{hi} i	release
xṛmad ^{fi} an (Skt. sṛmad ^{fi} an)	sṛmad ^h an	solution
xagṛ (Skt. sagṛ)	sagur	sea
xṛḥaj (Skt. sṛḥai)	sṛhai (Br. origin- hep ^h azab)	a companion/help
sa (Ch. tsa)	saha	tea
ṛmuka	amuk ^h a	somebody
dṛlṛṅ	dṛlṛṅ/dalaṅ	bridge
puzari	p ^h uzari	priest
bṛdnam	bṛdnam	bad reputation
kamla	k ^h amla	labour
bṛnowa	banai	preapare
mṛḥṛi/at ^h ua	musri	mosquito net
nao	naw	boat
baona	baunaṅsa	dwarf
sakṛi	sak ^h ṛ	servant
t ^h ik	t ^h ik ^h	exact/right
gaonbuḥia	gawbura (gamiburai)	village headman
t ^h ṛg	t ^h ṛgai	to lie
sukti	sugt ^h i	agreement
at ^h a	at ^h a	glue

mɔstɔ

mɔst^hɔ

very much

The Assamese phoneme /b^h d^h g^h/ aspirated voiced bi-labial, alveolar and velar stops respectively change into /b d g/ unaspirated voiced bi-labial, alveolar and velar stops respectively in Boro language. The words having such type of feature has adapted through Assamese language. The Boro language has no use of consonant phonemes /b^h d^h g^h/. A well known modern linguist of Assam Upen Rabha Hakacham also opined that such type of phonological change is occurred in case of loan words in Boro language. e.g.-

big ^h a (Bg. big ^h a)	biga	a measure of land
b ^h ag (Skt. b ^h ag)	bahag/b ^h agur	share
bɔnd ^h ɔ (Skt. bɔd ^h)	bɔndɔ	closed
budd ^h i (Skt. budd ^h i)	buddi/buuddi	intelligence
ɔd ^h ikaɪ (Skt. ɔd ^h ikar)	ɔdik ^h ar/ɔd ^h ik ^h ar	right/authority
b ^h ut (Skt. b ^h ut)	buhut ^h / b ^h ut ^h	ghost
b ^h umi (Skt. b ^h umi)	buhum/b ^h um	the world
b ^h ai (Skt. b ^h atri)	bahai/b ^h ai	younger brother
d ^h aɪ (Skt. d ^h aɪ)	dahar/d ^h ar	loan
d ^h ɔn (Skt. d ^h ɔn)	duhuun	wealth
d ^h ɔni (Skt. d ^h ɔnin)	duhuuni/d ^h uni	rich
big ^h ini (Skt. big ^h nɔ)	bigini	danger/obstacle
g ^h iu/g ^h i (Skt. g ^h ritɔ)	g ^h iu	butter (made from milk)
xad ^h u (Skt. sad ^h u)	sadu	honest

bad ^h a (Skt.)	bada	prohibition
g ^h onra	gɔrai	horse

3.2.10 Words related to culture

The Boro as one of the ethnic group and has a rich ethnic cultural heritage. The Boro language speakers have used abundant of words related to cultural terms from Assamese language directly or indirectly. These adapted words into Boro language have been used with a slightly phonological change and adjust with their native tune. e.g.-

Assamese	Boro	Meaning in English
gan-bazna (Bg. gan)	gan bazuana	music
git (Skt. git)	gidu/gidur	song
gonxai (Skt. goswami)	gɔsai	god
zati kul	zat ^h k ^h ul	family, kith and kin
xona-gɔɦɔna	sɔna-bana	gold, jewelry
nakp ^h uli	nak ^h ap ^h ul	an ornament of nose
kanp ^h uli	k ^h anp ^h uli	an ornament of ear
kanpasa	k ^h anp ^h asa	an ornament of ear
sɔndrɔ ɦar	sɔndrɔɦar	an ornament of neck
gɔɦɔna	gɔhena	ornament

3.3 Reception of Indo-Aryan Words in Boro Folk Literature and Written Literature

3.3.1 Words reception in Folk Literature Section

The Boros are very rich in folk literature. They have been handed down the various genres of folk literature from their ancestors. In this various genres like folk songs, tales, kherai and garja charms (kherai and garja mwntw), worshipping charms to Bathou (Bathou mwntw) etc, the various Assamese words are available which have been used either a slightly change or in an intact form in Boro language. It is only considered due to mutual contact or process of socialization. In this discussion through selective elements of folk literature data have been analyzed. In Boro folk songs a few Assamese term is mixed up with Boro language. These terms are shown in the following folk songs. e.g.-

biphangao bananwi bikha phozab phozab

zugugu zugu gu daothu gabdwng,

honwi agwi dukharu daothu gabdwng,

daothu gabdwng agwi ‘Mwinaguri’ ni ‘Ceari’ zuli cona.

zathi baci baci, hwoa baci baci,

phicai zobwla phab nanggwn agwi

‘Mwinaguri’ ni ‘Ceari’ zuli cona.

okhaphwr bwicakni okha dwizwng honwi,

zwmwi naidao naidao daobw laigwu honwi

zuli lawi lawi na khurcha,

na khucha agwi ‘Mwinaguri’ ni ‘Ceari’ zuli cona.

angkhwu gazri dacan agwi, nwnghwubw gazri cana,

raonibw nonga nwnng agwi

raonibw angbw nonga,

congcarao thabwla mwzang gazri zwngnw zuli zagwn,

agwi 'Mwinaguri' ni 'Ceoari' zuli cona.⁸

In the above folk song the word *zat^hi* (family), *bachi* (choice), *p^hab* (sin), *chəŋcar* (the world) have been borrowed from Assamese language.

In another love folk song of Boro the Assamese terms are incorporated. e.g.-

Hazw khoro hazwkhororo

Baokhungri baokhungri

Porbozora porbozora

Bongphang dannw thangbwla thangbwla

Athingao rua bougwn de ada

Camcwnng cenggwra

Angkhwu nwnng onwbwla, bomphang phannanwi

Phwisa nwnng mwnbwla

Conakheru labwde ada Camcwnng cenggwra.

De labogonde agwi Bibari mainao

zwu bidwi dwnkha Bibari mainao⁹

The Boro female wears different ornaments for looking beauty themselves. Of course, ornaments are not only for the fashion but also as a helper of economic crisis of the family also. However, in the above quoted lines the word *sonak^heru* (ornaments) is

⁸ Extracted from Brahma, M.H: Folk Songs of The Bodos, PP- 16-17

⁹ Ibid., P-20

incorporated through Assamese word *xona k^hau* into Boro language. The word '*p^huisa*' (rupee) is corrupted form through Assamese language '*toka-pvisa*'.

In another folk song of Boro reception of Assamese term has been found. The lines of folk song are quoted below. e.g.-

Wuani kanzong khanai khakhw

Gwdwni dina bwzw thangkhw ?

Bedorni akhai zwuni phukhri

Gwiliyalwi bazwi gwiliya.¹⁰

Here, the above word *din* (day) is generally used in Assamese language and which is entered into Boro through Assamese language. However, this language speakers have particular basic word to represent this word i.e. *bubli/som/san* (day/time).

Marriage is a social custom. Boros have also marriage folk song handed down through the society. The reception of Assamese word has found in the following folk song associated with marriage. e.g.-

Harsa hwuanw horakhwi

Mephal hwuanw horakhwi

Gonggar hwuanw horakhwi

Dagab sona dagab.

Boro hwuanwsw, songsar zanwsw

Hordwng ayo hordwng.¹¹

In the above folk song though the word *songsar* (to live with customs and ways in Boro society) is considered as Assamese word but it is derived from Sanskrit origin.

¹⁰ Narzi, Bhaben: Boro Kocharini Somaj Arw Harimu, P-73

¹¹ Ibid.,P-74

In another folk song associated with marriage system of Boro has been found the Assamese adapted word. e.g.-

wi phakhri Bilai chirilai
Angkhou Dabilai Apha Goshai,
Daokha Habnai Noao,
Swima Habnai Noao.¹²

In this above folk song the word *dabilai* (do not give) is an Assamese corrupted word into Boro language. Generally in Assamese language also the word *bilva* (to give) has found. The word *goshai* (God) is another incorporated word found in the above folk song which has adapted from Assamese *gonxai*. To represent the God the Boro language speakers have used the word *ɔbɔɳlauri* both in written and spoken form.

The folk religion of Boro is bathou. According to their believe bathou bwrai or bwrai bathou is the supreme God. In the charms of praying to bathou bwrai and other god and goddesses by the oja or dwuri has been found a few numbers of adapted Assamese words into this language. The charms are mentioned below:

The following is the charms by the oza or dwuri in the Garza Phuza. e.g.-

Ahem mohadeu, moha phwrbu.
Phagla thakhur, ai bormali
Phwrzi-phwrza sainasi thakhur.
Bunghe aiphwr aphaphwr,
Wzwng hai swr dongbaoyw
Asu mainao dong.
Bwrai raza zwmwn zwla
Zekhai mara khobai mara

¹² Brahma, kameswar: A Study in Cultural Heritage of the Boro, P-75

Gambari, dhanshri, mwshrimwn dong.

He.....aiphwr aphaphwr!

Nwngswr danilo mwdai nongya.

Orai dinni mwdai nwngswr.

Dohai de aiphwr aphaphwr!

Gamini gotho-gothai hwua hinjaophwrkhwu

Sukh bai sukh lakhinanggwn.

Phisa phiswukhwu mwjangwi lakhinanggwn

Hinjaophwra naha mwiha thanggwn

Beohai sigi-sogo khalamnw mwnnai nonga

Hwuaphwra bonha-mwiha thanggwn,

Beohai mwsa muphur zananwi

Baidi mwiya khalamnw mwnnai nonga.

Dohaide aiphwr aphaphwr!

Nwngswrnwbw bebe zaganw beba hwnai jayw,

Dekhra zaganw dekhra hwnai zayw,

Pharwu zaganw pharwu hwnai zayw.

Bedorni akhai, zwuni phukhri, wngkhamni ali

Khalamnwi dhup dhunazwng

Mwdwmpfru mwdwm hwnanwi phao-phuza

Khalamw zwng.

Laizamao sreng sreng bnanwi goi-phathwi

Hwbai zwng.

Nwngswr zekhwu bidwng bekhwunw hwdwng

zwngyw.

Nwngswr zekhwu zayw bikhwunw hwdwng

zwngyw.

Dohai de—mohadeu mohaphwrbu! Phagla raza

Borma raza, sainasi mainao, bwrai raza

Borma raza, zwmwn zwla, zekhai mara

Khobai mara, gambari dwhwnshri

Mwnshri aiphwr aphaphwr!

Daoboalai swmakhwi, daokhayalai phurakhwi

Swithwni debothaya, swithwao thananggwn

Manni debothaya, manao thananggwn,

Khobordar! Khobordar !! khobordar !!!

Aiphwr aphaphwr!

Sahani rog biadi phwrkhwu saha hogarhor,

Sanzahani rog biadikhwu sanzaha hogarhor,

Khwlahani rog biadiphwrkhwu khwlaha hogarhor

Swnabni rog biadiphwrkhwu swnabha hogarhor,

Dohai! dohai!! dohai!!!

Aiphwr aphaphwr!

Unniya bunnyakhwu dahal zathe

Thoral zathe khalamnangwn.

Dohai aiphwr aphaphwr.

Nwngswrnw zeblabw phao-phuja hwbai thagwn zwngyw.¹³

In the above charms of garja phuja the word *phwrbu* (God/Lord) has been used with a slightly phonological change through Assamese *prɔb^hu* (Skt.). Besides this, the words *phagla* (mad), *raza* (king), *sukh* (peace), *mohaphwrbu* (Vishnu/God), *phagla raza* (mad king), *man* (pay honour), *khobordar* (vigilant) has been adapted through minor change of phonological shape of Assamese words that is from *pvɔvla*, *rvza* (Skt.), *xuk^h*, *mɔhɔprɔb^hu* (Skt.), *pvɔvla* *ɔvza*, *man*, *k^hvɔvɔɔɔ* respectively. The interesting is that these words have been used into the Boro language to adusted with phonological system of Boro language in the above folk songs of the Boros.

The Boros have 19 (nineteen) kinds of garja¹⁴. Into these 19 garja some of the name of garja has been found the Assamese words. These are *lɔk^hmi garja*, *gao garja*, *ut^hɔɔɔ sant^hi garja*. The garja's name the word *gao* (village) has been used in itact form as found in Assamese *gau*. The word *ut^hɔɔɔ* (eighteen) is a minor phonological change form of Assamese word *v^hv.v* (eighteen). The words *sant^hi* and *lɔk^hmi* are adapted with the articulation system of Boro with a slight phonetic change from Assamese words *xanti* and *lxmi* respectively. The name of god placed in *garza phuja* has been found in Assamese words. e.g.-

baarɔ gɔpal, *baarɔ gɔpini*, *lawk^har gɔsai*, *lanɔ^hia gɔsai*, *sɔllɔɔɔ gɔpal*, *sɔllɔɔɔ gɔpini*, *zɔgɔt guru*, *zɔgɔt^h nat^h*. The words *baarɔ* (twelve), *gosaii* (god), *lanɔ^hia* (nacked), *sɔllɔɔɔ* (sixteen hundred), *zɔgɔt* (world), *guru* (religious preceptor) all the words are adapted through Assamese language.

¹³ Narzi, Bhaben: Boro-Kocharini Somaj Arw Harimu, PP-156-157

¹⁴ Ibid, P-154

Kherai is the one of the greatest religious festival of Boros. In the charms of kherai the Assamese words are found alongwith Boro native words. The traditional charm during kherai is given below:

Ai phwi, phwi apha phwi,

zwngni khoroni zengsikhwu bwkharphwi.

Sizwuni siria siriba

Bathoua bandwba

Thaigir bikhonga khongba

Mwmsinsing bwraini

Asarabw phongba.

Aiya thwidwng aikhwu gardwng

Aphaya thwidwng aphakhwu gardwng

Theubw bura bathou moharazakhwu

Phuzinw garakhwi zwngyw.

Khangkhla thugwn sari sari

Phurga onni ali,

Mainao khamakhya khundori boronsa khundori

Bwrlu buri aiya

bwr bansa hwgrani giri.

Meru girini ragam ragam onthai

Lwithwa bwbnai,

Mwnasini dwi—

Zo-khalambai.

Hazwni ha gwthar lananwi

Dwisa zizirini dwi gwthar lananwi

Nwngswrkhwu phuzigwn zwngyw.

Sreng sreng laizam bonanwi

Guphur onao zwngthi orphwzwngnanwi

He—apha, bathwo bwrai!

He—ai, aphaphwr!!

Aileng, khazi, ablakhunggur,

Razphuthur, mwnasw, bwrli buri,

Razkhandra songraza—songrani,

Alai khungri, bilai khungri,

Bhandari, kumari, basmuthi swudri,

Aiphwr, aphaphwr,

Mainao maothansi!

Nwngswrbw bura bathwo aphazwng phwiphadw

Boibw zo zaphwidw.

Phuza zaphwidw,

zwngni khoroni zengsikhwu

In this kherai charms a few numbers of Assamese words have been directly adapted with the articulation system of Boro language. These are- *asar* (principle), *bura* (in the charm it represents the *bathou bwrai*. He is an old man in nature), *moharaza* (great king), *khunduri* (beautiful), *razputhur* (son of king/prince). The word *asar* has been adapted from Assamese *asaɹ*, *bura* from Assamee *buɦa*, *moharaza* from Assamese *mphaɦza*, *khunduri* from Assamese *xundɔɦi*, *razputhur* from Assamese *ɦazputrv*.

3.3.2 Words reception in written literature Section

In Boro language various genres of literature has been created since the early period to till date. Some native writers have used the words of Indo-Aryan languages like Assamese, Bengali, Hindi and Sanskrit in their literary creations besides the Boro native words. The reason of adaptation of Assamese words in case of written literature is of many. The Boro and Assamese these two linguistic speakers have been living in the same geographical area since the immemorial past. When two or more linguistic communities have been living in the same periphery then they impact upon each other in their social, culture and language. As a result, the mutual impact between the Boro and Assamese communities in respect of language is worth mentioning. Some writers of early period of Boro literature took their education either in Assamese or Bengali medium. Due to close contact with these languages they used Assamese and Bengali words their writing and speaking purposes. Besides, a few Hindi words have been used through Assamese language. The Boro speakers can speak and write and understand the national language, Hindi. At present with the advancement of education many Indo-Aryan words have entered to Boro language i.e. spoken and written forms. Some words of Sanskrit origin have been used and these are entered to Boro language and literature through Assamese language. The origin of the maximum words of Assamese language used in Boro language is of Sanskrit language. In this section data have been analyzed

¹⁵ Opcit., PP-161-162

through selective genres of written literature. The Indo-Aryan words used in Boro literature are discussed below:

3.3.2.1 Poetry

At the early period of Boro literature the poetry book entitled '*Bathu Nam Bwikhaguni Gidu*' (1920) was compiled by Prasanna Kumar Boro Khakhlary. The Assamese words have been used in the poem of this book entitled '*Guru Khulumnai Gidu*'. The word used in the poem as *pri^himbi* (the earth) is derived from Assamese word *pri^hibi~pri^hbi* which is used with a slightly phonetic change. This word used in Assamese language has come from the Sanskrit origin *pri^hbi* (the earth). The meaning of the word used in the poem is *buhum* (the earth) in Boro. The word found in the poem *guuu* is an Assamese word and used in an intact form. The origin of this word is also belonging to Sanskrit language. In the poem the word *guuu* refers the supreme God. The poet used the word *ak^hriɔ* which is used with a minor phonetic change of Assamese word *asiabad* (Skt. origin). Generally the meaning of this word is *bur sarsrinai* (a blessing) in Boro language. The word *nakbali* used in poem is a kind of an ornament of women of nose. Here, the word *nak* (nose) is an Assamese word and this is come from Sanskrit origin *naksɔ*. To refer beautiful the word *xundɔi* is used in Assamese language. The word *k^hundɔri* used in the poem has been used with a slightly change. In Boro language it refers *sɔmaina/guusuz muzihunuu hanai* (beautiful/charming). Some words have been used with a slightly change that from a source language. Another such type of word found in the poem is *munis* (man). This word has come through Assamese language from the Sanskrit origin *mɔnusya*. The word *p^hap^hu* (sin) used in the poem has been used with a minor change of Assamese word *pap* (Skt. origin). Besides the above discussion the words available in the poem which have been used in intact form and slightly change from the main source are given as follows. e.g.-

Words used in the poem	Assamese words	English
ɔgian	ɔgyan	unwise
k ^h ɔrgeo	sɔrɔgo	heaven

mɔn	mɔn	mind
b ^h ɔktɔ	b ^h ɔktɔ	votary
nɔruk ^h	nɔrɔk	hell
d ^h ɔn	d ^h ɔn	wealth
biginiɔ	big ^h ini	obstacle
suityɔzug	xɔitjazug	the early age/golden age

In his another poem entitled '*madaini hisab*' has been found a few numbers of Assamese words. In this poem to refer God the word *nirazɔn* has been used. This word has been used from Assamese word *ni.ɔnzɔn*, Sanskrit origin *ni.ɔnzɔn* which means *ɔbɔɣlauri* in Boro language. The word *sɔ.ɔn* (foot) is an Assamese word which entered to Assamese through Sanskrit *sɔ.ɔ*. In Boro language the meaning of *sɔ.ɔn* is *at^hiɣ*. The word *pitriluk* (ancestor) used in the poem has been used with a slightly change from Assamese word *pitrilok*. In Boro language the meaning of this word is *azui-azuu*. The word *bagraza* (tiger king) has adapted from Assamese word *bag^h.ɔza*. This is the name of a deity of Bathou religious people. In another poem '*bathu baraya makho khurjidung*' a few numbers of Assamese words have found. e.g.- *xɔbɔ.ɔdaɔ*, *mɔhima*, *punja*, *d^hv.ɔmɔ*, *dan-dɔk^hina*, *b^hik^hk^ha* etc.

3.3.2.2 Short Story

In Boro short story many Indo-Aryan words like Assamese, Bengali and Hindi have been found. In this study the researcher has been selected a few number of Boro short story written by renowned writers like Nilkamal Brahma, Nandeswar Daimary, Janil Kumar Brahma and Katindra Swargiary of Boro literature. The writers have been used other Indo-Aryan words due to contact with other languages or to make more suitable along with Boro native words in their fictions. However, it may be technique or style of a writer.

Nilkamal Brahma is a famous fiction writer of Boro literature. In his short story book entitled '*Hagra Guduni Mwi*' (1990), many Indo-Aryan words like Assamese and

Hindi have been found. Besides the Aryan words the writer has also been used full sentences to express the idea of fiction. These are discussed below-

Assamese words: The writer has been used many Assamese words. e.g.- *suzug* (chance), *k^hiba* (some thing or other), *hɔitu* (perhaps), *man-sɔnman* (dignity). These words are adjusted with the articulation system of Boro language.

Hindi words: The using of Hindi words has also been found. This is indirect impact upon writer as well as language. Many Hindi words are entered into Boro language through Assamese or Bengali languages. e.g.- *t^hik hai* (right), *sabas* (right/ok).

Nandeswar Daimary wrote the famous short story book '**Boxing**' (1993). In his short stories Indo-Aryan words have been found. These words are discussed below-

Assamese words: In his short stories a lot of Assamese words have been found. Some of these words are used in intact form and some are used with adjusted of phonological system of Boro language. The intact form of words is: *bidesi* (non-native), *adimbasi* (inhabitant), *misa* (false), *asar* (behaviour), *bɔndɔbɔs* (agreement), *malich* (massage), *ijgit* (sign), *d^hɔmki*, *appɔtti* (objection), *digdari* (disturb), *bɔnd^hɔk* (pledged land), *d^handa*, *dɔrmɔha* (salary). The words which are used in slight change are: *dɔk^han* (shop), *saxi* (withness), *pakka*, *dɔrk^har* (need).

Janil Kumar Brahma is also fame for his creation of short story book '**Dumphaoni Phitha**' (2005). In this fiction the writer has incorporated some Indo-Aryan words. These are discussed below-

Assamese words: Many Assamese words have been found in the short stories. These words have been used with a minor phonological change and some have been used in unchanged form. The words found in minor phonological change are- *dust^hɔ* (naughty), *ɔp^hɔman* (disrespect), *k^hɔstɔ* (trouble), *ɔsɔibɔ* (this word is used to mean scold). The words found in unchanged form are- *b^hara* (house rent), *ɔbak* (surprise), *sɔb^ha* (meeting), *grihɔ lɔxi* (to mean perfect house wife), *hazar hɔk* (anyway), *nimɔntrɔn* (invitation).

Katindra Swargiary wrote the story book '*Hongla Pundit*' (1995). In his short stories Assamese words have been used. e.g.- *anudan* (scheme), *bɔdnam* (blame), *zatranasti* (bad journey), *dɔrk^hast^hɔ* (application), *suti* (leave), *saxi* (withness), *at^hur* (quick), *andaz* (assumption).

3.3.2.3 Novel

The reception of other Indo-Aryan words except native Boro words has been found in some Boro novel. It is observed that many Assamese and words of other languages have been found in the novel entitled '*mwihur*' (1980) written by Dharanidhar Wary. Manaranjan Lahary opined in preface of this book that many Assamese words have been used by the author. The impact of Assamese language on Boro language speakers and due to lack of fit Boro words to express the idea of sentence may be assumed the reasons of using the Assamese words. The author replied about the using of Indo-Aryan words like Assamese and Bengali languages as follows- 1. At that time Boro native words were used less in number. 2. He had well contact with Assamese language. 3. The author had been living surrounding with Indo-Aryan speakers like Assamese and Bengali. 4. His medium of education background was Assamese. The Assamese words used in the novel are discussed below.

The word *mat^hauri* used in the novel has been used through Assamese word *mɔt^hau.i*. The author has used the word *deha* which has come from Assamese word *dɛfi* (the body). But in Boro language generally used the word *suler* to mean the human body. The word *sɔib^hɔta* (civilization) has been used in an intact form from Assamese *xpib^hɔta*. The meaning of this word in Boro language is *sudumsri*. The word *ɔb^higyɔta* (experience) has also been used without any change that of Assamese word *vb^hignɔta*. In Boro language the meaning of this word is *runguut^hi*. Besides the above discussion of words many Assamese words are found in the novel. e.g.-

Words used in novel

English

subid^ha

chance/opportunity

dɔrmɔha

salary

ɔd ^h ikar	right
sint ^h a	thought
durbɔl	weak

In another Boro novel '*Kharlung*' (1976), meaning unstable man written by Manaranjan Lahary has been found a lot of Assamese, Hindi and English words. This is the first novel by him. Lahary tried to depict migratory character of Boro society through the Gohel's unstable character in this novel. It is observed that in the novel maximum numbers of Assamese loan words are used by the novelist. Some loan words have been used directly. The word *rehai* (relief) in the novel is Assamese word which generally used *bargɔnai* to represent the same meaning in Boro language. Another Assamese word *saya* (shadow) has found which Boro language has native word *sai^hlum*. The Assamese words found in the novel have been listed below with meaning. e.g.-

Assamese words in Novel	meaning in English
bɔnd ^h ɔk	pledged land
anki	even
deha < Ass. defɪ	health/body
kɔstɔ	troubled
k ^h ema	forgiveness
rugi	patient
k ^h urmagust ^h i < Ass. kurmagost ^h i	family kit and kin
ɔd ^h ikar	right
hukum cf. Hd.hukɔm Ar. hukm	command/order

In the novel the words have been used directly without any phonological change. Due to socialization process many Assamese words have been adapted into Boro

language by the Boro native speakers. Assamese language has also adopted many words from Sanskrit origin through Hindi, Bengali etc. Besides that Assamese language has also adopted many linguistic elements from Tibeto-Burman languages. The author has used a good number of Assamese loan words to express his thought through the novel. The author has depicted contemporary social picture of the society in the novel. The Assamese words used by the native Boro speakers have also been used in novel. The author used a lot of lexical item from other languages to express his ideas or thoughts. Some loan words are used with slightly phonological change. For example- the word *bɔtam* is used in novel. But as per the phonological system of Assamese language this is *butam*, means button in English. Some phrase words have found in the novel e.g. - *asar-bisar* (custom) *man-izzat* (respect), *k^huti-nati* etc. The interesting is that Boro and Assamese these two linguistic communities have been living in the same geographical area since the time immemorial in Assam. They mutually received various words with each other in their day today communication. Apart from this, due to gradually development of education they received many Assamese words into their native language. In this circumstance the author has used many Assamese loan words in the novel as conveniently. The using of Assamese loan words along with Boro words in novel may be his writing style or habits of usage and technique. Besides Assamese loan words excessive numbers of English words have been used by the author. A few numbers of Hindi words have also found in the novel e.g. - *lusi-puri* (fried cake or bread), *sɔppal* (food wear), *mɔtlɔb* (PA. *matlab*). The word *rɔsgɔlla* (sweet item) is a Bengali word which has been used in the novel.

3.4 Reception of Bengali words into Boro language

Bengali is also an Indo-Aryan language under the great language family of Indo-European. The speakers of this language are scattering in different region of Assam. In Assam Bengali language was used by the common people of Assam at the early period. In this regard, Hemchandra Boruah opined-

*“Axomot Bongali vashar bor ador asil; matri vashak sokoloi
ghinailsil- iskulot Bongali, kacharit Bongali, dekablakor alapot*

*Bongali Aru teulokor sithito bongali vasha solisil.----oboise
moiyo ei niomor bahira nasilo.*"¹⁶

Vocabulary of every language is mixed up with other sources. Similarly Bengali words are also found in Boro vocabulary. The speakers of Assamese language has been adapted some Bengali words due to influence of Bengali language. Similarly, in Boro language also find Bengali adapted words which entered to Boro language indirectly or through Assamese language which is a very close language to Boro. Now a days in standard Boro language the entering of Bengali word is very much noticeable. However, some writer of old and modern period have also been incorporated Bengali words in their creative writing such as novel, short story, poetry etc. As a result reason behind that many of the Boro writers of early period took their education either in Bengali or Assamese medium. Besides it in day today conversation a few Bengali words have been used by the Boro language speakers. Presently a few numbers of Bengali words have been directly adopted by the Boro people of western part of Assam like Kokrajhar and Gosaigaon.

The speakers of Boro language have used Bengali words alongwith native words to express their idea or thought. The Boro speakers as dwelling with other Indo-Aryan like Assamese and Bengali language speakers and as a result they have received Bengali terms to express their idea and thoughts. e.g.-

Bengali	Boro	Meaning in English
b ^h ezal	b ^h ezal	problem
bõndu	bõndu/bundu	friend
gan	gan	song
ḍakat	ḍak ^h et	robber
kelenkari	k ^h elenk ^h ari	scandal
kuṭi	k ^h uri	twenty

¹⁶ Extracted from : Goswami, U. Nath: Asamiya Bhashar Udbhav-Samriddhi Aru Vikash, PP-235-236

kuṭumbo	k ^h urma kutumbo	relative
deoḡ	dewal (inzur)	wall
zanala	zanala	window

In the above examples it is observed that the unaspirated /k/ is changed to aspirated /k^h/. In counting system the Boro speakers used the term /k^huri/ at the early period. But now a days with the advancement of education they are counting by their native language, but some other also counts with English counting system like one, two, three etc.

Due to development of society and impact of other modern culture many new food items are entered in Boro culture. The Boro people have received conveniently many new items in respect of food; as a result words related to food of Bengali language are entered in Boro language. e.g.-

Bengali	Boro	Meaning in English
rōsgolla	rosogolla	a kind of sweet item
sōndef	sōndes	a kind of sweet
luṭṭi	lusi	a kind of small cake
kōmla	k ^h ōmla	orange
lebu	lebu	lemon

The following words using in respect of dresses in Boro language are adapted through Bengali language. e.g.-

zama	zama	a kind of shirt
map ^h lar	map ^h la	comforter etc.
kurta	k ^h urt ^h a	shirt etc.

3.5 Hindi words used in Boro language

Hindi is a language of Indo-Aryan branch under the great Indo-European language family spoken in Northern India. The Hindi language is also spoken in Assam. In this globalization period, there is influence of others in case of culture or language. It confidently says that there are so many words in the Boro language that have been adapted from Hindi language. Many Boro language speakers are able to speak and understand the Hindi language. The Hindi words have been used by the Boro language speakers in respect of words related to dresses, food items and their everyday conversation. These words are entered in Boro language directly or indirectly or through other Indo-Aryan languages like Assamese and Bengali etc. The literate people of the native speakers are used Hindi words in their everyday communication. This is impact of Hindi language on Boro language where the native language speakers have used the Hindi words to express their idea or thought as their suitable. The reason occurs for the adoption of Hindi words in Boro language is need filling motive and prestige motive. The Hindi words used by the Boro language speakers are found of Portuguese, Persian origin. Through the impact of Hindi movies many words have entered into Boro language directly or indirectly. Presently many of student community of new generation and literate people of the native language speakers have used the Hindi words to means of communication. Many of the Boro people belong to English medium school and they have to adjust themselves in multilingual and multiculture situation. As a result many of the young generation code mixing of other language with their mother tongue whenever they talk with their friends and family members.

In some food items of Hindi words have been incorporated in Boro language. The native language speakers have used the Hindi words to express the name of such food items. e.g.-

Hindi	Boro	Meaning in English
nasta (PA)	nast ^h a	breakfast
p̄ni:r (PA)	p ^h ̄nir	cheese
g ^h ̄ugni:	g ^h ̄ugni	a kind of food

samosa	samōsa	a spicy food
ḍəlebi:	zilap ^h i	a sweet item
pəraṭ ^h a	pərt ^h a/pərda	a kind of fried bread
luṭi:	lusi	fried cake
ṭaṭni:	saṭ ^h ni	mixture item
basməti:	basmuṭ ^h i	a kind of rice etc.

Many Hindi words are used naturally by the Boro speakers in everyday contexts. The Hindi words are entered to Boro language mainly through the medium of television, radio, movies and mass media etc. e.g.-

Hindi	Boro	Meaning in English
ṭṭo:ki:dar (PA. dar)	suk ^h idar	a guard
kuli: (T)	k ^h uli/besad ruḡagra	a porter
k ^h uṭi: (T)	k ^h usi	pleasure/happiness
əṭṭ ^h a	at ^h sa	right
ṭiṭṭ ^h i:	ciṭ ^h i	letter
gaṭi:	gari	cart
lut	luṭ ^h inai	plundering
sahida	sahida	demand
su:ḍji:	suzi	a coarse wheat flour
ḍera	dera	temporary sheet
bekar	bek ^h ar	un employed

bindas	bindas	freely
mefinət	mehenat ^h	hard work/labour
ḍiṅḍigi:	zindigi	forever
mədəd	mədəd	help
ḡ ^h uttī:	sut ^h i/suti	holiday/leave
paḍzama	p ^h aizama	loose fitting cloth
ḍzama	zama	a garment
p ^h altu:	p ^h alt ^h u	useless/incapable
ḡe:mpu:	semp ^h u	to squeeze/massage
len-den	lenden	connection/relationship
lut	lut ^h inai	to steal or plunder
beḡla	baḡla	single storey home
gōmal	gōmal	confusion
baramda	baranda	balcony
wala	wala	woner

3.6 Sanskrit words used in Boro language

Sanskrit is an ancient language of Vedic period and old form language of old Indo-Aryan language family under the Indo-European language family spoken in Northern India. In ancient period many people of the India used this language in their spoken discourses and in academic purposes as convenient. Sanskrit language was occupied a peculiar place at that time.

“Sanskrit was respected by the common people and mostly by the elite for which Assamese received less attention or no attention at all.”¹⁷

There are many words of Sanskrit origin in Boro language. These words have been taken directly from Sanskrit or tatsama form (Sanskrit word which is used in unchanged form) and indirectly or tadbhava form (Sanskrit word which is used in a corrupted form) through Indo-Aryan languages, particularly Assamese, Bengali and Hindi languages. It happens only due to the social contacts of their everyday life with the other Aryan speakers of the very neighboring areas. The impact is also considered through various Indian literary forms. In this regard Chakrabarty opined-

“Many words of Sanskrit origin were accepted by the Bodos into their language from contemporary Assamese, Bengali and Hindi languages as a result of their everyday transactions of business and social interactions with the Aryan-speaking people of the neighbouring areas.”¹⁸

There are many words of Sanskrit source in Boro language. These words have been taken directly from Sanskrit or tatsama form and indirectly or tadbhava form through Indo-Aryan languages, particularly from Assamese, Bengali and Hindi languages.

It has been observed that Boro Speakers have used some Sanskrit words to refer the religious terms which have entered through Assamese language. For example:

Sanskrit	Boro	Meaning in English
ɑ:ɛrəm	asrəm	hermitage/Hindu religious retreat
ɑ:sən	asən	position/seat
guru	guru	spiritual guide
dɑ:n	dan	offering
kuvɛ:r	k ^h uber	deity of wealth

¹⁷ Majumdar, P: Colonialism Language and Politics, P-214

¹⁸ Extracted from : Das, U & Bhardwaj, B: The Bodos: The Frontier Aboriginal of Assam, P-193

It has already mentioned that in Assamese language there are a lot of words of Sanskrit origin. Boro community as having in a same geographical area with Assamese language speakers, many Sanskrit words are entered to Boro language through Assamese language and these words have been used by the Boro language speakers naturally in their everyday context for the means of communication. Examples are stated below:

Sanskrit	Boro	Meaning in English
māntṛa	mānt ^h ro/muunt ^h ur	chant
g ^h ṛ̥ṅṭa:	g ^h ṛ̥ṅta	hour
śe:p ^h a:li	sep ^h ali	a kind of flower in white colour
sa:sṭṛa	sast ^h rō	scripture
aṅṣa	aṅṣa	part
b ^h a:gj	b ^h aigō	fortune
maja	maya	illusion
akṣma:t	ak ^h ṣmat ^h	accidental
aṭṭa:lika:	aṭ ^h t ^h alik ^h a	a palace/building
budd ^h i	buddi/buuddi	trick
gr̥ḥa	gr̥ḥa	planet
saṅsa:r	saṅsar	world
hani	hani	loss
a:ei:rua:d	asirbad	bless
av̥ṭa:r	av̥ṭ ^h ar	incarnation
aṭṭa:ca:r	aṭ ^h aisar	transgression

əd ^h i:kɑ:r	əd ^h i:k ^h ar	rights
cinta	sin ^h a	act of thinking
kufia	k ^h uwa	fog
upai	up ^h ai	means/way
duṣṭ	dust ^h ṭ	wicked
murk ^h	murk ^h ṭ	fool
upa:d ^h i	up ^h adi	title
a:dəre	adərsṭ	ideal
kəmbəl	k ^h ṭombəl	blanket
sa:d ^h u	sadu	a spiritual
mukṭi	mugt ^h i	release/freedom
kərp <u>u</u> :r	k ^h ṭrp ^h ul	naphthalene
gurumɑ:n (guru+man)	guruman	things offered to guru
prəmə:ṇ	p ^h ṭorman/p ^h urman	proof
kələm	k ^h ṭləm/k ^h uluum	pen
ja:tra:	zat ^h ra	journey
guru	guru	priest
a:la:gna:	alna	a cloth stand etc.

3.7 Conclusion

Lexis of many Indo-Aryan languages is incorporated in written form and spoken discourses of Boro language. The lexis is used in intact form and adapted through the native articulation system of Boro language. The adaptation of words is found from Assamese, Bengali, Hindi and Sanskrit origin. However, some words origin is found from Perso-Arabic and Portuguese etc. Many Indo-Aryan words are incorporated in Boro written literature in the genres like poetry, short story and novel. Close contact with other languages and fulfillment of necessity of language is the factor of adaptation of lexis in many areas of Boro language.