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Consonantal System of the North-Central Dialect of Bodo

Nilut Swargiary, M.A., M.Phil., Ph.D. Scholar

Abstract

Bodo is known as Bodo or Boro. Bodo is one of the major tribes of North-East India and they are of Mongoloid origin. Linguistically the Bodo language belongs to Bodo-Naga sub-group of Tibeto-Burman groups of Sino-Tibetan language family. The North-Central Dialect of Bodo is mainly spoken in Odalguri District as well as the eastern parts of Baksa District and the western part of Sonitpur District of Assam. This dialect is also known as Sanzari dialect. According to 2011 Census of India, the total speakers of this Dialect amount to 342,686 persons. Area of the district is 1852.16km. Total population of the district is 832,769, according to 2011 census.

As per data, twenty-two consonantal phonemes i.e. / p, b, t, d, k, g, p^h, b^h, t^h, d^h, k^h, g^h, m, n, ŋ, s, z, h, l, r, w, y, / are found in this dialect.

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Consonantal System of the North-Central Dialect of Bodo

The proposed study will give the Consonantal Analysis of North-Central Dialect of Bodo with respect to phonology in the light of modern linguistic structure of this dialect.

Introduction

Genetically, the Bodo of Assam belongs to the Tibeto-Burman sub-family within the Sino-Tibetan family of language. The Bodo is known as Bodo or Boro or Kachari or Kirata or other variations in different places in different times. The Bodos are one of the earliest settlers of Assam and is a branch of the great Bodo-Naga group of the Indo-Mongoloid family falling within the Assam Burmese section. The Bodo people once lived or settled on river banks of river valleys, called water *t^hi* or *di* or *dui*. . Suniti Kumar Chatterjee claimed that the Bodos come from the great river valley Hoang-Ho and Yang-Stze-Kiang. J.D. Anderson says that “The river name of the whole Brahmaputra valley is Bodo name and it is demonstrable that the Bodos were the aboriginal of the valley.” As P.C. Bhattacharya (1977) has observed, the Bodo or Boro language belongs to the branch of Barish section under Baric division of the Sino-Tibetan family as per the classification given by Robert Shafer. The Linguistic Survey of India describes the Bodos or Boro-Kachari as a member of the Bodo (Boro) sub-section under the Assam Burmese group of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibeto-Chinese speech family. The Bodo language speaking area of Assam at present stretches from Dhubri in the west to Sadiya in the east.

The North-Central Dialect of Bodo is also called Sanzari dialect, mainly spoken in Odalguri district and in some eastern parts of Baga district and the western part of Sonitpur district. Odalguri district is one of the 27 districts of Assam in North-eastern India. Odalguri town is the headquarters of the district. This district is bounded by Bhutan and West Kameng district of Arunachal Pradesh state in the north, Sonitpur district in the east, Darrang district in the south and Baksa district in the west. Area of the district is 1852.16km. Population of the district is 832,769, according to 2011 census.

The name of the district is derived from its headquarters, Odalguri. There are three traditions regarding the etymology of Odalguri. According to one tradition, the name is derived from Odal (a kind of tree) and Guri (roots or surrounding) and it was named because originally

the town developed around an Odal tree. According to another tradition, this town got its name because this place was originally a hermitage of sage Uddalaka. According to the third tradition, the name is derived from the two Bodo words Ordla (wide and spacious) and Gundri (powdered object).

This district was formed on June 14, 2004 as one of the four districts under Bodoland Territorial Autonomous District. This district was carved out by bifurcating erstwhile Darrang district. The territory of the present district was earlier Odalguri sub-division of the undivided district.

There are twenty two consonantal phonemes of this dialect: /p, b, t, d, k, g, p^h, b^h, t^h, d^h, k^h, g^h, m, n, ŋ, s, z, h, l, r, w, y/.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
VI. Stop	p p ^h	t t ^h		k k ^h	
Vd.	b b ^h	d d ^h		g g ^h	
Nasal	m	n		ŋ	
VI. Fricative		s			h
Vd.		z			
Later		l			
Trill		r			
Semi- vowel	w		y		

Description of Consonants

/p/= voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop, /p^h/= voiceless aspirated bilabial stop, /b/= voiced unaspirated bilabial stop, /b^h/= voiced aspirated bilabial stop, /t/= voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop, /t^h/= voiceless aspirated alveolar stop, /d/= voiced unaspirated alveolar stop, /d^h/= voiced aspirated alveolar stop, /k/= voiceless unaspirated velar stop, /k^h/= voiceless aspirated velar stop, /g/= voiced unaspirated velar stop, /g^h/= voiced aspirated velar stop, /m/= voiced bilabial nasal, /n/= voiced alveolar nasal, /ŋ/= voiced velar nasal, /s/= voiceless alveolar unaspirated fricative, /z/= voiced alveolar unaspirated fricative, /h/= voiceless glottal fricative, /l/= voiced alveolar lateral, /r/= voiced alveolar trill, /w/= voiced bilabial semi-vowel, /y/= voiced palatal semi-vowel.

Contrasting Pairs of Consonants

These consonantal sounds are established on the basis of minimal pairs and where minimal pairs are not available, sub-minimal pairs are used for the purpose. Following is the list:

/p/ vs /b/ >	/paleŋ/	‘bed’
	/baleŋ/	‘slim’
/t/ vs /d/ >	/tala/	‘lock’
	/dala/	‘a wicker for keeping grains made of bamboo’
/k/ vs /g/ >	/saka/	‘wheel’
	/saga/	‘relief’
/m/ vs /n/ >	/mao/	‘do’
	/nao/	‘boat’
/s/ vs /z/ >	/sanai/	‘pain’
	/zanai/	‘eat’
/r/ vs /l/ >	/ru/	‘to boil’
	/lu/	‘to pour’

/w/ vs /y/ >	/sawza/	‘to roast’
	/rayza/	‘scolded’
/s/ vs /h/ >	/sa/	‘ache’
	/ha/	‘land’
/p/ vs /p^h/ >	/paodar/	‘powder’
	/p ^h aodur/	‘chubby’
/b/ vs /b^h/ >	/basa/	‘nest’
	/b ^h asa/	‘language’
/t/ vs /t^h/ >	/satro/	‘student’
	/sot ^h ro/	‘seventeen’
/d/ vs /d^h/ >	/dalai/	‘branch’
	/d ^h alai/	‘molding’
/k/ vs /k^h/ >	/karon/	‘cause’
	/k ^h aron/	‘to run out’
/g/ vs /g^h/ >	/gari/	‘vehicle’
	/g ^h uri/	‘watch’
/p^h/ vs /b^h/ >	/p ^h isa/	‘small’
	/b ^h asa/	‘language’
/t^h/ vs /d^h/ >	/t ^h ar/	‘true’
	/d ^h ar/	‘loan’
/k^h/ vs /g^h/ >	/k ^h at ^h i/	‘to sacrifice’

	/g ^h ati/	‘gathering’
/n/ vs /ŋ/ >	/ban/	‘lifts as a load’
	/baŋ/	‘increase’
/m/ vs /n/ vs /ŋ/ >	/t ^h am/	‘three’
	/t ^h an/	‘temple’
	/t ^h aŋ/	‘go’

Distribution of Consonants

In North-Central Dialect of Bodo, all the consonantal phonemes do not occur in all the positions. The phonemes / p, b, t, d, k, g, p^h, m, n, s, l, and r / can occur word initially, medially and finally. Unlike other phonemes /ŋ, w and y/ do not occur word initially and /b^h, t^h, k^h, g^h, d^h, h, z/ do not occur word finally. Therefore all the consonantal phonemes of this dialect can occur word medially.

/p/ = Initial position > /pulis/ ‘police’, Medial position > /hopta/ ‘week’ Final position > /pap/ ‘sin’

/b/ = Initial position > /bat^hen/ ‘pounded chilly or fish’ Medial position > /suba/ ‘slap’ Final position > /odab/ ‘fire place’

/t/ = Initial position > /tar/ ‘wire’ Medial position > /bostu/ ‘things’ Final position > /zeket/ ‘jacket’

/d/ = Initial position > /dak^hali/ ‘the day before yesterday’ Medial position > /indi/ ‘a castor oil plant’ Final position > /t^halid/ ‘banana’

/k/ = Initial position > /kerasin/ ‘kerosene’ Medial position > /tiket/ ‘ticket’ Final position > /sok/ ‘center’

/g/ = Initial position > /godo/ ‘neck’ Medial position > /zigab/ ‘straw’ Final position > /mulug/ ‘universe’

/p^h/ = Initial position > /p^hanlu/ ‘chilly’ Medial position > /boŋp^haŋ/ ‘tree’ Final position > /borop^h/ ‘ice’

/b^h/ = Initial position > /b^hitamin/ ‘vitamin’ Medial position > /ob^hab/ ‘scarcity’

/t^h/ = Initial position > /t^hao/ ‘oil’ Medial position > /at^heŋ/ ‘leg’

/k^h/ = Initial position > /k^hada/ ‘basket’ Medial position > /ak^hai/ ‘hand’

/g^h/ = Initial position > /g^honta/ ‘hour’ Medial position > /ag^huŋ/ ‘the eight month of Indian year corresponding to the period from mid-Nov. to mid December’

/d^h/ = Initial position > /d^hila/ ‘loose’ Medial position /bond^hok/ ‘mortgage’

/m/ = Initial position > /mansui/ ‘human’ Medial position > /bema/ ‘spider’ Final position > /k^hulum/ ‘worship’

/n/ = Initial position > /naŋgul/ ‘plough’ Medial position > / ganda/ ‘rhino’ Final position > /gan/ ‘wear’

/ŋ/ = Medial position > /buŋgi/ ‘female rat’ Final position > /daŋ/ ‘touch’

/s/ = Initial position > /salai/ ‘tongue’ Medial position > /t^haso/ ‘a kind of arum’ Final position > /bis/ ‘twenty’

/h/ = Initial position > /hab/ ‘enter’ Medial position > /baha/ ‘nest’

/z/ = Initial position > /zau/ ‘dig’ Medial position > /rwzab/ ‘sings’

/l/ = Initial position > /labuu/ ‘bring’ Medial position > /alasi/ ‘guest’ Final position > /k^hodal/ ‘spade’

/r/ = Initial position > /raizuu/ ‘the public’ Medial position > /borai/ ‘to welcome’ Final position > /agor/ ‘a design on cloth’

/w/ = Medial position > /bawgar/ ‘forget’ Final position > /k^hew/ ‘open’ /y/ = Medial position > /ayda/ ‘chapter’ Final position > /goy/ ‘areca-nut’.

Consonant Combinations

Consonant combinations may be classified into three categories, viz., (i) consonant cluster (ii) consonant sequences and (iii) geminate. Consonant cluster means combination of more than one consonant occurring together within a single syllable, while consonant sequence means combination of more than one consonant occurring between syllable and geminate means combination of two same phonemes. Following are the examples:

(i) Consonant Clusters

Initial two consonant clusters:

Stop + liquid

Consonant clusters	Example	glossary
/bl-/	/blod/	‘soon’
/br-/	/brui/	‘four’
/gl-/	/gluum/	‘fully’
/gr-/	/grun/	‘in row’
/k ^h l-/	/k ^h lab k ^h lab/	‘twinkling’
/k ^h r-/	/k ^h ri k ^h ri/	‘thick’
/p ^h l-/	/p ^h lanj p ^h liŋ/	‘this side and that side’
/p ^h r-/	/p ^h rat ^h /	‘firm’
/t ^h r-/	/t ^h rub/	‘completely’
/kl-/	/klab/	‘club’

Fricative + liquid

/sl-/	/slim/	‘smooth’
sr-/	/srud/	‘secretly’
/zr-/	/zrum/	‘tasteful with requisite quantity of salt’

Fricative + nasal

/sn-/ /sni/ ‘seven’

Medial Consonant Two Clusters

This dialect has a wide variety of medial two consonant clusters. The various combinatory possibilities of medial two consonant clusters in this dialect are illustrated below:

Voiceless obstruent + liquid

Consonant clusters	Example	glossary
/-k ^h r-/	/zūk ^h rub/	‘to kick and break’
/-k ^h l-/	/gak ^h lai/	‘put down with feet’
/-p ^h r-/	/k ^h op ^h ri/	‘bamboo made hat used as umbrella’
/-p ^h l-/	/up ^h le/	‘to rub against’
/-t ^h r-/	/zūt ^h ruud/	‘to remove with kick’
/-tr-/	/zatra/	‘starting’
/-sr-/	/hisri/	‘old torn cloth’
/-sl-/	/haslim/	‘to clean by rubbing’

Voiceless obstruent /p/ and /k/ do not occur in medial cluster position.

Voiced obstruent + liquid

/-bl-/	/mobla/	‘when’
/-dr-/	/adra/	‘half left’
/-dl-/	/muudla/	‘unsteady character of a boy’
/-gr-/	/ogronj/	‘pigsty’
/-gl-/	/gagluub/	‘to attack’
/-zr-/	/anzrai/	‘to replace’
/-zl-/	/duizlanj/	‘rainy season’

Voiced obstruent /b^h, d^h, g^h, and h/ do not occur in medial cluster position.

Obstruent + Obstruent

<i>/-pt-/</i>	<i>/hopta/</i>	‘week’
<i>/-bb-/</i>	<i>/zobbo/</i>	‘with splash’
<i>/-bd-/</i>	<i>/debbaru/</i>	‘pine tree’
<i>/-bz-/</i>	<i>/t^hubza/</i>	‘clustered’
<i>/-bs-/</i>	<i>/sabsin/</i>	‘better’
<i>/-bg-/</i>	<i>/t^hobgan/</i>	‘fully bloomed’
<i>/-bk^h-/</i>	<i>/k^hebk^hlab/</i>	‘a scrap’
<i>/-bt^h-/</i>	<i>/gurubt^ha/</i>	‘treaty’
<i>/-tb-/</i>	<i>/p^hutbol/</i>	‘foot-ball’
<i>/-db-/</i>	<i>/modbira/</i>	‘a ruffian turned out of information’
<i>/-dd-/</i>	<i>/p^hudda/</i>	‘in vain’
<i>/-dg-/</i>	<i>/badga/</i>	‘disloyal’
<i>/-dk^h-/</i>	<i>/udk^hari/</i>	‘tyrant’
<i>/-ks-/</i>	<i>/baksu/</i>	‘box’
<i>/-gg-/</i>	<i>/guugga/</i>	‘proud’
<i>/-gd-/</i>	<i>/agda/</i>	‘right side’
<i>/-gt-/</i>	<i>/mugti/</i>	‘release’
<i>/-gs-/</i>	<i>/agsi/</i>	‘left side’
<i>/-k^hk^h-/</i>	<i>/guk^hk^ha/</i>	‘better’
<i>/-k^ht^h-/</i>	<i>/sak^ht^hik^ho/</i>	‘to jerk to get free’
<i>/-sp-/</i>	<i>/sospen/</i>	‘sauce-pan’
<i>/-st-/</i>	<i>/astam/</i>	‘ring’
<i>/-sk-/</i>	<i>/biskut/</i>	‘biscuit’

Fricative + liquid

<i>/-sr-/</i>	<i>/busrud/</i>	‘to reduce by pulling’
<i>/-sl-/</i>	<i>/huslim/</i>	‘to clean by rubbing’
<i>/-zr-/</i>	<i>/bazrum/</i>	‘jump down’
<i>/-zl-/</i>	<i>/duizlan/</i>	‘rainy season’

Fricative /h/ + liquid do not occur in medial cluster position.

Liquid + Nasal

<i>/-rm-/</i>	<i>/k^hurma/</i>	‘guest’
<i>/-rn-/</i>	<i>/gurna/</i>	‘neck’
<i>/-lm-/</i>	<i>/salmai/</i>	‘pimple’
<i>/-ln-/</i>	<i>/alna/</i>	‘cloth stand’

Liquid + obstruent

<i>/-rb-/</i>	<i>/ebro/</i>	‘to poke in’
<i>/-rt-/</i>	<i>/sorta/</i>	‘betel nut cracker’
<i>/-rd-/</i>	<i>/k^hurdui/</i>	‘a kind of acid fruit’
<i>/-rg-/</i>	<i>/sorgiary/</i>	‘clan of the Bodos’
<i>/-rp^h-/</i>	<i>/p^hirp^hila/</i>	‘flag’
<i>/-rk^h-/</i>	<i>/k^hirk^hi/</i>	‘window’
<i>/-rt^h-/</i>	<i>/sert^he/</i>	‘to compress with hands’
<i>/-rs-/</i>	<i>/k^harson/</i>	‘to get entry by running into’
<i>/-rz-/</i>	<i>/arzi/</i>	‘to earn’
<i>/-rh-/</i>	<i>/derha/</i>	‘to win’
<i>/-ls-/</i>	<i>/olsia/</i>	‘lazy’

Nasal + voiced obstruent

/-mb-/	/gambari/	‘a timber tree’
/-nd-/	/k ^h andi/	‘snub nose’
/-nz-/	/anzao/	‘to take’
/-ŋb-/	/goŋbai/	‘to be defeated’
/-ŋg-/	/aŋgu/	‘one’s own’
/-ŋz-/	/gaŋzema/	‘a water insect’
/-ŋd-/	/zuŋdao/	‘to burn intensely’
/-mz-/	/bamza/	‘to take in arms’
/-ng-/	/onga/	‘except’

Nasal + Voiceless obstruent

/-mt ^h -/	/amt ^h a/	‘thick’
/-mp ^h -/	/k ^h amp ^h a/	‘monument’
/-mh-/	/k ^h aŋhe/	‘having a smell of burnt thing’
/-ms-/	/gamsa/	‘towel’
/-nt ^h -/	/k ^h ont ^h ai/	‘poem’
/-nk ^h -/	/zank ^h ar/	‘to go far away’
/-ŋp ^h -/	/zoŋp ^h ar/	‘pointed’
/-ŋt ^h -/	/naŋt ^h ab/	‘to absorb persistently’
/-ŋk ^h -/	/k ^h aŋk ^h rai/	‘crab’
/-ŋs-/	/k ^h aŋsi/	‘dish’

Nasal + liquid

/-ml-/	/kamla/	‘labour’
/-mr-/	/k ^h umra/	‘pumpkin’
/-nl-/	/onla/	‘a curry prepared from ground rice’
/-ŋl-/	/hoŋla/	‘hollow’

Nasal + Nasal

<i>/-mm-/</i>	<i>/zut^humma/</i>	‘conference’
<i>/-nn-/</i>	<i>/onnai/</i>	‘affection’
<i>/-ŋn-/</i>	<i>/nuŋni/</i>	‘your’

Lateral + Lateral

<i>/-ll-/</i>	<i>/zilla/</i>	‘district’
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Fricative +fricative

<i>/-zz-/</i>	<i>/guzza/</i>	‘red’
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Final Clusters

In this dialect a small number of two consonant clusters occur in the final position of words which are from English. The following are the examples of words having final consonant cluster.

<i>/-nt/</i>	<i>/siment/</i>	‘cement’
<i>/-nd/</i>	<i>/nagalend/</i>	‘Nagaland’
<i>/-ns/</i>	<i>/saens/</i>	‘science’
<i>/-st/</i>	<i>/post/</i>	‘pillar’
<i>/-lm/</i>	<i>/p^hilim/</i>	‘film’

Three Consonant Clusters

North-central dialect of Bodo has a small number of three medial consonant clusters. Following are the analysis three consonant clusters that we have in this dialect.

<i>/-mbr-/</i>	<i>/sambram/</i>	‘onion’
<i>/-nsr-/</i>	<i>/sinsri/</i>	‘back bone’
<i>/-nzs-/</i>	<i>/zinzri/</i>	‘chain’
<i>/-ndr-/</i>	<i>/sandruui/</i>	‘sieve’
<i>/-mbl-/</i>	<i>/zodambla/</i>	‘letherzic’

/-ŋgr-/	/k ^h useŋgra/	‘cricket’
/ŋk ^h r/	/k ^h aŋk ^h rai/	‘crab’
/-mp ^h l-/	/k ^h amp ^h lai/	a low wooden seat with or without legs’
/-bsr-/	/t ^h obsro/	‘into two pieces’
/-ŋk ^h l-/	/zaŋk ^h la/	‘ladder’
/-mp ^h r-/	/sump ^h run/	‘guava’
/-ŋbr-/	/duŋbrud/	‘slightly warm’
/-bk ^h l-/	/k ^h ebk ^h lab/	‘to pinch out’
/-nbr-/	/p ^h anbre/	‘to coil up metrically’
/-mk ^h r-/	/hamk ^h reŋ/	‘thin’
/-nsl-/	/sansla/	‘bald’

Consonant Sequence

Consonant sequences in this dialect generally occur only in medial position. Following are the examples of the various combinatory of two consonant sequences.

Stop+Stop

/-b+k ^h -/	/gabk ^h o/	‘to urge’
/-p ^h +t ^h -/	/gap ^h t ^h a/	‘to step strong’
/-g+d-/	/bugdad/	‘strong’
/-p+t-/	/hopta/	‘week’
/-b+d-/	/labdaŋ/	‘flat and wide’
/-b+g-/	/rebgon/	‘pen’

Stop+Nasal

/-k ^h +n-/	/dok ^h na/	‘women lower garment of the Bodos’
/-b+n-/	/zubnay/	‘last’

Nasal+Stop

/-n+d-/	/landaŋ/	‘open’
/-n+b-/	/sanba/	‘five days’
/-m+p ^h -/	/zamp ^h ra/	‘uncombed’
/-m+b-/	/lambre/	‘short haired’
/-ŋ+b-/	/soŋbizir/	‘constitution’
/-ŋ+d-/	/laŋdaŋ/	‘open’
/-ŋ+g-/	/buŋgiri/	‘speaker’
/-n+t ^h -/	/p ^h ant ^h a/	‘male goat’
/-ŋ+t ^h -/	/zuŋt ^h i/	‘bright’
/-ŋ+s-/	/soŋsar/	‘world’
/-n+t-/	/santi/	‘peace’
/-ŋ+k ^h -/	/siŋk ^h ao/	‘divide’
/-n+k ^h -/	/sank ^h o/	‘to count separately’
/-m+t ^h -/	/k ^h umt ^h a/	‘strong’
/-m+k ^h -/	/sumk ^h ur/	‘dark green’

Nasal+Nasal

/-ŋ+m-/	/haŋma/	‘unfulfilled desire’
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Nasal+Fricative

/-m+s-/	/k ^h umsi/	‘dark’
/-m + z-/	/lumza/	‘illnesses’
/-n+s-/	/mansui/	‘man’
/-n+z-/	/sanza/	‘east’
/-n+h-/	/ganhuu/	‘to wear’
/-ŋ+h-/	/siŋho/	‘lion’

/-ŋ+s-/ /haŋsu/ ‘duck’

Nasal+Liquid

/-m+l-/ /samlai/ ‘control’

/-n+l-/ /p^hanlu/ ‘chilly’

/-ŋ+l-/ /hoŋla/ ‘hollow’

Liquid+Stop

/-r+b-/ /gurbuu/ ‘soul’

/-r+k^h-/ /k^hurk^hi/ ‘window’

/-l+t^h-/ /salt^he/ ‘wife of sister’s husband as they address’

/-l+b-/ /dulbari/ ‘name of Boro village’

/-r+t^h-/ /sert^he/ ‘to compress with hand’

/-r+d-/ /birdao/ ‘to fly above’

Liquid+Nasal

/-r+m-/ /buurma/ ‘goat’

/-r+n-/ /gurna/ ‘neck’

/-l+m-/ /salmai/ ‘pimple’

Liquid+Liquid

/-r+l-/ /k^harlan/ ‘run away’

Liquid+Fricative

/-r+s-/ /barso/ ‘to cross’

Three Consonant Sequences

In this dialect, there is lot of three consonant sequences but the first member is always nasal and the second member may be stop or fricative. The third member is either trill or lateral. Three consonant sequences never occur in word initial and final position. Following are the examples:

/-m+p ^h l-/	/k ^h amp ^h lai/	‘a low wooden seat with or without legs’
/-n+dr-/	/sandruui/	‘sieve’
/-ŋ+k ^h r-/	/haŋk ^h rai/	‘to invite’
/-n+sr-/	/k ^h ansruui/	‘earthworm’
/-m+bl-/	/sumble/	‘light black’
/-n+zr-/	/zinzri/	‘chain’
/-n+tr-/	/santri/	‘soldier’
/-m+p ^h r-/	/sump ^h rum/	‘guava’

Geminate

In this dialect of Bodo, the aspirated stop, nasal, fricative and lateral are form geminate in the medial position only. These are given below with examples:

/-bb-/	/lubba/	‘connection’
/-ll-/	/mella/	‘so much’
/-gg-/	/guunggu/	‘pure’
/-zz-/	/ruzza/	‘thick’
/-nn-/	/munnuui/	‘two’
/-p ^h p ^h -/	/gup ^h p ^h a/	‘test like areca-nut’
/-k ^h k ^h -/	/guk ^h k ^h a/	‘bitter’

Conclusion:

Promod Chandra Bhattacharya in his doctoral thesis ‘A descriptive analysis of the Bodo languages’ (1977) says that there are four dialect areas in the present Bodo language: (i) North-West Dialect area having sub dialects of North-Kamrup and North-Goalpara, (ii) South-west dialect area comprising South Goalpara and Garo Hills Districts, (iii) North Central Assam areas comprising Darrang (now Odalguri), Lakhimpur district and a few places of Arunachal Pradesh, and (iv) the southern Assam dialect area comprising Nogaon, North Cachar, Mikir Hills and adjacent districts.

The history of the Bodo script is that most of the Bodo writers used Roman and Bengali scripts for the writing of the Bodo language and in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the Christian missionaries used Roman script. In the beginning of the twentieth century the Bodo writers used Bengali as well as Assamese script. In the course of 1974-75, Assamese is replaced by the Devnagari script for writing the Bodo language. As a result of the Bodo movement, an agreement was reached by the central government of India and the Bodo Sahitya Sabha and Devanagari script is accepted as the standard script for the Bodo language.

Bodo language has been accorded the status of a co-official language by the Government of Assam and it is the main official language in the Bodoland Territorial Council. The Bodos are born bilinguals as they are fluent speakers of Assamese as well. Apart from Bodo and Assamese, they can also speak Hindi as they have accepted Devnagari script for the Bodo language.

There are 22 consonantal phonemes in this dialect but the standard Bodo variety has only 16 consonantal phonemes. The consonantal phonemes which are not found in the standard variety are /p/, /t/, /k/, /g^h/, /b^h/ and /d^h/. The first three unaspirated phonemes are realized as aspirated counterparts and the last three are realized as unaspirated counterparts in the standard variety. The two consonant clusters are found in all the three positions, namely, initially, medially and finally. A small number of three consonant clusters are also found in this dialect but they always occur in the medial position.

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