

**Phonemes in Dhiyan**  
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**Abstract**

Dhiyan or Dehan is the name of language spoken by Koch–Rajbangshi people of Barak Valley. Dhiyan is mainly spoken in ten villages in the Eastern part of Barak river namely Horinagar, Japirbon, Leburbon, Gororbon, Dewan (Labok) or Dewan Bosti, Narayanpur, Larchingpar, Thaligram, Lakkhichora, and Digli. Ethnically, they are Mongoloids and their language may fall under the Indo-Aryan sub-group of the Indo-European language family, nevertheless no study has been made to prove their classification. The total population of Dhiyan speaking Koch-Rajbangshi in Barak valley is estimated about 5000 in approximate.

The present paper is an attempt to describe the phonemic inventory of the language in terms of number of vowels, consonants and diphthongs including their distribution and arrangement in the language. The study will also investigate whether Dhiyan exhibits the phonological features of Indo-Aryan languages or not?

**Key words:** Dhiyan, Koch-Rajbangshi, Indo-Aryan, Eastern part of Barak river, Phonemes.

**1. Introduction**

Dehan or Dhiyan is the name of language spoken by Koch-Rajbangshi people of Barak Valley. Ethnically, they are Mongoloids and their language may fall under the Indo-Aryan sub-group of the Indo-European language family. Nevertheless no study has been made to prove their classification. The Rajbangshi language spoken in Barak Valley has some similarity with Rajbangshi language spoken in Goalpara, Dhubri, and Kokrajhar Districts of Assam and Cooch Behar District of West Bengal. It is interesting to note that Dhiyan language has close contact with neighboring languages like Assamese, Bengali, Manipuri and Dimasa. Therefore lexical items of all three languages are found in its vocabulary as loan elements. In this regard, Some Koch-Rajbangshi scholars are in opinion that they had their own language which is linguistically much closer to Boro, Deori, Dimasa, Garo, Tiwa, Dhimal and Toto of Eastern part of India

particularly North Bengal and Northeast India. Etymologically, the term 'Dehan' is derived from the word 'Dewan' the court name of the commander of the Koch army of Cachar which was given by the great Chilarai when he came to conquer Cachar in the middle of sixteenth century (Gait, 1984). So the Koch-Rajbangshi of present Barak Valley came with Chilarai as armed forces and later they established permanently in the Barak Valley. In the course of time, the 'Dewan' became 'Dehan' due to difficulty in pronunciation of the 'w' sound by the Bengali speaking people of Barak Valley. Since the 'w' sound is not present in the phonemic inventory of Bengali language. Later on it became Dhiyan. The total population of Dhiyan speaking Koch-Rajbangshi in Barak valley is estimated about 5000 in approximate.

## **2. Typological Features of Dhiyan**

Typologically, Dhiyan is a non-tonal, agglutinating and verb final language. Like many other Indo-Aryan languages, voiced aspirated stops are very common in Dhiyan. In Dhiyan the velar nasal /ŋ/ cannot occur in syllable or word initial position. Nouns in Dhiyan can be postposed by gender markers, plural markers and cases. There is no grammatical gender in Dhiyan. Dhiyan exhibits relative pronouns which are j-initial. Adjectives are distinct word class in Dhiyan. When used attributively, adjectives in Dhiyan function as a modifier and strictly precede the head noun. The verb roots are marked for Persons particularly in determining tenses but not for numbers and genders. Within a noun phrase, a noun is typically syntactic and semantic head, defining the type of entity involved. Negation is usually expressed by means of prefixation. Furthermore negative particle is also used to express negation post verbally.

## **3. Phonemic Inventory**

The Phonemic Inventory of Dhiyan consists of twenty five consonant phonemes and six vowels. The phonemes of the language are discussed in the following sections:

### **3.1. Vowels**

Dhiyan has six vowel phonemes i.e., /i, e, a, o, u and ə/. These vowels can be categorized into three levels of tongue height: high, mid and low, a three way contrast of front, central and back are also distinguished in terms of the parts of the tongue raised. The vowel phonemes of Dhiyan are illustrated in Table 1.

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	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	ɔ

Table 1. Vowel phonemes in Dhiyan

From the above illustration, it can be stated that the language has only oral vowels; no nasalized vowels are noticed in the language. Unlike many other Indo-Aryan languages, vowel length is not a phonemic feature in the language. It is also interesting to note that the mid back rounded vowel contrasts with the low back rounded vowel as the same phonological feature is found in some of Indo-Aryan languages namely Assamese, Bengali etc.

### 3.2. Consonants

There are twenty five consonantal phonemes in Dhiyan. According to their place of articulation consonants can be categorized into bilabial, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. They can be further categorized into six types: stops, nasals, fricatives, lateral, trill and semi-vowels in terms of their manner of articulation. Dhiyan has twenty five consonant phonemes, i.e., stops / *p, p<sup>h</sup>, b, b<sup>h</sup>, t, t<sup>h</sup>, d, d<sup>h</sup>, c, c<sup>h</sup>, j, j<sup>h</sup>, k, k<sup>h</sup>, g, g<sup>h</sup>*/, two fricatives /*s, h*/, three nasals /*m, n, ŋ*/, one lateral /*l*/, one trill /*r*/ and two semi-vowels /*w*/ and /*y*/ respectively. It is interesting to note that the aspiration is phonemic in the case of stop sounds in Dhiyan as many other south Asian languages do. The inventory of consonant phonemes in Dhiyan is illustrated in Table 2.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	<i>p b</i> <i>p<sup>h</sup> b<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>t d</i> <i>t<sup>h</sup> d<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>c j</i> <i>c<sup>h</sup> j<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>k g</i> <i>k<sup>h</sup> g<sup>h</sup></i>	
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
Fricatives		<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Trill		<i>r</i>			

<b>Lateral</b>		l			
<b>Semi Vowel</b>	w		y		

Table 2. Consonant phonemes in Dhiyan

### 3.3. Contrasting Pairs

The contrasting pairs of vowels and consonants in the language are described in the following sections:

#### 3.3.1. Vowel contrasting pairs

The six vowel phonemes of Dhiyan are established on the basis of the minimal pairs which are illustrated in the following examples:

/i/ vs. /u/:	/bi/	‘ache/pain’
	/bu/	‘grandmother’
	/bil/	‘lake’
	/bul/	‘speak’
	/mak <sup>h</sup> i/	‘house fly’
	/mak <sup>h</sup> u/	‘an instrument used in making clothes’
/e/ vs. /i/:	/bil/	‘lake’
	/bel/	‘woodapple’
	/til/	‘mole’
	/tel/	‘oil’
	/pit/	‘back of body’
	/pet/	‘belly’
/u/ vs. /o/:	/muk/	‘face’

	/mɔk/	‘to me’
	/dʊŋ/	‘brook’
	/dɔŋ/	‘river’
	/k <sup>h</sup> uri/	‘father's brother's wife’
	/k <sup>h</sup> ori/	‘firewood’
/e/ vs. /o/:	/jer/	‘hil slope’
	/jor/	‘fever’
	/k <sup>h</sup> er/	‘straw’
	/k <sup>h</sup> or/	‘ringworm’
	/der/	‘one and a half’
	/dor/	‘fearfulness’
/ɔ/ vs. /o/:	/bɔla/	‘bowl’
	/bola/	‘a kind of bee’
	/bɔu/	‘a kind of thread used in making clothes’
	/bou/	brother's wife
	/kɔra/	‘an instrument used in making clothes’
	/kora/	‘acting’
/i/ vs. /a/:	/aji/	‘today’
	/aja/	‘grandfather’

	/hir/	‘vein’
	/har/	‘bone’
	/band <sup>h</sup> a/	‘to pack’
	/bind <sup>h</sup> a/	‘to prick’
/e/ vs. /a/:	/aste/	‘slow’
	/asta/	‘whole’
	/d <sup>h</sup> er/	‘many’
	/d <sup>h</sup> ar/	‘sharp’
	/posa/	‘rotten’
	/pesa/	‘owl’

### 3.3.2. Consonant Contrasting Pairs

Dhiyan has twenty five consonantal phonemes which are established on the basis of the following minimal pairs. Consider the given examples:

/p/ vs. /b/:	/pi/	‘father's sister’
	/bi/	‘pain’
	/por/	‘other’
	/bor/	‘big’
	/puja/	‘worship’
	/buja/	‘to understand’
/p/ vs. /p <sup>h</sup> /:	/pul/	‘bridge’
	/p <sup>h</sup> ul/	‘flower’

	/pira/	‘wooden/metal seat’
	/p <sup>h</sup> ira/	‘to turn around’
	/pan/	‘pan’
	/p <sup>h</sup> an/	‘trap’
/b/ vs. /b <sup>h</sup> /:	/baba/	‘father’
	/b <sup>h</sup> aba /	‘to think’
	/bor/	‘big’
	/b <sup>h</sup> or/	‘fill’
	/bata/	‘to distribute’
	/b <sup>h</sup> ata/	‘low tide’
/t/ vs. /d/:	/ota/	‘one’
	/oda/	‘ginger’
	/tes/	‘blood’
	/des/	‘country’
	/pad/	‘fart’
	/pat/	‘leaf’
/t/ vs. /t <sup>h</sup> /:	/pita/	‘beating’
	/pit <sup>h</sup> a/	‘bread’
	/pata /	‘base for rolling pin’
	/pat <sup>h</sup> a/	‘male goat’

	/tel/	‘oil’
	/t <sup>h</sup> el/	‘eye ball’
/d/ vs. /d <sup>h</sup> /:	/da/	‘knife’
	/d <sup>h</sup> a/	‘sharp’
	/dan/	‘donation’
	/d <sup>h</sup> an/	‘paddy’
	/dora/	‘afraiding’
	/d <sup>h</sup> ora/	‘grasping’
/c/ vs. /j/:	/cur/	‘thief’
	/jur/	‘shade’
	/cora/	‘climbing’
	/jora/	‘joint’
	/cola/	‘walking’
	/jola/	‘burning’
/j/ vs. /j <sup>h</sup> /:	/jor/	fever
	/j <sup>h</sup> or/	heavy rain
	/jola/	‘burning’
	/j <sup>h</sup> ola/	‘hot by taste’
	/j <sup>h</sup> opa/	‘bamboo box’



	/jopa/	‘to chant mantra’
/k/ vs. /g/:	/kua/	‘well’
	/gua/	‘bettle nut’
	/gos/	‘wood’
	/kos/	‘ink’
	/gusua/	‘to move (an object)’
	/kusua/	‘green colour’
/k/ vs. /k <sup>h</sup> /:	/kanda/	‘to cry’
	/k <sup>h</sup> anda/	to dig
	/kor/	‘spade’
	/k <sup>h</sup> or/	‘ringworm’
	/kam/	‘work’
	/k <sup>h</sup> am/	‘sweat’
/g/ vs. /g <sup>h</sup> /:	/ga/	‘body’
	/g <sup>h</sup> a/	‘grass’
	/gor/	‘a kind den’
	/g <sup>h</sup> or/	‘house’
	/gun/	‘good quality’

	/g <sup>h</sup> un/	‘a kind of bee’
/m/ vs. /n/:	/nai/	‘river’
	/mai/	‘mother’
	/nati/	‘son's son’
	/mati/	‘floor’
	/jana/	‘to know’
	/jama/	‘frock’
/n/ vs. /ŋ/:	/don/	‘fight’
	/doŋ/	‘river’
	/rona/	‘verandah’
	/roŋa/	‘red’
	/tena/	‘small torn cloth’
	/teŋa/	‘sour’
/l/ vs. /r/:	/pulu/	‘insect’
	/puru/	‘day after tomorrow’
	/hir/	‘vein’
	/hil/	‘rock’
	/j <sup>h</sup> ala/	‘daughter’
	/j <sup>h</sup> ara/	‘to whip’
/s/ vs. /h/:	/sua/	‘kid of animal’

	/hua/	‘right side’
	/hil/	‘rock’
	/sil/	‘kite’
	/huru/	‘small’
	/suru/	‘pestle’
/w/ vs. /y/:	/saya/	‘shade’
	/sawa/	‘seeing’
	/boya/	‘bad’
	/bowa/	‘sitting’
	/hiya/	‘root’
	/hiwa/	‘stitching with hand’

### 3.4. Distribution of Phonemes

#### 3.4.1. Vowels

All the vowels i.e., /i, e, a, o, u/ and /a/ except low back rounded vowel /ɔ/ can occur in all three positions. The low back rounded vowel /ɔ/ occurs medially rather than in word initial and final position as shown below.

Occurrence of close, front, unrounded vowel /i/:

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
/israŋ/ ‘cricket’	/hil/ ‘rock’	/pukhuri/ ‘pond’
/indur/ ‘mouse’	/dim/ ‘egg’	/bili/ ‘sun’

Occurrence of close mid, front, unrounded vowel /e/:

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
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/ek/	‘one’	/pek/	‘clay’	/aste/	‘slow’
/era/	‘to release’	/sela/	‘centipede’	/keŋke/	‘how’

Occurrence of open, front, unrounded vowel /a/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>			
/at/	‘eight’	/tak/	‘ceiling’	/riha/	‘an upper cloth for women’
/aŋli/	‘finger’	/kahi/	‘plate’	/goda/	‘stick’

Occurrence of open-mid back rounded vowel /ɔ/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>	
-	/bɔla/	‘bowl’	-
-	/urɔu/	‘locust’	-

Occurrence of close-mid, back, rounded vowel /o/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>			
/osla/	‘shawl’	/topal/	‘raindrop’	/moŋo/	‘flesh’
/oda/	‘ginger’	/mon/	‘pimple’	/hoiro/	‘mustard’

Occurrence of close, back, rounded vowel /u/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>			
/uha/	‘breath’	/muk/	‘face’	/pulu/	‘worm’
/ukuni/	‘louse’	/huldia/	‘yellow’	/posu/	‘animal’

### 3.4.2. Consonants

All the consonantal phonemes do not occur in all three positions of the word. However, twelve consonants /p, b, t, d, j, k, g, m, n, ŋ, s, h, r, and l/ can occur in all three positions. While /p<sup>h</sup>, b<sup>h</sup>, d<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, c, c<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup> and g<sup>h</sup> / can occur in word initial and medial position only. The velar nasal /ŋ/ occurs in word medial and final position and the semi-vowel /w/ and /y/ occur only in word medial position. The distribution of consonantal phonemes in Dhiyan is shown below.

Occurrence of voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop /p/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>
/pani/ ‘water’	/tespia/ ‘iguana’	/bhap/ ‘steam’
/pinjira/ ‘cage’	/kopna/ ‘sea shell’	/lep/ ‘blanket’

Occurrence of voiceless aspirated bilabial stop /p<sup>h</sup>/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>
/p <sup>h</sup> olaj/ ‘thigh’	/p <sup>h</sup> op <sup>h</sup> la/ ‘boil’	-
/p <sup>h</sup> uni/ ‘comb’	/kophi/ ‘coffee’	-

Occurrence of voiced unaspirated bilabial stop /b/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>
/bon/ ‘forest’	/torabol/ ‘star’	/gorib/ ‘poor’
/baduli/ ‘bat’	/poribar/ ‘family’	/ab/ ‘mica’

Occurrence of voiced aspirated bilabial stop /b<sup>h</sup>/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>
/b <sup>h</sup> ati/ ‘oven’	/ubhunda/ ‘swelling’	-
/b <sup>h</sup> um/ ‘hair of body’	/lubhi/ ‘greedy’	

Occurrence of voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop /t/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>
/talu/ ‘palate’	/batiya/ ‘dwarf’	/gat/ ‘hole’
/tap/ ‘heat’	/ata/ ‘flour’	/hat/ ‘arm/boro pap’

Occurrence of voiceless aspirated alveolar stop /t<sup>h</sup>/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>
/t <sup>h</sup> u/ ‘spit’	/muthi/ ‘fist’	-
/t <sup>h</sup> uta/ ‘beak’	/kathi/ ‘type of basket’	-

Occurrence of voiced unaspirated alveolar stop /d/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>
/domra/ ‘bull’	/dada/ ‘father's brother’	/dud/ ‘milk’
/diŋi/ ‘neck’	/baduli/ ‘bat’	/bipod/ ‘danger’

Occurrence of voiced aspirated alveolar stop /d<sup>h</sup>/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>
/d <sup>h</sup> uli/ ‘dust’	/randhuni/ ‘female cook’	-
/d <sup>h</sup> alu/ ‘slope’	/mudhur/ ‘jaggery’	-

Occurrence of voiceless unaspirated palatal stop /c/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>
/cil kai/ ‘lightening’	/ica/ ‘prawn’	-
/cula/ ‘chulha’	/belca/ ‘spade’	-

Occurrence of voiceless aspirated palatal stop /c<sup>h</sup>/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>
/c <sup>h</sup> ilki pura/ ‘firefly’	/hacchu/ ‘sneeze’	-
/c <sup>h</sup> andua/ ‘pomfret’	/gamcha/ ‘towel’	-

Occurrence of voiced unaspirated palatal stop /j/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>
/jui/ ‘fire’	/aja/ ‘father's father’	/gej/ ‘sprout’
/jer/ ‘hil slope’	/biji/ ‘needle’	/lej/ ‘tail’

Occurrence of voiced aspirated palatal stop /j<sup>h</sup>/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>
/j <sup>h</sup> ika/ ‘ridge gourd’	/maj <sup>h</sup> i/ ‘boatman’	-
/j <sup>h</sup> un/ ‘group’	/j <sup>h</sup> olj <sup>h</sup> ol/ ‘charm’	-

Occurrence of voiceless unaspirated velar stop /k/:

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
/kumra/ ‘pumpkin’	/kuki/ ‘cuckoo’	/palok/ ‘spinach’
/korat/ ‘saw’	/hukna/ ‘dry’	/hawek/ ‘mother-in-law’

Occurrence of voiceless aspirated velar stop /k<sup>h</sup>/:

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
/k <sup>h</sup> unti/ ‘cow elephant’	/rak <sup>h</sup> al/ ‘shepherd’	-
/k <sup>h</sup> or/ ‘ringworm’	/mak <sup>h</sup> i/ ‘fly’	-

Occurrence of voiced unaspirated velar stop /g/:

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
/gunda/ ‘fat’	/k <sup>h</sup> orgus/ ‘rabbit’	-
/guti/ ‘seed’	/boga/ ‘white’	-

Occurrence of voiced aspirated velar stop /g<sup>h</sup>/:

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
/g <sup>h</sup> a/ ‘grass’	/ug <sup>h</sup> oa/ ‘to boil’	-
/g <sup>h</sup> un/ ‘white ant’	/dig <sup>h</sup> ol/ ‘long’	-

Occurrence of bilabial nasal /m/:

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
/mu/ ‘mosquito’	/samuk/ ‘snail’	/am/ ‘mango’
/mai/ ‘mother’	/k <sup>h</sup> amasi/ ‘prickly heats’	/gom/ ‘barley’

Occurrence of alveolar nasal /n/:

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
/nun/ ‘salt’	/ukuni/ ‘louse’	/natin/ ‘grandson’
/salni/ ‘strainer’	/p <sup>h</sup> ona/ ‘shoulder’	/hopon/ ‘dream’

Occurrence of velar nasal /ŋ/:

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<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>
-	/aŋli/ ‘finger’	/k <sup>h</sup> ukruŋ/ ‘maize’
-	/oŋtha/ ‘ember’	/sunəŋ/ ‘anger’

Occurrence of voiceless alveolar fricative /s/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>
/soroi/ ‘bird’	/mosla/ ‘spice’	/gos/ ‘wood’
/sela/ ‘centipede’	/kosu/ ‘arum’	/tes/ ‘blood’

Occurrence of voiceless glottal fricative /h/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final Position</b>
/ha/ ‘duck’	/riha/ ‘cador’	/kah/ ‘cough’
/hat/ ‘hand’	/kahi/ ‘dish’	/mah/ ‘long beans’

Occurrence of voiced alveolar trill /r/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>
/rok/ ‘nerve’	/t <sup>h</sup> uturi/ ‘chin’	/botar/ ‘weather’
/rasa/ ‘swan’	/goral/ ‘cave’	/jor/ ‘fever’

Occurrence of voiced alveolar lateral /l/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>
/lebra/ ‘left’	/gula/ ‘flood’	/goral/ ‘cave’
/luha/ ‘iron’	/dolna/ ‘swing’	/nal/ ‘straight’

Occurrence of semi vowel /w/:

<b>Initial position</b>	<b>Medial position</b>	<b>Final position</b>
-	/huwa/ ‘cucumber’	-
-	/juwan/ ‘bachelor’	-



Occurrence of semi vowel /y/:

Initial position	Medial position	Final position
-	/batiya/ 'short'	-
-	/niyor/ 'dew'	-

### 3.5. Diphthongs

There are six diphthongs in Dhiyan viz., /ai/, /oi/, /ui/, /eu/, /au/ and /ou/. All the diphthongs cannot occur in all three positions. The diphthongs /ai/ and /oi/ can occur in all the three positions. Diphthongs /ui/ and /eu/ can occur in medial and final position. The diphthong /au/ can occur in initial and final position and the diphthong /ou/ can occur only in final position. The diphthongs in the language are illustrated in Table 4.

Diphthongs	Initially	Medially	Finally
ai	/aisei/ 'came'	/paijot/ 'stick to beat animal'	/tolai/ 'bed'
oi	/oi/ 'yes'	/boira/ 'male buffalo'	/soroi/ 'bird'
ui	-	/muina/ 'female'	/mui/ 'buffalo'
eu	-	/heujia/ 'green'	/d <sup>h</sup> eu/ 'wave'
ou	/audi/ 'medicine'	-	/lau/ 'gourd'
au	-	-	/bou/ 'elder brother's wife'

Table 4. Diphthongs in Dhiyan

### 3.6. Consonant Clusters

Consonant cluster is not very common in Dhiyan. The onset clusters are found in the language however coda clusters are totally absent in the language. The stops plus liquids cluster are found in the language as can be seen in Table 5.

Consonant Cluster	Initial	Medial
gr-	/grohon/ 'eclipse'	/sengra/ 'jan'kok'
pr-	/prem/ 'love'	-

Table 5. Consonant clusters in Dhiyan

### 3.7. Consonant Sequences

Dhiyan has more number of consonant sequences than consonant clusters. It is worth mentioning that consonant sequences occur across syllabic boundary. The first members are stop, nasal, liquid and fricative and the second members are stop, fricative, nasal and liquid.

#### Stop + stop

-kt-	/hikti/	‘hiccup’
-pt-	/septa/	‘flat’

#### Nasal + nasal

-ŋm-	/kokroŋma/	‘pea’
-nm-	/jonmo/	‘birth’

#### Stop + nasal

-kn-	/t <sup>h</sup> ukni/	‘match box’
-k <sup>h</sup> n-	/bak <sup>h</sup> noa/	‘to describe’
-pn-	/kopna/	‘sea shell’
-tn-	/k <sup>h</sup> utni/	‘a type of ladle’

#### Nasal + stop

-nb-	/kanbari/	‘stick used in making clothes’
-nd-	/bandri/	‘female monkey’
-nd <sup>h</sup> -	/dend <sup>h</sup> a/	‘wing’
-ŋk-	/koŋkal/	‘skeleton’
-nk <sup>h</sup> -	/arunk <sup>h</sup> a/	‘blouse’
-ŋg-	/laŋgol/	‘plough’
-ŋt-	/liŋti/	‘loin cloth’
-ŋt <sup>h</sup> -	/aŋt <sup>h</sup> ia bon/	‘perup’
-mp-	/sompa kola/	‘type of banana’
-mk-	/d <sup>h</sup> umkor/	‘cotton carder’

### Nasal + liquid

-ml-	/hamlai/	‘amla’
-ŋl-	/aŋli/	‘finger’
-mr-	/kumra/	‘pumpkin’
-ŋr-	/k <sup>h</sup> oŋra/	‘a type of basket’

### Stop + liquid

-tr-	/bitruŋ/	‘pineapple’
-kr-	/k <sup>h</sup> ukruŋ/	‘maize’
-pr-	/papri/	‘petal’
-br-	/obra/	‘dumb’
-jr-	/pajra/	‘rib’
-ŋg-	/leŋgra/	‘lame (male)’
-pl-	/kapla/	‘mushroom’
-p <sup>h</sup> l-	/p <sup>h</sup> op <sup>h</sup> la/	‘boil’
-gl-	/buglu/	‘crane’
-d <sup>h</sup> l-	/gud <sup>h</sup> la/	‘afternoon’
-t <sup>h</sup> l-	/at <sup>h</sup> la/	‘slippery’

### Liquid + stop

-rb-	/porbot/	‘mountain’
-rk-	/kurkuta/	‘squirrel’
-rg-	/murga/	‘cock’
-rt-	/martul/	‘hammer’
-lk-	/hudulka/	‘nightingale’
-ld-	/huldia/	‘yellow’

### Fricative + liquid

-sl-	/osla/	‘shawl’
-sr-	/israŋ/	‘cricket’

### Nasal + fricative

-ms-	/gamsa/	‘towel’
-ns-	/kansi/	‘scissors’
-ŋs-	/soŋsar/	‘world’

### Conclusion

From the above analysis, we can conclude that the phonemic inventory of Dhiyan consists of twenty five consonant phonemes and six vowels. The language has only oral vowels; no nasalized vowels are noticed in the language. It is also interesting to note that the mid back rounded vowel /ɔ/ contrasts with the low back rounded vowel /o/ as the same phonological feature is found in some of Indo-Aryan languages namely Assamese, Bengali etc. Like many other Indo-Aryan languages Dhiyan has the aspirated voiced stops /b<sup>h</sup>/, /d<sup>h</sup>/, /j<sup>h</sup>/, and /g<sup>h</sup>/ . The velar nasal /ŋ/ cannot occur in syllable or word initial position which is a typical feature of many Indo-Aryan languages shared by Dhiyan. Dhiyan has six diphthongs viz., /ai/, /oi/, /ui/, /eu/, /au/ and /ou/. Dhiyan has more number of consonant sequences than consonant clusters. Based on the above discussion, it can be concluded that Dhiyan exhibits phonological features of Indo-Aryan languages.

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