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A Comparative Study of Bangla and Sylheti Grammar

Candidato: Dott. Amrita Rani Das

Tutore: Prof. Rosanna Sornicola



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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BANGLA AND SYLHETI GRAMMAR

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Amrita Rani Das

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BANGLA AND SYLHETI GRAMMAR

Amrita Rani Das

Read and Approved by:

<NAME OF COMMITTEE CHAIR> (<CHAIR OR FACULTY SUPERVISOR>)

<NAME OF COMMITTEE MEMBER TWO>

<NAME OF COMMITTEE MEMBER THREE>

Date_____

Dedicated to my ***Maa***

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Abbreviations

ADJ	adjectives	LOC	locative
ADV	adverbs	NUM	numeral
bavn	ba form of the verbal noun example: lik ^h ba – write – bavn	O	object
C	complement	OBJ	objective case
CL	classifier	ONOM	onomatopoeia
CON	consonant	ORD	ordinary
CONJ	conjunction	P.C	past continuous
CP	conditional participle	P.HABIT	past habitual
CR	correlative	P.PERF	past perfect
EMP	emphasiser	P.S	simple past
F	familiar	PL	plural
FUT	future	POL	polite
FUT.IMP	future imperative	POS	possessive
GEN	genitive	POSTP	postposition
HON	honorary	PP	perfective participle
HABIT	habitual	PR	present
I	intimate	PR.C	present continuous
IMP	imperative	PR.IMP	present imperative
INAN	inanimate	PR.PERF	present perfect
INT	interjections	PR.S	present simple
INTERJ	interjection	PRED	predicate
INFOR	informal	PRON	pronoun
IP	imperfective participle	PS	person
S	subject	R	relate
SG	singular	V	verb
		VN	verbal noun

TRANSC transcription

GLOSSARY

A

Adjective

Adjective is a type of word that describes or modifies nouns to make them more specific. They are usually positioned before nouns.

Example: *red* building.

In Bangla and Sylheti adjectives are also added after nouns when the nouns are accompanied by classifiers or cases.

Example: *mejeṭa ṣobar ṭeje ṭuṭṣap.*
 girl-CL of all quite
 The girl is quietest of all.

Adverb

Adverbs are used to qualify or modify verbs, adjectives or other types of words or clauses. In Bangla and Sylheti adverbs are also formed by the process of reduplication.

Example: *ṭarāṭari* – 'quickly'

Agreement

Agreement takes place between words or phrases, when a word changes its form (that

controls it) depending on the other word. In Bangla and Sylheti verb endings are always effected by person that generally agrees with the subject.

C

Case

A grammatical category which determines syntactic and semantic function of a noun and a pronoun. Cases are marked by case endings. Bangla and Sylheti have four cases : nominative, genitive, objective and locative.

Classifier

A word or affix attached to nouns that determines singular and plural numbers, definiteness and indefiniteness in Bangla and Sylheti.

Bangla classifiers : *ʃa, ʃi, dʒɔn, kʰana, gulo*.

Sylheti classifiers: : *ʃa, gu, dʒɔn, xan*.

Conditional

Expressing a condition : *if I go*

Conditional Participle

Conditional participle is a non-finite verb form. In Bangla and Sylheti conditional participles ends in *-le* as in *'kɔrle 'do'*.

Conjugation

The systematic change of verb stem by which tense, mood and person, are marked.

Conjunction

Type of words that join or connect clauses or sentences. Example : *but, and* etc

Converb

A subordinate form of a verb which unlike a full form, does not distinguish person.

Genitive

Case whose basic role is to mark possession. In Bangla and Sylheti the genitive case is marker by /r/.

Divasvara

A symbol which was used in Sylheti script to produce diphthongs. The sign *divasvara* converts all vowels to diphthongs. Example : *ai, ui, oi*.

Honorific

Polite form of address. In Bangla and Sylheti an honorific pronoun is used with the parents and respected persons of society.

Locative

Grammatical case that indicates a place or a location.

Matra

A long straight line placed above the letters. *Matra* is used in *devnagari* and many *Brahmi* derived scripts.

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INTRODUCTION

Sylheti (ছিলতী, *Silṭi*), the dominant language of the Sylhet district of Bangladesh has always been considered by the Govt. of Bangladesh as a dialect of Bangla. The imminent threat of Pakistani-Urdu, threatened the existence of Bangla in 1952 bringing the whole nation together, tied them with a single sentiment to fight for their mother tongue. East Pakistan got its liberation and named the nation “*Bangla (bengali) – desh (country/nation)*” (Ahmed 1999). History repeats itself, Bangladeshi govt. Imposed *Bengali nationalism* on everyone and languages like Sylheti never got their independent status. (Myenin, 2011).

This thesis is of course not about the history of Sylheti language, but we have given a brief introduction about the origin of the language. Sylheti is spoken in the Sylhet district of Bangladesh, and the Barak Valley region of the Indian state of Assam (famous for *Assam tea*) holds the largest population of Sylheti speakers after Sylhet. Although it does not have a language status, it is often referred to as an Independent language by many Sylheti scholars. (Sebastine, 2007). We will also see that in India, Sylheti is currently getting influenced by the Bangla language of the Indian state of West Bengal (capital city: Kolkata formerly known as Calcutta). Mostly in the use of lexicon, we noticed that, urban educated speakers prefer more Bangla lexicon over Sylheti while the uneducated rural Sylheti speakers do the opposite. For example: the word *meg^h* (মেঘ) in Bangla is used for 'cloud' and *bristī* (বৃষ্টি) for 'rain' while in Sylheti *meg^h* (মেঘ) denotes both 'cloud' and 'rain'. In Sylheti speaking areas it has been noticed that the Sylheti speakers from urban region or who are exposed to Bangla language through education, media or by any other medium of contact, use the two different

words for 'cloud' and 'rain' while the Sylheti speakers from rural areas use the word *meg^h* (মেঘ) for 'rain' and 'cloud'. It is not that the Sylheti peoples (rural or uneducated) do not know the use and meaning of the words *meg^h* (মেঘ) and *bristi* (বৃষ্টি), they just prefer to use the native expression among them. More interestingly, we will also study the socio-economic, religious as well as geographical divides that have segmented the language significantly. For example the choice of words by Hindu and Muslim Sylheti Speakers, consider the word *hinan* (হিনান) - *gusol* (গুসল) meaning 'bath', *hinan* is used by the Hindu Sylhetis on the other hand *gusol* is preferred by the Muslim Sylheti speakers (discussed in details in Chapter 3). Besides the study of the lexicon this thesis will also center around the development of Sylheti grammar relative to that of Bangla, which will enable us to see the similarities as well as the stark departures. For example pronouns in Bangla and Sylheti have the differences in the use of gender, it is noticed that in Bangla pronouns are not categorized according to gender while in Sylheti the third person singular pronouns (ord) have the use of pronoun based on gender (male and female). E.g. for nominative 3rd person singular pronouns he and she, the Sylheti pronouns are - *he* and *tai* while in Bangla the 3rd person singular nominative pronoun is *je* for both (male and female) genders (Thompson, 2010). Like pronouns in other grammatical categories also Bangla and Sylheti have lots of differences that we have discussed in later chapters. Despite the differences, Sylheti and Bangla share a lot of common features. For example: **Formation of Adverbs** is similar in both languages (Chapter 9). Both have the feature of **Word Order Flexibility** and the sentences are constructed to **SOV** word order. The verb ending for 1st person past habitual in Bangla and Sylheti is -**tam** (discussed in Chapter 7).

Previous works (Bhuiya, 2000), (Chanda,2013), were in the direction of describing the Sylheti script, Sylheti History, origin of the script and briefly the Sylheti Grammar (Mayenin, 2011). On the other hand in this thesis, we have tried to build a big picture, to study most of the grammatical features of the language which is

a step towards building a comprehensive grammar of the language. We have also tried to build up the Sylheti grammar relative to that of Bangla and tried to study in detail both Bangla and Sylheti Grammars along with their phonological and Morphological features and discussed in details their similarities and dissimilarities. Of course this is a colossal task and the present work is a bead in that chain and we would very much like to complete the task.

1.2.Important points

Before entering into the thesis we would like to discuss few important points and set some notational conventions which we think will be useful for a reader to understand the thesis better.

We have used the word Bangla *baᅅla* (বাংলা) to indicate the language and the word Bengali *beᅅali* (বেঙ্গলি) for the speakers. It is not wrong to use Bengali for both Speakers and Language, in English Bengali is used for language and the speakers while in Hindi *hindī* (हिन्दि) Bangla is used to denote the language and a speaker is called a *baᅅali* (বাঙালি) just like the native Bangla speakers.

In this thesis we have used the Bangla letters for representing the Sylheti phonemes, but there exists lots of differences between Bangla and Sylheti phoneme for example : in Sylheti there is no /p^h/ phoneme instead it has /ɸ/ but in order to write the Sylheti word having the phoneme /ɸ/ we have used the Bangla letter 'ফ'. In the following table we have made the list of Bangla letters which we have used according to the Sylheti pronunciation. We have placed the IPA to illustrate the exact sound.

Table 1.1 : Use of Bangla letters for representing Sylheti sounds

Bangla letter	IPA	Sylheti word	transc	meaning
ফ	/ɸ/	ফান	<i>ɸan</i>	kind of leaf
ঘ	/ɣ/	ঘাম	<i>ɣam</i>	sweat
স	/s/	সামস	<i>samos</i>	spoon
জ	/dʒ/	জরনা	<i>dʒorna</i>	waterfall
জ	/z/	জারু	<i>zaru</i>	broom

1.3 Previous literature

Bangla is rich for its literature. Scholars like Rabindranath Tagore, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Micheal Madhusudan Dutta, Jibananda Das and many other notable poets and authors have contributed for the development and enrichment of the Bangla literature. Along with the literature many scholars have also contributed in the study of Bangla Grammar. The first Bangla grammar book is '*A Grammar of the Bengali Language*' by Nathaniel Brassey Halhed published in the year 1778 (Hassain, 2007). Many scholars like Thompson (Thompson 2010), Milne (Milne 1993), Yeats and Wenger (Yeats and Wenger, 1885) have organized and documented the grammar of this beautiful language.

Like Bangla the literature of Sylheti language is also rich and diverse. Sylheti scholars like Hason Raja, Radha Romon Dutta, Durbin Shaha, Syed shah Noor have contributed a lot to this language. They have mostly composed songs and folklores. The composition of sylheti Grammar is not so established like Bangla but recently many scholars have contributed for documenting the Sylheti grammar. Munayem Mayenin (Mayenin, 2011) have constructed a Sylheti grammar book in which the scholar has described the Sylheti phoneme and grammar. Many other scholars like

Anuradha Chanda (Chanda, 2013), have discussed about the Sylheti phonemes and Conjuncts. Mina Dan (Chanda, 2013) has worked on describing the Sylheti grammar and Sylheti Phonemes. In SOAS Sylheti language society, many scholars and students are working on Sylheti language which is a very vital and big step for the Sylheti Language.

1.4 Methodology:

In this study we have followed the interview method. We procured the data through direct communication with respondents through direct interview. The present work is based on the data collected from the Barak Valley region of India. We have collected data for both Sylheti and Bangla, which includes speakers from different age groups, classes, religions, sex etc. We have also considered the data collected from both rural and urban, educated and illiterate, rich as well as poor speakers. This work also includes the data collected from native Persian speakers which helped us identify and understand the Persian borrowed words in Bangla and Sylheti. Besides the interview method we have also studied huge amounts of literature and manuscripts. For the study of Sylheti words we have consulted the dictionary '*Barak Upotokkar Koitto Banglar Obhidan*' (Mazumder, 2011), we have also studied a collection of Sylheti poems written by the famous Sylheti poet of Barak valley, Mr. Anandolal Nath.

1.5 Organisation of the thesis

One might think though that this is a very specific and specialized work involving a *not-so-popular* language, but as we will proceed through various chapters, the opinion will built up that it's a beautiful and complex example of grammar study that shares the universal features and hence the techniques used can be applied anywhere else.

In the current work, we have studied Brief history in **Chapter II** where we have

focused discussing the History of Bangla and Sylheti language.

Chapter III deals with the Sylheti and Bangla lexicons. The main aim of this chapter is to study the borrowed words in Bangla and Sylheti and how the borrowed words are adapted by the language for the native use. We have focused mainly on the phonological and morphological adaptation of the borrowed words by the native speakers.

Chapter IV This chapter deals in the study of sound and script of Bangla and Sylheti. This chapter is divided in two parts, the first part deals with the study of Bangla and Sylheti phonemes in which we have consulted the IPA chart of Bangla and Sylheti and based on that we have discussed the consonants, and vowels. The first part also deals with the study of diphthongs of Bangla and Sylheti. The second part of the chapter is about the study of Bangla and Sylheti scripts in this part a brief history of both the script is given and the arrangements of the letters according to Bangla and Sylheti script.

Chapter V is about Nouns, and includes gender and its marking, the use of Classifiers and the description of classifiers from Bangla and Sylheti. The chapter also includes the study on case markers. It is noticed that the nominative case in Bangla is unmarked while in Sylheti nominative case is both marked and unmarked because of the ergative syntax.

Chapter VI is about Pronoun and it discusses the types of pronoun from Bangla and Sylheti. Pronoun in Bangla do not distinguish between gender while in Sylheti 2nd person singular pronoun is marked by gender.

Chapter VII The purpose of this chapter is to identify the work and function of verb in Bangla and Sylheti. The study of verb conjugation is an important part in this chapter which helps to understand the verb formation in Bangla and Sylheti. In this chapter we have also discussed the nonfinite verb and their formation.

Chapter VIII and IX are about Adjective and Adverb in Bangla and Sylheti,

there are not many differences between the two languages in these areas. In these chapters we studied the formation, and types of adverbs and adjectives.

Chapter X focuses on the concept, origin and functional behavior of Postpositions in Sylheti with special reference to Bangla postposition and Prepositions in English .It has been often observed Postpositions in Sylheti and Bangla function as case endings that develop syntactic relationship between different syntactic units. Postpositions also carry valuable semantic information about the relationship between the noun and the verb.

Chapter XI deals with Bangla and Sylheti Conjunctions. It is an important element of a language. In this chapter we have presented some native Sylheti conjunctions.

Chapter XII This chapter focuses on the study of interrogatives which includes the use and function of interrogative words from Bangla and Sylheti. An attempt has been made to study the interrogative particle from Bangla and Sylheti. This chapter also focuses on the study of interrogative words used by the Sylheti speakers of Barak Valley.

The last **chapter XIII** contains a brief study of Bangla and Sylheti emphasisers and interjections.

III

A BRIEF HISTORY OF BANGLA AND SYLHETI

2.1. Introduction

Bangla *banla* is an Indo-Aryan language, spoken predominantly in the Indian sub-continent.

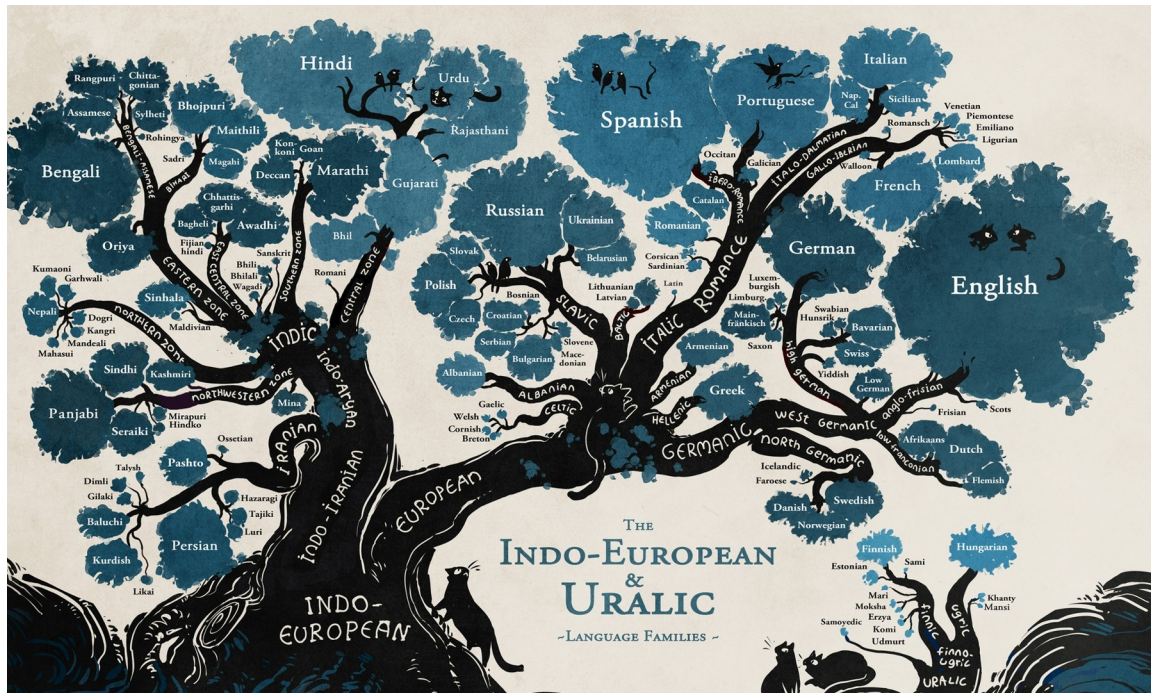


Figure 2.1 : Bangla in the Indo-European language tree (Sundberg, 2015)

It is the official and national language of Bangladesh. In India Bangla has the status of official language in West Bengal, Tripura and the Barak Valley region of the state

of Assam. The total number of native Bangla speaker is 200 million and including non-native speakers the total number is 250 million.(Ethnologue). According to the census of 2001 India has 83,365,769 Bangla speakers. According to census 2011 Bangladesh has 98.8 % of Bangla speakers.



Figure 2.2 Bengali speaking region in the Indian subcontinent.

2.2 Origin of Bangla

According to Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Bangla is derived from Magahi Prakrit through Magadhi Apabhramsha. According to the linguists (Suniti kumar Chatterjee) the language had its origin in the 10th century. But the Bangla Scholar Muhammad Shahidullah presented a different theory. According to him and his followers Bangla began in 7th century AD and was derived from spoken and written Gauda. (Banerjee,1919).

Historically, Bangla, Assamese and Oriya formed a single branch from which Oriya split of first and then Assamese. And for this reason it is no wonder that the Charyapadas (mystic Buddhist songs) are also considered by Oriya and Assamese speakers as their own.

In linguistic relationship, Assamese is closer to Bangla than Oriya. In many Bangla dialects there are many phonological and lexical features which are similar to Assamese. For example, the phoneme [x] is present in Assamese and also in Sylheti dialects of Bangla. Even the script used in Bangla is more or less similar to Assamese. (Ray, Hai, Ray, 1966).

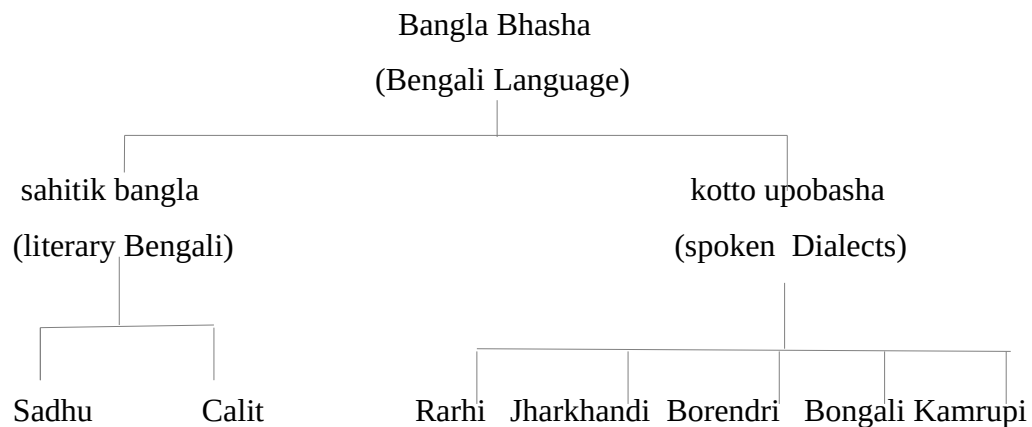
2.3 Dialects

Language is a medium of expression, speakers express themselves thorough language either in writing or orally but the medium used while speaking usually differs region to region. A language can have many dialects spread across the geographical regions where its spoken, each region can have a single or multiple dialects of its own. A dialect is defined by linguists as a variety of the same language by its pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, discourse conventions and other linguistic features (Hudson, 2011). Dialects are governed by rules, with systematic deviation from other dialects of the same language. In English usage the term dialect used by the people from a

particular geographic or social group or for standard varieties. A dialect becomes a standard variety if it is spoken as a medium of trade or used as medium of literature, education etc. For example: Standard English is just one among various English dialects (Wardhaugh, 2002). The dialect spoken in Nadia district of the state of West Bengal during the 19th and 20th century gained so much importance that it was used for literature.

Suniti kumar Chatterjee (Chatterjee, 1957) has divided the dialects of Bangla into four groups – রাঢ়ী *raṛi*, বঙ্গালী *bṅgali*, কামরূপী *kamrupi* ও বরেন্দ্রী *bṛendri* (Choudhury, Dutta choudhury, Bhattejee, Bhattejee,1996, p 185); (Kuiper,2011). Sukumar Sen has added one more cluster to this group named Jharkandi– the variety of Bangla spoken in Jharkand.

Table 2.1 : Bangla Dialect chart



Rarhi includes the dialects of Kolkata, Hoogly, Nadia, Burdawan, Mursidabad districts of West Bengal, India. While Jharkandi is spoken in the regions of Madhinipur, Purulia, Birbhum, Bankura. Kamrupi in Rangpur, Kuchbihar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling (WB, India). Bongali is predominantly spoken in Bangladesh : Khulna, Sylhet,

Faridpur, Mymensingh, Chottogram and only in the Barak Valley region of the state of Assam, India. Most of the dialects spoken in Bangladesh belong to Bongali group. Gopal Halder (Halder, 1986) has named this group as the East Bengal group. The dialect spoken in the district of Sylhet, Bangladesh and Barak Valley (India), is Sylheti which belongs to the Bongali group (Choudhury, Dutta choudhury, Bhattejee, Bhattejee, 1996), (Chatterjee, 1975)

2.4 Sylheti language

Sylheti (/sileʈi/ or /silɔʈi/) is an Indo – Aryan language spoken mainly by the people of the Sylhet district of Bangladesh and Sylheti people of Barak valley region of the state of Assam, India. Some Sylheti speakers can also be found in the Tripura state of India. A big chunk can also be found in the diaspora.

Generally Sylheti is considered as a dialect of Bangla with which it shares a huge part of its vocabulary, but its status is heavily debated. Many scholars consider it as a dialect of Bangla while for many others Sylheti is a separate language (Sebastine, 2007). According to some scholars Sylheti is a relative of both Assamese and Bangla languages with whom Sylheti shares many features (Grierson Vol II, 1903). For example it is seen that both Assamese and Sylheti have the phoneme [x] and both share many words e.g. *horu-* 'small'. On the other hand it shares much vocabulary with Bangla. Sylheti retains many words from Bangla which are now obsolete in Bangla or the uses are restricted to literature, e.g. *baʈaf* (বাতাশ) meaning 'wind', *ʃɔɔk* (সড়ক) meaning 'road'

Before the separation of India and Bangladesh (Originally East Pakistan), Sylhet had significant population of both Hindus and Muslims but after the separation, Sylhet became Muslim majority and the migrated Hindu population settled mostly in the Barak valley region of Assam, India. Sylheti spoken in Barak region was named by G.A Grierson as Cacher-Sylheti dialect (Grierson, 1903). It has been noted that Hindus

and Muslims have different set of vocabularies. Muslim Sylhetis use the vocabularies mostly borrowed from Persian, Arabic and Turkish languages while Hindu Sylhetis use vocabularies which are predominantly of Sanskrit origin.

2.5 A brief introduction to the Sylheti Speaking regions

Sylheti district, Bangladesh

Srihatta (meaning : Beautiful marketplace) or Sylhet, situated on the Surma-Meghna river system was part of the ancient kingdom of Pragjyotisa and Kamrupa. Around the 10th century it became an autonomous state but did not stay so for long, because around 14th century Sylhet was conquered by Mughals and during this period the beginning of the Islamic influence started in Sylhet. During 1303, it became an Islamic state and gradually turned into the hub of Islamic religion with the preaching of the priest Shah Jalal (Shāh Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Mujarrad al Naqshbandi,). Mughals subsequently conquered the region and Sylhet became the headquarter of the Bengal subah¹ (khan 2003). During the colonial period Sylhet was administered by British administration. It is in the Mulnicherra estate where British started first tea plantation in 1857 (Nasir and Shamsudda, 2003). In the year 1867 Sylhet was constituted as Municipality.

The metropolitan city of Sylhet is now the third most important city of Bangladesh.

2.5.1. Barak valley

Barak valley also known as the Lower Assam is located in the southern part of the northeastern State of Assam, India. The region is named after the river Barak. The biggest city of the region is Silchar. This region consists of three administrative

¹Subah – province.

districts of the state of Assam, namely Cachar, Hailakandi and Karimganj. Cachar was the part of Kachari kingdom (Russell, 2012), in 1832 it was annexed by the British empire. Cachar along with Hailakandi (formerly a part of Cachar district) was made a part Assam by British rulers. In 1989 Hailakandi became an independent district. In the year 1947 during the partition of India and Pakistan, Karimganj, which was a region of Sylhet, got separated and became a part of India and the rest of the Sylhet region became a part of East Pakistan (present day Bangladesh). In the year 1983, Karimganj became a district of Assam with its head quarter located in the Karimganj town.

The majority of the population in Barak Valley are of Sylheti descent (the migrants and their future generations) and speak the Sylheti language. The official language of Barak valley is Bangla and English. Apart from Sylhetis, Barak valley also has other peoples like Dimasa (Singha,2010), Manipuri (Primrose,1888), Chakma (Talukdar,2010), Bishnupriya Manipuri (Simha,1981). There are five different kinds of schools in Barak Valley based on the medium of education: Assamese Medium, Bangla Medium, English Medium, Hindi Medium and Manipuri Medium schools.

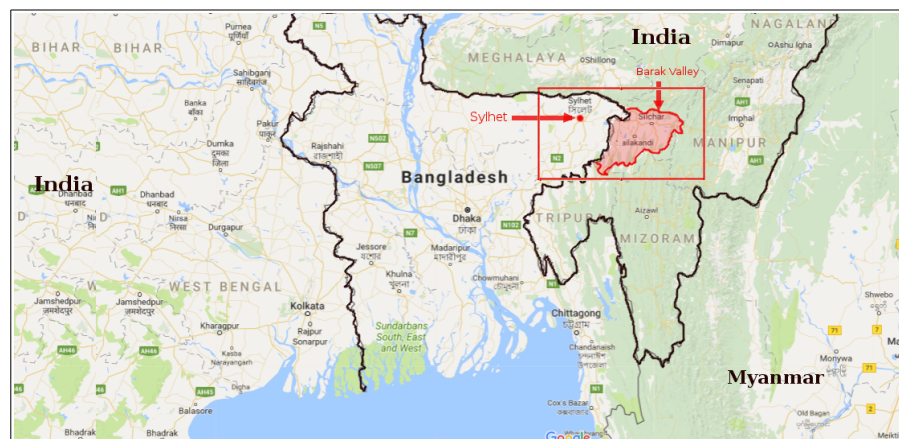


Figure 2.3 : Sylheti speaking region of the Indian Subcontinent. The map highlighted in red is the approximate map of the Barak Valley region of the Indian state of Assam.

2.6 Bangla language movement

2.6.1 Language movement in Bangladesh

Language Movement of 1950's (ভাষা আন্দোলন, *b^hafa andolon*) was a political movement in Bangladesh (East Pakistan) demanding the recognition of Bangla as the official language of East Pakistan.

After the partition of India and Pakistan (1947), Bangladesh was incorporated within Pakistan, named as East Pakistan, but soon due to geographical and linguistic issues, a conflict broke between the West and the East Pakistan. The government of Pakistan tried to solve the language issue by imposing Urdu as the official language of the whole nation, as Bangla (the language spoken in Bangladesh) was unintelligible to Pakistan government and also because of nationalistic ideologies such as “one nation one language”. In 1948, a year after the partition, the Government of Pakistan declared Urdu as the only official and National Language of the Nation which sent tremors among the East Pakistan (Bangladesh) Bangla speakers. It was devastating for the Bangla speakers to abandon their Mother Tongue, as a result they started to protest strongly against Pakistan Government's decision (Umar 2004, PP 30-35). On 21st of February, 1952, the students of the Dhaka university along with political activists started a language movement by organising protest rallies, Public meetings etc. The protest reached its climax when police open fired at the demonstrators in front of the University gate. This incident created a civil disbalance among the local people. After so many years of conflicts and protests, finally in the year 1956 the government of Pakistan recognized Bangla as the second official language of Pakistan. And in 1971 Bangladesh finally got its Independence and became a separate and sovereign country. Every year in Bangladesh, 21st February is celebrated as Basha Sohid Divos (language martyr's day) later in the year 1999 UNESCO declared 21st February as the International Mother Language Day.

2.6.2 Language movement in Barak Valley, Assam, India

Although the 21st February is world famous for the language movement of Bangladesh that happened in 1952, another Language Movement took place not so far from Bangladesh in 1960s (Mukhopadya, 2013) that almost nobody knows outside where it happened. When the government of Assam, India declared Assamese as the only official language of the state, people of Barak Valley protested equally strongly as the people of Bangladesh did just a decade before. In April 1960, a proposal was set by the government of Assam to declare Assamese as the one and only official language of the state which was not taken easily by the Bangla speakers (mostly Sylheti speakers) of Barak valley. On 24th of October of that year a bill was passed in the Assam legislative Assembly thereby making Assamese as the solo state language. On 5th of February 1961, the *Cachar Gana Sangram Parishad* was formed to agitate against the imposition of Assamese language on Bangla speakers. On 19th May, Assam rifles (military) arrived at the Silchar railway station, where non-violent protesters gathered, and fired at the crowd killing 11 protesters. After this incident the Assam government had to withdraw the circular and Bangla was given the status of official language in Barak Valley. Till now 19th May is celebrated as *Bhasha Sohid Divos* (Language martyr's day) in Barak Valley and this day is also know as the day of 11 martyrs



BANGLA AND SYLHETI LEXICON

3.1 Introduction

The lexicon is an important part of a language. Lexicon consist of the words in a language and each native speaker knows how to use them. But lexicon is not just dealing with native words, it is very common that a language borrows words to fill up the lexical gaps, for example most of the technical terms in Bangla and Sylheti are borrowed from foreign languages like English. Sometimes the borrowed words become so common and an integral part of a language that the native speakers use the original native words in rare occasions, for example in Bangla and Sylheti, the word like 'sorry', 'thank you, 'welcome' have become so common that native words for these terms are used rarely.

This chapter is about the study and discussion of lexicon in Bangla and Sylheti. The lexicon in Bangla is mostly derived from Sanskrit, Sylheti also has Sanskrit lexical items but the number is less than in Bangla. Many words are also borrowed from other sources like Persian, Arabic, Turkish and these words have become an integral part of the language. In this chapter we have also aimed at studying the Sylheti words and how they are different from Bangla due to morphological and phonological processes. In this chapter we have also tried to figure out the differences which exist within Sylheti, among the dialects.

3.2 Bangla counts as a diglossic language

Bangla depicts a strong case of diglossia, the higher level is used for literature or for the documentation and the low level is used as ordinary spoken language (Thompson,2010). The two categories are *śadhu* (সাধু) and *calit* (চলিত). *śadhu bāśa* (ভাষা meaning language) had been used for literature in the past and used to be considered as pure language on the other hand *calit* is the colloquial language, although now *calit* is also used in literature and *śadhu bāśa* has almost fallen out of use after the 19th century except in wedding or religious invitation letters etc. Sadhu basha is written mainly with Sanskrit lexical items, the pronouns and the verb conjugation is different in Sadhu basha. It is during the 20th century that the use of *calit bāśa* began to gain popularity with the writing of Peary Chand Mitra (প্যারীচাঁদ মিত্র), Pramatha Chaudhuri (পরমথ চৌধুরী), even Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore (রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর) also choose calit basha in his later writings. (Thompson, 2010). In this thesis Sadhu basha is not used unless and otherwise absolutely necessary and specified. We have shown the examples of sadhu bhasha to understand the language. Some lexical differences between Sadhu and Calit bhasha are given below:

Table 3.2.1 : Sadhu and Calit lexicon (Vidyasagar, 1847), (Chattopadhyay, 1878)

<i>śadhu bāśa</i>	transc	<i>calit bāśa</i>	transc	gloss
পুত্র	<i>putra</i>	ছেলে	<i>ʃ^hele</i>	boy
সঙ্গীত	<i>saṅgita</i>	গান	<i>gan</i>	music
বৃক্ষ	<i>brikṣa</i>	গাছ	<i>gaʃ^h</i>	tree
চন্দ্র	<i>śandra</i>	চাঁদ	<i>cāḍ</i>	moon
আগমন	<i>agomon</i>	আসা	<i>aśa</i>	come
দংশন	<i>daśana</i>	কামর	<i>kamor</i>	bite
হস্ত	<i>hastā</i>	হাত	<i>haṭ</i>	hand
পুস্তক	<i>pustaka</i>	বই	<i>bai</i>	book

পুষ্প	<i>puspo</i>	ফুল	<i>p^hul</i>	flower
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3.3 Regional Varieties of Sylheti

Sylheti language does not have a diglossic situation like Bangla. Still within Sylheti language it can be noticed that there are several varieties. Halder (Halder, 1986) has Categorized Sylheti in two groups : East-Sylhet West group and Sylhet-Cachar group (or Northeastern Group). G. A. Grierson has named the Sylheti of Cachar as Sylhet-Cachar Dialect. Sylhet-Cachar includes Moulobhibazar, Sadar Sylhet, and Barak region. Under East-Sylhet West group come Habiganj and Sunamganj (Choudhury, Dutta Choudhury, Bhattarjee and Bhattacharjee, 1996). In the following table (Table.3.3.1) we have presented some examples of the two varieties along with the Standard Bengali.

Table 3.3.1 : Regional variety of Sylheti (Choudhury, Dutta Choudhury and Bhattarjee: 1996)

Standard Bangla	East-Sylhet west Group	Sylhet-Cachar Group	Gloss
আমি খাচ্ছি <i>ami k^hatʃʃi</i>	আমি খাইয়ার/খাইরাম <i>ami xaiyar, xairam</i>	আমি খাইতেছি <i>ami xaitetʃʃi</i>	I am eating
আমি খুঁজছি <i>ami k^hudʒʃʃi</i>	আমি খুঁজিয়ার/ খুঁজরাম <i>ami xudʒiyar, k^hudʒram/</i>	আমি খুঁজত্‌যসি/ তুকাইত্‌যসি <i>ami xudʒtesi</i>	I am searching
তুই যাচ্ছিস <i>tui jatʃʃis</i>	তুই জাইরে <i>tui dʒaire</i>	তুই জাইতেসস <i>tui dʒaitesos</i>	you are going

আমি ভাত খেয়ে নিয়েছি <i>ami b^hat k^heye niyetfi/</i>	আমি ভাত খাইয়া সারসি <i>ami b^hat xaiya sarsi</i>	আমি ভাত খাই লাইসি <i>ami b^hat xai laisi</i>	I have finished eating
তুই চেয়ে থাক <i>tui t^heye t^hak</i>	তুইন চাই থাক <i>tuin sai t^hax</i>	তুই চাইয়া থাক <i>tui siya t^hax</i>	you keep looking
আমি জেতাম <i>ami d^zetam</i>	আমি জাইতাম <i>ami d^zaitam</i>	আমি জাইতাম <i>ami d^zaitam</i>	I used to go
আমি তখন যাচ্ছিলাম <i>ami tok^hon jat^hilam</i>	আমি তখন জাইয়ার//জাইরাম <i>ami toxon d^zaiyar, d^zairam</i>	আমি তখন জাইতে আসলাম <i>ami toxon d^zaite aslam</i>	I was going
আমি দেখে এলাম <i>ami dek^he elam</i>	আমি দেখিয়া আইলাম <i>ami dek^hiya ailam</i>	আমি দেইখখা আইলাম <i>ami deik^h:a ailam</i>	I came after looking

From the above table (Table.3.3.1), it can be noticed that the differences which exist between the two regional varieties are more prominent in the verbs than in the pronouns. But because of regular contact among the speakers of two regions, the differences are diminishing, a speaker of one variety can often be heard to use verb forms of both varieties in a single conversation.

3.4 Borrowing

Borrowing is a process by which one language or a dialect takes or incorporates some linguistic elements from another (Arlottor 1972). Various definitions have been given by many linguists over time on borrowing. It is an importation of lexical items from

foreign languages to native language (Felicity, 1989). It is one of the most frequent way of acquiring new words and speakers of all languages often do it. According to Haugen (Haugen, 1969) borrowing is more like stealing, since the borrowing language never returns the borrowed words or loanwords to the source language.

Borrowing usually takes place between two speech communities or two languages whenever they come in contact, the contact may be direct or indirect. When borrowing takes place between the speech communities living nearby or in adjacent geographical areas and the speakers come in contact with each other on daily basis, the borrowing in this situation is due to direct contact. Whereas when contact is through literature and other media but not on regular basis or not due to face-to-face contact, this is termed as indirect contact. As a result of this contact one speech community uses linguistic items of another. The borrowed linguistic items may belong to all semantic fields and gradually all members of the society start using them, eventually the borrowed linguistic item lasts longer and in some cases it becomes a native word. The borrowed item in some cases replaces the use of the indigenous item completely, so much so that the native word falls completely out of use. Borrowing therefore plays an important role in language change (Romaine, 1995).

3.4.1 What is the reason of borrowing ?

There are numerous reasons for borrowing but the most important reasons are:

To fill lexical gaps : When a speech community encounters some new ideas or some foreign materials, speakers need words to express those ideas or need some names to refer to those new materials for which there is no native word. For example: the words 'table and chair' borrowed from English.

Prestige: It has been seen that in an area where more than one language is used and the different languages do not have equal status in the society, the minority (not

necessarily in number) language usually takes loanwords from the socially dominant language and this in most cases is done because of the prestige issue. For example, this happens in Barak valley region of Assam where the majority speakers belong to the Sylheti language community but the language used officially, in education and media etc, is Bangla which has higher or more prestigious status than Sylheti in that region. For this reason Sylheti speakers have the tendency to borrow words from Standard Bangla. In fact many parents want their children to learn Bangla instead of Sylheti. Original native Sylheti words are sometimes considered vulgar, for example লেজ *ledʒ* is preferred over original লেঞ্জ *lenʒ* for the English word 'tail'.

3.4.2 Loanwords in Bangla

Bangla is an Indo-Aryan language and most of its lexical items are derived from Sanskrit. Linguists distinguish the Sanskrit borrowed words in two different kinds : তৎসম (tatsama) and তদ্ভবাত্তা (tadbhava). Sanskrit words which are used in their pure form are known as tatsama (*tat* means 'that' and *sama* means 'same') and the words which come from Sanskrit but have undergone some changes are known as tadbhava (*bhava* meaning 'origination', originating from 'tat'). Many tatsama words are archaic now and are used only in literature or for documentation.

Bangla has also borrowed words from other sources. Languages like Hindi, Nepali, Assamese have also contributed to increase the Bangla Vocabulary. Because of the centuries of contact (for business or invasion) with Persian, Turks, Europeans, Bangla has absorbed lots of lexical items from those languages and made them an integral part of the language. These words have of course gone through some phonological and morphological adaptation (section: 3.6 & 3.7). In the following section we have presented a sample of borrowed words in Bangla mentioning the source language.

Table 3.4.2.1 : words borrowed from Arabic language

Bangla Script	transc	original pronunciation	meaning
আক্কেল	<i>akkel</i>	<i>aql</i>	separate
আশল	<i>afɔl</i>	<i>asl</i>	real
কবর	<i>kɔbor</i>	<i>qabr</i>	grave
বাকি	<i>baki</i>	<i>baqiy</i>	credit
বদল	<i>bɔɖɔl</i>	<i>badl</i>	exchange
নকল	<i>nɔkɔl</i>	<i>naql</i>	fake

Table 3.4.2.2 : words borrowed from Persian

Bangla script	transc	original pronunciation	meaning
আয়না	<i>ajna</i>	<i>ajnah</i>	mirror
কাগজ	<i>kagɔɖʒ</i>	<i>kaghaz</i>	paper
আরাম	<i>aram</i>	<i>ārām</i>	rest
দেয়	<i>ɖeri</i>	<i>dēr</i>	late
আসেত	<i>afte</i>	<i>āhistah</i>	slowly
বাগান	<i>bagan</i>	<i>bāghān</i>	garden
গরম	<i>gɔrɔm</i>	<i>garm</i>	hot
পরদা	<i>pɔrɖa</i>	<i>pardah</i>	curtain

Table 3.4.2.3 : words borrowed from Turkish (Thompson, 2010)

Bangla script	transc	original pronunciation	meaning
বেগম	<i>begom</i>	<i>begüm</i>	lady

Table 3.4.2.4 : Words borrowed from Portuguese

Bangla script	transc	original pronunciation	meaning
আলমারি	<i>almari</i>	<i>armário</i>	cupboard
জানালা	<i>džanala</i>	<i>džanela</i>	window
চাবি	<i>ʃabi</i>	<i>chave</i>	key
ফিতা	<i>p^hita</i>	<i>fita</i>	ribbon
বান্দা	<i>baranđa</i>	<i>varanđa</i>	balcony
কেদারা	<i>keđara</i>	<i>cadeira</i>	chair

Table 3.4.2.5 : Words borrowed from English

Bangla script	transc	meaning
টেবিল	<i>tabil</i>	table
চেয়ার	<i>ʃejar</i>	chair
ইস্কুল	<i>iskul</i>	school
হাস্পাতাল	<i>haspaṭal</i>	hospital
পুলিস	<i>pulif</i>	police
নার্স	<i>narse</i>	nurse

অফিস	<i>op^{hi}f</i>	office
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The borrowed words which are used in Bangla are also shared by Sylheti. In some words some phonological changes have been observed, for example, the word table is pronounced in Bangla as *tabil* but in Sylheti the word table is also pronounced as *tabil* but another variety is also found where the vowel [i] is replaced with [u] as in *tabul*.

3.4.3 Loan words in Sylheti

As mention already Sylheti has a large number of words imported from other languages like Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Portuguese, English. Even the proper names in Sylheti are borrowed from English, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. For instance Sakil, Jasmin, Zara, Nagmah are of Persian and Arabic origin (mostly named for Muslims Sylheti) while Jony, Roni are of English origin. The Sanskrit origin names are used by Hindu people like Lakkhi, Krishna, Akash, Soikot. It can be safely said that almost all the Hindu names are coming from Sanskrit and almost all the Muslim names are of Arabic or Persian origins.

For the study of the loanwords in Sylheti a sample of Sylheti words are collected from different sources including Sylheti literature and Dictionaries. Some items are collected from the Sylheti speakers from both rural and urban areas. For the etymological study of the loanwords used in this work, we have consulted the following literature : *Samsud Bengali-English Dictionary* (1982), *An Etymological Dictionary of Bengali* (sen, 1971), *Bengali-English Dictionary*, *Sylheti-Bengali Dictionary*, *Jalavadi Nagari* (Bhuiya,2000, p 99 -131). Loanwords coming from Persian, Arabic, and European languages are described in the following sections.

Table 3.4.3.1 : words borrowed from Arabic in Sylheti

Bangla script	transc	original pronunciation	meaning
নকল	<i>naxal</i>	<i>naql</i>	copy
জবাব	<i>dʒɔbab</i>	<i>dʒawāb</i>	answer
তারিক	<i>ṭarik</i>	<i>tārīkh</i>	date
মুরব্বি	<i>murɔbbi</i>	<i>murabbi</i>	elders
উজন	<i>udʒɔn</i>	<i>wazn</i>	weight
খালী	<i>xali</i>	<i>k^hālī</i>	empty
ফকির	<i>ḥokir</i>	<i>faqīr</i>	beggar
খবর	<i>xɔbɔr</i>	<i>k^habar</i>	news

Table 3.4.3.2 : words borrowed from Persian

Bangla script	transc	original pronunciation	meaning
আরাম	<i>aram</i>	<i>ārām</i>	comfort
আস্তে	<i>aʃt e</i>	<i>āhistah</i>	slowly
দম	<i>ḍom</i>	<i>dam</i>	breath
খারাপ	<i>xaraḥ</i>	<i>xarāb</i>	bad
ডেকচি	<i>ḍektʃi</i>	<i>dēgchah</i>	pot
বাদ	<i>baḍ</i>	<i>bad</i>	bad
কাগাজ	<i>xagɔdʒ</i>	<i>kāghaz</i>	paper
সাদর	<i>ʃaḍor</i>	<i>pardah</i>	shawal
দেরি	<i>ḍeri</i>	<i>dēr</i>	late

Table 3.4.3.3: words borrowed from English

Bangla script	transc	meaning
পউডার	<i>pauḍar</i>	powder
কম্পিউটার	<i>kompuṭar</i>	computer
বেগ	<i>beg</i>	beg
ইনজেকশন	<i>injekṣon</i>	injection
ফন	<i>ḥon</i>	phone
ফ্লাইওভার	<i>ḥlaiover</i>	flyover
স্ক্রু	<i>skru</i>	screw
বাক্স	<i>bakṣo</i>	box
কেপ্সুল	<i>kapsule</i>	capsule

This is a sample of English words borrowed in Bangla and Sylheti, which shows that in almost all fields English words are borrowed and adapted according to the Bangla and Sylheti phonology. The borrowing from English in Bangla and Sylheti happened in two ways :

First, as many ideas have no appropriate Bangla and Sylheti words so in order to fill the gap borrowing took place. For example in case of technological terms like: computer, phone, hard disk etc.

Secondly, Bangla and Sylheti speakers have replaced the semantically equivalent Bangla and Sylheti words with the English words. There are many Bangla and Sylheti words which are replaced and the original native words are used only occasionally. For example the words like sorry (koma/maf), thank you (donnobaḍ), good morning (juprobat), goodnight (jub^horatri), hospital (ḥikitsaloy). Moreover, referring to the dates, Bangla and Sylheti speakers more or less rely on the English calender and also use the English month for their day to day use. Bengali calender is used only in case of festivals, marriages or on some special occasion, that is to say it restricted to cultural

and religious purposes.

3.4.4 Lexical replacement from Bangla into Sylheti

Sylheti shares most vocabularies with Bangla and Sanskrit but in Sylheti there are also some native words which are different from Bangla. In Table 3.16 we have listed the Sylheti native words which are now a days used only by a minority of Sylheti speakers, as these words got replaced or are getting replaced by the Bangla words. Most of the young Sylheti speakers do not know these original Sylheti words because they are not so common, only the speakers from rural areas are still using them. In the following table (Table 3.4.4.1) we are presenting the Bangla words along with their Sylheti counterparts.

Table 3.4.4.1 :Lexical replacement from Bangla into Sylheti

Bangla word	transc	Sylheti word	transc	meaning
ঝাড়	<i>dʒ^haru</i>	ফুরইন	<i>φuroin</i>	broom
চিরুনি	<i>ʃiruni</i>	ফেইন	<i>φein</i>	comb
রান্নাঘর	<i>ran:g^hor</i>	পাকাল	<i>φakal</i>	kitchen
গর্ভবতী	<i>gorb^hb^hti</i>	ফুয়াতি	<i>φuja^hti</i>	pregnent
নেকড়া	<i>nekra</i>	লুড়া	<i>luṛa</i>	dirty cloth
স্নান	<i>snan</i>	হিনান	<i>hinan</i>	bath
নদী	<i>noḍi</i>	গাং	<i>gaŋ</i>	river
পরা	<i>pora</i>	পিন্দা	<i>pinḍa</i>	wear
চালাক	<i>ʃalak</i>	সিয়ান	<i>siyan</i>	clever
এখন	<i>ek^hon</i>	এলকু	<i>elku</i>	now
বিকাল	<i>bikal</i>	বিয়াল	<i>biyal</i>	evening

3.4.5 Words used by Hindu and Muslim Speakers

Due to mainly religious and cultural reasons, the choice of words varies for Hindu and Muslim Speakers of both Bangla and Sylheti communities. Hindu speakers prefers mostly words originating from Sanskrit, while the Muslim Speakers use mostly the words originating from Persian and Arabic languages. The reason behind this is perhaps the fact that the religious scriptures of Hindus are mostly in Sanskrit while Islamic scriptures are in Arabic and Persian and religion often plays an important role in the construction of a given culture. While conducting interviews we have encountered many words which are used only by Hindu or only by Muslim speakers. In Table 3.17 we have a presented the list of some words.

Table 3.4.5.1 : Words used by Hindu and Muslim Speakers

words used by Hindu speaker	transc	words used by Muslim speakers	transc	meaning
স্নান /হিনন	<i>snan / hinan</i>	গুসল	<i>gusol</i>	bath
ডিম	<i>dim</i>	বইদা	<i>boida</i>	egg
খুদা	<i>xuda</i>	বুক	<i>bux</i>	starving
জামাই	<i>dzamai</i>	দামাদ	<i>damad</i>	Son-in-law
নিমন্ত্রন	<i>nimontrn</i>	দাওত	<i>daot</i>	invitation
নমস্কা র	<i>nomskar</i>	আসলাম	<i>asalam</i>	greeting
দন্বাদ	<i>don:bad</i>	সুক্ৰিয়া	<i>fukrija</i>	thanks

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3.5 Phonological adaptation

Usually all the loanwords have been “nativised”, and in order to do that all the loanwords have undergone various phonological changes as per the Bangla and Sylheti Phonemic system.(Dash,2015). In some cases borrowed words are adapted into Bangla and Sylheti through phonological processes like metathesis, prosthesis, a few examples are :

a) It is noticed that in Sylheti the affricate consonant [tʃ] is replaced by the fricative consonant /s/.

Table 3.5.1 Sylheti and Bnagla words

Bangla	Sylheti	English
<i>tʃear</i>	<i>sejar</i>	chair
<i>tʃini</i>	<i>sini</i>	sugar
<i>tʃa</i>	<i>sa</i>	tea
<i>tʃ^hagol</i>	<i>sagol</i>	goat
<i>tʃiruni</i>	<i>siruni</i>	comb

b) The plosive /p/ changes to fricative /ɸ/

Table 3.5.2 : Sylheti and Bangla words

Bangla	Sylheti	English
<i>pulif</i>	<i>ɸulif</i>	police
<i>pagol</i>	<i>ɸagol</i>	crazy

c) Insertion of /i/.

Table 3.5.3: Insertion of /i/

Bangla	transc	Sylheti	transc	meaning
গণ্য	<i>gonno</i>	গইনন	<i>goinno</i>	respectable
লজ্জা	<i>lodʒdʒa</i>	লইজ্জা	<i>loidʒdʒa</i>	shy
মান্য	<i>manno</i>	মাইনন	<i>mainno</i>	respectable
রাত	<i>raʈ</i>	রাইত	<i>rait</i>	night
বাক্য	<i>bakko</i>	বাইক	<i>baikko</i>	word

e) **Metathesis:** The use of metathesis is usually observed in the speech of peasants or uneducated working people in general.

Table 3.5.4 : Metathesis

Bangla word	transc	Sylheti word	transc	meaning
মুকুট	<i>mukʊʈ</i>	মুটুক	<i>mutuk</i>	crown
লাফ	<i>laf</i>	ফাল	<i>fal</i>	jump
বচর	<i>boʈfor</i>	বরস	<i>boros</i>	year

d) Prosthesis : In this phonological process a vowel is inserted before a consonant cluster in a borrowed word ($C_1C_2 > V_1C_1C_2$) to make the word easier for the native speakers to pronounce. This process can be observed in the speeches of both Bangla and Sylheti speakers (encountered mostly in the speech of a less educated speaker). Some of the words borrowed from English with corresponding prosthesis in Bangla are given below :

Table 3.5.5: Prosthesis

English	Bangla	Sylheti
school	<i>ifkul/iskul</i>	<i>ifkul/iskul</i>
sport	<i>ispɔrt/isport</i>	<i>ispɔrt</i>
smart	<i>ifmart/ismart</i>	<i>ismart</i>
station	<i>istifɔn</i>	<i>iftifɔn</i>

3.6.Morphological adaptation

The process of addition of classifiers, case endings and suffixes, is one of the common features as well as a productive process of naturalization of borrowed words in Bangla and Sylheti lexical lists. Bangla and Sylheti have a large collection of words which are tagged with native particles and classifiers without harming the structure of the base word. Let us consider the following examples where the native classifiers, case markers and suffixes from Bangla and Sylheti are added quite smoothly.

Table 3.6.1 : Foreign words with Bangla classifier

foreign word (Source)	Bangla classifier	final form	meaning
balif (Persian)	balif + gulo (plural classifier)	<i>balifgulo</i>	those pillows
pen (English)	pen + ʈa (singular classifier)	<i>penʈa</i>	that pen

britʃ (English)	britʃ + era (plural classifier)	<i>britʃera</i>	the British
almari (Portugese)	almari + ʃa (singular classifier)	<i>almariʃa</i>	the cupboard
cabi (Portugese)	ʃabi + gulɔ (plural classifier)	<i>ʃabigulɔ</i>	the keys
ɔp ^h ɪʃ (English)	ɔp ^h is + ʃa (singular classifier)	<i>ɔp^his + ʃa</i>	that office

Table 3.6.2 : Addition of Bangla case markers with foreign words

foreign words (source)	Bangla case marker	final form	meaning
ʃebil (English)	/ʃebil + er (genitive)	<i>ʃebiler</i>	of the table
ʃren (English)	/ʃren + e (locative)	<i>ʃrene</i>	in the train
baranda (Portugese)	baranda + y (locative)	<i>baranday</i>	in the balcony
ʃram (English)	/ʃram + ke (accusative)	<i>ʃramke</i>	to tram
ḡordʒi (Persian)	ḡordʒi + ke (accusative)	<i>ḡordʒike</i>	to the tailor
Indʒekʃɔn (English)	indʒekʃɔn + guli (plural classifier)	<i>indʒekʃɔnguli</i>	those injections

Table 3.5.3 : Addition of Suffixes with foreign words

Foreign word (source)	suffix	final form	meaning
ɔʃ (English)	ɔʃ + oala	<i>ɔʃoala</i>	autorickshaw driver

ফব্‌ড্‌জি (English)	ফব্‌ড্‌জি + oala	ফব্‌ড্‌জিoala	vegetable seller
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Sylheti has different sets of classifiers, case makers and suffixes but the use is similar to Bangla. In the following tables the use of Sylheti classifiers, case markers and suffixes with borrowed words is shown

Table 3.5.4 : Addition of Sylheti classifiers

Foreign words (source)	classifier	final form	meaning
tebil (English)	tebil + tain/oguin/iguin	tebiltain/tebiloguin/te biliguin	the tables
saḍor (Persian)	saḍor + ita/ogu/igu	saḍorita/sa ḍorogu/sa ḍorigu	the shawl
barinḍa (Portugese)	barinḍa + ta/gu	barinḍata/barinḍigu	the balcony
খৱম (Arabic)	খৱম + ta /ogu/igu	খৱমতা/খৱমোগু/খৱ মিগু	the pen

Table 3.5.5: Addition of Sylheti case marker

foreign word (source)	case marker	final form	meaning
braf (English)	braf + ৩	braf৩	in the brush
ḍakṭor (English)	ḍakṭor + re	ḍakṭorre	to the doctor
ṭrein (English)	ṭrein + ৩r	ṭrein৩r	of train

Table 3.5.6 : Addition of Sylheti suffixes

foreign words (source)	suffix	final form	meaning
bulḍiṅ (english)	bulḍiṅ + ala	bulḍiṅala	building owner

uṣṭāḍ (Persian)	uṣṭāḍ+ i	<i>uṣṭāḍi</i>	To show-off
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3.7. Conclusion

Sylheti and Bangla have borrowed innumerable lexical items from Arabic, Persian, Hindi, Portuguese and other languages covering all semantic fields. This has happened because the speakers came in contact with each other over a long period of interaction (because of religion and trade) . By borrowing the lexical items, Bangla and Sylheti has expanded its scope.

IV

SOUND AND SCRIPT

4.1 Introduction

Phonemics is the scientific study of phonemes, the basic units of speech sound. A phoneme is a unit of sound in a specific language that distinguishes a word from another. It is a smallest sound unit in a language that is capable of conveying different meanings. Phonemes of a language are identified with the help of minimal pairs in which two words are similar except a single sound makes the difference in the meaning of the words. For instance the phoneme /p/ and /b/ in *pit* and *bit*. (Thompson, 2010). The set of phonemic sounds are not same in all languages. One sound may be phoneme in one language but may not be the same in another, it may be an allophones (Ladefoged, 2001). Phonemes are written in terms of IPA. To identify the basic sounds of Bangla and Sylheti the phonemes from these languages can be inserted according to the IPA convention which will help begin a comparative study between the two languages. The set of phonemes in Bangla and Sylheti differs in terms of phonemic inventory and in pronunciation as in /p^h/ and /ɸ/. In this chapter, we will study in detail the analysis of Sylheti and Bangla phonemes and will focus on the similarities and differences. This chapter presents a detailed analysis of sounds used in Sylheti and Bangla, analyzing the vowel and consonant sounds with relevant articulators.

The discussion of sounds and phonemes of Bangla and Sylheti is categorized in the following order:

Vowels of Bangla and Sylheti.

Nasal Vowels.
 Uses and occurrences.
 Diphthongs.
 Consonants
 Uses and Occurrences of consonants in Bangla and Sylheti.
 Scripts.
 Vowel diacritic symbols in Bangla and Sylheti
 Inherent vowel
 conjuncts

4.2 Vowels in Bangla

Vowels are voiced sounds, they are described with the position and activity of the articulators. A vowel can be front, central, back, open or close depending on the activities of the articulators. The repertoire of monophthongs in Bangla is shown in the Table 4.2.1.

Table 4.2.1 : Bangla Vowels

	front	central	back
close	[i]		[u]
close mid	[e]		[o]
open mid	[æ]		[ɔ]
open		[a]	

The phonetic transcription of vowels in Bangla along with their uses are the following :

According to Bangla script there are eight vowels among which two long and two short versions exist for the vowel, [i] and [u] e.g. ই [i] and ঐ[i:] but in reality they sound the same. The vowel [a] does not have a separate letter in Bangla script for representing the long vowel [a:]. Usually in monosyllabic words the vowel [a] is pronounced as long vowel [a:] The use of vowels along with examples are listed below :

Vowel [i] A high front vowel pronounced as a short vowel as in bin or long as in *seen*. The name for the short [i] in Bengali is 'স্বল্প ই (hrɔʃɔ i)' and for long [i:] is 'দীর্ঘ ই (d̪riɡʱɔ i:)' . The vowel [i] can appear in all positions in a word :

Examples :	initial	medial	final
	ইচ্ছা	বিবেক	আমি
	<i>ictʃʃʱa</i>	<i>bibek</i>	<i>ami</i>
	desire	conscience	I

Vowel [e] a mid high front vowel can be pronounced as closed as [e] in 'head' or as open as [æ] in 'hat'. In Bangla script there is one symbol for both sounds [e] and [æ]. The distinction between [e] and [æ] is distributional and the use of the phoneme is determined by the environment. Usually the use of [e] and [æ] does not cause much difference in meaning, although there are rules for using these phonemes and they are listed below :

Rule 1 : [æ] is not used as a last vowel phoneme in a word.

Example:	দেখা	ফেলা
	<i>dækʰa</i>	<i>pʰæla</i>

see throw

Rule 2 :[e] the presence of the vowel /i/ and /u/ in a word leads to the pronunciation of the vowel phoneme [e].

Example :

case 1 :	Absence of /i/ or /u/
এক	একটা
<i>æk</i>	<i>ækʈa</i>
one	single piece
case 2 :	In presence of /i/ and/or /u/
একটি	একটু
<i>ekti</i>	<i>ekʈu</i>
one	little

Vowel [ɔ] The vowel [ɔ] is also used as inherent vowel (section: 4.7). This can occur in the initial and medial position of a word. This sound can occur as an inherent vowel at the end of a word but is not written explicitly at the final position of a word using the Bangla letter অ

Example:	initial	medial	final
	অসিন	গল্প	-
	<i>ɔʃim</i>	<i>gɔlpɔ</i>	
	endless	story	

Vowel [o] The sound [o] can appear in all positions.

Example:	initial	medial	final
	ওল	বোন	আলো
	<i>ol</i>	<i>bon</i>	<i>alo</i>
	turnip	sister	light

Vowel [u] According to Bangla script there are two [u] vowels one is short and the other is long and the distinction between the two [u] vowel is lexical like the vowel [i] from Bangla. The vowel [u] can contrast with [o] as in *mula* (raddish) – *mola* (to rub) and can appear in all positions.

Example:	initial	medial	final
	উকিল	কুমির	গরু
	<i>ukil</i>	<i>kumir</i>	<i>goru</i>
	lawyer	crocodile	cow

Note: Some words require short [u] and [i] other are written with long [u] and [i], generally this depends from the Sanskrit word they originated from.

4.2.1 Vowel length

Vowel length is an important factor in some languages, for example in Sanskrit and Hindi it is a distinctive feature. In Bangla vowel length is not so important as it is not a meaning-distinguishing factor like it is in Sanskrit and Hindi. Bangla does not distinguish between long and short vowels, though in the Bangla Script long and short vowels exist which are named as '*dirg^hyo*' (meaning long) for long vowels and '*hrosyo*' (literally means short) for short vowels. These letters are preserved in Bangla script (inherited from Sanskrit) with their traditional names but they are used only while

writing. But these distinctions did not survive in the pronunciation. In spoken Bangla 'dirg^hyo' and 'hrosyo' sound the same (long). In Bangla vowel length does not cause any change of meaning² (Hai 2004), (Thompson, 2010).

4.2.2 Vowels In Sylheti

According to Sylheti Nagari script there are five independent vowels and like Bangla, Sylheti speech does not distinguish between long and short vowels in its orthography, Munayem Mayenin' (Mayenin, 2011) has pointed out eleven Sylheti vowel sounds. According to him (Mayenin, 2011, P-23) the vowels in Sylheti are the following:

A	a	aa	
o	O	I	i
u	U	e	E

However, the author doesnot give any details about the pronunciation of the above mentioned vowels though he has presented some words and minimal pairs but by examining those words we have not found any differences in the pronunciation of vowel used in those words.

Accordingly in this study, we will consider only five vowel phonemes. Also other studies of Sylheti identified only five vowels. (Gope, 2016), (Bhuiyan 2000). To study the Sylheti phonemes we have considered the phonemes used by the Sylheti Speakers of Barak Valley region of India and also referred to the Sylheti Nagari script. In Barak Valley the dominant population is ethnically Sylheti (descendants of the migrants from Sylhet, Bangladesh) and most of them speak Sylheti. But it is no wonder to find a Sylheti speaker speaking Bangla most of the time and knowing very

²Many Linguist put forward an argument that Bangla can stop the use of long and short vowels even for writing as it is difficult to feel the distinction between two. If the alphabet gets finalized one set of length canceling the other, Bangla orthography will be more phonetic and easy to practice.

little about Sylheti, as the status of Bangla is higher socio-politically, Bangla and English are the main official languages of Barak valley and the dominant medium of education. Sylheti is not used for any formal purposes, not even in any kind of media. Sylheti speakers while writing use the Bangla phonemes but their pronunciation is different from Bangla speakers. In the following section we will provide two vowel charts:

- 1) Sylheti vowel chart according to Sylheti orthography and native Sylheti speakers.
- 2) vowel phonemes used by Sylheti speakers in Barak Valley who also speak Bangla.

Table 4.2.2.1: Sylheti Vowels (Gope, 2016)

	Front	center	back
close	i		u
closemid			
open mid	ɛ		ɔ
open		a	

Table 4.2.2.2 : Vowel used by Sylheti speakers in Barak valley

	front	center	back
close	i		u
close mid	e		o
open mid	ɛ		ɔ
open		a	

From Table 4.2.2.1 and 4.2.2.2 we can notice the differences, in both the charts the vowel phoneme [æ] is absent. While we can see that in Table 4.3 open-mid-front vowel [e] is present while in chart Table 4.2 it is not seen³. According to Sylheti Orthography short and long vowels are not distinguished A vowel may be pronounced as long and short but it does not bring any change to the meaning of the word. The use of Vowels in Sylheti is shown in the following section :

Vowel [i] high front vowel [i] can form minimal pair with [a] as in *mil* 'similarity' -*mal* 'goods'. [i] can appear in all positions of a word.

Initial	medial	final.
ইমান	মিটাই	বুদি
<i>iman</i>	<i>miṭai</i>	<i>bonḍi</i>
honesty	sweets	prisoner

Vowel [e] close mid vowel in some cases encountered in the speech of Sylheti speakers from Barak Valley.

Initial	medial	final
এখদম	ফেরা	মাজে
<i>ekdom</i>	<i>fera</i>	<i>madže</i>
definetly	kind of sweet	middle

Vowel [ɛ] a mid high front vowel is always pronounced as open in Sylheti. It can form minimal pair with [i] as in *mela* 'fair' and *mila* 'meet'. [ɛ] can appear in all positions :

Initial	medial	final
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³It is possible that in earlier studies scholars have used /o/ in place of /ɔ/. As we have not interviewed outside Barak Valley we cannot be sure if /ɔ/ sound is really missing in Sylheti of Sylhet but at least in Barak Valley (India) use of /ɔ/ is frequent while /o/ is rare.

এক	মেলা	জড়ে
<i>ek</i>	<i>mɛla</i>	<i>zɔɾɛ</i>
one	open	by the storm

Vowel [a] open vowel [a] can appear in any position. It can form minimal pair with [i] as in *tala* 'lock' - *tali* 'clap'.

Initial	medial	final
আম	মালা	তালা
<i>am</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>ʈala</i>
mango	necklace	lock

Vowel [ɔ] a mid open vowel is very common in the speech of Sylheti speakers of Barak valley. This can occur in any position and can form minimal pair with [i] as in *mɔla* 'rub' – *mila* meet'

initial	medial	final
অঙ্ক	কবি	দেক
<i>ɔnkɔ</i>	<i>xɔbi</i>	<i>dexɔ</i>
math	poet	look

Vowel [u] a high back vowel can appear in all positions.

initial	medial	final
উড়া	বুক	হরু
<i>uɾa</i>	<i>buk</i>	<i>hɔru</i>
to fly	chest	small

4.3 Nasalisation

Nasalisation is an important part of Bangla phonemes. In Bangla all pure seven vowels have their nasalized counter parts. The seven nasal vowel are / ã õ ĩ ũ ě æ ã/. According to many Bangla phoneticians the concept of Bangla nasal vowel is a matter of debate, some (Bhattachajee,2006) argue that nasal vowels are separate vowels and according to them nasalization is a distinctive feature of Bangla, while others consider nasal sounds as a allophonic variation of pure vowels (khan,2010), (Thompson, 2010). Examples of some nasalization are shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.3.1 : Nasal Vowels in Bangla

nasal vowel	word	transc	meaning
ã	চাঁদ	<i>cãḍ</i>	moon
	ফাঁকা	<i>p^hãka</i>	empty
õ	পৌঁচা	<i>põca</i>	rotten
	গৌঁড়া	<i>gõṛa</i>	orthodox
ĩ	ইঁদুর	<i>ĩdur</i>	rat
	সিঁড়ি	<i>ṣĩṛi</i>	stairs
ũ	উঁচু	<i>ũcu</i>	high
	গুঁড়া	<i>gũṛa</i>	powder
ẽ	পেঁচা	<i>pẽca</i>	owl

4.3.1.Nasalisation in Sylheti

In Sylheti phoneme chart we can see the presence of nasal consonants (Sylheti

Phoneme chart), /m,n/ but following the Sylheti script and phoneme we can conclude that differently from Bangla, Sylheti does not have nasalized vowels. In the following table we have presented a list of Sylheti words which are pronounced in Bangla with nasal vowels.

Table 4.3.2.: Bangla and Sylheti vowels

pure vowel	nasal vowel	Bangla word	transc	Sylheti word	transc	meaning
/i/	/ĩ/	ইঁদুর	<i>ĩdur</i>	ইন্দুর	<i>Inḍur</i>	rat
/e/	/ẽ/	পেঁচা	<i>pẽca</i>	ফেসা	<i>ḥesa</i>	owl
/a/	/ã/	চাঁদ	<i>cãd</i>	সান্দ	<i>sandḥ</i>	moon
/o/	/õ/	পেঁচা	<i>põca</i>	ফসা	<i>ḥosa</i>	rotten
/u/	/ũ/	উঁচু	<i>ũcu</i>	উসা	<i>usa</i>	high

From Table 4.5, we can see that in Sylheti, words are pronounced without any nasal vowel but in some cases the nasal consonant /n/ is pronounced where the preceding vowel is /a/ or /i/.

4.4 Diphthongs

Diphthongs are the combinations of two vowels, one shifting towards the other. Thompson seems to use the terms 'vowel sequence' and 'diphthong' indifferently. Here 'diphthong' has been used for all intences of vowel sequence, even for those where a glide is inserted between two vowels. In Bangla there are twenty two diphthongs⁴ and the vowels in (Bangla and Sylheti) diphthongs are usually of equal length, so that each individual member of a pair is pronounced with the same level of audibility. In Bangla and Sylheti there are some distinct way of writing the diphthongs:

⁴Abdul Kalam Manzur Morshed identified 29 diphthongs in Bangla, (Morshed, 1997)

- 1) In Bangla there are two diphthongs which have their own symbols. ঐ [oi], ঔ [ou].
- 2) Full vowel follows the inherent vowel /ɔ/ in Bangla and Sylheti.
- 3) In Sylheti script the *divisvara* sign is used after any consonant or vowel in order to form the diphthongs. The *divisvara* sign when used after a consonant to forms the diphthong because it gets attached to the inherent vowel. When *divisvara* is attached to any other vowel like [u] it forms the diphthong [ui] with [e] as [ei].
- 4) A full vowel follows another vowel directly in Bangla and Sylheti.
- 5) In Bangla the glide [j] is used between two vowels as a link while in the Sylheti script we have not encountered the presence of the glide [j] but there are many words used by the Sylheti speakers where the glide [j] is used and is also used as a linking phoneme between two vowels (like Bangla). (Thompson,2010)

Table 4.4.1 : Diphthongs of Bangla (Thompson, 2010) and Sylheti

diphthong	Bangla	Sylheti	Bangla script	transc	meaning
i-i	+	-	দিই	<i>dii</i>	give-1st -PR-S
i-e	+	-	নিয়ে	<i>nije</i>	take -PP
i-a	+	+	প্ৰিয়া	<i>prija</i>	dear
i-o	+	+	প্ৰিয়	<i>prijo</i>	favorite
i-u	+	+	শিউলি	<i>fiuli</i>	name of a flower
e-i	+	+	দেই	<i>dei</i>	give -1st -PR-S

e-a	+		খেয়া	<i>k^heja</i>	Boat
e-o	+	+	দেও	<i>d_leo</i>	give- 2 nd -PR-S
e-u	+	+	খেউ	<i>x_heu</i>	someone
æ-y	+	-	দেয়	<i>d_lej</i>	give -3 rd - PR-S/P
a-i	+	+	যাই	<i>d_zai</i>	go – 1 st - PR-S
a-o	+	+	খাও	<i>xao</i>	Eat -2 nd F-PR
a-u	+	+	লাউ	<i>lau</i>	gourd
a-y	+	+	গায়	<i>gaj</i>	Sing -3 rd -PR-S
ɔ- y	+	+	লয়	<i>lɔy</i>	take -3 rd -PR-S
o-i	+	+	সই	<i>foi</i>	lie down – 1 st -pr
o-o	+	-	শোও	<i>foo</i>	Lie down -2 nd -PR-IMP
o-u	+	+	বউ	<i>bou</i>	Wife, bride
u-i	+	+	তুই	<i>t_hui</i>	You-2nd person pronoun

4.5 Consonants

The Bangla script has twenty eight consonant letters. In Sylheti script there are twenty seven of them represented by letters and only one consonant phoneme is represented by symbol /°/ (which is the equivalent of ং, 'ɔnuʃkar' of Bangla). In Bangla the phoneme /ŋ/ have got its alphabetical form 'ঙ' and also has the diacritic form ' ং' (Thompson, 2010) but according to the Sylheti script the phoneme /ŋ/ is represented by the Symbol /°/ and is placed above the consonants (Bhuiya, 2000).

Consonants are produced by a complete or partial stoppage of breath. Consonants are classified according to the manner and place of articulation. The manner of articulation describes the type of obstruction caused by the narrowing or closure of the articulators and the place of articulation classifies consonants on the

basis of the place or points at which the articulators interact. In Table 4.5.1 and 4.5.2, we describe the consonants of Bangla and Sylheti with the help of place and the manner of articulation. In both languages voiced and aspiration are phonologically relevant.

Table 4.5.1 : Bangla consonants

	labial	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive(stop)							
voiceless							
unaspirated	p	t		ʈ	tʃ	k	
aspirated	p ^h	t ^h		ʈ ^h	tʃ ^h	k ^h	
voiced							
unaspirated	b	d		ɖ	dʒ	g	
aspirated	b ^h	d ^h		ɖ ^h	dʒ ^h	g ^h	
nasals	m	n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	
flaps unaspirated			r	ɽ			
lateral			l				
fricative		s			ʃ		h
approximants					j		

Table 4.5.2 : Sylheti Consonants (Bhuiya, 2000), (Chanda, 2013)

	labial	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	Glottal
Plosive (stop)							
voiceless							
unaspirated	p	t		ʈ		k	
aspirated		tʰ		ʈʰ			
voiced							
unaspirated	b	d		ɖ	ɟ	g	
aspirated	bʰ	dʰ		ɖʰ			
nasal	m	n				ŋ	
flaps			r	ɽ			
lateral			l				
spirants							
voiceless	ɸ	s			ʃ	x	h
aspirated							
voiced			z			ʝ	
approximants					j		

Note: Notice that ʃ and ʃʰ, ɟ and ɟʰ are entered here together as plosives even though they are pronounced in Bangla and Sylheti as affricates. However, historically they are derived from palatal plosives and phonologically they pattern like the other plosives and there are no other affricates either in Bangla and Sylheti.

Notice also that Bangla orthography distinguishes between retroflex /ɽ/ ɽ and palatal /ʃ/ ʃ, even though they are pronounced the same. Also here the occurrence of the two letters generally depends upon the Sanskrit word they derive from.

4.5.1 Voicing and Aspiration

Voicing is counted as a distinctive feature in Bangla and Sylheti, some consonants in these two languages have both voiced and voiceless versions. Aspiration also plays an important role in Bangla and Sylheti, the same string of sound barring aspiration can bring difference in the meaning of the word. In both the languages, consonants are grouped under four types :

- i) voiceless, unaspirated.
- ii) voiceless, aspirated.
- iii) voiced, unaspirated.
- iv) voiced, aspirated.

From the IPA chart of Bangla and Sylheti we can notice that the number of consonants falling under these four categories is higher in Bangla than in Sylheti. We can see that Bangla has consonants like /p, p^h/ while in Sylheti there is /p/ but instead of /p^h/ Sylheti has the phoneme /ϕ/.

4.5.2 Labial Plosives

Labial consonants are produced with either the upper and the lower lips, known as bilabial or with the lower lip and upper teeth, known as labiodental. In Bangla there are four bilabial plosive consonants /p, p^h, b, b^h/ while Sylheti has three bilabial plosive /p, b, b^h/. The description of the phonemes with examples are given below :

i) **Bangla:**

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	transc	gloss
প	voiceless, unaspirated	/p/	পশু	<i>pɔʃu</i>	animal
ফ	voiceless, aspirated	/p ^h /	ফল	<i>p^hɔl</i>	fruit
ব	voiced, unaspirated	/b/	বল	<i>bɔl</i>	stength
ভ	voiced, aspirated	/b ^h /	ভয়	<i>b^hɔy</i>	fear

Minimal pairs

প – ফ : পাকা *paka* 'ripe' – ফাকা *p^haka* 'empty'.

ব – ভ : বার *bar* 'weekdays' -ভার *b^har* 'weight'.

Consonant – use and occurrence

	initial	medial	final
প	পুরনো <i>purno</i> 'old' প্রান <i>pran</i> 'life'	নুপুর <i>nupur</i> 'anklet' অপয়া <i>opoya</i> 'ill-starred'	ছুপ <i>cup</i> 'silence' বোপ <i>j^hup</i> 'bush'.
ফ	ফল <i>p^hɔl</i> 'fruit'	অসফল <i>osɔp^hɔl</i> 'unsuccessful'	বরফ <i>bɔrɔp^h</i> 'ice'

	intitial	medial	final
	ফেকাসে <i>p^hekase</i> 'pale'	আফণ্ডস <i>ap^hfos</i> 'repent' লাফ <i>lap^h</i> 'jump'	
ব	বাঁশ <i>bāf</i> 'bamboo' বাঁশি <i>bāfi</i> 'flute'	আবার <i>abar</i> 'again' অবাক <i>ɔbak</i> 'astonishment'	সবাব <i>sobab</i> 'habit' খুব <i>k^hub</i> 'very'
ভ	ভুল <i>b^hul</i> 'mistake' ভাগ <i>b^hag</i> 'share'	অভিমান <i>ob^himan</i> 'pride' গাভী <i>gab^hi</i> 'cow'	লোভ <i>lob^h</i> 'greed' সৌরভ <i>sourob^h</i> 'fragrance'

ii) Sylheti

	Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	transc	meaning
প		voiceless unaspirated bilabial	p	পারদা	<i>paɾda</i>	curtain
ব		voiced, unaspirated bilabial	b	বারিক	<i>barik</i>	thin
ভ		voiced, aspirated bilabial	b ^h	ভূত	<i>b^huṭ</i>	ghost

Minimal pairs

The phoneme /p/ takes minimal pairs with the phoneme /ɸ/. Infact in Sylheti it is easier to find a word having the phoneme /ɸ/ then /p/. Sylheti speakers find it more convenient to use the aspirated bilabial phoneme /ɸ/, even the borrowed words which have /p/ is in most cases pronounced with /ɸ/. For example the English word 'public' will be pronounced as *ɸablic*.

প – ফ : পাক *pak* 'pure' - ফাখ *ɸax* 'mud'.

ব – ভ : বাই *bai* 'crazyness' - ভাই *b^hai* 'brother'.

Consonant – use and occurrence

	initial	medial	final
প	পাকি <i>paki</i> 'bird' আপা <i>apa</i> 'kinship term'		সাপ <i>ɸap</i> 'serpent'
ব	বুইদা <i>boiɖa</i> 'egg'	আবার <i>abar</i> 'again'	অবাব <i>obab</i> 'shortage'
	বেজার <i>bedɟar</i> 'sad'	জবাব <i>ɟɔɓab</i> 'answer'	ফস্ৰাব <i>ɸɔsɾab</i> 'urine'
ভ	ভুল <i>b^hul</i> 'wrong'	গভির <i>gob^hir</i> 'deep'	গৌরভ <i>gourob^h</i> 'dignity'
	ভূত <i>b^huɽ</i> 'ghost' অদ্ভূত <i>oɖb^huɽ</i> 'strange'		

In Sylheti the words with the phoneme /b^h/ and /p/ is comparatively less occurring than words with the phoneme /b/ and /ɸ/.

4.5.3.Dental Plosives

Dental plosives are produced with the complete closure of the articulators (tongue and the upper teeth) blocking the passage of the air for a while. Bangla and Sylheti have four dental consonants /t̪, t̪ʰ, d̪, d̪ʰ/. The example and descriptions of dental plosive consonants from Bangla and Sylheti are given below :

i) Bangla

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	Ipa	meaning
ত, ৎ	voiceless, unaspirated dental	t̪	তালী	t̪ala	lock
থ	voiceless, aspirated dental	t̪ʰ	থালী	t̪ʰala	plate
দ	voiced unaspirated dental	d̪	দাত	d̪at̪	teeth
ধ	voiced, aspirated dental	d̪ʰ	ধান	d̪ʰan	paddy

Minimal pairs

ত – থ: তামা t̪ama 'copper' - থামা t̪ʰama 'stop'

ḍ - ḍʰ: দান *ḍan* 'charity' – ধান *ḍʰan* 'paddy'

Consonant – use and occurrence

	initial	medial	final
ত	তুমি <i>tumi</i> 'you'	মাতাল <i>maṭal</i> 'drunk'	যাত <i>jaṭ</i> 'caste'
থ	থালি <i>tʰali</i> 'plate'	কথা <i>koṭʰa</i> 'talk'	রথ <i>roṭʰ</i> 'chariot'
দ	দামি <i>ḍami</i> 'costly'	নদি <i>noḍi</i> 'river'	ছাঁদ <i>cāḍ</i> 'moon'
ধ	ধনী <i>ḍʰoni</i> 'rich'	প্রধান <i>proḍʰan</i> 'main'	দুধ <i>ḍudʰ</i> 'milk'

ii) Sylheti

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	Ipa	meaning
ত	voiceless, unaspirated dental	t̪	তাজা	t̪aɟa	fresh
থ	voiceless aspirated dental	t̪ʰ	থানা	t̪ʰana	police station
দ	voiced, unaspirated	ḍ	দম	ḍom	breath

dental

ধ voiced, d^h ধারিবাজ d^h aribadz cheat
 aspirated
 dental

The use of aspirated phoneme / d^h / is not very common.

Minimal pairs

ত – থ : তালি t ali 'clap' – থালি t^h ali 'plate'.

দ – ধ : দর্শন d orfn 'seeing' – ধর্ষণ d^h orshon 'rape'

Consonant – use and occurrence

	initial	medial	final
ত	তমিজ t amidz 'behave'	তেতুল t etul 'tamarind'	মাত mat 'gossip'
থ	খানকুনি t^h ankuni 'name of plant'	পথিক pot^h ik 'traveler'	পথ pat^h 'path'
দ	ডুলা d ula 'dust'	মাদান $madan$ 'afternoon'	মদ mod 'alcohol'
ধ	ধুনি d^h uni	গাধা gad^h a 'donkey'	নিষেধ $nised^h$ 'prohibit'.

4.5.4.Retroflex Plosives

The articulators involved in the production of retroflex sounds are the hard palate and the tip of the tongue. The tip of the tongue curls back and the underside of the tongue touches the hard palate. Bangla and Sylheti both have four retroflex plosive consonants.

i) Bangla

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	transc	meaning
ট	voiceless unaspirated retroflex	t	টক	<i>tɔk</i>	sour
ঠ	voiceless, aspirated retroflex	t ^h	ঠিকানা	<i>t^hikana</i>	address
ড	voiced unaspirated retroflex	d	ডাক	<i>dak</i>	call
ঢ	voiced aspirated retroflex	d ^h	ঢাক	<i>d^hak</i>	cover

Minimal pairs

ট – ঠ : পাট *paṭ* 'jute' - পাঠ *paṭʰ* 'lesson'.

ড – ঢ ডালা *ḍala* 'wicker' – ঢালা *ḍʰala* 'pour'

Consonant – use and occurrence

	initial	medial	final
ট	টিয়া <i>tija</i> 'parrot'	আটা <i>aṭa</i> 'glue'	আট <i>aṭ</i> 'eight'
ঠ	ঠিকানা <i>ṭʰikana</i> 'eight'	কঠিন <i>koṭʰin</i> 'difficult'	মাঠ <i>maṭʰ</i> 'field'
ড	ডিম <i>ḍim</i> 'egg'	ভাণ্ডার <i>bʰanḍar</i> 'storage' কার্ড <i>kaṛḍ</i> 'card'	
ঢ	ঢিল <i>ḍʰil</i>	অঢেল <i>oḍʰel</i> 'enough'	-

ii) Sylheti

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	transc	meaning
ট	voiceless unaspirated retroflex	t	টব	<i>ṭɔb</i>	flower pot
ঠ	voiceless aspirated retroflex	tʰ	ঠাকুর	<i>ṭʰakur</i>	god

ড	voiced unaspirated retroflex	d	ডেগ	<i>deg</i>	cooking vessel
ঢ	voiced, aspirated retroflex	d ^h	ঢাকা	<i>d^haxa</i>	cover

Consonant – use and occurrence

	initial	medial	final
ট	টুমা <i>tuma</i> 'piece'	বাটা <i>baṭa</i> 'paste'	বাট <i>baṭ</i> 'portion'
ঠ	ঠুট <i>t^hut</i> 'lips'	উঠান <i>ut^han</i> 'yard'	খাঠ <i>xaṭ^h</i> 'wood'
ড	ডাল <i>ḍal</i> 'branch'	বঙঙ <i>bonḍo</i> 'fake'	গার্ড <i>garḍ</i> 'guard'

In Sylheti the use of [d^h] is very rare, it has been noticed that the Sylheti speakers usually replace the phoneme [d^h] with [d]. Because of this reason, the words that form minimal pairs in Bangla are found to form homophone in Sylheti. In some of these cases there are tonal differences. (Gope,2016).

Example: *ḍan* (charity) and *ḍan* (rice).

4.5.5. Palatal Plosives

Palatal plosives are consonants pronounced using the articulators hard palate and tip and front of the tongue. Bangla has four palatal plosive consonants and Sylheti has

three.

Note: In Bangla and Sylheti these sounds are pronounced as affricates. (section 4.4).

i) Bangla

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	transc	meaning
চ	voiceless unaspirated palatal affricate	tʃ	চাল	<i>tʃal</i>	rice
ছ	voiceless aspirated palatal affricate	tʃ ^h	ছেলে	<i>tʃ^hele</i>	boy
জ	voiced unaspirated palatal affricate	dʒ	জামা	<i>dʒama</i>	dress
ঝ	voiced aspirated palatal affricate	dʒ ^h	ঝোপ	<i>dʒ^hup</i>	bush

Minimal pairs

চ – ছ: চাপা *tʃapa* 'press' – ছাপা *tʃ^hapa* 'print'

জ – বা : জোর *dʒor* 'emphasis' - বোর *dʒ^hor* 'cascade'

Consonant – use and occurrence

	initial	medial	final
চ	চালাক <i>tʃalak</i> 'clever'	আচার <i>acar</i> 'pickle'	চামচ <i>tʃamotʃ</i> 'spoon'
ছ	ছেলে <i>tʃ^hele</i> 'boy'	বছর <i>bɔtʃor</i> 'year'	মাছ <i>matʃ^h</i> fish'
জ	জল <i>dʒol</i> 'water'	অজঘর <i>ɔdʒɔg^hor</i> 'python'	কাজ <i>kadʒ</i> 'work'
ঝ	ঝাল <i>dʒ^hal</i> 'spicy'	মাঝি <i>madʒ^hi</i> 'fisherman'	মাঝ <i>madʒ^h</i> 'middle'

ii) Sylheti

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	transc	meaning
জ	voiced	dʒ	জগরা	dʒɔgra	quarel

Consonant – use and occurrence

	initial	medial	final
জ	জমিন <i>dʒomin</i> 'land'	কমজাত <i>komjaɽ</i>	কবজ <i>kobɔɽ</i>

4.5.6. Velar plosives

Velar Plosive consonants are produced by the back part of the tongue touching the soft palate. Bangla has four velar plosive consonants while in Sylheti there are two. The tables below explain these features.

i) Bangla

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	transc	meaning
ক	voiceless unaspirated velar	k	কাগজ	<i>kagɔɽ</i>	paper
খ	voiceless aspirated velar	k ^h	খাম	<i>k^ham</i>	work
গ	voiced unaspirated velar	g	গরিব	<i>gɔrib</i>	poor
ঘ	voiced	g ^h	ঘাস	<i>g^haf</i>	grass

aspirated

velar

Minimal pairs

ক – খ : কালি *kali* 'ink' - খালি *k^hali* 'empty'

গ – ঘ গা *ga* 'body' – ঘা *g^ha* 'wound'

Consonant – use and occurrence

	initial	medial	final
ক	কলম <i>kolom</i> 'pen'	পাকা <i>paka</i> 'fan'	কাক <i>kak</i> 'crow'
খ	খুদা <i>k^huḍa</i> 'hungry'	শিখা <i>fik^ha</i> 'learn'	মুখ <i>muk^h</i> 'face'
গ	গরম <i>gorom</i> 'hot'	বাগান <i>bagan</i> 'garden'	রাগ <i>rag</i> 'angry'
ঘ	ঘুম <i>g^hum</i> 'sleep'	আঘাত <i>ag^hat</i> 'hurt'	বাঘ <i>bag^h</i> tiger

ii) Sylheti:

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	transc	meaning
ক	voiceless unaspirated	k	কুফা	<i>kuḥa</i>	unlucky

	velar			
গ	voiced	g	গেনডা	<i>genḍa</i> mariegold
	unaspirated			
	velar			

Minimal pairs

ক – গ করম *kɔrɔm* 'deeds' – গরম *gɔrɔm* 'hot'

Consonant – use and occurrence

	initial	medial	final
ক	কাম <i>kam</i> 'work'	আকাল <i>akal</i> 'bad time'	অসুক <i>osuk</i> 'ill'
গ	গন্দ <i>gɔndɔ</i> 'smell'	সাগল <i>sokal</i> 'morning'	দাগ <i>ḍag</i> 'spot'

4.5.7. Nasals

During the production of nasal consonants, the breath stream is interrupted at some point in the oral cavity or at the lips, while the soft palate is lowered and the air stream passes through the nose and creates a resonance there. Bangla has four nasal sounds /m, n, ŋ, ñ, ñ / while Sylheti has three. According to Sylheti script, two nasal consonants are represented by letters and one is represented by a diacritic symbol (discussed in details in Section 4.5). The detailed description of the nasal sounds from Bangla and Sylheti are discussed below:

i) Bangla

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	transc	meaning
ম	bilabial nasal	m	মাথা	<i>mat^ha</i>	head
ন	dental nasal	n	নরম	<i>norom</i>	soft
ণ	retroflex nasal	ɳ	নারায়ণ	<i>narajaṇ</i>	another name of lord Vishnu
ঞ	palatal nasal	ɲ	অঞ্চল	<i>oñcol</i>	region
ঙ	velar nasal	ŋ	রঙিন	<i>roñin</i>	colorful

Consonant – use and occurrence

	initial	medial	final
ম	মালিক <i>malik</i> 'owner'	অমর <i>amɔr</i> 'immortal'	আম <i>a:m</i> 'mango'
ন	নাম <i>nam</i> 'name'	মানা <i>mana</i> 'prohibited'	দিন <i>din</i> 'day'
ণ	-	ধারণা <i>d^harɔṇa</i>	প্রাণ <i>praṇ</i> 'life'
ঞ	-	সঞ্চয় <i>ʃɔñ tʃɔj</i> (occur only in conjuncts) savings	
ঙ	-	আঙুর <i>aŋgur</i> 'grapes'	রং <i>rɔŋ</i> 'color'

ii) Sylheti

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	transc	meaning
ম	bilabial nasal	m	মুশকিল	<i>muskil</i>	difficult
ন	dental nasal	n	নমক	<i>nɔmɔk</i>	salt

Consonance – use and occurrence

	initial	medial	final
ম	মন <i>mɔn</i> 'mind'	অম্মা <i>am:a</i> mother	খলম <i>xɔlɔm</i> pen
ন	নালিশ <i>nalif</i> 'complain'	আনাড়ি <i>anaɽi</i> 'idiot'	রিন <i>rin</i> 'loan'

4.5.8. Flaps

For the articulation of flap consonants, active and passive articulators strike against one another only once. Bangla has three flap consonants (Thompson, 2010: 30 – 31).

i) Bangla

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	transc	meaning
র	dental flap	r	রাত	<i>raɽ</i>	night
ড়	retroflex flap	ɽ	ঘোড়া	<i>gʱoɽa</i>	horse
ঢ	aspirated	ɽʰ	গাঢ়	<i>gaɽʰ</i>	deep

retroflex
flap

color

Minimal pairs

র – ড : পরা *pɔra* 'wear' - পড়া *pɔɽa* 'study or fall'

Consonant – use and occurrence

	initial	medial	final
র	রুমাল <i>rumal</i> 'handkerchief'	চরণ <i>ʃɔɽɔŋ</i> 'foot'	অমর <i>omor</i> 'mortal'
ড	-	নাড়ি <i>naɽi</i> 'pulse'	বাড় <i>jʰɔɽ</i> 'storm'
ঢ	-	গাঢ় <i>gaɽʰɔ</i> 'deep - color'	আষাঢ় <i>asaɽʰ</i> 'third month of Bangla calender'

ii) Sylheti:

Sylheti have two flap consonants. [r] and [ɽ].

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	transc	meaning
র	dental flap	r	রাইত	<i>raɪt̪</i>	night
ড়	retroflex flap	ɽ	ঘড়ি	<i>gʱoɽi</i>	watch

Minimal pairs:

র – ড় : নারি *nari* 'women' – নাড়ি *naɽi* 'pulse'

Consonant – use and occurrence:

	initial	medial	final
র	রাস্তা <i>raɽta</i> 'road'	শরম <i>ʃoɽm</i> 'shy'	রুজগার <i>ruʃgaɽ</i> 'income'
ড়	-	আড়াই <i>aɽai</i> 'two and half'	গাড় <i>gaɽ</i> 'neck'

4.5.9. Laterals

Lateral consonants are produced with the tip of the tongue touching the roof of the mouth. In Bangla and Sylheti the lateral consonant is produced by touching the teeth ridge with the tip of the tongue.

Bangla and Sylheti

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	transc	meaning
ল	dental lateral	l	লাশ	<i>laf</i>	deadbody

Consonant – use and occurrence

		initial	medial	final
B	ল	লবন <i>lɔbn</i> 'salt'	মালিক <i>malik</i> 'owne'r	চাল <i>ʃal</i> 'rice'
S	ল	লতা <i>lɔta</i> 'string'	আলতা <i>alta</i>	সাল <i>sal</i> 'skin'

4.5.10. Spirants

Spirant consonants are uttered with friction of breath with some parts of the oral passage. In Bangla there are three Spirant consonants : spirant dental consonant, spirant retroflex consonant and spirant palatal consonant. The pronunciation of the three spirants are equal (it is like *ʃ* as in 'shame') though Bangla orthography distinguishes between them.(section 4.4) To know the use of these consonants one needs to learn the spellings (Thompson, 2010).

i) Bangla

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	transc	meaning
স	dental spirant	s	সোনা	<i>sona</i>	gold
ষ	retroflex spirant	s	ষাট	<i>saṭ</i>	sixty
শ	palatal spirant	ʃ	শীত	<i>ʃit</i>	winter

Minimal pairs

স – ষ : ভাসা *b^hasa* 'float' - ভাষা *b^hasa* 'language'.

শ – স : বিশ *bif* 'twenty' - বিষ *bis* 'poison' (according to Bangla spelling)

স – ষ : আসা *asa* 'come' – আশা *afa* 'hope'

Consonant – use and occurrence

	Initial	medial	final
স	সুখ <i>suk^h</i> 'happiness'	অসিমা <i>osima</i> 'endless'	বাতাস <i>baṭas</i> 'air'
ষ	ষাট <i>saṭ</i> 'sixty'	নিষেধ <i>niseḍ^h</i> 'prohibited'	মানুষ <i>manus</i> 'man'
শ	শীত <i>ʃit</i> 'winter'	মশা <i>moʃa</i> 'mosquito'	আকাশ <i>akaʃ</i> 'sky'

ii) Sylheti

Sylheti has more spirant consonants than Bangla. The description of Sylheti spirant consonants are listed below with examples :

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	transc	meaning
স	dental spirant unaspirated	s	সামস	<i>samɔs</i>	spoon
শ	palatal spirant	ʃ	শাফ	<i>ʃaɸ</i>	snake
খ	voiceless velar spirant	x	খাম	<i>xam</i>	work
ঘ	voiced velar spirant	ɣ	ঘাম	<i>ɣam</i>	sweat
জ	voiced alveolar spirant	z		<i>zomin</i>	land
ফ	voiceless labial spirant	ɸ	ফল	<i>ɸol</i>	fruit

Minimal pairs

স – শ : বাসা *basa* 'alive' – বাশা *bafa* 'language', 'float', 'house'

Consonant – use and occurrence

	initial	medial	final
স	সালাক <i>salak</i> 'clever'	বিসার <i>bisar</i> 'judgment'	নাস <i>nas</i> 'dance'
শ	শ্বদ <i>ʃɔbdɔ</i> 'wor'd	মশা <i>mɔʃa</i> 'mosquito'	বিশ <i>bɪʃ</i> 'poison'
খ	খবিস <i>xobis</i> 'bad'	লেখা <i>lexa</i> 'write'	দেখ <i>dex</i> 'look'
ফ	ফুয়া <i>ɸuwa</i> 'boy'	খফাল <i>xoɸal</i> 'forehead'	লাফ <i>laɸ</i> 'jump'
ঘ	ঘাম <i>ɣam</i> 'sweat'		
জ	জমিন <i>zɔmin</i> 'land'		

4.5.11. Approximants

Approximant consonants pronounced by bringing tongue and roof of the mouth close to each other. Bangla have one approximant consonant [j]. In Sylheti script we have not encountered the consonant [j] but there are some words in Sylheti which are pronounced with the consonant [j], e.g. *ɸuja*.

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	transc	meaning
য়	palatal approximants	j	ধুয়া	ɟʰuja	wash

Consonant – use and occurrence

		initial	medial	final
B	য়	-	টিয়া <i>tija</i> 'parrot'	খায় <i>kʰaj</i> 'eat'
S	য়	-	অয় <i>oj</i> 'yes'	জায় <i>ɟaj</i> 'go'

4.5.12. Glottals

Glottal sound is pronounced with vocal folds wide open while the air passes through the glottis without being interrupted. Both Bangla and Sylheti have glottal consonants.

Bangla letter	description	phoneme	word	transc	meaning
হ	glottal spirants	h	হাত	haɽ	hand

Consonant – use and occurrence

		initial	medial	final
B	হ	হাট <i>hat</i> 'market'	চেহারা <i>fehara</i> 'face'	দেহ <i>deh</i> 'body'
S	হ	হামেশা <i>hamefa</i> 'always'	সাহারা <i>fahara</i> 'support'	স্নেহ <i>sneh</i> 'love'

Points to be noted

Bangla has a few consonants in its alphabetic list that are either never used or their occurrences are extremely rare. E.g. ঙ /ŋ/ is never used while ঢ /ɽ/ is used in rare occasions. The letter ণ /ɳ/ has a distinct sound (retroflex nasal consonant) in Hindi languages but in Bangla this consonant is only used while writing but in speech the pronunciation of dental nasal and retroflex nasals are not distinguished.

4.6. Script

4.6.1. What is a Script?

A script is a writing system, it is a collection of letters or symbols used in a language to express ideas. A script is a symbolic system used to represent elements or statements expressible in a language. It also preserves lost features (such as the length of vowels) of the language that were a part of it at some point in time. Writing system can be independent of any language, some languages have only one writing system for example Bangla has its Bangla script but this script is also used in writing

Assamese⁵, Manipuri⁶, Vishnupriya Manipuri⁷, on the other hand some languages may use multiple scripts or script of other languages, for example consider Punjabi language, Punjabis in Pakistan use Urdu script to write Punjabi while Indian Punjabis use *Gurmukhi* script. Writing systems are classified as logographic, syllabic, alphabetic, *abugida* and *abjad*. Bangla and Sylheti are grouped under abugida script. In the following section we will discuss the origin and development of both the scripts.

4.6.2. Bangla Script

Bangla script is derived from Brahmi script. Many South – Asian scripts have descendant from *Brahmi*. Bangla script is one of the descendants of *Brahmi* script which is used for writing Bangla, Sylheti, Manipuri, and some other northeast-Indian languages like Bodo, Kakbarua.

The writing systems originating from Brahmi are syllabic also known as abugida. The Bangla letters are syllabic letters which means each consonant has a vowel attached with it and together they both form a syllabic unit. Each consonant in Bangla script has an inherent vowel [ɔ].(Chatterjee,1957). In order to mute the pronunciation of the inherent vowel the symbol hasanta is placed below that consonant or when a single consonant is at the end of a word. Inherent vowels are discussed in details in section 4.7. In Bangla script all vowels have two Symbols : one is full vowel

⁵Assamese languages is the state language of Assam.

⁶Manipuri is the state languages of Manipur state situated in North-Eastern part of India. Manipuri language belongs to the Tibeto – Burman language family and they have their own script known as Meiteilon but from few years they have adopted the Bengali script but recently many scholars and linguists are motivating and encouraging the Manipuri speakers to learn and use the Meiteilon script.

⁷Bishnupriya Manipuri is an Indo-Aryan language spoken by the Bisnupriya people who live mainly in the lower Assam, Tripura.

which stands on its own and the other is vowel diacritic which is attached to the consonants. The diacritic symbol for a vowel can be placed above, below, before, after or both sides of the consonants (vowel diacritic has been discussed in more details in section no. 4.6.2.1).

In Bangla script the arrangement of letters is very systematic, the vowels come before the consonants and consonants are arranged according to the phonological rule. The names of the consonants in Bangla are not mere names but they actually are instructions to pronounce those consonants. E.g the name of ন [n] is “দন্তীয় - ন, *ḍṇṭiḷḷeḷ - nṇ*” meaning : 'dental n'.

The arrangements of the Bangla consonants are shown below:

4.6.2.1. Alphabetical orders of the letters

Vowels : অ a, আ a, ই i, ঐ i, উ u, ঊ u, এ e, ও o.

Table 4.6.2.1: Bangla Vowels

Bangla letters	phonemes
অ	/ɔ/
আ	/a/
ই	/i/
ঐ	/i:/
উ	/u/
ঊ	/u:/
এ	/e/
ও	/o/

Table 4.6.2.2: Bangla Consonants

Bangla letters	Phonemes
ক	/kɔ/
খ	/kʰɔ/
গ	/gɔ/
ঘ	/gʰɔ/
ঙ	/ŋɔ/
চ	/tʃɔ/
ছ	/tʃʰɔ/
জ	/dʒɔ/
ঝ	/dʒʰɔ/
ঞ	/ɲɔ/
ট	/ʈɔ/
ঠ	/ʈʰɔ/
ড	/ɖɔ/
ঢ	/ɖʰɔ/
ণ	/ɳɔ/
ত	/tɔ/
থ	/tʰɔ/
দ	/dɔ/
ধ	/dʰɔ/
ন	/nɔ/
প	/pɔ/
ফ	/pʰɔ/
ব	/bɔ/
ভ	/bʰɔ/
ম	/mɔ/
য	/jɔ/
র	/rɔ/
ল	/lɔ/
ল	/lʰɔ/

ল	/lɔ/
শ	/ʃɔ/
স	/sɔ/
ষ	/sɔ/
হ	/hɔ/
য়	/hɔ/

4.6.2.2. Names of the consonants

All Bangla vowels and consonants are not named according to their way of pronunciation only a few consonants have a name which describe their way of pronunciation. Here we have listed vowels and consonants according to their names.

Vowels: ই hrishyo i - short i, উ hrishyo u – short u

ঐ drigyo i – long i, ঔ drigyo u – long u.

Consonants: ণ murdhunno – retroflex ɳ.

শ talibosso – palatal ʃ

স dontesso – dental s.

ষ murdhunisso – retroflex s

Table 4.6.2.3. Bangla Vowel diacritics:

full vowel	vowel sign	position	demo	translit
অ	-	no vowel sign	ক	k
আ	া	after the consonant	কা	ka
ই	ি	before the consonant	কি	ki
ঐ	ী	after	কী	ki

		the consonant		
ক	ক্	below the consonant	কু	ku
খ	খ্	below the consonant	খু	ku
গ	গ্	before the consonant	গে	ke
ঙ	ঙ্	around the consonant	কো	ko

4.6.2.3. Sylheti script

During the period of Bangla language and literature, another script known as Sylheti Nagari script was developed which gained great importance among the people. This script was mainly used by the Sylheti speakers (mainly Muslim) of Sylheti district. The Script has many names like Jalalavadi Nagari,(Bhuiya, 2000), Ful Nagari, Muslim Nagari (Bhuiya,2000) but among these the name Sylheti Nagari is more appropriate as the name itself describes that the script is related to the language. In this study we will use the name 'Sylheti Nagari'.

Like Bangla in Sylheti Nagari also all the consonants are accompanied by the inherent vowel /ɔ/. The vowels used in Sylheti Nagari have two symbols one is full vowel and the other is vowel symbol. In Sylheti Nagari the vowels are placed before the consonants. The list of the Vowels and consonants are shown in the following sections:

Table 4.6.2.2 : Sylheti vowel letters

Sylheti letters	phonemes
া	/a/
ই	/i/
উ	/u/
ঐ	/e/, /ɛ/
ঔ	/o/ /ɔ/

4.6.2.3. Table : Sylheti consonants

Sylheti consonants	Phoneme
ক	/kɔ/
খ	/xɔ/
গ	/gɔ/
ঘ	/ɣɔ/
ঙ	/tʃɔ/
চ	/tʃʰɔ/
জ	/dʒɔ/
ঝ	/zɔ/
ট	/tɔ/
ঠ	/tʰɔ/
ড	/dɔ/
ঢ	/dʰɔ/
ণ	/ɳɔ/
ত	/tʰɔ/
দ	/dɔ/

ঞ	/dʱɔ/
ঠ	/nɔ/
ড	/pɔ/
ঢ	/ʧɔ/
ণ	/bɔ/
ত	/bʱɔ/
থ	/mɔ/
দ	/rɔ/
ধ	/lɔ/
ন	/tɔ/
঩	/ʃɔ/
঱	/hɔ

4.6.2.4. Sylheti Vowel sign: Like Bangla in Sylheti script also each vowel has two symbols, a full vowel and a vowel sign. Vowel signs are attached to the consonants. In the table the vowel signs use in Sylheti nagari script are shown:

Table 4.6.2.4: Sylheti vowel sign (Bhuiya, 2000)

Full vowel	demo	pronounced	position	transc
ই	ঞী	/i/	after consonant	the ki
এ	ঞে	/e/	above consonant	the ke
অ	ঞা	/a/	after consonant	the ka
ও	ঞু	/u/	underneath consonant	the ku

4.7. Inherent vowel

What is an inherent vowel ?

- An inherent vowel is a part of an *abugida script*. It is a vowel sound attached to each unmarked or basic consonant. In Bangla the inherent vowel is [ɔ] and in some cases [o]. In Sylheti the inherent vowel is [ɔ]. There are some special cases where inherent vowel does not occur.

Absence of Inherent vowel: A writing system with inherent vowel uses some special symbols to suppress the pronunciation of inherent vowels so that only the consonant is pronounced dropping the vowel [ɔ]. In Bangla there are three diacritic symbols indicating that the inherent vowels are not pronounced.

a) (◌◌) onuskar, present both in Bangla and Sylheti. Onuskar never takes a vowel after it, if 'onuskar' is used in the end of a word then this word ends without any vowel sound, e.g. রং rɔŋ (colour). It is always used after a consonant or a vowel (e.g. অংশমান ɔŋfuman 'the Sun god')

Initial	medial	final
-	সংবাদ sɔbad 'news'	বরং bɔɔŋ 'instead'

b) (◌◌) 'hɔɔŋɔɔ' in Bangla is used under a consonant to kill the pronunciation of the inherent vowel attached to that consonant. Its function in Sylheti is the same as that in Bangla but the symbol used in Sylheti script is ^ and is used on top of the consonant. It cannot occur at the initial position.

c) (◌◌) 'kʰɔɔndɔɔ' in Bangla is more like /t/ + ◌◌ 'hɔɔŋɔɔ', whenever a /t/

sound is needed without its inherent vowel a ৞ is used. Example : অৰ্থাৎ $\text{ɔrt}^h\text{at}$ (meaning is meaning itself). *Sylheti*: There is no 'k^hɔndɔɔɔ' in Sylheti Script. Although Sylheti speakers use words that contain 'k^hɔndɔɔɔ' sound. Perhaps /t/ + ^ (Sylheti 'hɔɔɔɔɔ') in Sylheti can produce the desired effect and of course also in Bangla (৞ = /t/ + ্).

d) Single consonants in the final position : In both Sylheti and Bangla the inherent vowel is usually not pronounced after the single consonants in the end of a word.

Example: ডাক *dak* 'call', নাক *nak* 'nose' , চাল *sal* 'skin' etc.

Presence of Inherent vowel

a) In Bangla and Sylheti, conjuncts are pronounced with inherent vowel.

Example: রক্ত *roktɔ* 'blood', গল্প *golpɔ* / গল্প *goppɔ* 'story'.

b) Words ending with the phoneme /h/ are always accompanied by inherent vowel in both Bangla and Sylheti.

Example: মোহ *mohɔ* 'affection', দেহ *dehɔ* 'body', স্নেহ *snehɔ* 'affection', সন্দেহ *ɔndehɔ* 'doubt / suspicion'

c) Inherent vowel is pronounced if the final consonant is preceded by ্, ্ and ৞.

Example: দুঃখ *dukk^hɔ* 'sorrow', মাংস *manɔ* 'meat'

d) When the final consonant is preceded by ঞ (or ্ when added to a consonant) [ri], inherent vowel is expressed. It is very unlikely to find any native Sylheti word with this vowel consonant combination phoneme.

Example: মৃগ *mrigɔ* 'deer', মৃত *mritɔ* 'dead'. An exception is অমৃত *amritɔ* 'nectar'.

e) In comparative and superlative adjective forms the inherent vowel is pronounced. E.g. প্রিয়তম *prijɔtɔmɔ* 'dearest' one, অন্যতম *ɔnnɔtɔmɔ* 'unique', গুরুতর *gurutɔrɔ* 'serious'.

f) Inherent vowel is pronounced in some special verb forms⁸ :

i) In Bangla inherent vowel is pronounced in 1st person future tense.

Example: যাব *dʒabɔ* 'go', খাব *kʰabɔ* 'eat', লিখব *likʰbɔ* 'write'.

ii) In Bangla, with 2nd person (fam) simple present, present continuous, present perfect.

Example: কর *kɔrɔ* 'do', বল *bɔlɔ* 'say', চল *tʃɔlɔ* 'go', ফেলছ *pʰelʃɔ* 'throw'

iii) In Bangla inherent vowel is used with 3rd person (ord) simple past, past continuous, past perfect, past habitual.

Example: ফেলল *pʰellɔ* 'throw', লিখল *likʰlɔ* 'wrote', দেখল *dʒekʰlɔ* 'saw'

iv) In Sylheti inherent vowel is used with 2nd person (fam) simple present and present perfect.

Example: লেখ *lexɔ* 'write', মেল *melɔ* 'open', কিন *kinɔ* 'buy'

v) In Sylheti inherent vowel is used with 3rd person (ord) simple past, past perfect, past habitual.

Example: লেখল *lexlɔ* 'write', খেলল *xellɔ* 'play'

⁸The English meaning of the verbs are written only in their base forms inside the parenthesis.

4.8. Conjuncts

A conjunct is a combination of two or more consonant letters without a vowel sound in the middle, even the inherent vowel sound disappears and this combination forms a new sound. In Bangla the conjunct letters are known as 'jukttakk^hor'. The conjuncts are usually written vertically and sometimes placed side by side sharing their vertical line. Some consonants sometimes are simply placed closer with one another (side by side) to form a conjunct. There are many ways in which conjuncts can form. Some consonants in Bangla have a diacritic symbol known as [p^hola] which is used after consonants to form conjuncts (Choudhury, 2015) :

a) ঞ has two symbols

i) 'reph' which is used above the consonant as in

কর্ম *kormo* 'work'

ii) 'rop^hola' which is used below the consonants

প্রান *pran* 'life'.

'reph' symbol is used when it comes as the first letter of the conjuncts and 'rop^hola' sits at the second place of a conjunct.

b) ঞ the name of the diacritic symbol is 'bofola' and is used for the conjunct formation. But like [r] the letter [b] is not always pronounced even if the conjunct in the word demands the presence of [b]. Here we give two example:

i) [b] is the first consonant and is placed under the first consonant.

Example: দ্বীপ *ḍip* 'island'

ii) [b] is the second consonant and is placed below.

Example: দায়িত্ব written as *ḍayiṭbo* and pronounced as *ḍiyiṭto* meaning responsibility.

c) ম the name of the diacritic symbol is 'mofola'. The consonant [m] when it occurs as the first letter of a consonant cluster the pronunciation of it is always preserved, but mop^hola is also used as the second letter of the cluster and in that case the pronunciation is often not preserved.

i) কম্প *kompɔ* 'shake'. The diacritic symbol mop^hola is not used here.

ii) আত্মা *atta* 'spirit' this word is pronounced without mop^hola.

iii) আত্মীয় written as *atmiyo* but pronounced as *attiyo* meaning 'guest'

iv) জন্ম written and pronounced as *ḍɔnmɔ* meaning 'birth'.

d) ল the name of the diacritic symbol is lop^hola. The pronunciation of this letter is always preserved.

i) গল্প *gɔlpɔ* 'story'.

ii) উল্লাস *ullas* 'happiness'.

Besides the use of p^hola, in Bangla, conjuncts are also formed by other consonants. In the following section we have tried to arrange the list of conjuncts from Bangla and Sylheti based on their formation. The Sylheti conjuncts which we have presented here

are collected from the Sylheti manuscripts (Chanda,2006). Here we have just discussed the conjuncts found in Sylheti nagari and avoided the extra conjuncts found in the speech of Sylheti speakers that are shared with the Bangla conjuncts. The formation for conjuncts in Bangla are shown below:

a) Conjuncts formed in a vertical line- The consonants are placed on top of one another forming a vertical line with a little or no change in the basic shape.

Table: 4.8.1: Conjuncts formed in Vertical line

No .	letter	conjunct form	pronunciation	Initial	medial	medial with inherent vowel
1.	ক+ক	ক্ক	kk	-	মক্কা <i>mokka</i> 'holy place for Muslim'	-
2.	ক + ল	ক্কল	kl	ক্কল <i>klant̪o</i> 'tried'	শুক্কা <i>fukla</i>	
3.	ল + ল	ল্ল	ll	-	উল্লাস <i>ullas</i> 'enjoyment'	-
4.	ন + ন	ন্ন	nn	-	কান্না <i>kanna</i> 'cry'	ভিন্ন <i>b^hinnɔ</i> 'different'
5.	প + প	প্প	pp	-	দাপ্পা <i>ḍappa</i> (onomatopoeic term)	গল্প <i>gɔppɔ</i> 'story'

6.	প + ত	প্ত	প্ত	-	দিপ্তদিপ <i>diptodip</i>	গুপ্ত <i>gupta</i> 'secret'
7.	প + ল	প্ল	প্ল	প্লাবল <i>plabon</i> 'flood'	বপ্লবি <i>biplabi</i> 'martyr'	-
8.	দ + ব	দ্ব	দ্ব	-	উদ্বিগ্ন <i>udbigna</i> 'worried'	-
9.	দ + ভ	ড	দ্ব ^h	-	উদ্ব <i>udb^hab</i> 'originating'	-

b) Conjuncts formed by placing the consonant side by side with no or some change in the basic shape:

Table: 4.8.2: conjunct formed in horizontal line

No.	letter	conjunct form	pronunciation	initial	medial	medial with inherent vowel
1.	দ + দ	দ্ব	দ্ব	-	উদ্বাম <i>uddam</i> 'reckless'	-
2	ব + ব	ব্ব	ব্ব	-	আব্বা <i>abba</i> 'father'	-
3.	জ + জ	জ্জ	ড়ড়	-	লজ্জা <i>lodzda</i>	-

					'shame'	
4.	ড + ড		dd	-	আড্ডা <i>aḍḍa</i> 'chat'	-
5.	চ + চ		ḥḥ	-	বাচ্চা <i>baḥḥa</i> 'kid'	

c) Compressed forms : Some letters get compressed or change their basic shapes when appearing as conjuncts.

Table: 4.8.3: Compressed form

No.	letter	Conjunct form	pronunciation	initial	medial	medial with inherent vowel
1.	ট + ট		tt	-	ঠাট্টা <i>t^hatta</i> 'making fun'	-
2.	গ + ধ	গ্ধ	gḍ ^h	-	-	মুগ্ধ <i>mugḍ^h</i> 'impress'
3.	গ + র	গ্ৰ	gr	গ্রাম <i>gram</i> 'village'	আগ্রহ <i>agrɔḥ</i> 'enthusiastic'	উগ্র <i>ugrɔ</i> 'violent'
5.	ণ + ট	ণ্ট	ṅt	ঘণ্টা <i>g^hɔṅṭa</i> 'hour'	কণ্টক <i>kɔṅṭk</i> 'vocal'	কণ্ট <i>kɔṅṭɔ</i> 'voice'
6.	দ + ধ	দ্ব	ḍḍ ^h		বিরুদ্ধে <i>birudd^he</i> 'against'	যুদ্ধ <i>ḍḥudd^h</i> 'war'

7.	ত + ম	ত্ম	ṭm		আত্মা <i>aṭma</i> 'soul'	আত্ম <i>aṭmɔ</i> 'self'
8.	প + র	প্ৰ		প্ৰান <i>pran</i> 'life'	আপ্ৰান <i>apran</i> 'very much'	
9.	ম + প	ম্প	mp		দম্পতি <i>ḍompɔti</i> 'couple'	কম্প <i>kompo</i> 'shake', 'quake'
10.	ম + ম	ম্ম	mm	-	সম্মান <i>ʃomman</i> 'respect'	

d) New letters : Bangla has some conjunct letters in which the two separate letters after forming conjunct come up with a new letter.

Table 4.8.4: New Letter

No.	letter	Conjunct form	pronunciation	initial	medial	medial with final consonant
1.	ত + ত	ত্ত	ṭṭ		উত্তর <i>utṭor</i> 'answer'	
2.	ত + র	ত্ৰ	ṭṛ		মাত্রা <i>maṭra</i>	মাত্র <i>maṭrɔ</i>

					<i>maṭra</i> 'limit'	'only'
3.	ঙ + গ	ঙ্গ	ṅg	-	সঙ্গে <i>songe</i> 'along'	উলঙ্গ <i>uloṅgo</i> 'naked'

4.8.1. Conjuncts used in Sylheti script

The sample has been collected from the Sylheti manuscripts and Sylheti printed material. In Sylheti the use of conjuncts are very limited compared to that of Bangla. An important difference between Sylheti and Bangla conjuncts is that in *Bangla* in some cases after forming conjuncts, the letters take a new shape which is completely different from that of the original shapes of the letters, but in Sylheti nagari this type of conjuncts do not occur. For example the conjuncts /tt̪/ in Bangla has taken a new shape ত্ত̪. but in Sylheti the same conjuncts /tt̪/ has retained the basic shape of both the t̪'s. (Chanda, 2013).

Table 4.8.1.1: Sylheti conjunct according to Sylheti Nagari script

No.	letter	Conjunct	pronunciation	initial	middle	middle with inherent vowel
1	ন + দ	ন্দ	nd̪		বন্দন <i>bond̪on</i> 'ties'	অন্দ <i>ond̪o</i> 'blind'
2.	ল + ল	ল্ল	ll		আল্লা Allah	

					'god'	
3.	ন + ত	ন্ত	nt̪			অন্ত ɔnt̪ɔ 'end'
4.	ম + ব	ম্‌ব	mb	-	লাম্বা <i>lamba</i> 'tall'	-
5.	শ + ব	শ্‌ব	ʃb		বিশ্বাসী <i>bifbasi</i> 'trust worthy'	
6.	শ + ক		ʃk		মুষ্কিল <i>mufkil</i> 'difficult'	
7.	শ + ত	ন্ত	ʃt̪			দোস্ত d̪ɔʃt̪ɔ 'friend'
8.	ব + ব	ব্‌ব	bb		মুরব্বি <i>murɔbbi</i> 'mature person'	
9.	ম + ন	ম্‌ন	mn		সম্মান <i>sɔmnan</i> 'respect'	
10	জ + জ	জ্‌জ	dʒdʒ		লইজ্‌জা <i>lɔidʒdʒa</i> 'shame'	
11.	ত + ত	ত্ত	t̪t̪		তত্ত	

					তত্ত্ব 'theory'	
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From the study of conjunct formation of Sylheti and Bangla, we have observed that in Sylheti the occurrence of [c] phoneme takes place only during conjuncts. We have encountered many sylheti words which are pronounced with [cc] and also with [s].

example : *kiɽɽfa* – *kisa* 'story'.

koɽɽɽɽɽp – *kosop* 'tortoise'.

4.9. Conclusion

In this chapter our main aim was to do a detail comparative study of Bangla and Sylheti phoneme and the Script used in both languages. From this study we get a clear picture of sound used in Bangla and Sylheti and how they are being used in the respective languages. For doing this piece of work we have studied the Bangla phonemes and Sylheti phonemes, the phonemes used for discussing the Sylheti phoneme are collected from interviewing the local Sylheti speakers of Barak valley. We have also studied the Sylheti script and tried to produced a result keeping in account both the written and spoken medium. It is been observed that Bangla and Sylheti, both belonging to the Indo-Aryan language family, have spectacular similarities and differences. We have tried to pint out the similarities and differences here:

Similarities:

- a) Both Bangla and Sylheti belong to the Indo-Aryan language family.
- b) The consonants in Bangla and Sylheti have inherent vowel.
- c) Vowels in Bangla and Sylheti have two Symbols: full vowel and vowel sign.

Differences:

- a) Bangla have the use of nasal vowel while Sylheti doesnot have.
- b) Sylheti have the use of dvisvara sign, which is tagged with any other vowel to form diphthongs like 'oi', 'ai' , 'ui'.
- c) In Sylheti the occurrence of [c] phoneme is rare, this phoneme is used during conjuncts.
- d) Bangla forms minimal pairs between aspirated and unaspirated phonemes while in Sylheti this is not common as the occurrence of aspiration is very rare



NOUNS

5.1. Introduction

Nouns are used to denote a name to identify a person, a place, or a thing. The noun is one of the most basic parts of speech and can function as a subject as well as an object. In Bangla and Sylheti it holds a very important plac and is divided into groups like *proper* and *common nouns*, *singular* and *plural nouns*, *abstract noun*, *verbal noun*, *collective noun*, *generic noun* (Thompson, 2010). (Choudhury, 2015). There are no fixed articles in these two languages, Thompson and Dasgupta have used the term classifiers which are added to the nouns to make it definite and indefinite, singular and plural while Jean Clement in his book uses the term 'determiner'. In this thesis we are using the term classifier to describe the noun of Bangla and Sylheti. In Bangla there are different sets of classifiers which are used based on the noun, whether it is an animate or inanimate thing, count or non-count, ordinary or honorific noun, while in Sylheti the classifiers used for animate and inanimate nouns are similar (Mayenin, 2011). In this chapter we will focus on gender, classifiers and case in Bangla and Sylheti.

5.2. Gender

The English word 'gender' is derived from the Latin word 'genus' meaning kind, type or sort. Gender is a grammatical class in which nouns and pronouns are placed with

some inflections that distinguish the difference of usage between male and female. Use of gender is different in different languages. Gender is broadly classified in two types : grammatical and natural gender.

5.2.1. Grammatical Gender

Grammatical gender is employed in many world languages like Hindi (one of the official languages in India), Italian etc. Some languages having grammatical gender distinguish gender in two categories. Every noun (animate and inanimate) is either feminine or masculine. If we take an example from Hindi we see that the vowel endings of the words play an important role in marking the gender, if a word takes the ending vowel /a/ then it is a masculine noun as in *gussa* meaning 'anger' (abstract noun) and the feminine word takes the vowel ending /i/ as in *kursi* 'chair' (inanimate object).

5.2.2. Natural Gender

Natural gender (male or female) is determined by biological sex. Languages having natural gender classify animate objects based on their sex (gender in the social sense) and all the inanimate objects are grouped under neuter class. In both Bangla and Sylheti gender is classified as natural gender.

Bangla and Sylheti, gender is group under four categories:

(Choughury and Choudhury, 2015)

masculine gender (pung lingo) : all the animate males, e.g. man, boy.

Feminine gender (stree lingo): all the animate females, e.g women, girl.

Neuter gender (kilb lingo) : all the inanimate objects., e.g table, chair.

Common gender (ubhoy lingo) : Includes all the genders. In this group the

distinction between masculine and feminine gender is lost. Examples : student, bird.

5.2.3. Gender in Bangla and Sylheti

Bangla and Sylheti have masculine and feminine words which are not marked morphologically. The examples of masculine and feminine nouns from Bangla and Sylheti are shown in the following tables. The table of Bangla (Table 5.2.3.1 and 5.2.3.2). Sylheti words which are specifically used in Sylheti language are listed in the tables of Sylheti language (Table 5.2.3.3 and 5.2.3.4).

Table 5.2.3.1: Masculine nouns in Bangla

Bangla word	transc	meaning
লোক	<i>lɔk</i>	person
ছেলে	<i>ʃ^hele</i>	boy
বাবা	<i>baba</i>	father
ভাই	<i>b^hai</i>	brother
রাজা	<i>radʒa</i>	king

Table 5.2.3.2: Feminine nouns in Bangla

Bangla word	transc	meaning
মহিলা	<i>mɔhila</i>	women
মেয়ে	<i>meje</i>	girl
মা	<i>ma</i>	mother
বোন	<i>bon</i>	sister
রানী	<i>rani</i>	queen
বিধবা	<i>biḍ^hoba</i>	widow

Table 5.2.3.3: Masculine nouns in Sylheti

Sylheti word	transc	meaning
দামাদ	<i>d̥amand̥</i>	Son-in-law
ফুয়া	<i>ɸuja</i>	boy
বাই	<i>bai</i>	brother
বাদশাহ	<i>baɖsah</i>	ruler
আব্বা	<i>ab:a</i>	father

Table 5.2.3.4 : Feminine nouns in Sylheti

Sylheti word	transc	meaning
বউ	<i>bou</i>	bride
ফুরি	<i>ɸuri</i>	girl
বইন	<i>boin</i>	sister
বেগম	<i>begom</i>	queen
আম্মা	<i>amma</i>	mother
বেশ্যা	<i>bejja</i>	prostitute

5.2.4. Feminine Gender Markers

When gender is marked morphologically in Bangla and Sylheti nouns it is usually by means of a suffix for feminine nouns. The feminine markers (suffix) and their use in Bangla and Sylheti are similar. Feminine suffix /a/ - usually gets attached to the masculine nouns (which usually do not have any vowel at the end). This suffix in Sylheti and Bangla is usually attached to a masculine noun ending either without a vowel sound or in some occasions to the nouns ending with /ɔ/ an inherent-vowel.

Table 5.2.4.1: Use of feminine suffix /a/ in Bangla and Sylheti.

masculine word	transc	feminine word	transc	meaning
অজ	<i>odʒ</i>	অজা	<i>odʒa</i>	goat
প্ৰিয়তম	<i>priyoṭm</i>	প্ৰিয়তমা	<i>priyoṭma</i>	beloved
বিবাহিত	<i>bibahiṭ</i>	বিবাহিতা	<i>bibahiṭa</i>	married
প্ৰেমিক	<i>premik</i>	প্ৰেমিকা	<i>premika</i>	lover

Table 5.2.4.2 : Use of feminine suffix /i/ in Bangla and Sylheti. Feminine suffix /i/ is added with the words having no vowel endings.

masculine word	transc	feminine word	transc	meaning
কিশোর	<i>kifor</i>	কিশোৱী	<i>kifori</i>	adolescent
কুমাৰ	<i>kumar</i>	কুমাৰী	<i>kumari</i>	unmarried
দেব	<i>ḍeb</i>	দেবী	<i>ḍebi</i>	god
ময়ূৰ	<i>mojur</i>	ময়ূৰী	<i>mojuri</i>	peacock

Table 5.2.4.3.: kinship terms in Bangla and Sylheti.

Feminine suffix /i/ - the suffix /i/ replaces the last vowel of a masculine noun.

masculine word	transc	meaning	Feminine word	transc	meaning
মামা	<i>mama</i>	maternal uncle	মামি	<i>mami</i>	maternal aunt
কাকা	<i>kaka</i>	paternal uncle	কাকি	<i>kaki</i>	paternal aunt
যেটা	<i>dʒeṭa</i>	paternal uncle	যেটি	<i>dʒeṭi</i>	paternal aunt
চাচা	<i>ʃaʃa</i>	paternal uncle	চাচি	<i>ʃaʃi</i>	paternal aunt

The feminine suffix /i/ helps to form feminine kinship terms which are formed after marriage.

Table 5.2.4.4: Suffix /i/ in Sylheti words.

The last vowel of the masculine word is replaced by the suffix /i/.

masculine word	transc	meaning	feminine word	transc	meaning
ফাগ্লা	<i>ɸagla</i>	crazy	ফাগ্গি	<i>ɸagli</i>	crazy
নটা	<i>nɔta</i>	notorious	নটি	<i>nɔti</i>	notorious
থুব্লা	<i>tʰubla</i>	worthless	থুব্গি	<i>tʰubli</i>	worthless
কুত্ৰা	<i>kutta</i>	dog	কুত্গি	<i>kutti</i>	bitch
কামলা	<i>kamla</i>	worker	কামলি	<i>kamli</i>	worker

Table 5.2.4.5 : Feminine Suffix /ika/- is mostly used with Sanskrit or *tatsama* Bangla words which end in /ok/. It is very rare to encounter any Sylheti word taking the feminine suffix /ika/.

masculine word	transc	meaning	feminine word	transc	meaning
বালক	<i>balɔk</i>	boy	বালিকা	<i>balika</i>	girl
নায়ক	<i>nayɔk</i>	actor	নায়িকা	<i>nayika</i>	actress
গায়ক	<i>gayɔk</i>	singer	গায়িকা	<i>gayika</i>	singer
সেবক	<i>sebɔk</i>	servant	সেবিকা	<i>sebika</i>	maid servant

The masculine words mentioned in Table 5.2.4.5, are pronounced with [x] in Sylheti like *balɔx - balika*.

Table 5.2.4.6: Bangla words with the suffix /ni/.

The suffix /ni/ usually is added to the words ending with /i/ vowel sound and is very common in Bangla.

masculine word	transc	meaning	feminine word	transc	meaning
প্ৰতিবেশী	<i>prɔ̃tibɛfi</i>	owner	প্ৰতিবেশিনী	<i>prɔ̃tibɛfini</i>	lady owner
ভিকারি	<i>b^hikari</i>	begger	ভিকারিনী	<i>b^hikarini</i>	Female beggar
বিদেশি	<i>biɖɛfi</i>	foreigner	বিদেশিনী	<i>biɖɛfini</i>	Foreigner

Table 5.2.4.7 : Sylheti words with the suffix /ni/.

The suffix /ni/ in Sylheti gets attached to the words with no vowel ending. This suffix is very common in Sylheti..

masculine word	transc	meaning	feminine word	transc	meaning
মালিক	<i>malik</i>	owner	মালিকনি	<i>malikni</i>	lady-owner
চাকর	<i>sakɔr</i>	servant	চাকরনি	<i>sakɔrni</i>	maid

Table 5.2.4.8: suffix /ni/ attached to words borrowed from English in Sylheti.

English word	Mascu. Sylheti pronunciation	Fem. Sylheti pronunciation	meaning
master	<i>maʃtɔr</i>	<i>maʃtɔrni</i>	teacher
doctor	<i>ɖaktɔr</i>	<i>ɖaktɔrni</i>	doctor

Table 5.2.4.9 : The suffix /tri/ in Bangla.

masculine word	transc	feminine word	transc	meaning
নেতা	<i>netɑ</i>	নেত্রি	<i>netri</i>	minister
দাতা	<i>ɖɑtɑ</i>	দাত্রি	<i>ɖɑtri</i>	giver

5.2.5. Rules to form feminine words

Based on the tables above, we can list the rules of converting a male noun to a female.

The rules of forming feminine words in Bangla and Sylheti are in some cases (for *tatsama* words the rules are also inherited from Sanskrit) similar to Hindi (Koul, 2008)

a) The feminine marker *ika* is tagged with the masculine word which end with the phoneme /k/. E.g *balok-balika*, thus inserting the feminine marker *ika* in place of *ok*.

b) If the masculine word ends with *ta* at the end then the feminine maker *tri* is added to form feminine word example: *netā-netri*, thus *ta* is replaced by *tri* at the end (Thompson,2010)

5.2.6. Forming feminine noun without the use of feminine suffixes

Besides the use of feminine suffixes, Bangla and Sylheti construct feminine words by adding a word like 'woman' or 'girl' to the masculine noun to make the noun feminine, as in English 'lady doctor', 'police woman'. In Bangla and Sylheti feminine nouns like *m̃hila*, *nari*, (women or lady) *meje* (girl) are used before the noun. But this type of feminine word formations occur only with the words which are associated with some profession.

Table 5.2.6.1: Feminine noun without feminine suffixes

masculine noun	transc	meaning	feminine noun	transc	meaning
পুলিশ	<i>pulif</i>	policeman	মহিলা পুলিশ	<i>m̃hila pulif</i>	policewoman
ডাক্তার	<i>ḍakṭar</i>	doctor	মহিলা ডাক্তার	<i>m̃hila ḍakṭar</i>	lady doctor
শিল্পি	<i>filpi</i>	artist	মহিলা শিল্পি	<i>m̃hila filpi</i>	lady artist
কর্মী	<i>kormi</i>	worker	মহিলা কর্মী	<i>m̃hila kormi</i>	women worker

In the above examples all the nouns are tagged with the feminine noun *mohila* because this is the most common word formation process, but in some cases the speakers use other feminine nouns like *meje* or *nari* like *mejepulif*, *narifilpi* etc. But the use of these words is very rare. In Sylheti besides the use of feminine nouns (common in Bangla and Sylheti) like *meje*, *mohila*, *nari*, another feminine word *beṭi* is also used and it is very common. The word *beṭi* is similar to the Hindi word which means 'girl' or 'daughter' but in Sylheti the word *beṭi* is used for 'lady' or 'woman'. So, besides using the other Bengali words mentioned above Sylheti speakers also use the word *beti* to transform the word into a feminine gender form.

Table 5.2.6.2 Feminine noun with the word *beṭi*

masculine noun	transc	meaning	feminine noun	transc	meaning
ডাক্তর	<i>ḍaxṭor</i>	doctor	বেটি ডাক্তর	<i>beṭi ḍaxṭor</i>	lady doctor
ফুলিস	<i>ḥulif</i>	policeman	বেটি ফুলিস	<i>beṭi ḥulif</i>	policewoman

5.2.7: Agreement

Agreement is a process in which the form of the words changes in order to match the grammatical category of other related words. Gender is one of the category which need agreement in languages with grammatical gender, for example in Hindi the auxiliary verb changes its form according to gender.

Table 5.2.7.1: use of auxiliary verb in Hindi

masculine	<i>me hunga</i>	I will be there
feminine	<i>me hungi</i>	I will be there
masculine	<i>ye hoga</i>	he will be thee

feminine	<i>ye hogi</i>	she will be there
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For the masculine gender this verb ends with /a/ and in feminine with /i/ in Hindi. In Bangla and Sylheti gender does not affect the form of words as much as in Hindi. Though Bangla and Sylheti have some adjectives agreeing masculine and feminine gender.

Table 5.2.7.2: adjectives in Bangla and Sylheti.

suffix	masculine adjective	suffix	Feminine adjective	meaning
-মান <i>man</i>	বুদ্ধিমান <i>buddiman</i>	-মতি <i>mṛti</i>	বুদ্ধিমতি <i>buddimṛti</i>	intelligent
-বান <i>ban</i>	গুনবান <i>gunoban</i>	-বতি <i>bṛti</i>	গুনবতি <i>gunobṛti</i>	talented

There are very few adjectives which are distinguished according to the gender. Verbs, determiners, pronouns and other grammatical categories are not affected by gender, rather, they remain unchanged in Bangla, while in Sylheti we can see an impact of grammatical gender in the third person pronoun (for detailed discussion see chapter 6).

Examples :

মেয়েটা খুব বালা তাই খুব মন দিয়া কাম করে ।

mejeṭa kʰub bala tai kʰub mɔn d̪ija kam kɔre

girl-CL very good she-NOM with work do -3rd -P-SP.

That girl is very good she work very hard

হে কিতা কাম করে?

he kiṭa kam kɔre

he-3rd-P what work do-SP

what does he do?

5.3. Classifiers

Classifiers are affixes which are added directly to the nouns, adjectives and pronouns. They are attached to the noun postpositionally and precede some case endings only. In genitive case, classifier may be placed in the final position. Classifiers in Bangla and Sylheti are also added with the count nouns such as

tiṅṭa ḍama
three-CL dress
Three dresses.

The choice of classifiers in Bangla and Sylheti depends on the noun. The classifier *ḍon* is always used to indicate the number of humans example: *ekḍon*, 'one person', *ḍuidḍon* 'two people'.

In Sylheti, classifiers also work as demonstrative pronouns such as the classifier /igu/ can be attached to nouns.

meye-igu-r
girl-CL-GEN
this girl's

or with a pronoun :

amar – igu
my -CL
mine

The classifier /igu/ can also be used as pronoun when used alone or if it occurs before a noun or an adjective. Example :

/igu lal/
DEM- red
this is red

The uses and functions of Bangla and Sylheti classifiers are shown below:

5.3.1. Bangla and Sylheti classifiers

In Bangla and Sylheti there are two types of classifiers 1) singular, 2) Plural classifiers.

Bangla Singular Classifiers : টা *ta*, টি *ti*, খানা *k^hana*, খানি *k^hani*

Bangla Plural Classifiers : গুল *gulo*, গুলি *guli*, রা *ra*

Sylheti Singular classifiers : টা *ta*, গু *gu*, খান *xan*

Sylheti plural classifiers : ইন *in*, রা *ra*, টাইন *tain*, ইটা *ita*

5.3.2. Description of the classifiers

টা *ta*

The Bangla classifier টা *ta* is considered as a default classifier and its presence also affects the word-classes (Thompson, 2010). In both Sylheti and Bangla this is added with quantifiers and numbers. In Bangla it has two allomorphs *to* and *te* and they are used with numbers (Ray, 1996).

The uses and functions of the classifier *ta*

a) The classifier *ta* is added with a noun to make it definite.

Example from Bangla: পুকুরটা মেয়েটা
 pukurṭa *mejeṭa*
 the pond the girl

b) Example from Sylheti using the classifier *ta*:

ফুকুরটা ফুরিটা
ḥukurṭa *ḥuriṭa*
the pond the girl.

c) *ta* is added with the number one preceding the noun in Bangla.

Example: একটা গাছ
 ekṭa gaṭṭh
 one tree

d) *ta* is added with count noun. But spoken Bangla has two allomorph *to* and *te* so the Bangla speaker uses these two allomorphs with the numbers along with the classifier *ta*, Sylheti doesnot have the use of this allomorph. The list of number from one to ten along with the classifier *ta* in Bangla is shown below:

Examples :

B	একটা শাড়ি <i>ekṭa fari</i> One saree	ছটা সপুৰি <i>ḥṭa sopuri</i> six nuts	S	একটা বইসয়টা সারি <i>ekṭa bṛi</i> one book	<i>sojṭa fari</i> six saree
B	দুটো জামা <i>ḍuṭo džama</i> two dresses	সাতটা ফল <i>saṭṭa ḥol</i> seven fruits	S	দুইটা কলম <i>ḍuiṭa kolom</i> two pen	সাতটা থালি <i>saṭṭa ṭhali</i> seven plates
B	তিনটে শাৰ্ট <i>tiṅṭe firt</i> three shirts	আটটা আপেল <i>aṭṭa apel</i> eight apple	S	তিনটা হাৰি <i>tiṅṭa hari</i> three vessels	আটটা কমলা <i>aṭṭa koṃla</i> eight oranges
B	চারটে আম <i>ḥarte am</i> four mangoes	নটা পেন্সিল <i>noṭa pensil</i> nine pencils	S	সাইটা কলা <i>saiṭ kola</i> four bananas	নয়টা গাছ <i>nojṭa gas</i> nine trees
	পাঁচটা পান <i>paṅṅṭa pan</i> five betel leafs	দশটা গরু <i>ḍoṣṭa goru</i> ten cows	S	পাশটা বাড়ি <i>ḥaṣṭa baṛi</i> five houses	দশটা গরু <i>ḍoṣṭa goru</i> ten cows

In Bangla the classifier *ṭi* is also used with the numbers and it can be used with all the numbers, but in spoken Bangla it is no longer in use. In Sylheti the classifier *ṭa* is added with all the numbers.

ṭa can be added with count noun and non count nouns.

Bangla :

কিছুটা ভাল
kiɸuʈa bʰalo
moderately good

অনেকটা রাস্তা
onekʈa raʃʈa
long way

এতটা ভালো
eʈʈa bʰalo
so much good

কয়েকটা পাখি
koyekʈa pakʰi
some birds

Sylheti :

অতটা খাম
aʈʈa xam
so much work

কিসুটা সময়
kisuʈa somoj
some time

খয়েকটা জায়গা
xoyekʈa dʒayga
some places

টি *ʈi*

The Bangla classifier *ʈi* does not exist in Sylheti. In Bangla also the use of this classifier is very limited compared to that of the classifier *ʈa*. In principle *ʈa* and *ʈi* can be used interchangeably, the only major difference is that the classifier *ʈi* can be used with honorific verbs like *lɔkʈi eʃeʃʰen* 'person has come' whereas the classifier *ʈa* cannot be used with honorific verb ending. Other important thing to notice in Bangla is that with numbers if the classifier *ʈa* is used then the classifier *ʈa* will change to its

allomorphs *to* and *te* based on the specific number like *du̠to*, *tu̠inte*, but classifier *ti* never changes its form e.g *ek̠ti*, *du̠ti*, *tu̠inti*.

Examples with টি *ti*

দিনটি	বইটি
<i>di̠nti</i>	<i>bo̠iti</i>
the day	the book
একটি প্রশ্ন	কাজটি
<i>ek̠ti profno</i>	<i>kadz̠ti</i>
one question	the work

খানা / খানি *k^hana / k^hani*

The use of classifier *k^hana / k^hani* is restricted to inanimate objects and with broad and flat objects. (Thompson, 2010) in Bangla.

Example:

মুখখানা	পাখাখানা
<i>mukk^hana</i>	<i>pakak^hana</i>
the face	the fan
হাসিখানা	দুখানি হাত
<i>hasik^hana</i>	<i>du̠k^hani ha̠t̠</i>
the smile	the two hands
কাপড়খানা	জামাখানা

kapork^hana

the cloths

ɖzamak^hana

the dress

বারিখানা

barik^hana

the house

ঘরখানা

g^hɔrk^hana

the house

From the above given example it can be said that the classical definition of the classifier *k^hana*, *k^hani* besides being used with flat inanimate object it is also used with abstract referents like *bepark^hana* 'the matter', *hasikhana* 'the smile'. The classifier *k^hana* is used with inanimate objects but the first example *mukkhana* 'the face' which can mean the face of a person and also the face of a statue. So it contradicts the definition that the classifier *k^hana* is tagged with inanimate flat object rather the classifier *k^hana* is added with animate flat objects, with abstract referent and also which the human body parts which may be animate or inanimate.

গুলো / গুলি ***gulo / guli***

The plural classifier *gulo/guli* is never used with numerals but as classifiers they appear with inanimate and non honorific nouns. They are also used with adjectives, possessives and deictic pronouns, common nouns and with count nouns. Like the classifier *ɕa*, the plural classifier *gulo* also nominalizes an adjective and takes case endings.

Example:

gulo added to adjectives : লালগুলো *lalgulo* 'the red ones', বড়গুলো *boɖɔgulo* 'the big ones', ছোটগুলো *ɕoɕoɕgulo* 'the small ones'

gulo attached to possessive pronouns : আমারগুলো *amargulo* 'my ones', তোমারগুলো *tomargulo* 'your ones', ওরগুলো *orgulo* 'his ones'.

gulo added with nouns : মেয়েগুলো *mejegulo* 'the girls', ছেলেগুলো *ʃ^helegulo* 'the boys', পাখিগুলো *pak^higulo* 'the birds'

gulo followed by quantifiers can make definite or indefinite noun-phrases : অনেকগুলো মেয়ে *onekgulo meje* 'many girls', কতগুলো জাগা *kɔtɔgulo dʒaga* 'some places', এতগুলো ফল *eɪtɔgulo p^hol* 'so many fruits'.

gulo added to nouns preceded by demonstrative pronouns : এই বইগুলো *ei boigulo* 'these books', ওই ছবিগুলো *oi ʃ^hɔbigulo* 'those pictures'

5.3.3. Sylheti singular classifiers

The sylheti classifier *ta* has been already discussed in the Bangla classifier section 5.3.2. In this section we will discuss the uses and functions of other classifiers which are unique to Sylheti unless and otherwise specified.

Classifier *gu* : Along with the classifier *ta*, *gu* is also added with numbers. Example : একগু *ekgu* one item, দুইগু *duigu* (or দুগু *dugu*) 'two items', তিনগু *tingu*- 'three items'.

Classifier *igu* : *igu* is added to nouns to mark them definite.

Example: গরইগু *gorigu* 'the house', মেয়েইগু *meje-igu* 'the girl'

This classifier is used with nouns that do not take honorific verb endings. Classifier *igu* is used with possessive pronouns and adjectives.

Examples :

Pronoun : আমারইগু *amar-igu* 'my one', তুমারইগু *tumar-igu* 'your one'
adjective: লালইগু *lal-igu* 'red one', বড়োইগু *boꠗoigu* 'big one'.

Classifier খান *xan*

The Sylheti classifier *xan* is the cognate of the Bangla classifier *kʰana*

Examples :

মুখখান	ফাখাখান
<i>mukxan</i>	<i>ɸaxaxan</i>
the face	the fan
হাসিখান	দুইকখান হাত
<i>afixan</i>	<i>ɖukxan haɽ</i>
the smile	the two hands
কাপড়খান	জামাখান
<i>kapɔɽxan</i>	<i>dʒamaxan</i>
the cloths	the dress

Plural Sylheti classifiers : Sylheti has five plural classifiers. The uses and functions of these classifiers are described in the following section :

ইন *in* - The classifier *in* is used only with Sylheti gendered words used for humans.

Singular	plural	singular	plural
পুড়ি	পুড়িন	বেটি	বেটিন

<i>φuɾi</i>	<i>φuɾin</i>	<i>beɟi</i>	<i>beɟin</i>
girl	girls	woman	women
বেটা	বেটাইন	পুয়া	পুয়াইন
<i>beɟa</i>	<i>beɟain</i>	<i>φua</i>	<i>φuain</i>
man	men	boy	boys

টাইন *tain* - The classifier *tain* is used with nouns that describe nonhuman beings and inanimate things.

Examples :

singular	plural	singular	plural
সেয়ার	সেয়ারটাইন	টেবিল	টেবিলটাইন
<i>sejar</i>	<i>sejartain</i>	<i>tebil</i>	<i>tebiltain</i>
chair	chairs	table	tables

ইতা *ita* – *ita* is used mainly with inanimate nouns but in some occasions the classifier is also used with animate nouns that do not take honorific verb endings. *ita* is added to nouns, possessive pronouns, adjectives. It also takes genitive case endings. It also works as a demonstrative pronoun and can be used alone in a sentence too.

With nouns :

singular	plural	singular	plural
মেয়ে	মেয়েইতা	গরু	গরুইতা
<i>meje</i>	<i>mejeita</i>	<i>goru</i>	<i>guroita</i>
girl	girls	cow	cows

With adjectives:

Singular	plural	singular	plural
----------	--------	----------	--------

বড়	বড়ইতা	লাল	লালিতা
<i>boɽɔ</i>	<i>boɽɔita</i>	<i>lal</i>	<i>laliṭa</i>
big	the big one	red	the red one

With possessive pronouns:

আমার	আমারইতা	তার	তারইতা
<i>amar</i>	<i>amaraiṭa</i>	<i>tar</i>	<i>taraiṭa</i>
my	my ones	his	his belongings

জন *dʒon* (Bangla and Sylheti classifier): *dʒon* is used in both Bangla and Sylheti. This is used with noun like মানুষ *manuṣ* in Sylheti and লোক *lok* in Bangla (meaning people) which results in the formation of indefinite or definite noun phrases.

Example :

Bangla

অচেনা লোকজনকে সহজে বিশ্বাস করতে নেই।

oḡena lokdʒonke sohoje bifwas kort̃e nei

stranger person-CL-LOC lightly believe do-IMP no-NEG.

Strangers should not be trusted lightly

Sylheti

কিছু মানুষজন আইবা

kisu manuṣdʒon aiba

Some people-CL come-FUT-HON

some people will come.

This classifier is also used with numbers and quantifiers preceding the nouns.

Example :

একজন গুরু
ekɔŋ guru
a teacher

Addition of the classifier *ɔŋ* leads to honorific verb endings.

Example :

Bangla

লোকজন আসবেন
lokɔŋɔŋ aʃben
people-CL come-FUT-HON
Some people will come.

Sylheti

মানুষজন আইবা
manusɔŋ aiba
people-CL come-FUT-HON

Some people will come.

রা ra (Bangla and sylheti classifier) : *ra* is a nominative plural ending which does not necessarily imply definiteness. The plural ending *ra* is added with the animate nouns but in some literature authors have used *ra* with non animate objects like : *tarara* 'stars', but mostly in poetic contexts where inanimate objects have been personified. This classifier when added to adjectives, turns them into the description of a group of people, this is common in both Bangla and Sylheti. In Bangla the plural ending *ra* changes to *der* while taking genitive and objective case (section:5.4) in Sylheti *ra* just takes a genitive case marker *r* and becomes *rar*. In Bangla *ra* also becomes *era* depending on the end of the nouns, a noun ending with /a/ or /i/ (diacritic symbol i-kar) sound will take *ra* while words ending in inherent vowel sound /ɔ/ or consonants with no inherent vowels /ɔ/ or words ending with full vowel /i/ will take *era* as a classifier instead of *ra*, but in Sylheti it is always *ra*. The functions and uses of *ra* in Bangla and Sylheti are elaborately described with the help of the following examples :

Examples:

/ra/ added with noun in Bengali (also e-ra)and Sylheti.

Bangla

আজ ছাত্রেরা আসবে ।

aɔʒ tʃʰatrera asbe

today-OBJ student-CL come-FUT

Students will come today.

কাকারা গ্রামে যাচ্ছেন ।

kakara grame ɔʒatʃʰen

uncle-CL village-LOC go-SP

Uncle and others are going to the village.

ভাইএরা এসেছে ।

b^haiera efetfe

brother-CL came

Brother and others have come

Sylheti

কৃষকরা খুব ফরিস্রমি

kriskra xub φorisromi

farmers-CL very harworking

Farmers are very hardworking.

/ra/ added to an adjective :

adjective

adjective + ra

বড়

বড়রা

bɔɽɔ

bɔɽɔra

big (elder)

elders

Sentence :

Bangla

বড়েরা কি বলে ?

bɔɽɔra ki bole?

elder-CL what-INT say-SP

What does elders say ?

Sylheti

adjective	adjective + CL
ধনী	ধনীরা
ধনী	ধনীরা
rich	the rich

Sentence

আইজ হকল ধনীরা আইবা ।

aidz hokol dhonira aiba

today all rich-CL come-FUT

All the rich people will come today.

ra is also used with kinship terms like *maara* to mean all mothers.

5.4. Case

Case is an inflectional category, typically of nouns, pronouns etc, which marks their role in relation to the other parts of the sentence. Case functions like a tool which when added to the bare noun in a sentence or a phrase, determines the grammatical function of that noun in the sentence or a phrase. Case in Bangla is known as কারক *karok*.

In this section we will discuss the Bangla case endings along with Sylheti. We have considered four Bangla case markers and based on that have pointed out the Sylheti case markers.

5.4.1. Nominative case

A nominative noun is the noun that is doing something, who is the answer of the question “who?”, e.g He is going, here he is the nominative case. Nominative case generally marks pronouns, nouns or adjectives. Nominative nouns or pronouns usually appear at the beginning of sentences and are often used for the subject of sentences (Thompson,2010). The case marker for nominative in Bangla is unmarked (Bhuiyan, 2000)

Bangla

রাম রাবণকে মেরেছিল ।

ram rabonke meret^hilen

ram-NOM ravan-OBJ kill-PST

Ram killed Ravana

বাবা বাজার থেকে সবজি এনেছে ।

baba badzar theke sobdži enet^he

baba-NOM badzar theke sobdž enet^he -SP

Father brought vegetables from the market

Sylheti

Nominative case in Sylheti is both marked and unmarked (Myeninn). With transitive verbs the nominative case is marked and with intransitive the nominative case is unmarked. Sylheti has two nominative case markers: /e/ which is added after consonant endings and /ay/ is added after the singular classifier *ta* and with vowel endings. The two case markers are added to the subjects of transitive verb. Nominative case is not added with pronouns.

Marked case ending examples :

Transitive verb

/e/

পুনমে ভাত খার ।

Punom-e bhat kar.

Punom-NOM is eat-Pr.cont rice.

রামে রাবনরে মারস্লা ।

ram-e rab^hon-re mar^sla

Ram-NOM Ravan-OBJ kill-PST

Ram killed Ravana.

/ay/

ছেলেটায় খুব বালা গান গায় ।

f^heletay khub bala gan gay

boy-CL-NOM very good song sings -PS

the boy sings very well.

Unmarked verb subject

Sylheti

মিনা খুব চলাক

mina xub salax

mina very clever -

Mina is very clever.

বৃষ্টি পড়ের ।

bristi forer

rain-NOM fall-PR.CONT

It is raining

বাবা হাটিয়া আইরা ।

baba aṭiya aira

baba-NOM walk come-PR. CONT

Father is coming by walking.

রাম বাজার জার ।

ram badzaro dzar

ram-NOM market-OBJ go-pr.cont.

Ram is going to the market.

Note: The nominative case ending is added with the subject of transitive verb. Subject of intransitive verb or nominal clauses with adjective are unmarked. Example:

রাম আমার ভাই

Ram amar b^hai

Ram my-GEN brother

Ram is my brother.

Notice that pronoun use the same form for the subject of a transitive and intransitive verb.

Unmarked pronoun subject.

তাই রাবণের মারসিল

tai rabonre marse
she raban-OBJ kill-PST.
She killed raban

হে আমার ভাই
he amar b^hai
he my-GEN bother
He is my brother

5.4.2. Genitive case

Genitive case also known as possessive case, is added to the noun that modifies another noun. It indicates the possessor of a thing or a relationship of a particular object with another object. Both Bangla and Sylheti witness the presence of genitive case markers.

Bangla

Genitive case marker *r* : In Bangla the noun ending with any vowel except the inherent ones, take the genitive case maker *r*

Table 5.4.2.1 : Genitive case marker *r*

nominative	transc	meaning	genitive	transc	meaning
বাবা	<i>baba</i>	father	বাবার	<i>babar</i>	of father
বান্দবি	<i>bandbi</i>	friend	বান্দবির	<i>bandobir</i>	of friends
গাড়ি	<i>gari</i>	car	গাড়ির	<i>garir</i>	of car
নদী	<i>nodhi</i>	river	নদির	<i>nodir</i>	of river

মেয়ে	<i>meje</i>	girl	মেয়ের	<i>mejer</i>	of girl
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Sentences :

বাবার সাথে জাব ।

babar saṭe džabo

father-GEN with go-FUT

Will go with father.

নদীর পাসেই আমার বারি ।

noḍir pasei amar bari

river-Gen near-EMP my-GEN house

My house is near the river.

Genitive case marker *er, jer* : Noun ending in diphthong or in a monosyllabic noun ending in a single vowel or nouns ending with a full vowel takes genitive case marker *yer* or *er*.

Table 5.4.2.2: Genitive case marker *jer* or *er*

nominative	transc	meaning	genitive	transc	meaning
গা	<i>ga</i>	body	পায়ের	<i>gajer</i>	of body
মা	<i>ma</i>	mother	মার, মায়ের	<i>mar, majer</i>	of mother
ভাই	<i>b^hai</i>	brother	ভাইয়ের	<i>b^haijer</i>	of brother
বই	<i>boi</i>	book	বইয়ের	<i>boijer</i>	of book
পা	<i>pa</i>	leg	পায়ের	<i>pajer</i>	of leg

Sentences :

তোমার গায়ের ব্যাথা কমেছে ?

tumar gajer beta komecse

you-Gen body-Gen pain reduce-INT

Is you body pain reduced

Genitive case marker *r* : Noun ending with classifier takes the genitive marker *r*.

Table: 5.4.2.3: Genitive case *r*

nominative	transc	meaning	genitive	transc	meaning
গাছটা	<i>gac̣ʰta</i>	the tree	গাছটার	<i>gac̣ʰtar</i>	of the tree
বইখানা	<i>boikʰana</i>	the book	বইখানার	<i>boikʰanar</i>	of the book
মেয়েগুলি	<i>meyeguli</i>	the girls	মেয়েগুলির	<i>meyegulir</i>	of the girls
মানুষটি	<i>manuṣʰti</i>	the man	মানুষটির	<i>manuṣʰtir</i>	Of the man
বারিগুল	<i>barigulo</i>	the houses		<i>barigulor</i>	of the houses

Sentences:

এই আম গাছটার আম অনেক স্বাদ ।

ei am gac̣ʰtar am onek sad

the-DEM mango tree-CL-GEN mango very tasty.

Mango from this tree are very tasty.

Genitive case marker *er*:

a) Noun drops the inherent vowel /ɔ/ and the genitive case suffix is added.

Table 5.4.2.4: Genitive case marker *er*

nominative	trans	meaning	genitive	trans	meaning
কষ্ট	<i>koṣṭo</i>	trouble	কষ্টের	<i>koṣṭer</i>	of trouble
যন্ত্র	<i>ḍzontro</i>	machine	যন্ত্রের	<i>ḍzontreṛ</i>	of machine
মাংস	<i>mangfo</i>	meat	মাংসের	<i>mangser</i>	of meat
রক্ত	<i>roktō</i>	blood	রক্তের	<i>roktreṛ</i>	of blood
পাত্র	<i>paṭro</i>	vessel	পাত্রের	<i>paṭreṛ</i>	of vessel

Sentences :

আমার ঘরের ছবি
amar gʰɔrer tʃʰɔbi
 my-GEN house-GEN photo
 The picture of my house

b) The genitive marker *er* is added to the noun accompanied by the classifier *ḍzon*.

Table 5.4.2.5: Case marker *er* added with classifier

nominative	transc	meaning	genitive	transc	meaning
মানুষজন	<i>manusḍzon</i>	people	মানুষজনের	<i>manusḍzoner</i>	of people

Sentences :

একজনের কাছে থাকতে পারে
ekḍzoner kaṭʃʰe tʰakṭe pare
 one-CL-GEN with-LOC stay may
 One person may have this.

c) Genitive suffix *er* added to the noun ending in consonant

Table 5.4.2.6: Genitive case marker *er*

nominative	transc	meaning	genitive	transc	meaning
ঘর	<i>g^hor</i>	house	ঘরের	<i>g^horer</i>	of the house
দেশ	<i>d̥ef</i>	country	দেশের	<i>d̥efer</i>	of the country
গান	<i>gan</i>	song	গানের	<i>ganer</i>	of the song
দিন	<i>d̥in</i>	day	দিনের	<i>d̥iner</i>	of the day
মাছ	<i>matʃ^h</i>	fish	মাছের	<i>matʃ^her</i>	of the fish

Sentences:

দেশের ভালো করার কথা ভাব ।

d̥efer b^halo korar koʃ^ha b^habo

country-GEN good do think-FUT

Think about doing something good for your country.

Genitive Case maker *kar, ker* : The genitive case suffix *kar* or *ker* is added to the groups of words representing time, place, period.

Table 5.4.2.7: Genitive case marker *kar, ker*

nominative	transc	meaning	genitive	transc	meaning
আজ	<i>aʒ</i>	today	আজকের	<i>aʒker</i>	of today
কাল	<i>kal</i>	tomorrow	কালকের	<i>kalker</i>	of tomorrow
এখন	<i>ek^hon</i>	now	এখনকার	<i>ek^honkar</i>	of now
তখন	<i>toʃ^hon</i>	then	তখনকার	<i>toʃ^honkar</i>	of then
আজকাল	<i>aʒkal</i>	thisdays	আজকালকার	<i>aʒkalkar</i>	Of this days

Sentences:

আজকের খবর কি?

ajker k^obor ki ?

today-GEN news what-INT

What is today's news?

Genitive case marker *der* : In Bangla the plural classifier *ra* for the animate nouns changes to *der* for the genitive case.

Table 5.4.2.8: Genitive case suffix /der/

nominative	transc	meaning	genitive	transc	meaning
মেয়েরা	<i>mejera</i>	girls	মেয়েদের	<i>meyeder</i>	of girls
মহিলারা	<i>mohilara</i>	women	মহিলাদের	<i>mohilader</i>	of women
বড়রা	<i>borora</i>	elders	বড়দের	<i>boroder</i>	of elders

Sentences:

বোড়াদের কথা শুনতে হয়।

boroder kot^oa sun^{te} hoy

elder-GEN words listen-IMP should

We should listen to our elders.

Sylheti

The genitive cases used in Sylheti are *r*, *or*, *tor*, *kur*, *ker*.

r : a) The genitive case marker /r/ is added to the noun ending in any single vowel but not with the inherent vowel ending. The genitive suffix is also tagged with the noun ending in diphthong.

Table 5.4.2.9: Genitive case marker *r*

nominative	transc	meaning	genitive	transc	meaning
মা	<i>ma</i>	mother	মার	<i>mar</i>	of mother
নদী	<i>nɔ̃di</i>	river	নদীর	<i>nɔ̃dir</i>	of river
বই	<i>boi</i>	book	বইর	<i>boir</i>	of book
ঘি	<i>yi</i>	clarified butter	ঘির	<i>yir</i>	of clarified butter

Sentences:

মার শারি
ma'r fari
mother-GEN saree
My mother's saree

b) The genitive case marker *r* is also added with the nouns ending with classifiers.

Table 5.4.2.10: Genitive Case suffix *r*

nominative	transc	meaning	genitive	transc	meaning
মেয়েটা	<i>mejeṭa</i>	the girl	মেয়েটার	<i>mejeṭar</i>	of the girl
ছেলেটা	<i>ḥⁿeṭa</i>	the boy	ছেলেটার	<i>ḥⁿeṭar</i>	of the boy
সকুলটা	<i>skulṭa</i>	the school	সকুলটার	<i>skulṭar</i>	of the school

Sentences :

ছেলেটার ফরিবার বেজান বাল।
ḥⁿeṭar ḥ^ribar beḗan bala
boy-CL-GEN family very good.

The family of this boy is very good.

or: The genitive case suffix /or/ is added to nouns ending in a consonant (without an inherent vowel) and diphthongs.

Table 5.4.2.11: genitive case or

nominative	transc	meaning	genitive	transc	meaning
বাই	<i>bai</i>	brother	ভাইওর	<i>baior</i>	of brother
ভাইন	<i>boin</i>	sister	ভাইনওর	<i>boinor</i>	of sister
সরক	<i>sorok</i>	road	সরকওর	<i>sorokor</i>	of road
গ্রাম	<i>gram</i>	village	গ্রামওর	<i>gramor</i>	of village
পা	<i>pa</i>	leg	পাওর	<i>paor</i>	of leg

Sentences :

গ্রামর মাইনসে অত কুকড়ামি করইন না ।

gramor mainse oto kukrami koiroin na

village-GEN people this wicked does -NEG

Village people are not very wicked.

However , the word *boi* which means 'book' has both *boir* or *boijer*.

Genitive case marker *ɔr*: The genitive case marker *ɔr* is also used with the noun ending in plural classifier like *in* as in *ɕurɪn* 'girls', *ɕuain* 'boys'.

Table 5.4.2.12: genitive case

nominative	transc	meaning	genitive	transc	meaning
পুড়িন	<i>φuɾin</i>	girls	পুড়িনতর	<i>φuɾin̄tor</i>	of the girls
পুয়াইন	<i>φujain</i>	boys	পুয়াইনতর	<i>φujain̄tor</i>	of the boys
বেটিন	<i>beɽin</i>	women	বেটিনতর	<i>beɽin̄tor</i>	of the women

Sentences:

বেটিনতর বেজান কাম থাকে ।

beɽin̄tor beɽzan kam t̄hake

women-CL-GEN many work is

Women have lots of work to do.

Genitive case marker *kur, kar, or*: The genitive case suffix *kur, kar, or* is added with a small group of words representing time, period, place. The case suffix *kur* is used with the lexical items like আইজকুর *aidzkur* 'of today', কাইলকুর *kailkur* 'of tomorrow' but with other words the use of suffix differs.

Table 5.4.2.13: Genitive case marker *kur, kar*

nominative	transc	meaning	genitive	transc	meaning
আইজ	<i>aidz</i>	today	আইজকুর	<i>aidzkur</i>	of today
কাইল	<i>kail</i>	tomorrow	কাইলকুর	<i>kailkur</i>	of yesterday
একন	<i>ekon</i>	now	একঙ্কার, একনর	<i>ekonkar, ekonor</i>	of now
হিদিন	<i>hiɽin</i>	thatday	হিদিনর	<i>hiɽinor</i>	of that day
আইজকাইল	<i>aidzkail</i>	now a days	আইজকাইলকুর	<i>aidzkailku r</i>	of nowadays
খবে	<i>xobe</i>	when	খবেকার	<i>xobekar</i>	of when

Sentences:

হিদিনর কথা মন আসে নি?

hidinor koṭṭa mɔnɔ afe ni

that day-gen remember have-V INT

Do you remember the matter of that day.

5.4.3. Objective case

Objective case is used to mark both direct and indirect objects. In Bangla objective case is marked by *ke* whether the word ends in a vowel, consonant or in a classifier. The objective case *ke* is added with both animate and inanimate nouns.

Bangla

Table 5.4.3.1: Objective case marker

nominative	transc	meaning	genitive	transc	meaning
বাবা	<i>baba</i>	father	বাবাকে	<i>babake</i>	to father
মা	<i>ma</i>	mother	মাকে	<i>make</i>	to mother
মেয়েটি	<i>mejeṭi</i>	the girl	মেয়েটিকে	<i>mejeṭike</i>	to the girl
ছেলেগুল	<i>ṭfelegulo</i>	the boys	ছেলেগুলকে	<i>ṭfeleguloke</i>	to the boys
মানুষ	<i>manus</i>	human	মানুষকে	<i>manuske</i>	to human

Sentences :

মাকে বলতে হবে

make bolṭe hobe

mother-OBJ say-IMP have-VERB

Have to tell mother

Plural Objective case marker : When the word ends in Plural classifier *ra* this is changed into *ḍer* as objective case. In some cases after the suffix *ḍer* the objective

case marker *ke* is used in order to distinguish between the two forms.

Table 5.4.3.2: Objective plural case marker

nominative	transc	meaning	objective	transc	meaning
ছাত্ররা	<i>ʃʰatrora</i>	students	ছাত্রদের	<i>ʃʰatroḍer</i>	of the students
মারা	<i>mara</i>	mothers	মাদের	<i>maḍer</i>	of the mothers
মন্ত্রিরা	<i>montrira</i>	ministers	মন্ত্রিদের	<i>montriḍer</i>	of the ministers
রাজারা	<i>radzara</i>	kings	রাজাদের	<i>radzaḍer</i>	of the kings
বাচ্চারা	<i>batʃʰara</i>	children	বাচ্চাদের	<i>batʃʰaḍer</i>	of the children

Table 5.4.3.3: with /ke/

nominative	transc	meaning	genitive	transc	meaning
মেয়েরা	<i>mejera</i>	the girls	মেয়েদেরকে	<i>mejederke</i>	to the girls
মানুষরা	<i>manusra</i>	the humans	মানুষদেরকে	<i>manusdere</i>	to the humans

Sentences :

বাচ্চাদেরকে ভালো করে বোঝালেই হয় ।

batʃʰ:ḍerke balo kore buḍgalei hoy

children-OBJ good do-PP understand-CP-EMP be

explain properly to the children

Sylheti

Objective case marker *re* : In Sylheti the objective case suffix is *re* and is used with both consonant and vowel-ending words and also with words having classifiers.

Table 5.4.3.4: Objective case marker /re/

nominative	transc	meaning	objective	transc	meaning
ছাত্র	<i>saṭro</i>	student	ছাত্ররে	<i>saṭrore</i>	to student
বন্ধু	<i>bondḍu</i>	friend	বন্ধুরে	<i>bondḍure</i>	to friend
মেয়ে	<i>meje</i>	girl	মেয়েরে	<i>mejere</i>	to girl
মাষ্টার	<i>maṣṭar</i>	teacher	মাষ্টাররে	<i>maṣṭarre</i>	to teacher

Sentences :

মাষ্টাররে কইতে লাগব ।

maṣṭarre koite lagbo

teacher-OBJ tell-IMP have-FUT

Have to tell the teacher.

Table 5.4.3.5: with Classifier

nominative	transc	meaning	genitive	transc	meaning
মেয়েটা	<i>mejeṭa</i>	the girl	মেয়েটারে	<i>mejeṭare</i>	to the girl
ছেলেইগু	<i>salaigu</i>	the boy	ছেলেইগুরে	<i>salaigure</i>	to the boy
গাছটাইন	<i>gaṭṭain</i>	The trees	গাছটাইনরে	<i>gaṭṭainre</i>	to the trees

Sentences :

মেয়েটোৱে কইসি ।
mejeṭare kōisi
girl-CL-OBJ say-PST
I told that girl

Exceptions

With Sylheti genitive case marker *ṭor* the objective suffix *e* is used in Sylheti.

Table 5.4.3.6: Objective Case marker *e*

genitive	transc	meaning	objective	transc	meaning
বেটিন্তর	<i>beṭinṭor</i>	of women	বেটিন্তরে	<i>beṭinṭore</i>	to women
ফুয়াইন্তর	<i>fuainṭor</i>	of boys	ফুয়াইন্তরে	<i>fuainṭore</i>	to boys
পুড়িন্তর	<i>furinṭor</i>	of girls	পুড়িন্তরে	<i>furinṭore</i>	to girls

Sentences :

তৰ ফুয়াইন্তৰে দিস
ṭor furinṭore diṣ
you-2nd P -GEN girl-GEN-LOC give-FUT
Give this to your daughters.

5.4.5. Locative Case

Locative case generally marks the location. Locative case has some specific uses involving inanimate objects.

Bangla

In Bangla if the noun ends in a consonant or in diphthong then the locative case is marked by *e*

Table 5.4.5.1: Bangla locative case

nominative	transc	meaning	locative	transc	meaning
বই	<i>boi</i>	book	বইয়ে	<i>boije</i>	in the book
কাজ	<i>kadz</i>	work	কাজে	<i>kadzɛ</i>	
ঘর	<i>g^hɔr</i>	house	ঘরে	<i>g^hɔre</i>	in the house
মন	<i>mɔn</i>	mind	মনে	<i>mɔne</i>	in the mind
শহর	<i>ʃɔhɔr</i>	city	শহরে	<i>ʃɔhɔre</i>	in the city

Sentences :

বইয়ে লেখা আছে ।

boije lek^ha aʃe.

book-loc written be

Written on the book.

Locative case marker *j*, *ɽɛ*: Noun ending in vowels takes locative case suffix *y* or *ɽɛ*

Table 5.4.5.2: Locative case *j*, *ɽɛ*

nominative	transc	meaning	locative	transc	meaning
আশা	<i>afa</i>	hope	আশাতে, আশায়	<i>afaɽɛ, afaj</i>	hope
বাসা	<i>bafa</i>	home	বাসাতে, বাশায়	<i>bafaɽɛ, bafaj</i>	In the home
ফটো	<i>p^hɔɽo</i>	photo	ফটোতে	<i>p^hɔɽoɽɛ</i>	In the photo

Sentences :

সে বাসাতে আছে ।
se bafate atʰe
he-3rd PP home-LOC have
He is in the house.

Locative case marker e : Nouns ending in inherent vowels take the locative case /e/ and the final inherent vowel /ɔ/ gets dropped.

nominative	transc	meaning	locative	transc	meaning
আনন্দ	<i>anondɔ</i>	joy	আনন্দে	<i>anonde</i>	joy
পর্ব	<i>pɔrbɔ</i>	part	পর্বে	<i>pɔrbe</i>	part

Sentences :

আগামি পর্বে ।
agami pɔrbe
next part-LOC-FUT
In the next part.

Sylheti

Locative case maker o : In *Sylheti*, nouns ending in a consonant or in a diphthong take *o* as a locative case.

Table 5.4.5.3: Locative case /o/

nominative	transc	meaning	locative	transc	meaning
অন্ধকার	<i>ondɔkar</i>	dark	অন্ধকারে	<i>ondɔkaro</i>	in the dark
কাম	<i>kam</i>	work	কামে	<i>kamo</i>	in the work

দুকান	<i>ḍukan</i>	shop	দুখানও	<i>ḍokano</i>	in the shop
বই	<i>boi</i>	book	বইও	<i>boio</i>	in the book
কাগজ	<i>kagɔɔʒ</i>	paper	খাগজও	<i>kagɔɔʒo</i>	in the paper

Sentences :

দুকানো আছে ।
ḍukano ase
shop-LOC have
It is in the shop.

Locative case maker t : The locative case t is added to the nouns with vowel or with the inherent vowel endings. In Sylheti inherent vowel stays even after adding the locative case marker.

Table 5.4.3.4: Locative case marker t

nominative	transc	meaning	locative	transc	meaning
গাউ	<i>gau</i>	village	গাউত	<i>gaut</i>	in the village
বাড়ি	<i>bari</i>	house	বাড়িত	<i>barit</i>	in the house
তর্ক	<i>t̥rko</i>	argument	তর্কত	<i>t̥rkoṭ</i>	in the agumenr
খাতা	<i>xat̥a</i>	copy	খাতাত	<i>xat̥at̥</i>	in the copy
গাড়ি	<i>gar̥i</i>	car	গাড়িত	<i>gar̥it̥</i>	in the ca

Sentences :

কলকাতাত গেসলাম ।
kolkaṭat̥ geslam
kolkata -LOC went-Pst
Went to kolkata.

5.5. Suffixes with complex noun phrase

When more than one nouns occur in a phrase, the suffixes like classifiers or case endings are in most of the cases added to the end or to the final item.

Genitive case ending

Bangla : আমি ভাই, বইন র বাক্কি পরিবারের সাথে যাচ্ছি ।
ami b^hai, boin r bakki poribarar sathe jatf^hi
I, brother, sister and-CONJ other family member-gen with go-P CONT
I am going with my family members along with my brothers and sister.

Sylheti: আমি মা আর বাবার লগে জাইমু ।
ami ma r babar loge đaimu
I mother and-CONJ father with -POPST go-fut
I will go with mother and father.

Objective case ending:

Bengali: বাবা মা আর আমাকে নিয়ে যাবে ।
baba r ma amake niye jabe
father and-CONJ me-OBJ take go- SPRST
father and mother will take me

Sylheti: রিমা র সিমায় আমারে জাওয়ার লাগি কইসইন ।
rima r simay amare đawar lagi koisoin
rima and-conj sima-NOM me-OBJ go for said

rima and sima asked me to go

Locative case ending:

Bengali: আমি কলকাতা আর ছেন্নাইয়ে গিয়েছিলাম
ami Kolkata r Chennai giye g^hilam
I kolkata and-CONJ Chennai-LOC go-1-P-PERF
I went to kolkata and chennai

Sylheti: আমি আসাম র দিল্লিত গেসলাম ।
ami Assam ar Delhit geslam
I Assam and-CONJ Delhi-LOC go1-P-PERF
I went to Assam and Delhi.

With Classifier:

Bengali: আমি কলা ড় আমটা খেলাম ।
ami kola r amṭa k^helam
I banana and-CONJ mango-CL ate
I ate banana and mango

Sylheti: আমি সারী ড় ব্লাউজ তা পরলাম ।
ami saree r blouseta forlam
I saree and-CONJ bouse-CL wear-SPST
I wore saree and blouse.

5.6. Conclusion

In this chapter we aim to study the nouns in Bangla and Sylheti. We have mainly concentrated in the study of gender, classifier and case. A thorough analysis of this three aspect is done and we have encountered many differences and similarities which are present between Bangla and sylheti. Below we have pointed out the differences and similarities:

Similarities:

- i) When gender is marked morphologically in Bangla and Sylheti nouns it is usually by means of a suffix for feminine nouns.
- ii) The use of Classifier is present in both languges.
- iii) Both Bangla and Sylheti distinguishes the use of classifier according to the ordinary and honorific animate nouns.

Differences:

- iv) Nominative case in Bangla is unmarked while in Sylheti the nominative case functions according to the use of transitive and intrasitive verb as Sylheti displays some aspects of ergative syntax.
- v) The classifier *ra* changes to *ḡer* in genitive case while in Sylheti it remain unchanged.

VI

PRONOUNS

6.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the properties and distributions of pronouns. Pronouns are a very important part of a language, and can replace nouns and noun phrases. The noun in a sentence is being referred to an antecedent and the identity of the referent is made clear by the antecedent (Milne, 1993).

Example: The *girl* said *she* will go to the school.

Bangla and Sylheti pronouns come in various forms like *personal*, *reflexive*, *demonstrative* etc. And in both languages pronouns inflect for numbers and cases. They also have a distinction of formality as – *honorific*, *informal* and *ordinary*. The first person pronoun lacks the formality distinction. Like nouns, Bangla pronouns do not have gender while Sylheti pronouns have gender but only for third person singular pronouns. Both Bangla and Sylheti have singular and plural number for pronouns but unlike animate nouns in Bangla and Sylheti, pronouns do not take any classifier except the classifier *ra* for nominative and *der* for objective and genitive. In Sylheti the classifier *ra* for nominative and *rar* for genitive and *re* for objective case is similar to the use of nouns. In Bangla the locative cases are also in use for personal pronouns by the suffix *te* which is used only for singular number but now the use of a locative marker with pronouns is very rare. In Sylheti, personal pronouns are not used for locative

case (Mayenin, 2011). We have tried to describe the uses and functions of Bangla and Sylheti pronouns in the sections that follow.

6.2. Pronoun Overview

Personal pronouns : Pronouns referring to a specific person or a thing in a sentence. Personal pronouns in Bangla are grouped by nominative, objective, genitive and locative.

Table 6.2.1: Bangla nominative and objective pronouns

singular	nominative	transc	gloss	objective	transc	gloss
1 st person	আমি	<i>ami</i>	I	আমাকে	<i>amake</i>	to me
2 nd person (infor)	তুই	<i>tui</i>	you	তোকে	<i>tōke</i>	to you
2 nd person (ord)	তুমি	<i>tumi</i>	you	তুমাকে	<i>tumake</i>	to you
2 nd person (hon)	আপনি	<i>apni</i>	you	আপনাকে	<i>apnake</i>	to you
3 rd person (ord)	সে, এ, ও	<i>je, e, o</i>	he/she	তাকে, একে, ওকে	<i>take, eke, oke</i>	to him/her
3 rd person (hon)	তিনি, উনি	<i>tini, uni</i>	he/she	উনাকে, তাঁকে, ঐকে, ওঁকে	<i>unake, tãke, êke, ôke</i>	to him/her

Table 6.2.2: Sylheti nominative and objective pronouns

singular	nominative	transc	gloss	objective	transc	gloss
1 st person	আমি	<i>ami</i>	I	আমারে	<i>amare</i>	to me
2 nd	তুই	<i>tui</i>	you	তরে	<i>tore</i>	to you

person (infor)						
2 nd person (ord)	তুমি	<i>tumi</i>	you	তুমারে	<i>tumare</i>	to you
2 nd person (ord)	আফনে	<i>aφne</i>	you	আফনারে	<i>aφnare</i>	to you
3 rd person (hon)	হে	<i>he</i>	he	তারে	<i>tare</i>	to him
3 rd person (ord)	তাই	<i>tai</i>	she	তাইরে	<i>taire</i>	to her
3d person (ord)	তাইন	<i>tain</i>	he/she	তানরে	<i>tanre</i>	to him/her

Table 6.2.3 : Bangla plural nominative and objective pronouns

plural	nominative	transc	gloss	objective	transc	gloss
1 st person	আমরা	<i>amra</i>	we	আমাদের	<i>amader</i>	us
2 nd person (infor)	তোরা	<i>tora</i>	you	তোদের	<i>toder</i>	to you
2 nd person (ord)	তোমরা	<i>tomra</i>	you	তোমাদের	<i>tomader</i>	to you
2 nd person (hon)	আপনারা	<i>apnara</i>	you	আপনাদের	<i>apnader</i>	to you
3 rd person (ord)	তারা	<i>tara</i>	they	তাদের	<i>tader</i>	to them
3 rd person (hon)	তঁরা, এঁরা, ওঁরা	<i>tāra, ēra, ōra</i>	they	তঁদের, এঁদের, ওঁদের	<i>tāder, ēder, ōder</i>	to them

Table 6.2.4 : Sylheti plural nominative and objective pronouns

plural	nominative	transc	gloss	objective	transc	gloss
1 st person	আমরা	<i>amra</i>	I	আমরারে	<i>amrare</i>	to me
2 nd person (infor)	তরা	<i>t̥ra</i>	you	তরারে	<i>t̥rare</i>	to you
2 nd person (ord)	তুমরা	<i>t̥umra</i>	you	তুমরারে	<i>t̥umrare</i>	to you
2 nd persona (hon)	আফনারা	<i>aφnara</i>	you	আফনারারে	<i>aφnare</i>	to you
3 rd person	তারা, হেরা	<i>t̥ara, herā</i>	they	তারারে, হেরারে	<i>t̥arare, herare</i>	to them

Unlike Bangla, Sylheti does not have any degree of politeness in 3rd person plural pronoun.

Table 6.2.5 : Bangla genitive pronouns

singular	nominative	transc	gloss	genitive	transc	gloss
1 st person	আমি	<i>ami</i>	I	আমার	<i>amar</i>	my
2 nd person (for)	তুই	<i>t̥ui</i>	you	তোঁর	<i>t̥or</i>	your
2 nd person (ord)	তুমি	<i>t̥umi</i>	you	তোঁমার	<i>t̥omar</i>	your
2 nd person (hon)	আপনি	<i>apni</i>	you	আপনার	<i>apnar</i>	your
3 rd person (ord)	সে, এ, ও	<i>fe, e, o</i>	he/she	তাঁর, এঁর, ওঁর	<i>t̥ar, er, or</i>	his/her
3 rd person	তিনি, ইনি, উনি	<i>t̥ini,</i>	he/she	উনার, তাঁঁর,	<i>unar,</i>	his/her

(hon)		<i>ini,</i> <i>uni</i>		ওঁর	<i>t̄ār,</i> <i>ōr</i>	
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Table 6.2.6 : Sylheti nominative and genitive pronouns

singular	nominative	transc	gloss	genitive	transc	gloss
1 st person	আমি	<i>ami</i>	I	আমার	<i>amar</i>	my
2 nd person (infor)	তুই	<i>t̄ui</i>	you	তর	<i>t̄or</i>	your
2 nd person (ord)	তুমি	<i>t̄umi</i>	you	তুমার	<i>t̄umar</i>	your
2 nd person (hon)	আপনে	<i>aφne</i>	you	আপনার	<i>aφnar</i>	your
3 rd person (ord)	হে, তাই	<i>he, t̄ai</i>	he/she	তার, তাইর	<i>t̄ar, t̄air</i>	his/her
3 rd person (hon)	তাইন, এইন	<i>t̄ain,</i> <i>ein</i>	he/she	তান, এন	<i>t̄an, en</i>	his/her

Table 6.2.7 : Bangla plural genitive pronouns

plural	nominative	transc	gloss	genitive	transc	gloss
1 st person	আমরা	<i>amra</i>	we	আমাদের	<i>amaḍḍer</i>	our
2 nd person (infor)	তোরা	<i>t̄ora</i>	you	তোদের	<i>t̄oḍḍer</i>	your
2 nd person (ord)	তোমরা	<i>t̄omra</i>	you	তোমাদের	<i>t̄omaḍḍer</i>	your
2 nd person (hon)	আপনার	<i>apnara</i>	you	আপনাদের	<i>apnaḍḍer</i>	your
3 rd person (ord)	তারা, এরা, ওরা	<i>t̄ara, era,</i> <i>ōra</i>	they	তাদের, এদের, ওদের	<i>t̄aḍḍer,</i> <i>eḍḍer,</i> <i>oḍḍer</i>	their

3 rd person (hon)	তাঁরা, এঁরা, ওঁরা	<i>tāra,ōra</i> <i>ōra</i>	they	তাঁদের, এঁদের, ওঁদের	<i>tāder,</i> <i>ēder</i> <i>ōder</i>	their
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Table 6.2.8 : Sylheit plural genitive pronouns

	nominative	transc	gloss	genitive	transc	gloss
1 st person	আমরা	<i>amra</i>	we	আমরার	<i>amrar</i>	our
2 nd person (infor)	তরা	<i>t̥ra</i>	you	তরার	<i>t̥rar</i>	your
2 nd person al(ord)	তুমরা	<i>tumra</i>	you	তুমরার	<i>tumrar</i>	your
3 rd person (ord)	আফনারা	<i>aɸnara</i>	you	আফনারার	<i>aɸnarar</i>	your
3 rd person (hon)	তারা, হেরা	<i>tara,</i> <i>hera</i>	they	তারার, হেরার	<i>tarar,</i> <i>herar</i>	their

Table 6.2.9 : Bangla reflexive pronouns

	nominative	transc	gloss	objective	transc	gloss
singular	নিজে	<i>nidze</i>	own	নিজেকে	<i>nidzeke</i>	own
plural	নিজেরা	<i>nidzera</i>	own	নিজেদের	<i>nidzedder</i>	own

Table 6.2.10 : Sylheti reflexive pronouns

	nominative	transc	gloss	genitive	transc	gloss
singular	নিজে	<i>nidze</i>	own,self	নিজের	<i>nidzer</i>	own, self
plural	নিজেরা	<i>nidzera</i>	own, self	নিজেদের	<i>nidzedder</i>	own, self

Table 6.2.11 : Bangla relative pronouns

	nom	transc	gloss	gen	transc	gloss	obj	transc	gloss
sing	যে	<i>dʒe</i>	who	যার	<i>dʒar</i>	whose	যাকে	<i>dʒake</i>	whom
pl	যারা	<i>dʒara</i>		যাদের	<i>dʒaɽer</i>		যাদের	<i>dʒaɽer</i>	
sing inan	যা	<i>dʒa</i>	what	যার	<i>dʒar</i>	of what	যাতে	<i>dʒaɽe</i>	in what

Table 6.2.12 : Sylheti relative pronouns

	nom	transc	gloss	gen	transc	gloss	obj	transc	gloss
singu	যে	<i>dʒe</i>	who	যার	<i>dʒar</i>	whose	যাকে	<i>dʒake</i>	whom
pl	যারা	<i>dʒara</i>		যারা	<i>dʒara</i>		যারার	<i>dʒarar</i>	
sing inan	যেটা	<i>dʒeɽa</i>	what	যেটার	<i>dʒeɽar</i>	of what	যেটাত	<i>dʒeɽaɽ</i>	in what

Table 6.2.13 : Bangla interrogative pronouns

	nom	transc	gloss	gen	transc	gloss	obj	transc	gloss
singu	কে	<i>ke</i>	who	কার	<i>kar</i>	whose	কাকে	<i>kake</i>	to whom
pl	কারা	<i>kara</i>		কাদের	<i>kaɽer</i>		কাদের	<i>kaɽer</i>	
inan	কি	<i>ki</i>	what	কিসের	<i>kifer</i>	of what	কিসে	<i>kife</i>	in what

Table 6.2.14 : Sylheti interrogative pronouns

	nom	transc	gloss	gen	transc	gloss	obj	transc	gloss
sing	খে	<i>xe</i>	who	খার	<i>xar</i>	whose	খারে	<i>xare</i>	to whom
pl	খারা	<i>xara</i>		খারার	<i>xarar</i>		খারারে	<i>xarare</i>	
inan	কিতা	<i>kiɽa</i>	what	কিতার	<i>kiɽar</i>	of what	কিতাত	<i>kiɽaɽ</i>	in what

Table 6.2.15 : Bangla Demonstrative pronouns

	nom	transc	gen	transc	obj	transc	loc	transc	gloss
neutral	সে, সেটা	<i>se, seṭa</i>	সেটার	<i>seṭar</i>	সেটাকে	<i>seṭake</i>	সেটাতে	<i>seṭaṭe</i>	that
near	এ, এটা	<i>e, eṭa</i>	এটার	<i>eṭar</i>	এটাকে	<i>eṭake</i>	এটাতে	<i>eṭaṭe</i>	this
far	ও, ওটা	<i>o, oṭa</i>	ওটার	<i>oṭar</i>	ওটাকে	<i>oṭake</i>	ওটাতে	<i>oṭaṭe</i>	that

Table 6.2.16 : Sylheti demonstrative pronouns

	nom	transc	gen	transc	obj	transc	loc	transc	gloss
neutral	ওটা	<i>oṭa</i>	ওটার	<i>oṭar</i>	ওটারে	<i>oṭare</i>	ওটাত	<i>oṭaṭ</i>	that
near	ইটা	<i>iṭa</i>	ইটার	<i>iṭar</i>	ইটারে	<i>iṭare</i>	ইটাত	<i>iṭaṭ</i>	this
far	হটা	<i>hṭa</i>	হটার	<i>hṭar</i>	হটারে	<i>hṭare</i>	হটাত	<i>hṭaṭ</i>	that

6.3. Uses and descriptions of pronouns

As we have seen Bangla and Sylheti have the following types of pronouns: personal, genitive, reflexive, relative, interrogative and demonstrative. Except the personal pronouns, Bangla and Sylheti share lots of similarities. In this section the dissimilarities are pointed out.

6.3.1. Gender in pronouns

In Bangla pronouns have no gender whereas in Sylheti the 3rd person pronouns have gender, example : হে 'he', তই 'she'. But the gender used in third person pronoun of Sylheti is not used for formal situations and for plural number (Mayenin, 2011).

a) Politeness :

Pronoun in Bangla and Sylheti have three degrees of politeness for 2nd person : informal, ordinary and honorific.

For 3rd person there are two degrees of politeness in Bangla : ordinary and honorific.

In Sylheti the 2nd person singular number has three degrees of politeness for singular number : informal, ordinary and honorific, and for 3rd person ordinary and honorific.

The 2nd person ordinary pronoun তুমি common in both Bangla and Sylheti, is used between husband and wife, relatives, colleagues, the young member of the family addresses their elders as 'tumi' (you).

The 2nd person informal pronoun *tui* is used with close friends, siblings and with the younger members.

The 2nd person honorary pronoun *apni* (Bangla) (*aφne* in Sylheti) is used in the formal situations and is used to start the conversation with strangers, the pronoun is used to talk with teachers, professors, any elderly person who is not so close. In many houses women address their husbands and in-laws with the honorific pronoun *apni*.

The 3rd person ordinary pronoun in Bangla and Sylheti is use to address someone who is of same age or younger. The 3rd person pronouns in Bangla and Sylheti have two degrees, the first one is used for someone who is of the same age or who is younger or someone who holds less status in the society. In Sylheti this pronoun is marked by gender. The 3rd person pronoun used for

honorific pronoun is used for someone who is elder or someone who holds a respectable position in the society. In Bangla this pronoun is marked by the nasal diacritic symbol 'chandrabinu' ঁ.

In Sylheti the 3rd person pronoun maintains ordinary and honorary distinction only when the pronouns are singular. In case of plural pronouns the 3rd person pronoun is distinguished under ordinary pronoun category.

b) Distance :

In Bangla and Sylheti the 3rd person pronoun, both ordinary and honorific are distinguished according to space and distance. Bangla speakers use three categories of distinctions to describe the distance. The three categories are : near, neutral and far. This distinction is also used for demonstrative pronouns (Thompson, 2010).

While in Sylheti, a speaker uses two categories to distinguish animate pronoun viz neutral and near and three categories for demonstrative pronouns viz. near, neutral and far. In the following tables we have placed the 3rd person pronoun according to this category.

Table 6.3.1.1: Bangla Personal pronoun, nominative

	singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
1 st person	আমি	<i>ami</i>	I	আমরা	<i>amra</i>	we
2 nd person	তুই	<i>tui</i>	you	তোরা	<i>tora</i>	you

2 nd person	তুমি	<i>tumi</i>	you	তুমরা	<i>tumra</i>	you
2 nd person	আপনি	<i>apni</i>	you	আপনারা	<i>apnara</i>	you

Table 6.3.1.2: 3rd person ordinary (male and female)

	Singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
neutral	সে	<i>fe</i>	he/she	তারা	<i>t̄ara</i>	they
near	এ	<i>e</i>	he/she	এরা	<i>era</i>	they
far	ও	<i>o</i>	he/she	ওরা	<i>ora</i>	they

Table 6.3.1.3: 3rd person honorific (male and female)

	singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
neutral	তিনি	<i>t̄ini</i>	he/she	তঁরা	<i>t̄āra</i>	they
near	ইনি	<i>ini</i>	he/she	এঁরা	<i>ēra</i>	they
far	উনি	<i>uni</i>	he/she	ওঁরা	<i>ōra</i>	they

Use of personal pronouns in a sentence: personal pronouns frequently occupy the places of subjects in a sentence.

	singular	plural
1 st person	আমি একানে থাকি <i>ami ekane t̄haki</i> I live here	আমরা এক কলেজে পড়ি <i>amra ek koledze p̄ri</i> we study in this college.
2 nd person fam	তুমি বারি জাও <i>t̄uni bari džao</i>	তুমরা কি দেকছ ? <i>t̄omra ki dek̄ʃ?</i>

	You go home	what are you watching?
	Singular	plural
2 nd person infor	তুই কুন ক্লাসে পৱিস <i>tui kon klase porif</i> In which class do you study?	তৱা কবে আসবে ? <i>tura kobe asbe ?</i> When are they coming ?
2 nd person hon	আপনি কন কলেজে পড়ান <i>apni kon koleje poran ?</i> In which college do you study ?	আপনারা কি ছাত্ৰ ? <i>apnara ki fattro ?</i> Are you students ?

3rd person ord -distance

neutral	সে গান গায় <i>se gan gaj</i> He sings	তারা গান গায় <i>tura gan gaj</i> They sing.
near	এ কি করচে ? <i>e ki kortch ?</i> what are you doing?	এরা বিদেশ থেকে এসেচে <i>era bidesh theke asetche</i> They came from abroad.
Far	ও কেন একা ? <i>o ken eka ?</i> Why is she alone ?	ওরা আমার ছাত্ৰ <i>ora amar fattro</i> They are my students

3rd person hon

neutral	তিনি আমার পাসের বারিতে থাকে <i>t̥ini amar paʃer baɾite t̥ake</i> He/She is my neighbour.	তঁরা কেমন করে জানে ? <i>t̥āra kemɔn kore džane?</i> How do they know ?
Near	ইনি আমার কাকু <i>ini amar kaku</i> He is my uncle.	এঁরা আমার গুরুজন <i>ēra amar gurudʒɔn</i> They are my elders.
far	উনি খুব ভাল মানুষ <i>uni kʰub balɔ manuf</i> He is a very good man.	ওঁরা কালকে আসবে <i>ōra kalke asbe</i> They are coming tomorrow.

Table 6.3.1.4. Sylheti personal pronoun, nominative

	singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
1 st person	আমি	<i>ami</i>	I	আমরা	<i>amra</i>	we
2 nd person	তুই	<i>t̥ui</i>	you	তোরা	<i>t̥ora</i>	you
2 nd person	তুমি	<i>t̥umi</i>	you	তুমরা	<i>t̥umra</i>	you
2 nd person	আফনে	<i>aɸne</i>	you	আফনারা	<i>aɸnara</i>	you

Table 6.3.1.5: 3rd person ordinary (male and female)

	singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
neutral	হে	<i>he</i>	he	তারা	<i>t̥ara</i>	they
neutral	তাই	<i>t̥ai</i>	she	তারা	<i>t̥ara</i>	they

Table 6.3.1.6: 3rd person honorific (male and female)

	singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
near	তাইন	<i>t̥ain</i>	he/she	তারা	<i>t̥ara</i>	he/she

	Singular	plural
1 st person	আমি কলেজ পড়ি। <i>ami kaledʒe pɔɽi</i> I study in a collage.	আমরা গ্রাম থাকি। <i>amra grame tʰaki</i> We live in a village.
2 nd person ord	তুমি মন দিয়া পড় <i>tumi mɔn dʒija pɔɽɔ</i> You should read sincerely	তুমরা কই থাক ? <i>tumra kɔi tʰakɔ</i> where do you live ?
2 nd person infor	তুই কালকে আইস <i>tui kalke aif</i> You can come tomorrow	তুমরা জাইবায় নি ? <i>tumra dʒaibaj ni ?</i> Will you go ?
2 nd person hon	আফনে কিতা করইন <i>aɸne kiʦa kɔɽɔin</i> What do you do ?	আফনারা মাস্তর নি? <i>aɸnara maʦtɔr ni ?</i> Are you teachers ?
3 rd person ord	হে কিতা করে? <i>he ki ʦa kɔɽe</i> What does he do ?	তারা বালা ছেলে নায় <i>tara bala ʧele naj</i> They are not good boys.
3 rd person ord	তাই সিলাই করে <i>tai silai kɔɽe</i> She stitch	তারা সিলাই করইন <i>tara silai kɔɽɔin</i> They stitch
3 rd person hon	তাইন এখজন বালা মানুস	তারা বালা সমাজর মানুস।

t̥ain exd̥ʒn bala manuʃ

He/She is a good person.

t̥ara nala ʃɔmad̥ʒe

manuʃ

They belong to a
good society

6.3.2. Personal pronouns, genitive -Bangla

Genitive pronouns are used before nouns and they also function as possessors.

Table 6.3.2.1: Bangla genitive pronouns

	singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
1 st person	আমরা	<i>amra</i>	we	আমাদের	<i>amaḍḍer</i>	our
2 nd person	তৌরা	<i>t̥ora</i>	you	তৌদের	<i>t̥oḍḍer</i>	your
2 nd person	তৌমরা	<i>t̥omra</i>	you	তৌমাদের	<i>t̥omaḍḍer</i>	your
2 nd person	আপনার	<i>apnar</i>	you	আপনাদের	<i>apnaḍḍer</i>	your

Table 6.3.2.2: 3rd person genitive pronouns

	Singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
neutral	তৌর	<i>t̥ar</i>	his/her	তৌদের	<i>t̥aḍḍer</i>	their
near	এর	<i>er</i>	his/her	এদের	<i>eḍḍer</i>	their
far	ওর	<i>or</i>	his/her	ওদের	<i>oḍḍer</i>	thei

Table 6.3.2.3: 3rd person honorific (male and female)

	singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
neutral	তৌঁর	<i>t̥ā̃r</i>	His/her	তৌঁরাদের	<i>t̥ā̃ḍḍer</i>	thier
near	এঁরা	<i>ē̃ra</i>	His/her	এঁদের	<i>ē̃ḍḍer</i>	their

far	ওঁরা	<i>ōra</i>	His/her	ওঁদের	<i>ōḍer</i>	their
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	Singular	plural
1 st person	আমার লেখা কবিতা <i>amar lek^ha kabiṭa</i> Poem written by me.	আমাদের ছোট গ্রাম <i>amaḍer ṭ^hoṭ gram.</i> Our small village
2 nd person, ord	তোমার কলম <i>tōmar kolam</i> Your pen.	তোমাদের পোষা বেড়াল <i>tōmaḍer poṣ beṛal</i> Your pet cat.
2 nd person, infor	তোমার ছোট সংসার <i>tōr ṭ^hoṭo ṣngsar</i> Your small family.	তোদের ফুল বাগান <i>tōḍer p^hul bagan</i> Your flower garden.
2 nd person hon	আপনার অনুমতি ছাই <i>apnar onumṭi ṭ^hai</i> (I/We) need your permission	আপনাদের আশিরবাদ ছাই। <i>apnaḍer aṣirbaḍ ṭ^hai</i> (I/We) need your blessings.
3 rd person, hon neutral	তঁর বাড়িটা বিশাল <i>tāṛ baṛiṭa biṣal</i> His house is very big.	তঁদের সহরে জল <i>tāḍer ṣohore ḍol</i> There is a flood in their city.
near	এঁর অনেক ক্ষমতা	এঁদের একটা বড় বারি আছে

ēr ɔnek kʰɔmɔɔa

He is powerful.

ēḍder ekʰa bɔɾɔ bar aɸʰe

They have one big house.

far

ওঁর/ উনার খুব বুদ্ধি

ōr/unar kʰub buḍḍʰi

He is very intelligent

ওঁদের/ উনাদের দুর্গা পূজ

ōḍder durga puḍʒo

Their durga puja.

Table 6.3.2.4: Sylheti genitive pronouns

	singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
1 st person	আমার	<i>amar</i>	my	আমরার	<i>amrar</i>	our
2 nd person	তর	<i>t̪ɔr</i>	your	তরার	<i>t̪ɔrar</i>	your
2 nd person	তুমার	<i>t̪umar</i>	your	তুমরার	<i>t̪umrar</i>	your
2 nd person	আফনার	<i>aɸnar</i>	your	আফনারার	<i>aɸnarar</i>	your

Table 6.3.2.5: 3rd person pronouns

ord	singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
neutral	তার	<i>t̪ar</i>	his	তারার	<i>t̪arar</i>	their
neutral	তাইর	<i>t̪air</i>	her	তারার	<i>t̪arar</i>	their

Table 6.3.2.6: 3rd person pronouns

	singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
hon						
far	তান	<i>t̪an</i>	His/her	তারার	<i>t̪arar</i>	their

1st person

singular

আমার কলম কই ?

amar kɔlɔm kɔi

plural

আমরার বারির পূজা

amrar baɾir puḍʒa

	where is my pen ?	We have a ritual in our house.
2 nd person, ord	তুমার বন্দু কই ? <i>tumar bonḍu koi</i> Where is your friend ?	তুমরার কলেজ কবে কুলবো ? <i>tumarar koleḍḍ kobe kulbo</i> When is your college reopening?
2 nd person, infor	তর বাড়ি কই ? <i>tar baḍi koi ?</i> Where is your house ?	তুমরার বাড়ি <i>tumarar baḍi</i> Your house.
2 nd person, hon	আফনার কয় ছেলেমেয়ে ? <i>aḥnar koy ḥhelemeje ?</i> How many children do you have?	আফনারা র অপেক্ষা করাতআসলাম <i>aḥnarar opekka korataslam</i> We were waiting for you
3 rd person, ord,	তার ছাকির আইসে <i>tar sakri oise</i> (lit. of- him job exists) He has got a job	তারার জমিন বেজান <i>tara zomin beḍḍan</i> They own a lot of land
3 rd person, ord	তাইর বিয়া লাগসে <i>tair bija lagse</i> She is getting married.	তারার বারিত জাইতাম <i>talar baḍit ḍḍaitam</i> We will go to their home.

3 rd person, hon	তান বউ	তারার তাকা নাই।
	<i>tan bou</i>	<i>tarar taka nai</i>
	His wife	(lit. of- them money does-
		not-exist)
		They have no money

d) Personal pronouns, objective case- Bangla:

Table 6.3.2.7: Bangla pronouns

	singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
1 st person	আমাকে	<i>amake</i>	to me	আমাদের	<i>amader</i>	to us
2 nd person	তকে	<i>tōke</i>	to you	তদের	<i>tōder</i>	to you
2 nd person	তোমাকে	<i>tōmake</i>	to you	তোমাদের	<i>tōmader</i>	to you
2 nd person	আপনাকে	<i>apnake</i>	to you	আপনাকে	<i>apnader</i>	to you

Table 6.3.2.8: 3rd person pronouns

ord	singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
neutral	তাকে	<i>tōke</i>	him/her	তাদের	<i>tōder</i>	them
near	একে	<i>eke</i>	him/her	এদের	<i>eder</i>	them
far	ওকে	<i>oke</i>	him/her	ওদের	<i>oder</i>	them

Table 6.3.2.9: 3rd person pronouns

hon	singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
neutral	তঁাকে	<i>tāke</i>	him/her	তঁাদের	<i>tāder</i>	them
near	এঁকে	<i>ēke</i>	him/her	এঁদের	<i>ēder</i>	them
far	ওঁকে	<i>ōke</i>	him/her	ওঁদের	<i>ōder</i>	them

	singular	plural
1 st person	আমায়/আমাকে তার ঠিকানা দাও <i>amay/amake tar tikana dao</i> Give me his address.	আমাদেরকে কিছু বলে নি <i>amaderke kifff^hu bole ni</i> (He/She/They) did not tell us anything.
2 nd person ord	তুমায়/তুমাকে ফোন করেছিলাম <i>tomay/ tomake p^hon koreff^hilam</i> I called you.	আমি তুমাদের বলব <i>ami tomader b^olb^o</i> I will tell you.
2 nd person infor	তাকে বলেছিলাম <i>take boleff^hilam</i> I told him.	তোদের আর কাজ করতে হবে <i>toder ar^o kadz kort^e h^obe</i> You have to work more.
2 nd person, hon	আপনাকে ধন্যবাদ <i>apnake d^hnjobad</i> Thanks to you.	আপনাদের বসার জাগা <i>apnader b^ofar dzajga</i> Chairs for you
3 rd person, ord neutral	তাকে দিয়ে এলাম <i>take dije elam</i> I gave it to him.	তোদের আসতে হবে <i>toder afte h^obe</i> You have to come
near	একে সন্দেহ করা না <i>eke f^ondeho kor^o na</i> Don't doubt him.	এদেরকে মাথায় তুলে ল্যাভ নেই <i>ederke mat^haj tule lab^h nej</i> Do not give them too much freedom.

2 nd person	তুমারে	<i>tuma</i> <i>re</i>	to you	তুমরারে	<i>tumrare</i>	to you
2 nd person	আফনারে	<i>aɸnare</i>	to you	আফনারারে	<i>aɸnarare</i>	to you

Table 6.3.2.11: 3rd person pronouns

ord	singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
neutral	তারে	<i>tare</i>	he	তারারে	<i>tarare</i>	them
neutral	তাইরে	<i>taire</i>	she	তারারে	<i>tarare</i>	them

Table 6.3.2.12: 3rd person pronouns

ord	singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
far	তানরে	<i>tanre</i>	he/she	তারারে	<i>tarare</i>	them

	singular	plural
1 st person	আমারে কিছু টাকা দেও <i>amare kisu taka deo</i> Give me some money.	কিছু লাগে আমরাে কইও <i>kissu lagle amare koio</i> If you need anything, just ask me
2 nd person, ord	তুমারে কইমু <i>tumare koimu</i> (I/We) Will tell you.	তুমরারে কইমু <i>tumrare koimu</i> (I/We) will tell you

2 nd person, infor	তরে লইয়া জাইমু <i>t̪re lɔija d̪aimu</i> I will take you there.	তুম্বারে লইয়া জাইমু <i>t̪umrarelɔija d̪aimu</i> I will take you there.
2 nd person, hon	আফনারে ফোন করমু <i>aφnare φɔn kɔrmu</i> (I/We) will call you.	আফনারারে নামাইয়া দিব <i>aφnarare namaij d̪ibɔ</i> He will drop you near your house.
3 rd person, male	তরে এজ্জু সাসন করিও <i>t̪re ek̪tu safɔn kɔrio</i> Make him learn some discipline	তারার বয়স কম <i>t̪rar bɔjɔf kɔm</i> They are young
3 rd person, female	তাইরে গান হিকাইয় <i>t̪aie gan hikaiɔ</i> Teach her how to sing.	তারারে গান হিকাইয় <i>t̪arare gan hikaijɔ</i> Teach them how to sing
3 rd person, hon	তান/ তানরে আমার কথা কইও <i>t̪anre amar kɔ t̪^ha kɔjo</i> Tell him/her about me.	তারারে বিদায় জানাইলাম <i>t̪arare biɔad̪ʒanailam</i> I bid them goodbye.

The formation of genitive case for 3rd person singular honorific pronoun in Sylheti is different from other pronouns. In genitive case the pronoun does not take endings *r* and also the vowel *i* used in the nominative case is deleted. In the objective case the vowel *e* is added to the genitive form *t̪an*.

6.3.3. Relative pronouns

Pronouns used to connect a clause or phrase to a noun or pronoun is popularly known as relative pronoun. In English the common relative pronouns are *who*, *whom*, *which* and these are similar to the interrogative pronouns. Whereas in Bangla and Sylheti the relative and interrogative pronouns are different. In Bangla, animate nouns are distinguished between ordinary and honorary forms but in Sylheti this distinction is not very common.

i) Relative pronoun – animate :

Table 6.3.3.1 : Bangla relative pronouns

ord	singular	transc	plural	transc	gloss
nom	যে	<i>dʒe</i>	যারা	<i>dʒara</i>	who
gen	যার	<i>dʒar</i>	যাদের	<i>dʒader</i>	whose
obj	যাকে	<i>dʒake</i>	যাদের	<i>dʒader</i>	whom

Table 6.3.3.2: Bangla relative pronouns

hon	singular	transc	plural	transc	gloss
nom	যিনি	<i>dʒini</i>	যাঁরা	<i>dʒāra</i>	who
gen	যাঁর	<i>dʒār</i>	যাঁদের	<i>dʒāder</i>	whose
obj	যাঁকে	<i>dʒāke</i>	যাঁদের	<i>dʒāder</i>	whom

nom, sg, ord: যে পরিস্রম করে সে ফল পায়।

dʒe p̄risrom kore se p̄ɔl paj

One who does hard-work gets the result.

nom, pl, ord: যারা আসবে তাদের কি চেনো ?

d̥zara aʃbe t̥aɖer ki t̥ʃʰenɔ ?

Do you know the visitors ?

gen, sg, ord: যার বাড়ী তার নাম কি ?

d̥zar baɖi tar nam ki ?

What is the name of the owner of the house ?

gen, pl, ord: যাদের নিমন্ত্রন করেছে তারা কই ?

d̥zaɖer nimɔn̥trɔn kɔreʃʰɔ t̥ara kɔi ?

Where are the guests?

obj,sg,ord: যাকে টাকাগুলো দিলাম সে এখনো আসেনি ?

d̥zake takagulo d̥ilam fe ekɔnɔ aʃeni ?

The person to whom I gave the money has not arrived.

obj, pl, ord: যাদের দায়িত্ব টা দিলে তারা কি বিস্বাসের যুগ.

d̥zaɖer d̥ajito ta d̥ile t̥ara ki bisaser d̥zugo

Are they trustworthy to whom you gave the responsibility ?

nom, sg, hon: যিনি চিঠিটা লিখেছেন তিনি কি তোমার চেনা ?

d̥zini t̥ʃʰiɖia likeʃʰen t̥ini ki t̥umar t̥ʃʰena

Do you know the person who wrote the letter ?

nom, pl, hon: যারা সাহিত্য পড়ে তাদের বেস গল্প জানা থাকে ।

d̥zara sahit̥ɔ pɔɖe t̥aɖer beʃ golpo d̥zana t̥ʰake

Those who read literature know a lot of stories.

gen, sg, hon: তুমি যার বাড়িতে যাও তার কেমন ।
tumi dʒār baɽite dʒao ʈara kemɔn
 How is the owner of the house that you frequent ?

gen, pl, hon: যাঁদের বাড়ী তারা কেমন ।
dʒāḍder baɽi ʈara kemɔn
 What kind of people are the owners ?

obj. sg, hon: তুমি যাকে শ্রদ্ধা কর তিনি ভাল মানুষ না ।
tumi dʒāke sroḍa kɔɽɔ ini bʰalɔ manuʃ na
 Whom you admire is not a good person.

obj, pl, hon: তুমি যাঁদেরকে পড়াও তারা কেমন ।
tumi dʒāḍderke pɔɽaɔ ʈara kemɔn
 How are the students whom you teach.

Table 6.3.3.3: Sylheti relative pronouns

ord	singular	transc	plural	transc	gloss
nom	যে	<i>dʒe</i>	যারা	<i>dʒara</i>	who
gen	যার	<i>dʒar</i>	যারার	<i>dʒarar</i>	whose
onj	যারে	<i>dʒare</i>	যারারে	<i>dʒarare</i>	to whom

Table 6.3.3.4: Sylheti relative pronouns

hon	singular	transc	plural	transc	gloss
nom	যেইন	<i>dʒein</i>	যারা	<i>dʒara</i>	who

- nom, sg: যে তুমার বন্দু তারে জিগাও ।
dʒe tumar bɔndu tare dʒigao.
 Ask your friend
- nom, pl: যারা আইরা তারারে আদর করিও ।
dʒara aira tarare aɖɔ kɔrio
 Take good care of the guests.
- gen, sg: যার বাড়ি তার নাম কি ?
dʒar baʒi tar nam ki ?
 What is the name of the owner of this house ?
- gen, pl: যারারে দেখ্ত তাতারে ছিন নি ?
dʒarare dekʃɔ tarare sino ni?
 Do you know them whom you just saw.
- obj, sg: যারে দিস হে বালা মানুস ।
dʒare difi he bala manuf
 The person whom I gave it is a good person
- obj, pl: যারারে দেখ্ত তারা এই পুজাতা করের ।
dʒarare dekʃɔ tara ei puʒta kɔrer
 The people you saw are conducting this worship.
- hon
 nom, sg: যেইন আইবা তান নাম কিতা ?

dʒein aiba ʈan nam kiʈa?

What is the name of the guest ?

Sylheti does not have honorific relative pronoun like Bangla, but the speakers sometimes use the pronoun *jein* to denote some respectful person, but the use of this pronoun is very limited and it used only before the verb 'come' *aiba* (Mayenin,2011).

h) Inanimate relative pronouns:

nominative – Bangla যা/যে - *dʒe, dʒa*

যা করছো তা কি ভাল ?

dʒa kɔrʈɔ ʈa ki balɔ ?

Is that good whatever you are doing ?

Sylheti: যেটা - *dʒeʈa*

যেটা দেখসি ইতা কইতে ফারতাম না

dʒeʈa ʈeksi iʈa xɔiʈe ʈartam na

I cannot say what I have seen.

genitive – Bangla: যার - *dʒar*

যার হেস্‌তায় আস সেটা হবে না।

dʒar ʈʰastaj aʈʰɔ seʈa hɔbe na

What you are trying will not happen.

Sylheti: যেটার - *dʒɛɽar*

যেটার লাগি আইস ইতা অইত নায়।

dʒɛɽar lagi aifs ita oitɔ naj

The reason you have come here is not going to happen.

objective – Bangla: যা - *dʒa*

তুমি যা বলেছ তাই করছি

tumi dʒa boleʃɔ tai kortʃhi

I am doing what you have told me to do.

Sylheti: যেটা - *dʒɛɽa*

তুমি যেটা খইসি ইটা সত্যি নি?

tumi dʒɛɽa xɔisɔ ita sɔti ni?

Is it true what you have said ?

locative – Bangla: যাতে - *dʒaɽe*

যাতে তার ভাল হয় তাই কর

dʒaɽe tar balɔ hɔj tai korɔ

Do whatever is good for him.

Sylheti: যেটাত - *dʒɛɽat*

যেটাত তার বালা হয় হে ইতা বুজে না.

dʒɛɽat tar bala hɔj he ita budʒe na

He does not understand what is good for him.

.

In Bangla *ḍḍaṭe* have two functions, besides working as inanimate relative pronoun it also acts as a subordinate conjunction. In Sylheti also *ḍḍaṭe* is used for subordinate conjunction meaning 'so that', 'in order to' (for more detail please check chapter 11).

6.3.4. Interrogative Pronoun

Both Bangla and Sylheti distinguish between singular and plural interrogative pronoun. (Chapter 12)

a) Bangla: animate

Table 6.3.4.1: Bangla interrogative pronoun (animate)

	singular	transc	plural	transc	gloss
nom	কে	<i>ke</i>	কারা	<i>kara</i>	who
gen	কার	<i>kar</i>	কাদের	<i>kaḍḍer</i>	whose
obj	কাকে	<i>kake</i>	কাদের/ কাদেরকে	<i>kaḍḍer / kaḍḍerke</i>	whose

anim, nom, sg

উনি কে ?

uni ke ?

Who is he ?

anm, nom, pl

ওরা কারা ?

ora kara ?

Who are they ?

anm, gen, sg

এটা কার লেখা ?

eṭa kar lek^ha ?

Whose writing (or handwriting) is this ?

anm, gen, pl

জিনিসগুল কাদের?

dʒinifgulo kaḍer ?

Whose stuff are these ?

anm, obj, sg

কাকে ছিটিটা দিবে ?

kake tʃiṭiṭa ḍibe?

Whom will you give the letter ?

anm, obj, pl

কাদেরকে বলবে ?

kaḍerke bolbe ?

Whom will you tell ?

Table 6.3.4.2: Bangla inanimate pronouns

	singular	transc	gloss
nom	কি	<i>ki</i>	what
gen	কিসের	<i>kifer</i>	of what
obj	কি	<i>ki</i>	what
loc	কিসে	<i>kife</i>	in what

nom:

কি হয়েছে ?

ki hojetʃe ?

What has happened ?

gen:	তোমার কিসের ভয় ? <i>tomar kifer b^hɔj ?</i> What are you afraid of ?
obj:	কি করছ ? <i>ki kɔrtʃ^ho ?</i> What are you doing ?
loc	তুমি কিসে করে যাবে ? <i>tumi kife kɔre dʒabe ?</i> How will you go ?

Table 6.3.4.3 : Sylheti interrogative pronouns

	singular	transc	plural	transc	gloss
nom	কে/খে	<i>ke/xe</i>	খারা	<i>xara</i>	who
gen	খার	<i>xar</i>	খারার	<i>xarar</i>	of whom
obj	খারে	<i>xar</i>	খারারে	<i>xarare</i>	to whom

anm,nom,sg: তাইন কে?
t^hain ke ?
who is he/she ?

anm,nom,pl: তারা খারা ?
t^hara xara?
Who are they ?

anm, gen, sg: খার বাড়ী ?
xar baṛi ?
 whose house is this ?

anm, gen,pl: খারার জিনিস
xarar ḍziniḥ?
 Whose belongings?

anm, obj,sg: খারে ডাকরায় ?
xare ḍakraj ?
 Whom are you calling ?

anm,obj,pl: খারারে কইবায়?
xarare koiraj ?
 whom you are going to tell ?

Table : 6.3.4.4: Sylheti inanimate interrogative pronouns

	int	transc	gloss
nom	কিতা	<i>kiṭa</i>	what
gen	কিতার	<i>kiṭar</i>	of what
obj	কিতা	<i>kiṭa</i>	what
loc	কিতাত	<i>kiṭat</i>	in what

nominative: তুমার কিতা অইসে ?
tumra kiṭa oife ?
 What happened to you ?

genitive:	কিতার লাগি ? <i>kiṭar lagi ?</i> For what ?
objective:	কিতা করায় ? <i>kiṭa koraj ?</i> What are you doing ?
Locative:	কিতাত রাক্স তুমি ? <i>kiṭat rakṣo tumi ?</i> On what did you put ?

6.3.5. Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns do not refer to specific persons or things. The nominative indefinite animate pronoun in Bangla and Sylheti is *keu*, it has all cases except locative, while the inanimate pronoun *kichu* has all four cases. The formation of indefinite pronouns differs in Bangla and Sylheti with different cases. The similarities are noticed only in the animate nominative case. Indefinite pronouns do not have plural form but reduplication conveys the plural meaning.

Table 6.3.5.1: Bangla Indefinite pronouns

	animate	transc	gloss	inanimate	transc	gloss
nom	কেউ	<i>keu</i>	someone	কিছু	<i>kiṭʰu</i>	something
gen	কারও	<i>karo</i>	someone	কিছুর	<i>kiṭʰur</i>	of something

obj	কাউকে	<i>kauke</i>	to someone	কিছু	<i>kiʃʱu</i>	to
loc	-	-	-	কিছুতে	<i>kiʃʱute</i>	in someone

Bangla:

nom, ani: কেউ আসবে নাকি ?
keu asbe naki ?
 Will someone come ?

gen, ani: আমি কারও কথা সুনব না ।
ami karo kaʃʱa funɔ na
 I won't listen to anyone.

obj, ani: আমি কাউকে বলব না ।
ami kauke baɔɔ na
 I will not tell anyone.

nom, inani: কিছু হয়েছে?
kiʃʱu hoʃeʃe ?
 Did something happen ?

gen,inani: তুমার কিছুর দরকার আছে ?
tumar kiʃʱur ɔrkar ?
 Do you need anything ?

Obj,inani: কিছু খাবে ?

kif^hu k^habe ?

Will you eat anything ?

Loc, inani: সে কিছুতে মন দেয় না।

se kif^hute mɔn d̪ey na

He does not take anything seriously.

Table 6.3.5.2: Sylheti Indefinite pronouns

	animate	transc	gloss	inanimate	transc	gloss
nom	খেউ	<i>xeu</i>	someone	কিছু	<i>kif^hi</i>	something
gen	খেউর	<i>xeur</i>	of someone	কিছুর	<i>kif^hur</i>	of something
obj	খেউরে	<i>xoure</i>	to someone	কিছু	<i>kif^hu</i>	something
loc				কিছুত/ কুনতাত	<i>kif^ht̪</i>	in something

nom, ani: কেউ কিছু কইব নি ?

keu kif^h kɔibɔ ni ?

Will someone complain ?

gen, ani: হে কেউরে ছিনে না।

he keura f^hine na

He does not know anyone.

- obj, ani: কেউরে কইস নি ?
keure kɔiʃɔ ni ?
 Have you told anyone?
- nom, inani: কুন কিচ্ছু কর নি ?
kunɔ kiʃʃu kɔrɔ ni ?
 Do you do something ?
- gen, inani: কিচ্ছুর চেষ্টা কররায় নি ?
kiʃʃur ʃestɔ kɔrraj ni ?
 Are you trying to get a work ?
- obj,inani: কিচ্ছু দরকার আসিল নি ?
Kiʃʃu dɔrkar aʃil ni ?
Do you need anything ?
- loc, inani: কুন কিচ্ছত কুন উক্তি নাই.
kunɔ kiʃʃuʈ ukʈi nai
 He does not have an opinion about anything.

Both Bangla and Sylheti do not have negative pronouns but the indefinite pronouns when combined with *na* it correspond to something like the negative pronouns in English: *keuna* ‘no-one’, but in some cases if the verb follows the indefinite pronoun then the negative marker *na* will stand alone after the verb but it will still correspond to the English negative pronoun.

B&S	কেউ...না <i>keu... na</i>	'none'
B&S	কিছু...না <i>kifʃʰuna</i>	'nothing'
B	কেউ আসে নি? <i>keu aʃe ni?</i>	'none has come'.
S	কিছু কইস নি? <i>kifʃʰu kɔʃɔ ni?</i>	'Did you say something?'

6.3.6. Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronoun indicate that the person who is realizing the action of the verb is also the recipient of the action. Like English, in Bangla and Sylheti also the use of reflexive pronoun sometimes leads to emphasis. Reflexive pronouns have singular and plural number in Bangla but in Sylheti it is not so common, for nominative case, both Bangla and Sylheti have the same word but for genitive case there is a change of vowel from *e* to *o* e.g. : Bangla = *nijer* and Sylheti – *nijor*. But in forming the plural in Sylheti the vowel *o* changes to *e* like *nidzerar*. For objective cases Sylheti does not have any plural forms, in this case the plurality is understood with the help of the context. The common reflexive pronoun is *nije*.

Table 6.3.6.1: Bangla reflexive pronouns

	singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
nom	নিজে	<i>nidze</i>	myself	নিজেরা	<i>nidzera</i>	ourselves
gen	নিজের	<i>nidzer</i>	of my	নিজেদের	<i>nidzeder</i>	of ourselves
obj	নিজেকে	<i>nidzeke</i>	to myself	নিজেদেরকে	<i>nidzederke</i>	themselves

nom, sg:	আমি নিজে করব ? <i>ami niḏʒe kɔrbɔ</i> I will do it myself
nom, pl:	আমরা নিজেরা জাব ? <i>amra niḏʒera ḏʒabɔ</i> We will go ourselves.
gen, sg:	নিজের কাজ নিজে কর ? <i>niḏʒer kaɟ niḏʒe kɔrɔ</i> Do your own work.
gen, pl:	অরা নিজেদের বাসায় থাকে <i>ora niḏʒeḏer bafaj tʰake</i> They live in their own house.
obj, sg:	নিজেকে গিন্না কর না <i>niḏʒeke grina kɔrɔ na</i> Do not hate yourself
obj, pl:	ওরা নিজেদের টকাচ্ছে. <i>ora niḏʒeḏer tʰɔkatʃʃʰe</i> They are deceiving themselves.

Table 6.3.6.2: Sylheti reflexive pronouns

	singular	transc	gloss	plural	transc	gloss
nom	নিজে	<i>nidʒe</i>	myself	নিজেরা	<i>nidʒera</i>	ourself
gen	নিজর	<i>nidʒor</i>	of myself	নিজেরার	<i>nidʒerar</i>	of ourself
obj	নিজরে	<i>nidʒore</i>	To myself	-	-	-

nom, sg: আমি নিজে জাইমু.
ami nidʒe dʒaimu
 I will go myself.

nom, pl: আমিরা নিজেরা দেখিলাইমু.
amra nidʒera dekilaimu
 We saw it ourselves.

gen,sg: তুমার নিজর বাড়ি.
tumar nidʒor baʒi
 Your own house

gen, pl: আমি নিজেরার কাজ নিজে করি।
amra nidʒerar kaʒ nidʒe kori
 We work ourselves.

obj,sg: তুমি নিজরে টগাইরায়।
tumi nidʒore tɔgairaj
 You are cheating yourself

obj,pl তুমরা নিজেৰে টগাইয়ায়.
tumra nidzore tɔgaira
 You are cheating yourself

6.3.7. Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns in Sylheti differs from that in Bangla. In Bangla the inanimate pronoun also acts as demonstrative pronoun and it can also combine with singular and plural classifiers to form independent pronouns – while in Sylheti there are no inanimate pronouns like Bangla and moreover the demonstrative pronoun is formed by adding *i, o, h* and allomorph *ik, ok, hok* with the singular and plural classifiers. Like Bangla deictic pronoun, Sylheti deictics cannot stand alone, when they are acting as demonstrative pronouns they come with the classifiers, but when they act as adjectives the deictic morpheme precedes the head noun and in this case the head noun hosts the classifier – *hou meyata* (that girl). In Bangla, the deictic pronoun *se, e, o* can stand alone and function as adjectives – *se lok* (that man) but it also functions like Sylheti where deictic pronoun precedes the head noun and the classifier is carried by the head noun (Dash, 2015).

a. Bengali basic deictic :

Table 6.3.7.1 : Bangla demonstrative pronouns

	nom	transc	gen	transc	obj	transc	loc	transc	glos
neutral	সে	<i>se</i>	তার	<i>tar</i>	সে	<i>se</i>	তাতে	<i>tate</i>	that

near	এ	<i>e</i>	এর	<i>er</i>	সে/একে	<i>eke</i>	এতে	<i>eṭe</i>	this
far	ও	<i>o</i>	ওর	<i>or</i>	ও/ওকে	<i>oke</i>	ওতে	<i>oṭe</i>	that

Table6.3.7.2: Bangla- Singular deictics with টা

	nom	transc	gen	transc	obj	transc	loc	transc	gloss
neutral	সেটা	<i>seṭa</i>	সেটার	<i>seṭar</i>	সেটা	<i>seṭa</i>	সেটাত্তে	<i>seṭa</i>	that
near	এটা	<i>eṭa</i>	এটার	<i>eṭar</i>	এটা	<i>eṭa</i>	এটাত্তে	<i>eṭa</i>	this
far	ওটা	<i>oṭa</i>	ওটার	<i>oṭar</i>	ওটা	<i>oṭa</i>	ওটাত্তে	<i>oṭa</i>	that

neutral, nom, সেটা আমার লেখা ছিল ?
seṭa amar lekḥa ḥhilo
 That was my writing.

near, nom, এটা খুব সুন্দর?
eṭa kḥub sundor
 This is very beautiful.

far, nom, : ওটা আমার ভাল লেগেচে
oṭa amar balo legete
 I liked that one.

neutral, gen:, সেটার কথা র বল না
seṭar kotḥa r bol na
 Do not talk about that

near, gen,: এটার জুন্নই ত আসা

eṭar dʒunoi t̪ɔ asa

I came for that

far,gen,

ওটার কি খবর ?

oṭar ki kʰɔbɔr

Is there any news about that ?

neutral,obj

সেটা আমি অবিস্বাস করতে ছাইনি.

seṭa ami obisas kɔrte ʃʰaini

I did not want to believe that

near,obj

আমি এটা অবহেলা করেছি.

ami eṭa obohela kɔreʃʰi

I ignored that one

far, obj,:

আমি ওটা তার কাছ রেখেছি

ami oṭa tar kaʃʰe rekeʃʰi

I kept it with him.

neutral, loc:

সেটাতে আমার কুন আপত্তি নেই.

seṭate amar kuno apoti nai

I have no objections about that.

near,loc:

এটাতে কি রাকা আছে ?

eṭate ki rakʰa aʃʰe ?

What is there inside it ?

Table 6.3.7.3: Bangla plural deictics – gulo

	nom	trans	gen	transc	obj	transc	loc	transc	gloss
neut	সেগুলো	<i>fegulo</i>	সেগুলোর	<i>fegulo</i> <i>r</i>	সেগুলোকে	<i>fegulo</i> <i>ke</i>	সেগুলোতে	<i>feguloṭe</i>	that
near	এগুলো	<i>egulo</i>	এগুলোর	<i>egulor</i>	এগুলোকে	<i>egulok</i> <i>e</i>	এগুলোতে	<i>eguloṭe</i>	these
far	ওগুলো	<i>ogulo</i>	ওগুলোর	<i>ogulor</i>	ওগুলোকে	<i>ogulok</i> <i>e</i>	ওগুলোতে	<i>oguloṭe</i>	those

neutral,nom: সেগুলো অনেক নোংরা.

fegulo onek noṅra

Those are very dirty

near,nom: এগুলো আমার কাজ.

egulo amar kaḅ

These are my works

far,nom: ওগুলো কি তুমার?

ogulo ki ṭumar

Those are yours

neutral,gen: সেগুলোর দাম কেমন.

fegulor ḍam kemṅ?

How expensive are those?

- near,gen: এগুলোর এ কি অবস্থা?
egulor e ki ɔbɔʃta?
 What happened to those?
- far,gen: অগুলোর মত হলেই হবে
ogulor mɔɔ hɔlei hɔbe.
 If it looks like those it will be ok.
- neutral,obj: সেগুলোকে ঠিক করতে হবে
ʃeguloke tʰik kɔɔte hbe
 I have to repair those
- near,obj: এগুলোকে আমার বারি নিয়ে জাও
eguloke amar bari nije dʒao
 Take these to my house
- far,obj: ওগুলো রেখে দাও
ogulo reke dʒao
 Keep those
- neutral,loc: সেগুলোতে পোকা আছে
ʃeguloɔte poka aʃʰe
 There are insects on those
- near,loc: এগুলোতে আমার অদিকার আছে

eguloṭe amar oḍikar aṭṭe

I have rights on this things.

far,loc: তুমি ওগুলোতে কি দিয়েছ?

tumi oguloṭe ki ḍijetṭe

What did you put on those.

Table 6.3.7.4: Sylheti singular deictics with *ṭa*

	nom	transc	gen	transc	obj	transc	loc	transc	gloss
neu	ইটা / ইজা	<i>iṭa/ ikṭa</i>	ইটার/ ইজার	<i>iṭar/ ikṭar</i>	ইটারে / ইজারে	<i>iṭare/ ikṭare</i>	ইটাত/ ইজাত	<i>iṭaṭ/ ikṭaṭ</i>	this
near	ওটা / ওকটা	<i>oṭa/ okṭa</i>	ওটার / ওকটার	<i>oṭar/ okṭar</i>	ওকটার / ওকটারে	<i>oṭare/ okṭare</i>	ওটাত / ওকটাত	<i>oṭaṭ/ okṭaṭ</i>	that
far	হটা	<i>hṭa</i>	হটার	<i>hṭar</i>	হটার	<i>hṭare</i>	হটাত	<i>hṭaṭ</i>	that

Table 6.3.7.5: with deictics - *gu*

	nom	transc	gen	transc	obj	transc	loc	transc	gloss
neutral	ইগু	<i>igu</i>	ইগুর	<i>igur</i>	ইহুরে	<i>igure</i>	ইগুত	<i>iguṭ</i>	this
near	ওগু	<i>ogu</i>	ওগুর	<i>ogur</i>	ওগুরে	<i>ogure</i>	ওগুত	<i>oguṭ</i>	that
far	হগু	<i>hogu</i>	হগুর	<i>hogur</i>	হগুরে	<i>hogure</i>	হগুত	<i>hoguṭ</i>	that

neutral,nom: ইগু/ ইটা কিতা? what is this?

igu / iṭa kiṭa?

What is this?

near,nom ওগু/ ওটা আমার বারি that is my house.

ogu / oṭa amar baṛi.

	This is my house
far,nom	হঙ/ হটা তার বারি <i>igu / iṭa ṭar baṛi</i> This is his house
neutral,gen	ইটার/ ইঙর কি অবস্তা? <i>iṭar/ igur kiṭa əbɔst̪a</i> What is the condition of this?
near,gen	ওঙর/ ওটার দাম বেশি। <i>ogur / oṭar ḍam beṣi</i> This is very costly
far, gen	হঙর/ হটার দাম কম. <i>hɔgur / hɔṭar ḍam kɔm</i> That one is cheaper
neutral, obj	ইঙরে /ইটারে রাকি দেও <i>igure / iṭare raki ḍeo</i> Keep this
near,obj	ওঙরে/ ওটারে আগে সেস কর. <i>ogure / oṭare age seṣ kɔr</i> Finish this before that.

far,obj হওরে/ হটারে পরে দেখা জাইব ।
hɔgure / hɔtare pɔre dɛxa dʒaibɔ
 We will see this later

neutral.loc ইগুত কিতা সমইসস্যা ।
iguɫ kiɫa sɔmɔɪsʃa
 What is the problem with this ?

near,loc ওগুত রাকি দেও ।
oiguɫ raki dɛo
 Keep on this

d) Sylheti plural deictics – *in* (the Sylheti plural classifier *in* changes to *intor* when it goes with other case except nominative)

Table 6.3.7.6 : Sylheti plural deictics

	nom	transc	gen	transc	obj	transc	gloss
neutral	ইগুন	<i>igun</i>	ইগুনতর	<i>iguntɔr</i>	ইগুনরে	<i>igunre</i>	this
near	ওগুন	<i>ogun</i>	ওগুনতর	<i>oguntɔr</i>	ওগুনরে	<i>ogunre</i>	that
far	হগুন	<i>hɔgun</i>	হগুনতর	<i>hɔguntɔr</i>	হগুনরে	<i>hɔgunre</i>	that
neutral	ইটাইন	<i>iɫain</i>	ইটাইনতর	<i>iɫaintɔr</i>	ইটাইনরে	<i>iɫainre</i>	this
near	ওটাইন	<i>oɫain</i>	ওটাইনতর	<i>oɫaintɔr</i>	ওটাইনরে	<i>oɫainre</i>	that
far	হটাইন	<i>hɔɫain</i>	হটাইনতর	<i>hɔɫaintɔr</i>	হটাইনরে	<i>hɔɫainre</i>	that
near	ইক্তাইন	<i>ikɫain</i>	ইক্তাইনতর	<i>ikɫaintɔr</i>	ইক্তাইনরে	<i>ikɫainre</i>	this

neutral,nom: ইগুন/ ইতাইন/ ইক্তাইন লাগা বারির জিনিস ।
igun / iɫain / ikɫain laga barir dʒinif
 These things are from the next door

near,nom:	ওগুন/ ওটাইন তারার বারিত দিয়া আও । ogun/oṭain ṭarar baṛit̃ d̃ija aao Give this to them
far,nom:	হগুন/ হটাইন সেস অইগেসে. hɔgun / hɔṭain sef oigese Those are finished
neutral,gen:	ইগুন্তর/ইতাইন্তর/ ইক্তাইন্তর কিতা অইত? iktaint̃ɔr kiṭa oit̃ɔ? What will happen to these ?
near,gen:	ওগুন্তর/ ওটাইন্তর মালিক কই? ogunt̃ɔr /oṭaint̃ɔr malik kɔi Where is the owner of these things ?
far,gen:	হগুন্তর/ হটাইন্তর রঙ বালা নায়. igunt̃ɔr/iṭaint̃ɔr rɔŋ bala naj The colour of those are good
neutral,obj:	ইগুনরে সরাই দেও. igunre sɔrai d̃eo Remove these
near,obj:	আমি ওটাইনরে আগে আটাইয়া রাকি. ami oṭaint̃ɔre age aṭaija raki

Let me clean the mess first

far,obj: হগুনরে র একজনে লইয়া গেসইন ।
hɔɡunre r ekɔʒone loija gefɔin
Another man took those.

The use of the demonstrative pronoun starting with *ik, ok, hok* are used in rural areas. Also the classifier *gu* is used in rural areas.

6.4. Conclusion

During the course of this study we did a detailed study of Bangla pronouns and based on this we have studied the Sylheti pronouns. In this chapter we ,along with Sylheti pronouns, have also studied the Bangla pronouns in order to point out the differences and similarities that exist between Bangla and Sylheti. We have pointed out that in Bangla, third person intimate does not have any gender while in Sylheti third person intimate in marked by gender which is a vital difference according to us between Bangla and Sylheti.

VIII

VERBS

7.1. Introduction

Verb from the Latin *Verbum* meaning *word*, conveys an action, an occurrence. Verbs in Bangla and Sylheti are highly inflected and are analyzed into a stem and suffixes. In both Bangla and Sylheti the verb words are inflected to encode tense, mood and person, so the verb stem gives the meaning while the verb ending is for denoting the person, tense or mode of action (Thompson,2010). In the following section the verb classes are classified according to their structure in Bangla and Sylheti.

7.2. Verb classes

According to the conjugation pattern, *Hanne – Ruth Thompson* in her book “*The comprehensive Grammar of Bengali*” has classified Bangla verbs into six groups. Following the classes given by her we have classified the Sylheti verbs in five classes because Sylheti doesnot have the extended *o-* conjugation which is native to the speech of West Bengal.

Table 7.2.1: Bangla verb class

	Bangla word	transcription	gloss
Class 1 CVC/VC	লেখ	<i>lek^h</i>	write
Class 2 CaC/aC	থাক	<i>t^hak</i>	stay
Class 3 CV	দে	<i>de</i>	give
Class 4 Ca	গা	<i>ga</i>	sing
Class 5 CaCa/CVCa	চালা	<i>ʃala</i>	drive
Class 6 extended conjugation	o বেরো	<i>bero</i>	go out

Table 7.2.2: Sylheti verb class

	Sylhet verb	transcription	gloss
Class 1 CVC /VC	দেখ	<i>deɣ</i>	see
Class 2 CaC	রাখ	<i>rax</i>	keep
Class 3 CV	নে	<i>ne</i>	take
Class 4 Ca	জা	<i>dʒa</i>	eat
Class 5 CaCa / CVCa	ঘুমা	<i>guma</i>	sleep

7.3. Vowel mutation

The conjugation of verbs in Bangla and Sylheti is very regular but almost all verbs in Bangla have the feature of vowel mutation while in Sylheti vowel mutation is not present. The vowel in Bangla verb is altered according to the number and animacy of the person (Thompson,2010). Jean Clement in his book 'Parlons Bengali' said that:

'Before addressing the verb it is necessary to talk about a more

general phenomenon that particularly effects it, i.e, vowel alternance. This term is used for certain changes of the root vowels in the conjugation or in the declension of noun and pronouns. These changes are caused by the phonetic influence of the endings on the root. Basically they involve the change of an open root vowel into the corresponding closed vowel according to the pattern shown below

Vowel :

	front	middle	back
closed	i		u
mid closed	e		o
mid open		æ	ɔ
open		a	

Vowel /æ/ closes into /e/, /e/ closes into /i/ and so on. Only /a/ except in a few instances remains /a/. In this manner each verb has two forms of its root, an open and a closed one.

Examples of vowel mutation are shown below

Bangla Vowel mutation

		i - e	আমি লিখি <i>ami lik^{hi}</i>	তুমি লেখ <i>tumi lek^{ho}</i>
i	u		'I write'	'you write'
e	o	e - æ	আমি দেখি <i>ami dekⁱ</i>	তুমি দেখ <i>tumi dek^{ho}</i>
æ	ɔ		'I see'	'you see'
	a	u - o	আমি শুনি <i>ami funi</i>	তুমি শোন <i>tumi fonɔ</i>
			'I listen'	'you listen'
		o - ɔ	আমি করি <i>ami kori</i>	তুমি কর <i>tumi korɔ</i>
			'I do'	'you do'

Even though in the literature on Bangla this has not been pointed out, the vowel mutation or vowel alternance strongly remains umlaut phenomenon in romance and Germanic

Unlike Bangla, vowels in Sylheti verbs do not changes. The initial vowel does not get changed in Sylheti but the second vowel or the ending vowel of the verb changes according to person in pronoun and tenses which is also common in Bangla. The example of Sylheti verb for simple present and 1st and 2nd person are shown below:

Vowels in Sylheti

		আমি হিকি <i>ami hiki</i>	তুমি হিক <i>tumi hiko</i>
i	u	'I learn'	'you learn'
ε	o	আমি লেখি <i>ami lɛki</i>	তুমি লেখ <i>tumi lɛxɔ</i>
	a	'I write'	'you write'
		আমি বুঝি <i>ami budʒi</i>	তুমি বুঝ <i>tumi budʒɔ</i>
		'I understand'	'you understand'
		আমি খরি <i>ami xɔri</i>	তুমি কর <i>tumi xɔrɔ</i>

'I do'

'you do'

From the two charts it is seen that in Bangla the vowel mutation occurs between high and low stems. While in Sylheti this feature is absent. The use and occurrence of vowel mutation can be described according to the consonant and vowel root structure of verb. (Thompson, 2010)

7.3.1. Bangla Vowel mutation rules

Class 1 *CVC* The verb in Bangla under class 1 has vowel mutation in the stem between high and low, while in Sylheti vowel in the verb stem does not change.

Class 2 *Cac, aC* For verbs with *a* in the stem, vowel mutation does not occur, but in present, past perfect and perfective participle the vowel *a* in the stem changes to *e*.

Class 3 *CV* Verbs in this group also have vowel mutation from high to low like class 1 but differ in future tense for 2nd person intimate where the verb takes the low stem. Like other classes vowel mutation in Sylheti is absent in this class.

Class 4 *Ca* Verbs in class 4 change their stem from *a* to *e* or *ai* in simple past, past habitual, imperfective participle and conditional participle.

Class-5 (extended verbs) Verbs with the vowels *a*, *u* and *ou* in the stem do not have vowel mutation. The other extended verbs with other vowels take the high stem vowel for present and past perfect in all person.

Class 6 Verbs in this group take an alternative second vowel *o* instead of *a* example: *gumono* from *gomano* this verb can also take *o-kar* (Chapter 3) in the second syllable. This conjugation pattern is observe only in the standard Bangla of West Bengal.

7.4. Verb conjugation overview

In Bangla and Sylheti verbs conjugate for person, tense and mood. Bangla and Sylheti have six persons:

Table 7.4.1: Bangla pronoun

1 st person	আমি	<i>ami</i>	I
2 nd person (int)	তুই	<i>tui</i>	you
2 nd person (pol)	তুমি	<i>tumi</i>	you
2 nd person (hon)	আপনি	<i>apni</i>	you
3 rd person (ord)	সে	<i>se</i>	he/she
3 rd person (pol)	তিনি	<i>tini</i>	he/she

Table 7.4.2. Sylheti pronoun

1 st person	আমি	<i>ami</i>	I
2 nd person (int)	তুই	<i>tui</i>	you
2 nd person (pol)	তুমি	<i>tumi</i>	you
2 nd person (hon)	আফনে	<i>aφne</i>	you
3 rd person (ord)	হে/তাই	<i>he/tai</i>	he/she
3 rd person (pol)	তাইন	<i>tain</i>	he/she

In both Bangla and in Sylheti verb conjugation is similar for singular and plural

numbers.

ami has the same conjugation as *amra*

tumi/ tui has the same conjugation as *tumra/ tora*.

Though Sylheti unlike Bangla distinguishes gender in pronoun, Sylheti verb endings do not distinguish gender, which is similar as in Bangla.

7.5. Verb conjugation charts

The conjugation charts are arranged according to the classes given in section 7.3.1.

Class 1- CVC

a) Vowel mutation *u-o (o-kar)* in Bangla is used in বুজা *budʒʰa* - বোঝা *bodʒʰa* 'understand', same pattern with সোনা *fona* 'listen', বোনা *bona* 'knit', তোলা *tola* 'lift', ভোলা *bʰola* 'forget'.

Table 7.5.1. Conjugation table for the word *fona* 'listen'

tenses	আমি I	তুই you (infor)	তুমি you (ord)	সে he/she (ord)	তিনি he/she (hon)	আপনি you (hon)
Simple present	শুনি <i>funi</i>	শুনিস <i>funis</i>	শোন <i>fono</i>	শোনে <i>fone</i>	শোনেন <i>fonen</i>	শোনেন <i>fonen</i>
Pres.continuous	শুনিছ <i>funɪʰi</i>	শুনিছিস <i>funɪʰis</i>	শুনিছো <i>funɪfo</i>	শুনিছে <i>funɪfe</i>	শুনিছেন <i>funɪfen</i>	শুনিছেন <i>funɪfen</i>
Present perfect	শুনেছি <i>funetʰi</i>	শুনেছিস <i>funetʰis</i>	শুনেছ <i>funetʰ</i>	শুনেছে <i>funetʰe</i>	শুনেছেন <i>funetʰen</i>	শুনেছেন <i>funetʰen</i>
Future tense	শুনব <i>funbo</i>	শুনবি <i>funbi</i>	শুনবে <i>funbe</i>	শুনবে <i>funbe</i>	শুনবেন <i>funben</i>	শুনবেন <i>funben</i>
Simple past	শুনলাম	শুনলি	শুনলে	শুনল	শুনলেন	শুনলেন

	<i>funlam</i>	<i>funli</i>	<i>funle</i>	<i>funlo</i>	<i>funlen</i>	<i>funlen</i>
Past continuous	শুনছিলাম <i>funthilam</i>	শুনছিলি <i>funthili</i>	শুনছিলে <i>funthile</i>	শুনছিল <i>funthilo</i>	শুনছিলেন <i>funthilen</i>	শুনছিলেন <i>funthilen</i>
Past perfect	শুনেছিলাম <i>funethilam</i>	শুনেছিলি <i>funethili</i>	শুনেছিলে <i>funethile</i>	শুনেছিল <i>funethilo</i>	শুনেছিলেন <i>funethilen</i>	শুনেছিলেন <i>funethilen</i>
Past habitual	শুনতাম <i>funtham</i>	শুনতিস <i>funthiis</i>	শুনতে <i>funthe</i>	শুনত <i>funtho</i>	শুনতেন <i>funthen</i>	শুনতেন <i>funthen</i>
imperative(pr)	-	শুন <i>fun</i>	শোন <i>fon</i>	শুনুক <i>funuk</i>	শুনেন <i>funen</i>	শুনেন <i>funen</i>
Imperative (fut)	-	শুনিস <i>funis</i>	শুনে <i>funne</i>	-	শুনবেন <i>funben</i>	শুনবেন <i>funben</i>
Verbal noun - শোনা <i>sona</i>	Imperative participle - শুনতে <i>funthe</i>	Perfective participle - শুনে <i>funne</i>	Condi- tional participle - শুনলে <i>funle</i>			

b) Sylheti: Verbs with the vowel *u*: শনা *funa* 'listen', বুঝা *budza* 'understand'

Table 7.5.2: Sylheti conjugation chart for the verb শনা *funa* 'listen'

tenses	আমি I	তুই you int	তুমি you pol	হে/তাই he/she ord	তাইন him/her hon	আফনে you hon
Simple present	শনি <i>funi</i>	শনস <i>funos</i>	শন <i>funo</i>	শনে <i>funne</i>	শনইন <i>funoin</i>	শনইন <i>funoin</i>
Pres.continuous	শনিয়ার <i>funijar</i>	শনরে <i>funre</i>	শনরায় <i>funraj</i>	শনের <i>funer</i>	শনরা <i>funra</i>	শনরা <i>funra</i>

Present perfect	শুনিছি <i>funʈʰi</i>	শুনিচস <i>funʈʰos</i>	শুনিছ <i>funʈʰo</i>	শুনিছে <i>funʈʰe</i>	শুনিছইন <i>funʈʰoin</i>	শুনিছইন <i>funʈʰoin</i>
Future tense	শুনিমু <i>funmu</i>	শুনিবে <i>funbe</i>	শুনিবায় <i>funbaj</i>	শুনিব <i>funbo</i>	শুনিবা <i>funba</i>	শুনিবা <i>funba</i>
Simple past	শুনিলাম <i>funlam</i>	শুনিলে <i>funle</i>	শুনিলায় <i>funlay</i>	শুনিল <i>funlo</i>	শুনিলা <i>funla</i>	শুনিলা <i>funla</i>
Past continuous	শুনিাত আসলাম <i>funat aslam</i>	শুনিাতআসলে <i>funat asle</i>	শুনিাতআস লায় <i>funat aslaj</i>	শুনিাতআসল <i>funat aslɔ</i>	শুনিাতআসলা <i>funat asla</i>	শুনিাতআসলা <i>funat asla.</i>
Past perfect	শুনিছলাম <i>funslam</i>	শুনিছলে <i>funсле</i>	শুনিছিলায় <i>funsilaj</i>	শুনিছল <i>funslɔ</i>	শুনিছলা <i>funsla</i>	শুনিছলা <i>funsla</i>
Past habitual	শুনিতাম <i>funʈʰam</i>	শুনিতে <i>funʈʰe</i>	শুনিতায় <i>funʈʰaj</i>	শুনিত <i>funʈʰo</i>	শুনিতা <i>funʈʰa</i>	শুনিতা <i>funʈʰa</i>
Imperative (pr)	-	শুনি <i>fun</i>	শুনি <i>funo</i>	শুনিউক <i>funouk</i>	শুনিইন <i>funoin</i>	শুনিইন <i>funoin</i>
Imperative (fut)	-	শুনিস <i>funis</i>	শুনিয়ো <i>funijo</i>	-	শুনিবা <i>funba</i>	শুনিবা <i>funba</i>
Verbal noun- শুনি <i>fun</i>	Imperative participle - শুনিতে <i>funʈʰe</i>	Perfective participle শুনিয়া <i>funija</i>	Conditional participle -শুনিলে <i>funle</i>			

Verbal noun - *fun* but in Sylheti most instances of *f* becomes *h*. So all the conjugated form of the verb *fun* in Sylheti can be pronounced with *h* phoneme. But now a days many Sylheti speakers do not usually use *h* in place of *f*. It is used by the older generations or people living in the villages.

c) Bangla

Vowel mutation o – ɔ : চলা *fɔla* 'go', করা *kɔra* 'do', the mutations of these vowels affect only the pronunciation while the spelling remains unaffected.

Table 7.5.3. Bangla conjugation table for the word পড়া *pɔra* 'study'

Tenses	আমি I	তুমি you int	তুমি you pol	সে he/she ord	তিনি he/she hon	আপনি you hon
Simple present	পড়ি <i>pɔri</i>	পড়িস <i>pɔris</i>	পড় <i>pɔɔ</i>	পড়ে <i>pɔre</i>	পড়েন <i>pɔren</i>	পড়েন <i>pɔren</i>
pres.continuous	পড়ছি <i>pɔɽʃhi</i>	পড়ছিস <i>pɔɽʃhis</i>	পড়ছ <i>pɔɽʃʰɔ</i>	পড়ছে <i>pɔɽʃʰe</i>	পড়ছেন <i>pɔɽʃʰen</i>	পড়ছেন <i>pɔɽʃʰen</i>
present perfect	পড়েছি <i>pɔɽeʃhi</i>	পড়েছিস <i>pɔɽeʃhis</i>	পড়েছ <i>pɔɽeʃʰɔ</i>	পড়েছে <i>pɔɽeʃʰe</i>	পড়েছেন <i>pɔɽeʃʰen</i>	পড়েছেন <i>pɔɽeʃʰen</i>
future tense	পড়ব <i>pɔɽbɔ</i>	পড়বি <i>pɔɽbi</i>	পড়বে <i>pɔɽbe</i>	পড়বে <i>pɔɽbe</i>	পড়বেন <i>pɔɽben</i>	পড়বেন <i>pɔɽben</i>
simple tense	পড়লাম <i>pɔɽlam</i>	পড়লি <i>pɔɽli</i>	পড়লে <i>pɔɽle</i>	পড়ল <i>pɔɽlɔ</i>	পড়লেন <i>pɔɽlen</i>	পড়লেন <i>pɔɽlen</i>
past continuous	পড়ছিলাম <i>pɔɽʃʰilam</i>	পড়ছিলি <i>pɔɽʃʰili</i>	পড়ছিলে <i>pɔɽʃʰile</i>	পড়ছিল <i>pɔɽʃʰile</i>	পড়ছিলেন <i>pɔɽʃʰilen</i>	পড়ছিলেন <i>pɔɽʃʰilen</i>
past perfect	পড়েছিলাম <i>pɔɽeʃʰilam</i>	পড়েছিলি <i>pɔɽeʃʰili</i>	পড়েছিলে <i>pɔɽeʃʰile</i>	পড়েছিল <i>pɔɽeʃʰilo</i>	পড়েছিলেন <i>pɔɽeʃʰilen</i>	পড়েছিলেন <i>pɔɽeʃʰilen</i>
past habitual	পড়তাম <i>pɔɽtɔm</i>	পড়তিস <i>pɔɽtis</i>	পড়তে <i>pɔɽte</i>	পড়ত <i>pɔɽto</i>	পড়তেন <i>pɔɽten</i>	পড়তেন <i>pɔɽten</i>
imperative (pr)	-	পড় <i>pɔɽ</i>	পড়ো <i>pɔɽo</i>	পড়ুক <i>pɔɽuk</i>	-	পড়ুন <i>pɔɽun</i>
imperative (fut)	-	পড়িস <i>pɔɽis</i>	পড়িরো <i>pɔɽijo</i>	-	পড়বেন <i>pɔɽben</i>	পড়বেন <i>pɔɽben</i>
Verbal noun-	Imperfective	Perfective participle-	Conditional			

পড়া <i>paɾa</i>	participle - পরতে <i>paɾte</i>	পড়ে <i>paɾe</i>	participle- পড়লে <i>paɾle</i>			
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d) The conjugation chart of the verb having the vowel *ɔ*. ফরা *ɸɔra* 'study', same pattern in the verbs like করা *kɔra* 'do', চলা *tʃɔla* 'move' or 'drive', ধরা *dʰɔra* 'hold'.

Table 7.5.3: Sylheti conjugation chart for : ফরা *ɸɔra* 'study',

tenses	আমি I	তুই You <i>infor</i>	তুমি You <i>pol</i>	হে/তাই he/she <i>ord</i>	তাইন Him/her <i>hon</i>	আফনে You <i>hon</i>
Simple present	ফরি <i>ɸɔri</i>	ফরস <i>ɸɔɾɔs</i>	ফর <i>ɸɔr</i>	ফরে <i>ɸɔre</i>	ফরইন <i>ɸɔroin</i>	ফরইন <i>ɸoroin</i>
Pres.conti nuous	ফরিয়র <i>ɸorijar</i>	ফররে <i>ɸorre</i>	ফররায় <i>ɸorraɟ</i>	ফরের <i>ɸorre</i>	ফররা <i>ɸorra</i>	ফররা <i>ɸorra</i>
Present perfect	ফরসি <i>ɸorsi</i>	ফরসস <i>ɸorsos</i>	ফরস <i>ɸoros</i>	ফরসে <i>ɸorse</i>	ফরসইন <i>ɸorsoin</i>	ফরসইন <i>ɸorsoin</i>
Future tense	ফরনু <i>ɸormu</i>	ফরবে <i>ɸorbe</i>	ফরবায় <i>ɸorbaj</i>	ফরব <i>ɸorbo</i>	ফরবা <i>ɸorba</i>	ফরবা <i>ɸorba</i>
Simple past	ফরলাম <i>ɸorlam</i>	ফরলে <i>ɸorle</i>	ফরলায় <i>ɸorlaj</i>	ফরল <i>ɸorlo</i>	ফরলা <i>ɸorla</i>	ফরলা <i>ɸorla</i>
Past continuou s	ফরাত আসলাম <i>ɸoraɳ aslam</i>	ফরাতআসলে <i>ɸoraɳasle</i>	ফরাত আসলায় <i>ɸoraɳaslaj</i>	ফরাত আসলা <i>ɸoraɳaslo</i>	ফরাত আসলা <i>ɸoraɳasla</i>	ফরাত আসলা <i>ɸoraɳasla</i>
Past perfect	ফরসলাম <i>ɸorslam</i>	ফরসে <i>ɸorsle</i>	ফরসলায় <i>ɸorslaj</i>	ফরসল <i>ɸorslo</i>	ফরসলা <i>ɸorsla</i>	ফরসলা <i>ɸorsla</i>
Past habitual	ফরতাম <i>ɸortaɳam</i>	ফরতে <i>ɸortɛ</i>	ফরতায় <i>ɸortaj</i>	ফরত <i>ɸorto</i>	ফরতা <i>ɸorta</i>	ফরতা <i>ɸorta</i>
Imperativ e (pr)	-	ফর্ <i>ɸor</i>	ফরো <i>ɸoro</i>	ফরউক <i>ɸoruk</i>	ফরইন <i>ɸoroin</i>	ফরইন <i>ɸoroin</i>
Imperativ e (fut)	-	ফরিস <i>ɸorsi</i>	ফরিয় <i>ɸorijo</i>	-	ফরবা <i>ɸorba</i>	ফরবা <i>ɸorba</i>
Verbal	Imperfect	Perfective	Condition			

noun - ফরা ϕora	-ive participle ফরতে- $\phi or\tau e$	participle- ফরে - ϕore	al participle- ফরলে - $\phi orle$			
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e) Bangla – Vowel mutation *i-e* – লেখা $lek^h a$ write (same pattern as : কিনা *kina* buy, সিনা *sina* know)

Table 7.5.4: Conjugation Chart for-লেখা $lek^h a$ 'write'

tenses	আমি <i>I</i>	তুই <i>you</i> <i>int</i>	তুমি <i>you</i> <i>pol</i>	সে <i>he/she</i> <i>ord</i>	তিনি <i>him/her</i> <i>hon</i>	আপনি <i>you</i> <i>hon</i>
Simple present	লিখি $lik^h i$	লিখিস $lik^h is$	লেখ lek^h	লেখে $lek^h e$	লেখেন $lek^h en$	লেখেন $lek^h e$ <i>n</i>
Pres.continuous	লিখছি $lik^h \tau i$	লেখছিস $lik^h \tau is$	লেখচ $lik^h \tau h$	লেখচে $lik^h \tau e$	লেখছেন $lik^h \tau en$	লেখছেন $lik^h \tau en$
Present perfect	লিখেছি $lik^h e\tau i$	লিখেছিস $lik^h e\tau is$	লিখেচ $lik^h e\tau h$	লিখেছে $lik^h e\tau e$	লিখেছেন $lik^h e\tau en$	লিখেছেন $lik^h e\tau en$
Future tense	লিখব $lik^h bo$	লিখবি $lik^h bi$	লিখবে $lik^h bi$	লিখবে $lik^h be$	লিখবেন $lik^h ben$	লিখবেন $lik^h ben$
Simple past	লিখলাম $lik^h lam$	লিখলি $lik^h li$	লিখলে $lik^h li$	লিখল $lik^h lo$	লিখলেন $lik^h len$	লিখলেন $lik^h len$
Past continuous	লিখেছিলাম $lik^h e\tau i lam$	লিখেছিলি $lik^h e\tau i li$	লিখেছিলে $lik^h e\tau i le$	লিখেছিল $lik^h e\tau i lo$	লিখেছিলেন $lik^h e\tau i len$	লিখেছিলেন $lik^h e\tau i len$
Past perfect	লিখছিলাম $lik^h \tau i lam$	লিখছিলি $lik^h \tau i li$	লিখছিলে $lik^h \tau i le$	লিখছিল $lik^h \tau i lo$	লিখছিলেন $lik^h \tau i len$	লিখছিলেন $lik^h \tau i len$
Past habitual	লিখতাম $lik^h tam$	লিখতিস $lik^h tis$	লিখতে $lik^h te$	লিখত $lik^h t$	লিখতেন $lik^h ten$	লিখতেন $lik^h ten$

Imperative (pr)	-	লেখ <i>lek^h</i>	লিখো <i>lik^ho</i>	লিখুক <i>lik^huk</i>	লিখুন <i>lik^hun</i>	লিখবেন <i>lik^hben</i>
Imperative (fut)	-	লিখিস <i>lik^his</i>	লিখো <i>lik^ho</i>	-	লিখবেন <i>lik^hben</i>	লিখবেন <i>lik^hben</i>
Verbal noun - লেখা <i>lek^ha</i>	Imperative participle - লিখতে <i>lik^hte</i>	Perfective participle - লিখে <i>lik^he</i>	Conditional participle - লিখলে <i>lik^hle</i>			

f) Sylheti – Verb with the vowel *i* - হিৰি *hixi* learn, (same pattern with: সিনা *sina* know, কিনা *kina* buy)

Table 7.5.5. Conjugation chart for হিৰি - *hixa* 'learn'

tenses	আমি I	তুই you int	তুমি you ord	হে/তাই he/she ord	তাইন him/her hon	আফনে you hon
Simple present	হিৰি <i>hixi</i>	হিৰস <i>hixos</i>	হিৰ <i>hixo</i>	হিৰে <i>hixe</i>	হিৰাইন <i>hixoin</i>	হিৰাইন <i>hixoin</i>
Pres. continuous	হিৰাম <i>hixram</i>	হিৰে <i>hixre</i>	হিৰায় <i>hixraj</i>	হিৰে <i>hixre</i>	হিৰা <i>hixra</i>	হিৰা <i>hixra</i>
Present perfect	হিৰিচি <i>hixsi</i>	হিৰসস <i>hixsos</i>	হিৰস <i>hixso</i>	হিৰসে <i>hixse</i>	হিৰসইন <i>hixsoin</i>	হিৰসইন <i>hixsoin</i>
Future tense	হিৰমু <i>hixmu</i>	হিৰবে <i>hixbe</i>	হিৰবায় <i>hixbaj</i>	হিৰব <i>hixbo</i>	হিৰবা <i>hixba</i>	হিৰবা <i>hixba</i>
Simple past	হিৰলাম <i>hixlam</i>	হিৰসে <i>hixle</i>	হিৰাসলায় <i>hixslaj</i>	হিৰসে <i>hixslo</i>	হিৰিসলা <i>hixsla</i>	হিৰিসলা <i>hixsla</i>
Past continuous	হিৰাতআসলাম <i>hixatāslam</i>	হিৰাতআসলে <i>hixatāslle</i>	হিৰাতআসলা <i>hixatāsla</i>	হিৰাত আসল <i>hixatāslo</i>	হিৰাত আসলা <i>hixatāsla</i>	হিৰাত আসলা <i>hixatāsla</i>

Past perfect	হিখসলাম <i>hixslam</i>	হিখসেল <i>hixsle</i>	হিখসলায় <i>hixslaj</i>	হিখসল <i>hixslo</i>	হিখসলা <i>hixsla</i>	হিখসলা <i>hixsla</i>
Past habitual	হিখতাম <i>hixtam</i>	হিখতে <i>hixta</i>	হিখতায় <i>hixtaj</i>	হিখত <i>hixto</i>	হিখতা <i>hixta</i>	হিখতা <i>hixta</i>
Imperative (pr)	-	হিখ <i>hix</i>	হিখো <i>hixo</i>	হিখুক <i>hixuk</i>	হিখইন <i>hixoin</i>	হিখইন <i>hixoin</i>
Imperative (fut)	-	হিখিস <i>hixis</i>	হিখিও <i>hixio</i>	-	হিখবা <i>hixba</i>	
Verbal noun- হিখা - <i>hixa</i>	Imperative participle - হিখতে <i>hixte</i>	Perfective participle- হিখিয়া- <i>hixija</i>	Condition al participle - হিখলে- <i>hixle</i>			

h) Bengali vowel mutation $e - \text{æ} - \text{cvcv}$ দেখা $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{a}$ 'see'

Table 7.5.6. Conjugation chart for দেখা $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{xo}$ 'see'

tenses	আমি I	তুই you int	তুমি you ord	সে he/she ord	তিনি him/her hon	আপনি you hon
Simple present	দেখি $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{i}$	দেখিস $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{is}$	দেখ dæ^{h}	দেখে $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{e}$	দেখলেন $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{len}$	দেখলেন $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{len}$
Pres. continuous	দেখছি $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{fi}$	দেখছিস $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{fis}$	দেখেছ $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{f}$	দেখেছে $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{ef}$	দেখছেন $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{fen}$	দেখছেন $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{fen}$
Present perfect	দেখেছি $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{efi}$	দেখেছিস $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{efis}$	দেখেছ $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{ef}$	দেখেছে $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{ef}$	দেখেছেন $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{efen}$	দেখেছেন $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{efen}$
Future tense	দেখব $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{b}$	দেখবি $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{bi}$	দেখবে $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{be}$	দেখবে $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{be}$	দেখবেন $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{ben}$	দেখবেন $\text{dek}^{\text{h}}\text{ben}$
Simple past	দেখলাম	দেখলি	দেখলে	দেখল	দেখলেন	দেখলেন

	<i>ḍekʰlam</i>	<i>ḍekʰli</i>	<i>ḍekʰle</i>	<i>ḍekʰl</i>	<i>ḍekʰlen</i>	<i>ḍekʰlen</i>
Past continuous	দেখছিলাম <i>ḍekʰʃʰilam</i>	দেখছিলি <i>ḍekʰʃʰili</i>	দেখছিলে <i>ḍekʰʃʰile</i>	দেখছিল <i>ḍekʰʃʰil</i>	দেখছিলেন <i>ḍekʰʃʰilen</i>	দেখছিলেন <i>ḍekʰʃʰilen</i>
Past perfect	দেখেছিলাম <i>ḍekʰeʃʰilam</i>	দেখেছিলি <i>ḍekʰeʃʰili</i>	দেখেছিলে <i>ḍekʰeʃʰile</i>	দেখেছিল <i>ḍekʰeʃʰil</i>	দেখেছিলেন <i>ḍekʰeʃʰilen</i>	দেখেছিলেন <i>ḍekʰeʃʰilen</i>
Past habitual	দেখতাম <i>ḍekʰtam</i>	দেখতিস <i>ḍekʰtis</i>	দেখতে <i>ḍekʰte</i>	দেখত <i>ḍekʰt</i>	দেখতেন <i>ḍekʰten</i>	দেখতেন <i>ḍekʰten</i>
Imperative (pr)	-	দেখ্ <i>ḍekʰ</i>	দেখা <i>ḍekʰo</i>	দেখুক <i>ḍekʰuk</i>	দেখন <i>ḍekʰen</i>	দেখন <i>ḍekʰen</i>
Imperative (fut)	-	দেখিস <i>ḍekʰis</i>	দেখা <i>ḍekʰo</i>	-	দেখবেন <i>ḍekʰben</i>	দেখবেন <i>ḍekʰben</i>
Verbal noun- দেখা <i>ḍekʰo</i>	Imperative participle- দেখতে <i>ḍekʰte</i>	Perfective participle- দেখে <i>ḍekʰe</i>	Condition al participle - দেখলে <i>ḍekʰle</i>			

i) Sylheti – Verb with vowel *e* - CVCV - বেসা *besa* sell (same patten as লেখা *lekʰa* write, দেখা *ḍekʰa* see)

Table 7.5.7 Conjugation chart for বেসা *besa* 'sell'

Tenses	আমি I	তুই you <i>int</i>	তুমি you <i>pol</i>	হে/ তাই he/she <i>ord</i>	তাইন him/h er <i>hon</i>	আফনে you <i>hon</i>
Simple present	বেসি <i>besi</i>	বেসস <i>besos</i>	বেস <i>beso</i>	বেসে <i>bese</i>	বেসইন <i>besoin</i>	বেসইন <i>besoin</i>
Pres. continuous	বেসিয়ার <i>besijar</i>	বেসরে <i>besre</i>	বেসরায় <i>besraj</i>	বেসের <i>besar</i>	বেসরা <i>besra</i>	বেসরা <i>besra</i>
Present	বেচ্চি	বেচ্চস	বেচ্চ	বেচ্চে	বেচ্চইন	বেচ্চইন

perfect	<i>bestfi</i>	<i>bestfos</i>	<i>bestfo</i>	<i>bestfe</i>	<i>bestfoin</i>	<i>bestfoin</i>
Future tense	বেস্মু <i>besmu</i>	বেসবে <i>besbe</i>	বেসবায় <i>besraj</i>	বেসব <i>besb</i>	বেসবা <i>besba</i>	বেসবা <i>besba</i>
Simple past	বেসলাম <i>beslam</i>	বেসেলে <i>besle</i>	বেসলায় <i>beslaj</i>	বেসলে <i>beslo</i>	বেসলা <i>besla</i>	বেসলা <i>besla</i>
Past continuous	বেসাত-- আসলাম <i>besat</i> <i>aslam</i>	বেসাত আসলে <i>besat asle</i>	বেসাত আসলায় <i>besat</i> <i>aslaj</i>	বেসাত আসলে <i>besat aslo</i>	বেসাত আসলা <i>besat asla</i>	বেসাত আসলা <i>besat asla</i>
Past perfect	বেচ্ছিলাম <i>bestfilam</i>	বেচ্ছিলায় <i>bestfilaj</i>	বেচ্ছিলে <i>bestfile</i>	বেচ্ছিল <i>bestfilo</i>	বেচ্ছিল <i>bestfila</i>	বেচ্ছিল <i>bestfila</i>
Past habitual	বেসতাম <i>bestam</i>	বেসেত <i>besta</i>	বেসতায় <i>bestaj</i>	বেসেত <i>besta</i>	বেসেত <i>besta</i>	বেসেত <i>besta</i>
Imperative (pr)	-	বেস <i>bes</i>	বেসো <i>beso</i>	বেসুক <i>besuk</i>	বেসবা <i>besba</i>	বেসবা <i>besba</i>
Imperative (fut)		বেসিস <i>besis</i>	বেস <i>bes</i>	-	বেসইন, বেসবা <i>besoin,</i> <i>besba</i>	বেসইন, বেসবা <i>besoin,</i> <i>besba</i>
Verbal noun- বেসা <i>besa</i>	Impertive participle - বেসত <i>besto</i>	Perfective participle- বেসিয়া <i>besija</i>	Conditio nal participl e - বেসেলে <i>besle</i>			

j) Bengali - VC – ওটা *ota* rise (same pattern for *ora* fly)

Table 7.5.8 Cojugation chart for ওটা 'rise'

Tenses	আমি I	তুই you infor	তুমি you pol	সে he/she ord	তিনি him/her ord	আপনি you hom
Simple present	উঠি <i>ut^{hi}</i>	উঠিস <i>ut^{his}</i>	ওঠো <i>ot^{ho}</i>	ওঠে <i>ot^{he}</i>	ওঠেন <i>ot^{hen}</i>	ওঠেন <i>ot^{hen}</i>
Pres.conti nuous	উঠছি <i>ut^{hy^{hi}}</i>	উঠছিস <i>ut^{hy^{his}}</i>	উঠছ <i>ut^{hy^h}</i>	উঠছে <i>ut^{hy^{he}}</i>	উঠছেন <i>ut^{hy^{hen}}</i>	উঠছেন <i>ut^{hy^{hen}}</i>
Present perfect	উঠেছি <i>ut^{het^{hi}}</i>	উঠেছিস <i>ut^{het^{his}}</i>	উঠেছ <i>ut^{het^h}</i>	উঠেছে <i>ut^{het^{he}}</i>	উঠেছেন <i>ut^{het^{hen}}</i>	উঠেছেন <i>ut^{het^{hen}}</i>
Future tense	উঠব <i>ut^{hb}</i>	উঠবি <i>ut^{hbi}</i>	উঠবে <i>ut^{hbe}</i>	উঠবে <i>ut^{hbe}</i>	উঠবেন <i>ut^{hben}</i>	উঠবে <i>ut^{hbe}</i>
Simple past	উঠলাম <i>ut^{hlam}</i>	উঠলি <i>ut^{hli}</i>	উঠলে <i>ut^{hli}</i>	উঠল <i>ut^{hlo}</i>	উঠলেন <i>ut^{hlen}</i>	উঠলে <i>ut^{hle}</i>
Past continuou s	উঠছিলাম <i>ut^{hy^{hilam}}</i>	উঠছিলি <i>ut^{hy^{hili}}</i>	উঠছিলে <i>ut^{hy^{hile}}</i>	উঠছিল <i>ut^{hy^{hil}}</i>	উঠছিলেন <i>ut^{hy^{hilen}}</i>	উঠছিলেন <i>ut^{hy^{hilen}}</i>
Past perfect	উঠেছিলাম <i>ut^{het^{hilam}}</i>	উঠেছিলি <i>ut^{het^{hili}}</i>	উঠেছিলে <i>ut^{het^{hile}}</i>	উঠেছিল <i>ut^{het^{hil}}</i>	উঠেছিলেন <i>ut^{het^{hilen}}</i>	উঠেছিলেন <i>ut^{het^{hilen}}</i>
Past habitual	উঠতাম <i>ut^{htam}</i>	উঠতিস <i>ut^{htis}</i>	উঠতে <i>ut^{hte}</i>	উঠত <i>ut^{ht}</i>	উঠতেন <i>ut^{hten}</i>	উঠতেন <i>ut^{hten}</i>
Imperativ e (pr)	-	ওঠ <i>ot^{hi}</i>	ওঠো <i>ot^{ho}</i>	উঠুক <i>ut^{huk}</i>	উঠুন <i>ut^{hun}</i>	উঠুন <i>ut^{hun}</i>
Imperativ e (fut)	-	উঠিস <i>ut^{his}</i>	উঠো <i>ut^{ho}</i>	-	উঠবেন <i>ut^{hben}</i>	উঠবেন <i>ut^{hben}</i>
Verbal noun - ওটা - <i>ot^{ho}</i>	Imperfec tive participle - উঠতে - <i>ut^{hte}</i>	Perfectiv e participle - উঠ- <i>ut^{hi}</i>	Condition al participle - উঠলে- <i>ut^{hle}</i>			

k) Sylheti – VC – উঠি *uṭʰa* rise, ascend.

Table 7.5.9. Conjugation chart for উঠি *uṭʰa* 'rise'

tenses	আমি I	তুই you int	তুমি you ord	হে/তাই he/she ord	তাইন him/her hon	আফনে you hon
Simple present	উঠি <i>uṭʰi</i>	উঠস <i>uṭʰos</i>	উঠো <i>uṭʰo</i>	উথে <i>uṭʰe</i>	উঠইন <i>uṭʰoin</i>	উঠইন <i>uṭʰoin</i>
Pres. continuous	উঠরাম <i>uṭʰram</i>	উঠরে <i>uṭʰre</i>	উঠরায় <i>uṭʰraj</i>	উঠের <i>uṭʰer</i>	উঠরা <i>uṭʰra</i>	উঠরা <i>uṭʰra</i>
Present perfect	উঠসি <i>uṭʰis</i>	উঠসস <i>uṭʰsos</i>	উঠস <i>uṭʰso</i>	উঠসে <i>uṭʰse</i>	উঠসইন <i>uṭʰsoin</i>	উঠসইন <i>uṭʰsoin</i>
Future tense	উঠমু <i>uṭʰmu</i>	উঠবে <i>uṭʰbe</i>	উঠবায় <i>uṭʰbaj</i>	উঠব <i>uṭʰbo</i>	উঠবা <i>uṭʰba</i>	উঠবা <i>uṭʰba</i>
Simple past	উঠলাম <i>uṭʰlam</i>	উঠলে <i>uṭʰle</i>	উঠলায় <i>uṭʰilaj</i>	উঠল <i>uṭʰlo</i>	উঠলা <i>uṭʰla</i>	উঠলা <i>uṭʰla</i>
Past continuous	উঠাতআসলাম <i>uṭʰaṭ aslam</i>	উঠাত আসলে <i>uṭʰaṭ asle</i>	উঠাত আসলায় <i>uṭʰaṭ aslay</i>	উঠাত আসল <i>uṭʰaṭ aslo</i>	উঠাত আসলা <i>uṭʰaṭ asla</i>	উঠাত আসলা <i>uṭʰaṭ asla</i>
Past perfect	উঠসিলাম <i>uṭʰsilam</i>	উঠসিলে <i>uṭʰsile</i>	উঠসিলায় <i>uṭʰsilay</i>	উঠসল <i>uṭʰslo</i>	উঠসিলা <i>uṭʰsila</i>	উঠসিলা <i>uṭʰsila</i>
Past habitual	উঠতাম <i>uṭʰtam</i>	উঠতে <i>uṭʰte</i>	উঠতায় <i>uṭʰtaj</i>	উঠত <i>uṭʰto</i>	উঠতা <i>uṭʰta</i>	উঠতা <i>uṭʰta</i>
Imperative (pr)	-	উঠ <i>uṭʰ</i>	উঠো <i>uṭʰo</i>	উঠঅউক <i>uṭʰouk</i>	উঠইন <i>uṭʰoin</i>	
Imperative (fut)	-	উঠিস <i>uṭʰis</i>	উঠিও <i>uṭʰio</i>		-	উঠবা <i>uṭʰba</i>
Verbal noun উঠা - <i>uṭʰa</i>	Imperfactive participle - উঠতে	Perfective participle - উঠে - <i>uṭʰe</i>	Conditional participle উঠলে- <i>uṭʰle</i>			

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Class – 2

a) CaC, aCV

Bengali: CaCa – থাকা t^haka 'to stay' (same pattern as: খাওয়া k^haoa 'to eat' হাসা hafa 'to laugh', মারা mara 'to kill', হাটা haṭa 'to walk', থামা t^hama 'to stop', নাচা naṭa 'to dance')

Table 7.5.10 : Conjugation chart for হাসা-hasa 'to laugh'

Tenses	আমি I	তুই you	তুমি you	সে he/she	তিনি him/her	আপনি you
Simple present	হাসি <i>hasi</i>	হাসি <i>hasis</i>	হাস <i>haso</i>	হাসে <i>hase</i>	হাসেন <i>hasen</i>	হাসেন <i>hasen</i>
Pres.continuous	হাসছি <i>hasṭhi</i>	হাসছিস <i>hasṭhis</i>	হাসছ <i>hasṭh</i>	হাসছে <i>hasṭhe</i>	হাসছেন <i>hasṭhen</i>	হাসছেন <i>hasṭhen</i>
Present perfect	হেসেছি <i>hesetṭhi</i>	হেসেছিস <i>hesetṭhis</i>	হেসেছ <i>hesetṭh</i>	হেসেছে <i>hesetṭhe</i>	হেসেছেন <i>hesetṭhen</i>	হেসেছেন <i>hesetṭhen</i>
Future tense	হাসব <i>hasbo</i>	হাসবি <i>hasbi</i>	হাসবে <i>hasbe</i>	হাসবে <i>hasbe</i>	হাসবেন <i>hasben</i>	হাসবেন <i>hasben</i>
Simple past	হাসলাম <i>haslam</i>	হাসলি <i>hasli</i>	হাসলে <i>hasle</i>	হাসল <i>haslo</i>	হাসলেন <i>haslen</i>	হাসলেন <i>hasle</i>
Past continuous	হাসছিলাম <i>hasṭhilen</i>	হাসছিলি <i>hasṭhili</i>	হাসছিলে <i>hasṭhile</i>	হাসছিল <i>hasṭhilo</i>	হাসছিলেন <i>hasṭhilen</i>	হাসছিলেন <i>hasṭhilen</i>
Past perfect	হেসেছিলাম <i>hesetṭhilaṃ</i>	হেসেছিলি <i>hesetṭhili</i>	হেসেছিলে <i>hesetṭhile</i>	হেসেছিল <i>hesetṭhilo</i>	হেসেছিলেন <i>hesetṭhilen</i>	হেসেছিলেন <i>hesetṭhilen</i>
Past habitual	হাসতাম <i>hasṭam</i>	হাসতিস <i>hasṭis</i>	হাসতে <i>hasṭe</i>	হাসত <i>hasṭo</i>	হাসতেন <i>hasṭen</i>	হাসতেন <i>hasṭen</i>

Imperative (pr)	-	হাস <i>has</i>	হাসো <i>haso</i>	হাসুক <i>hasuk</i>	হাসেন <i>hasen</i>	হাসেন <i>hasen</i>
Imperative (fut)	-	হাসিস <i>hasis</i>	হাসো <i>haso</i>	-	হাসবেন <i>hasben</i>	হাসবেন <i>hasben</i>
Verbal noun হাসা- <i>hasa</i>	Imperfective participle - হাসত- <i>has̥to</i>	Perfective participle হেসে- <i>hese</i>	Conditional participle হাস্লে- <i>hasle</i>			

b) Sylhet: *CaC* - থাকা *tʰaka* 'stay' (with same pattern: হাসা *hafa* 'laugh', কাফা *kaɸa* 'shiver', জাগা *dʒaga* 'awake')

Table 7.5.11 verb থাকা *tʰaka* 'stay'

tenses	আমি I	তুই you	তুমি you	হে/তাই he/she	তাইন him/her	আফনে you
Simple present	থাকি <i>tʰaki</i>	থাক্ <i>tʰak</i>	থাক <i>tʰako</i>	থাকে <i>tʰake</i>	থাকইন <i>tʰakoin</i>	থাকইন <i>tʰakoin</i>
Pres. continuous	থাকিয়ার <i>tʰakijar</i>	থাকরে <i>tʰakre</i>	থাকরায় <i>tʰakraj</i>	থাকের <i>tʰaker</i>	থাকরা <i>tʰakra</i>	থাকরা <i>tʰakra</i>
Present perfect	থাকসি <i>tʰaksi</i>	থাকসস <i>tʰaksos</i>	থাকস <i>tʰakso</i>	থাক্‌স <i>tʰakse</i>	থাকসইন <i>tʰaksoin</i>	থাকসইন <i>tʰaksoin</i>
Future tense	থাকমু <i>tʰakmu</i>	থাকবে <i>tʰakbe</i>	থাকরায় <i>tʰakbaj</i>	থাকব <i>tʰakbo</i>	থাকবা <i>tʰakba</i>	থাকবা <i>tʰakba</i>
Simple past	থাকলাম <i>tʰaklam</i>	থাকলে <i>tʰakle</i>	থাকলায় <i>tʰaklaj</i>	থাকল <i>tʰaklo</i>	থাকলা <i>tʰakla</i>	থাকলা <i>tʰakla</i>
Past continuous	থাকাত আসলাম <i>tʰakat aslam</i>	থাকাত আসলে <i>tʰakat asle</i>	থাকাত আসলায় <i>tʰakat aslaj</i>	থাকাত আসল <i>tʰakat aslo</i>	থাকাত আসলা <i>tʰakat asla</i>	থাকাত আসলা <i>tʰakat asla</i>
Past perfect	থাকসলাম	থাকসলে	থাকসলায়	থাকসল	থাকসলা	থাকসলা

	<i>tʰakaslam</i>	<i>tʰakasle</i>	<i>tʰakaslaj</i>	<i>tʰakaslo</i>	<i>tʰakasla</i>	<i>tʰakasla</i>
Past habitual	থাকতাম <i>tʰaktam</i>	থাক্তে <i>tʰakte</i>	থাক্তায় <i>tʰaktaj</i>	থাকত <i>tʰakt</i>	থাক্তা <i>tʰakta</i>	থাক্তা <i>tʰakta</i>
Imperative (pr)	-	থাক্ <i>tʰak</i>	থাক <i>tʰako</i>	থাকুক <i>tʰakuk</i>	থাকইন <i>tʰakoin</i>	থাকইন <i>tʰakoin</i>
Imperative (fut)	-	থাকিস <i>tʰakis</i>	থাকিয় <i>tʰakijo</i>	-	থাকবা <i>tʰakba</i>	থাকবা <i>tʰakba</i>
Verbal noun - থাকা- <i>tʰaka</i>	Imperfective participle-থাকে- <i>tʰake</i>	Perfective participle-থাকিয়া- <i>tʰakijo</i>	Conditional participle-থাকলে- <i>tʰakle</i>			

c) Bengali – *aC* আনা *ana* (bring) আঁকা *ãka* (to draw). These verbs have some irregularities.

Table 7.5.12 verb *ãka* 'draw'

Tenses	আমি I	তুই you	তুমি you	হে /তাই he/she	তাইন him/her	আফনে you
Simple present	আঁকি <i>ãki</i>	আঁকিস <i>ãkais</i>	আঁক <i>ãko</i>	আঁকে <i>ãke</i>	আঁকেন <i>ãken</i>	আঁকেন <i>ãken</i>
Pres.continuous	আকছি <i>ãktʰi</i>	আকছিস <i>ãktʰis</i>	আকছ <i>ãktʰo</i>	আকছে <i>ãktʰe</i>	আকছেন <i>ãktʰen</i>	আকছেন <i>ãktʰen</i>
Present perfect	একেচি <i>eketʰi</i>	একেচিস <i>eketʰis</i>	একেচ <i>eketʰo</i>	একেচে <i>eketʰe</i>	একেচেন <i>eketʰen</i>	একেচেন <i>eketʰen</i>
Future tense	আকব <i>ãkbo</i>	আকবি <i>ãkbi</i>	আকবে <i>ãkbe</i>	আকবে <i>ãkbe</i>	আকবেন <i>ãkben</i>	আকবেন <i>ãkben</i>
Simple past	আঁকলাম <i>ãkalam</i>	আঁকলি <i>ãkali</i>	আঁকলে <i>ãkale</i>	আকল <i>ãkalo</i>	আঁকলেন <i>ãkalen</i>	আঁকলেন <i>ãkalen</i>
Past continuous	আকচিলাম	আকচিলি	আঁকলে	আকছিল	আকছিলেন	আকছিলেন

	<i>ãktfilam</i>	<i>ãktfili</i>	<i>ãktfile</i>	<i>ãkilo</i>	<i>ãktfilen</i>	<i>ãktfilen</i>
Past perfect	একেচিলাম <i>ekefilam</i>	একেছিলি <i>ekefili</i>	একেছিলে <i>ekefile</i>	একেছিল <i>ekefilo</i>	একেচিলেন <i>ekefilen</i>	একেচিলেন <i>ekefilen</i>
Past habitual	আঁকতাম <i>ãktam</i>	আঁকতিস <i>ãktis</i>	আঁকতে <i>ãkte</i>	আঁকত <i>ãkto</i>	আঁকতেন <i>ãkten</i>	আঁকতেন <i>ãkten</i>
Imperative (pr)	-	আঁক <i>ãk</i>	আঁকো <i>ãko</i>	আঁকুক <i>ãkuk</i>	আঁকেন <i>ãken</i>	আঁকেন <i>ãken</i>
Imperative (fut)	-	এঁকো <i>eko</i>	আঁকীস <i>ãkis</i>	-	আঁকবেন <i>ãkben</i>	আঁকবেন <i>ãkben</i>
Verbal noun - আঁকা-a~ka	Imperative participle- আঁকতে- <i>ãkte</i>	Perfective participle এঁকে- <i>ãke</i>	Conditional participle আঁকলে- <i>ãkle</i>			

Sylheti: Ca -

Table 7.5.13: আনা ana 'bring'

tenses	আমি I	তুই you	তুমি you	হে/তাই he/she	তাইন him/her	আফনে you
Simple present	আনি <i>ani</i>	আনস <i>anos</i>	আন <i>ano</i>	আনে <i>ane</i>	আনইন <i>anoin</i>	আনইন <i>anoin</i>
Pres. continuous	আনিয়ার <i>anijar</i>	আনরে <i>anre</i>	আনরায় <i>anraj</i>	আনের <i>aner</i>	আনরা <i>anra</i>	আনরা <i>anra</i>
Present perfect	আনছি <i>anfji</i>	আনচস <i>anfjos</i>	আনছ <i>anfjo</i>	আনছে <i>anfje</i>	আনচইন <i>anfjojin</i>	আনচইন <i>anfjojin</i>
Future tense	আনমু <i>anmu</i>	আনিস <i>anis</i>	আনিও <i>anio</i>	আনব <i>anbo</i>	আনবা <i>anba</i>	আনবা <i>anba</i>
Simple past	আনলাম	আনলে	আনলায়	আনল	আনলা	আনলা

	<i>anlam</i>	<i>anle</i>	<i>anlaj</i>	<i>anlo</i>	<i>anla</i>	<i>anla</i>
Past continuous	আনাত আসলাম <i>anaṭ aslam</i>	আনাতআসলে <i>anaṭ asle</i>	আনাত আসলায় <i>anaṭ aslaj</i>	আনাত আসল <i>anaṭ aslo</i>	আনাত আসলা <i>anaṭ asla</i>	আনাত আসলা <i>anaṭ asla</i>
Past perfect	আনসলাম <i>anslam</i>	আসলে <i>ansle</i>	আসলায় <i>anslaj</i>	আসল <i>anslo</i>	আসলা <i>ansla</i>	আসলা <i>ansla</i>
Past habitual	আনতাম <i>anṭam</i>	আনতে <i>anṭe</i>	আনতায় <i>anṭaj</i>	আনত <i>anṭo</i>	আনতা <i>anṭa</i>	আনতা <i>anṭa</i>
Imperative (pr)	-	আন <i>an</i>	আনো <i>ano</i>	আনুক <i>anuk</i>	আনইন <i>anoin</i>	আনইন <i>anoin</i>
Imperative (fut)	-	আনিস <i>anis</i>	আনিও <i>anio</i>	-	আনবা <i>anba</i>	আনবা <i>anba</i>
Verbal noun- আনা - <i>ana</i>	Imperfective participle - আনত- <i>anṭa</i>	Perfective participle- আনিও- <i>anio</i>	Conditional participle আনলে- <i>anle</i>			

Class – 3 CV

Table 7.5.14.: Bangla ধোয়া *dʰoja* 'wash'

tenses	আমি I	তুই you int	তুমি You pol	সে he/she ord	তিনি him/her pol	আপনি you pol
Simple present	ধুই <i>dʰui</i>	ধুস <i>dʰus</i>	ধোও <i>dʰo</i>	ধোয় <i>dʰoj</i>	ধোন <i>dʰon</i>	ধোন <i>dʰon</i>
Present continuous	ধুচ্ছি <i>dʰuṭṭʃʰi</i>	ধুচ্ছি <i>dʰuṭṭʃʰis</i>	ধুচ্ছ <i>dʰuṭṭʃʰ</i>	ধুচ্ছে <i>dʰuṭṭʃʰe</i>	ধুচ্ছেন <i>dʰuṭṭʃʰen</i>	ধুচ্ছেন <i>dʰuṭṭʃʰen</i>
Present perfect	ধুয়েছি <i>dʰuyetʃʰi</i>	ধুয়েছিস <i>dʰuyetʃʰis</i>	ধুয়েছ <i>dʰuyetʃʰ</i>	ধুয়েছে <i>dʰuyetʃʰe</i>	ধুয়েছেন <i>dʰuyetʃʰen</i>	ধুয়েছেন <i>dʰuyetʃʰen</i>
Future tense	ধোব <i>dʰob</i>	ধুবি <i>dʰubi</i>	ধোবে <i>dʰobe</i>	ধোবে <i>dʰobe</i>	ধোবেন	ধোবেন

					দ্বোবন	দ্বোবন
Simple past	ধুলাম dʱulam	ধুলি dʱuli	ধুলে dʱule	ধুল dʱulo	ধুলেন dʱulen	ধুলেন dʱulen
Past continuous	ধুচ্ছিলাম dʱuʃʰilam	ধুচ্ছিলি dʱuʃʰili	ধুচ্ছিলে dʱuʃʰile	ধুচ্ছিল dʱuʃʰilo	ধুচ্ছিলেন dʱuʃʰilen	ধুচ্ছিলেন dʱuʃʰilen
Past perfect	ধুয়েছিলাম dʱuyetʰilam	ধুয়েছিলি dʱuyetʰili	ধুয়েছিলে dʱuyetʰile	ধুয়েছিল dʱuyetʰil	ধুয়েছিলেন dʱuyetʰilen	ধুয়েছিলেন dʱuyetʰilen
Past habitual	ধুতাম dʱutam	ধুতিস dʱutis	ধুতে dʱute	ধুত dʱuto	ধুতেন dʱuten	ধুতেন dʱuten
imperative(p r)	-	ধো dʱo	ধোও dʱow	ধুক dʱuk	ধুন dʱun	ধুন dʱun
Imperative (fut)	-	ধুয়ো dʱujo	ধুস dʱus	-	ধুবেন dʱuben	ধুবেন dʱuben
Verbal noun- ধোয়া- dʱuja	Imperfective participle - ধুতে-dʱute	Perfective participle - ধুয়ে-dʱuje	Conditional participle- ধুলে-dʱule			

Sylheti – CV

Table 7.5.15 বওয়া bowa 'to carry'

tenses	আমি I	তুই you int	তুমি you pol	হে/তাই he/she ord	তাইন him/her hon	আফনে you hon
Simple present	বই boi	বস bos	বও bow	বয় boj	বইন boin	বইন boin
Pres.continuous	বইরাম boiram	বইরে boire	বইরায় boiraj	বর bor	বইরা boira	বইরা boira
Present perfect	বইসি boisi	বইসস boisos	বইস boiso	বইসে boise	বইসইন boisoin	বইসইন boisoin

Future tense	বইমু <i>boimu</i>	বইবে <i>boibe</i>	বইবায় <i>boibaj</i>	বইব <i>boibo</i>	বইবা <i>boiba</i>	বইবা <i>boiba</i>
Simple past	বইলাম <i>boilam</i>	বইলে <i>boile</i>	বইলায় <i>boilaj</i>	বইল <i>boilo</i>	বইলা <i>boila</i>	বইলা <i>boila</i>
Past continuous	বগতআসলাম <i>bowatāslam</i>	বগতআসলে <i>bowatāsle</i>	বগতআস্লায় <i>bowat aslaj</i>	বগত আস্ <i>bowatāslo</i>	বগত আস্ <i>bowat asla</i>	বগত আস্ <i>bowatāsla</i>
Past perfect	বইসলাম <i>boiaslam</i>	বইস্লে <i>boiasle</i>	বইস্লায় <i>boiaslaj</i>	বইস্ <i>boiaslo</i>	বইস্ <i>boiasla</i>	বইস্ <i>boiasla</i>
Past habitual	বইতাম <i>boiṭam</i>	বইতে <i>boiṭe</i>	বইতায় <i>boiṭaj</i>	বইত <i>boiṭ</i>	বইতা <i>boiṭa</i>	বইতা <i>boiṭa</i>
Imperative (pr)	-	ব <i>bo</i>	বও <i>bow</i>	বউক <i>bouk</i>	বইন <i>boin</i>	বইন <i>boin</i>
Imperative (fut)	-	বইবে <i>boibe</i>	বইও <i>bow</i>	-	বইবা <i>boiba</i>	বইবা <i>boiba</i>
Verbal noun- বওয়া - <i>bowa</i>	Imperfective participle বইতে- <i>boiṭe</i>	Perfective participle- বইয়া- <i>boija</i>	Condition al participle- বইলে- <i>boile</i>			

Class 4 – Ca

Bengali - চাওয়া *foja* get, received, পাওয়া *paoja* received,

Table 7.5.16 with verb *k^haoja* 'eat'

tenses	আমি I	তুই you	তুমি you	সে he/she	তিনি him/her	আপনি you
Simple present	খাই <i>k^hai</i>	খাস <i>k^has</i>	খাও <i>k^hao</i>	খায় <i>k^haj</i>	খান <i>k^han</i>	খান <i>k^han</i>

pres. Continuou s	খাচ্ছি <i>k^hatʃʃ^hi</i>	খাচ্ছিস <i>k^hatʃʃ^his</i>	খাচ্ছ <i>k^hatʃʃ^hɔ</i>	খাচ্ছে <i>k^hatʃʃ^he</i>	খাচ্ছেন <i>k^hatʃʃ^hen</i>	খাচ্ছেন <i>k^hatʃʃ^hen</i>
present perfect	খেয়েচি <i>k^hejetʃi</i>	খেয়েচিস <i>k^hejetʃis</i>	খেয়েচ <i>k^hejetʃɔ</i>	খেয়েচে <i>k^hejetʃe</i>	খেয়েচেন <i>k^hejetʃen</i>	খেয়েচেন <i>k^hejetʃen</i>
future tense	খাব <i>k^habɔ</i>	খাবি <i>k^habi</i>	খাবে <i>k^habe</i>	খাবে <i>k^habe</i>	খাবেন <i>k^haben</i>	খাবেন <i>k^haben</i>
simple past	খেলাম <i>k^helam</i>	খেলি <i>k^heli</i>	খেলে <i>k^hele</i>	খেল <i>k^helo</i>	খেলেন <i>k^helen</i>	খেলেন <i>k^helen</i>
past continuous	খাচ্ছিলাম <i>k^hatʃʃ^hilam</i>	খাচ্ছিলি <i>k^hatʃʃ^hili</i>	খাচ্ছিলে <i>k^hatʃʃ^hile</i>	খাচ্ছিল <i>k^hatʃʃ^hilo</i>	খাচ্ছিলেন <i>k^hatʃʃ^hilen</i>	খাচ্ছিলেন <i>k^hatʃʃ^hilen</i>
past perfect	খেয়েছিলাম <i>k^hejetʃilam</i>	খেয়েছিলি <i>k^hejetʃili</i>	খেয়েছিলে <i>k^hejetʃile</i>	খেয়েছিল <i>k^hejetʃil</i>	খেয়েছিলেন <i>k^hejetʃilen</i>	খেয়েছিলেন <i>k^hejetʃilen</i>
past habitual	খেতাম <i>k^hetam</i>	খেতিস <i>k^hetis</i>	খেতে <i>k^hete</i>	খেত <i>k^hetɔ</i>	খেতেন <i>k^heten</i>	খেতেন <i>k^heten</i>
imperative	-	খা <i>k^ha</i>	খাও <i>k^hao</i>	খাক <i>k^hak</i>	খান <i>k^han</i>	খান <i>k^han</i>
imperative	-	খাবি <i>k^habi</i>	খাবে <i>k^habe</i>		খাবেন <i>k^haben</i>	খাবেন <i>k^haben</i>
Verbal noun- খাওয়া <i>k^haoja</i>	Imperfecti ve particip খেতে- <i>k^hete</i>	Perfective participle খেয়ে- <i>k^heje</i>	Conditio nal particip খেলে- <i>k^hele</i>			

Sylheti: Ca - গা ga sing , খা xa eat

Table 7.5.17 : Verb xa 'eat'

Tenses	আমি I	তুই you	তুমি you	হে/তাই he/she	তাইন him/her	আফনে you
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Simple present	গাই <i>gai</i>	গাস <i>gas</i>	গাও <i>gao</i>	গায় <i>gaj</i>	গাইন <i>gain</i>	গাইন <i>gain</i>
Pres.continuous	গাইরাম <i>gairam</i>	গাইরে <i>gaire</i>	গাইরায় <i>gairaj</i>	গার <i>gar</i>	গাইরা <i>gaira</i>	গাইরা <i>gaira</i>
Present perfect	গাইসি <i>gaisi</i>	গাইসস <i>gaisos</i>	গাইস <i>gaiso</i>	গাইসে <i>gaise</i>	গাইসইন <i>gaisoin</i>	গাইসইন <i>gaisoin</i>
Future tense	গাইমু <i>gaimu</i>	গাইবে <i>gaibe</i>	গাইবায় <i>gaibaj</i>	গাইব <i>gaibo</i>	গাইবা <i>gaiba</i>	গাইবা <i>gaiba</i>
Simple past	গাইলাম <i>gailam</i>	গাইলে <i>gaile</i>	গাইলায় <i>gailaj</i>	গাইল <i>gailo</i>	গাইলা <i>gaila</i>	গাইলা <i>gaila</i>
Past continuous	গাওত আসলাম <i>gawat</i> <i>asalam</i>	গাওত আসলে <i>gawatasle</i>	গাওত আসলায় <i>gawat</i> <i>aslaj</i>	গাওত আস্ <i>gawataslo</i>	গাওত আস্ <i>gawatasla</i>	গাওত আস্ <i>gawatasla</i>
Past perfect	গাইসলাম <i>gasflam</i>	গাইস্লে <i>gasfle</i>	গাইসলায় <i>gasflaj</i>	গাইস্ <i>gasflo</i>	গাইস্ <i>gasfla</i>	গাইস্ <i>gasfla</i>
Past habitual	গাইতাম <i>gaitam</i>	গাইত <i>gait</i>	গাইতায় <i>gaitay</i>	গাইত <i>gait</i>	গাইতা <i>gaita</i>	গাইতা <i>gaita</i>
Imperative (pr)	-	গা <i>ga</i>	গাও <i>gao</i>	গাউক <i>gauk</i>	গাইন <i>gain</i>	গাইন <i>gain</i>
Imperative (fut)	-	গাস <i>gas</i>	গাইবায় <i>gaibaj</i>		গাইবা <i>gaiba</i>	গাইবা <i>gaiba</i>
Verbal noun- গাওয়া <i>gawa</i>	Imperfective participle - গাইতে <i>gaitte</i>	Perfective participle - গাইয়া <i>gaija</i>	Condition al participle - গাইলে <i>gaile</i>			

Class 5 – CVCa/ CaCa (extended verbs – in Bangla *no* is added while in Sylheti it is *ni*)

Table 7.5.18. verb ঘুম *g^hum* 'sleep'

tenses	আমি I	তুই you infor	তুমি you pol	সে he/she ord	তিনি him/her hon	আপনি you hon
Simple present	ঘুমাই <i>g^humai</i>	ঘুমাস <i>g^humas</i>	ঘুমাও <i>g^humao</i>	ঘুমায় <i>g^humay</i>	ঘুমান <i>g^human</i>	ঘুমান <i>g^human</i>
Pres.con tinuous	ঘুমাচ্ছি <i>g^humatf^hi</i>	ঘুমাচ্ছিস <i>g^humatf^his</i>	ঘুমাচ্ছ <i>g^humatf^ho</i>	ঘুমাচ্ছে <i>g^humatf^he</i>	ঘুমাচ্ছেন <i>g^humotf^hen</i>	ঘুমাচ্ছেন <i>g^humotf^hen</i>
Present perfect	ঘুমিয়েছি <i>g^humeje tf^hi</i>	ঘুমিয়েছিস <i>g^huma tf^his</i>	ঘুমাচ্ছ <i>g^humatf^ho</i>	ঘুমাচ্ছে <i>g^humatf^he</i>	ঘুমাচ্ছেন <i>g^humatf^hen</i>	ঘুমাচ্ছেন <i>g^humatf^hen</i>
Future tense	ঘুমাব <i>g^humab</i>	ঘুমাবি <i>g^humabi</i>	ঘুমাবে <i>g^humabe</i>	ঘুমাবে <i>g^humabe</i>	ঘুমাবেন <i>g^humaben</i>	ঘুমাবেন <i>g^humaben</i>
Simple past	ঘুমালাম <i>g^humalam</i>	ঘুমালি <i>g^humali</i>	ঘুমালে <i>g^humale</i>	ঘুমাল <i>g^humalo</i>	ঘুমালেন <i>g^humalen</i>	ঘুমালেন <i>g^humalen</i>
Past continuo us	ঘুমাচ্ছিলাম <i>g^humatf^hilam</i>	ঘুমাচ্ছিলি <i>g^huma tf^hili</i>	ঘুমাচ্ছিলে <i>g^huma tf^hile</i>	ঘুমাচ্ছিল <i>g^huma tf^hile</i>	ঘুমাচ্ছিলেন <i>g^huma tf^hilen</i>	ঘুমাচ্ছিলেন <i>g^huma tf^hilen</i>
Past perfect	ঘুমিয়েছিলাম <i>g^humije tf^hilam</i>	ঘুমিয়েছিলি <i>g^humaje tf^hili</i>	ঘুমিয়েছিলে <i>g^humije tf^hile</i>	ঘুমিয়েছিল <i>g^humije tf^hilo</i>	ঘুমিয়েছিলেন <i>g^humije tf^hilen</i>	ঘুমিয়েছিলেন <i>g^humije tf^hilen</i>
Past habitual	ঘুমাতাম <i>g^humatam</i>	ঘুমাতিস <i>g^humat^{is}</i>	ঘুমাতে <i>g^humat^e</i>	ঘুমাত <i>g^humat^t</i>	ঘুমাতেন <i>g^humat^{en}</i>	ঘুমাতেন <i>g^humat^{en}</i>
Imperati ve (pr)	-	ঘুমা <i>g^huma</i>	ঘুমাও <i>g^humao</i>	ঘুমাউক <i>g^humauk</i>	ঘুমান <i>g^human</i>	ঘুমান <i>g^human</i>
Imperati ve (fut)	ঘুমিয়ো <i>g^humijo</i>	ঘুমাস <i>g^humas</i>	ঘুমিয়ো <i>g^humijo</i>	-	ঘুমাবেন <i>g^humaben</i>	ঘুমাবেন <i>g^humaben</i>
Verbal	Imperfective	Perfective	Condition			

noun -ঘূমানো- <i>g^humano</i>	participle -ঘূমাতে- <i>g^humaṭe</i>	participle -ঘূমিয়ে- <i>g^humije</i>	al participle -ঘূমালে- <i>g^humale</i>			
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Class –5 CVCa - Sylheti -

Table 7.5.19 verb kamani 'income'

Tenses	আমি I	তুই you	তুমি you	হে/তাই he/she	তাইন him/her	আফন you
Simple present	কামাই <i>kamai</i>	কামাস <i>kamas</i>	কামাস <i>kamao</i>	কামায় <i>kamaj</i>	কামাইন <i>kamain</i>	কামাইন <i>kamain</i>
Pres.continuous	কামাইরাম <i>kamairam</i>	কামাইরে <i>kamaire</i>	কামাইরায় <i>kamairaj</i>	কামার <i>kamar</i>	কামাইরা <i>kamaira</i>	কামাইরা <i>kamaira</i>
Present perfect	কামাইসি <i>kamaisi</i>	কামাইসস <i>kamaisos</i>	কামাইস <i>kamaiso</i>	কামাইসে <i>kamaise</i>	কামাইসইন <i>kamaisoin</i>	কামাইসইন <i>kamaisoin</i>
Future tense	কামাইমু <i>kamaimu</i>	কামাইবে <i>kamaibe</i>	কামাইবায় <i>kamaibaj</i>	কামাইব <i>kamaibo</i>	কামাইবা <i>kamaiba</i>	কামাইবা <i>kamaiba</i>
Simple past	কামাইসলাম <i>kamaislam</i>	কামাইস্লে <i>kamaisle</i>	কামাইস্লায় <i>kamaislaj</i>	কামাইলস <i>kamaislo</i>	কামাইস্লা <i>kamaisla</i>	কামাইস্লা <i>kamaisla</i>
Past continuous	কামানিতাস্লাম <i>kamaniṭ aslam</i>	কামানিতাস্লে <i>kamaniṭ asle</i>	কামানিতাস্লায় <i>kamaniṭ aslaj</i>	কামানিতাস্লে <i>kamaniṭ asl</i>	কামানিতাস্লা <i>kamaniṭ asla</i>	কামানিতাস্লা <i>kamaniṭ asla</i>
Past perfect	কামাইস্লাম <i>kamaislam</i>	কামাইস্লে <i>kamaisle</i>	কামাইস্লায় <i>kamaislaj</i>	কামাইস্লে <i>kamaisl</i>	কামাইস্লা <i>kamaisla</i>	কামাইস্লা <i>kamaisla</i>
Past habitual	কামাইতাম <i>kamaiṭam</i>	কামাইতে <i>kamaiṭe</i>	কামাইতায় <i>kamaiṭaj</i>	কামাইত <i>kamaiṭ</i>	কামাইতা <i>kamaiṭa</i>	কামাইতা <i>kamaiṭa</i>
Imperative (pr)	-	কামা <i>kama</i>	কামাও <i>kamao</i>	কামাউক <i>kamauk</i>	কামাইন <i>kamain</i>	কামাইন <i>kamain</i>
Imperative (fut)	-	কামাস <i>kamas</i>	কামাইয় <i>kamai</i>	-	কামাইবা <i>kamaiba</i>	কামাইবা <i>kamaiba</i>
Verbal noun- কামানি- <i>kamani</i>	Imperfective participle - কামাইতে- <i>kamaiṭe</i>	Perfective participle কামাইয়া <i>kamaija</i>	Conditional participle কামাইলে			

			kamaile			
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Class – 6 o-conjugation

Vaiation with o-kar: জিরনো *džirono relax* (same pattern is used with the words like:

ঘুননো *gumano sleep*, চিবনো *čibono chew*, বেরনো *berono going out*.)

Table 7.5.20. Verb *džirono* 'relax'

tenses	আমি I	তুই you int	তুমি you pol	সে he/she ord	তিনি him/her hon	আপনি you hon
Simple present	জিরই <i>džiroi</i>	জিরস <i>džiros</i>	জিরোও <i>džiroo</i>	জিরোয় <i>džiroj</i>	জিরোন <i>džiron</i>	জিরোন <i>džiron</i>
Pres.continuous	জিরোচ্চি <i>džiročči^hi</i>	জিরোচ্চিস <i>džiročči^his</i>	জিরোচ্ছ <i>džiročč^ho</i>	জিরোচ্ছে <i>džiročč^he</i>	জিরোচ্ছেন <i>džiročč^hen</i>	জিরোচ্ছেন <i>džiročč^hen</i>
Present perfect	জিরিয়েছি <i>džirijet^hi</i>	জিরিয়েচ্চিস <i>džirijet^his</i>	জিরিয়েচ্ছ <i>džirijet^h</i>	জিরিয়েচ্ছে <i>džirijet^he</i>	জিরিয়েচ্ছেন <i>džirijet^hen</i>	জিরিয়েচ্ছেন <i>džirijet^hen</i>
Future tense	জিরোব <i>džirob</i>	জিরোবি <i>džirobi</i>	জিরোবে <i>džirobe</i>	জিরোবে <i>džirobe</i>	জিরোবেন <i>džiroben</i>	জিরো বেন <i>džiroben</i>
Simple past	জিরোলাম <i>džirolam</i>	জিরোলি <i>džiroli</i>	জিরোলে <i>džirole</i>	জিরোল <i>džirolo</i>	জিরোলেন <i>džirolen</i>	জিরোলেন <i>džirolen</i>
Past continuous	জিরো চ্ছিলাম <i>džiro čči^hilam</i>	জিরোচ্ছিলি <i>džiročči^hili</i>	জিরোচ্ছিলে <i>džiročči^hile</i>	জিরোচ্ছিল <i>džiročči^hil</i>	জিরোচ্ছিলেন <i>džiročči^hilen</i>	জিরোচ্ছিলেন <i>džiro čči^hilen</i>
Past perfect	জিরিয়ে ছিলাম <i>džirijet^h čči^hilam</i>	জিরিয়েছিলি <i>džirije čči^hili</i>	জিরিয়েছিলে <i>džirijet^h čči^hile</i>	জিরিয়েছিল <i>džirije čči^hilo</i>	জিরিয়েছিলেন <i>džirijet^h čči^hilen</i>	জিরিয়ে ছিলেন <i>džirijet^h čči^hilen</i>
Past habitual	জিরোতাম <i>džirotam</i>	জিরোতিস <i>džirotis</i>	জিরোতে <i>džirote</i>	জিরোত <i>džirot</i>	জিরোতেন <i>džiroten</i>	জিরোতেন <i>džiroten</i>
Imperative	-	জিরো	জিরোও	জিরোক	জিরোন	জিরোন

(pr)		<i>đziro</i>	<i>đziroo</i>	<i>đziruk</i>	<i>đziron</i>	<i>đziron</i>
Imperative (fut)	-	জিরোস <i>đziros</i>	জিরোয়ো <i>đzirojo</i>	-	জিরোবেন <i>đziroben</i>	জিরোবেন <i>đziroben</i>
Verbal noun - জিরনো- <i>đzirono</i>	Imperfective participl- জিরোতে- <i>đziroṭie</i>	Perfective participle -জিরিয়ে <i>đzirije</i>	Conditional participle -জরলে <i>đzirole</i>			

7.6. 'Have' or 'exist'

In Bangla and Sylheti there are no separate verbs to express the concept of having. In Bangla and Sylheti instead of 'I have a sister' it is more like 'My sister exists' or 'Of me a Sister exists'. (Thompson, 2010). (Milne,1993).

Bangla:

আমার বোন আছে । *amar boin aṭṭie* 'I have a sister'

আমার বাই আছে. *amar bari ase* 'I have a house'

তুমার বাচ্ছা আছে? *tumar baṭṭṭha aṭṭie?* 'Do you have children?'

Sylheti:

আমার বইন আসে *amar boin ase*. 'I have a sister'

In Bangla this is a defective verb that lacks its verbal noun and is used only in the simple present and simple past while in Sylheti it is also used in past continuous . The forms of *ase* are

Table 7.6.1: Bangla defective verb *aṭṭie*

tenses	I	you	you	he/she	him/her	you
Simple present	<i>atʃ^{hi}</i>	<i>atʃ^{his}</i>	<i>atʃ^{ho}</i>	<i>atʃ^{he}</i>	<i>atʃ^{hen}</i>	<i>atʃ^{hen}</i>
Simple past	<i>tʃ^{hila} m</i>	<i>tʃ^{hili}</i>	<i>tʃ^{hile}</i>	<i>tʃ^{hilo}</i>	<i>tʃ^{hilen}</i>	<i>tʃ^{hilen}</i>

Table 7.6.2. Sylheti defective verb *ase*.

tenses	I	you	you	he/she	him/her	you
Simple present	<i>asi</i>	<i>asos</i>	<i>aso</i>	<i>ase</i>	<i>asoin</i>	<i>asoin</i>
Simple past	<i>aslam</i>	<i>asle</i>	<i>aslay</i>	<i>aslo</i>	<i>asla</i>	<i>asla</i>

7.7. Verb endings

The differences of verb ending is noticed from the conjugation charts of Bangla and Sylheti. For the sake of simplicity we have presented the verb endings of Class 1 verb of Bangla and Sylheti. In the table below the verb endings of Bangla and Sylheti are shown for each person:

Bangla :

Table 7.7.1. Bangla class 1 verb endings

tense	আমি I	তুই you	তুমি you	সে he/she	তিনি he/she	আপনি he/she
Simple present	<i>i</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>en</i>
Present continuo un	<i>fi</i>	<i>fis</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>fe</i>	<i>fen</i>	<i>fen</i>
Past perfect	<i>efi</i>	<i>efis</i>	<i>efɔ</i>	<i>efe</i>	<i>efen</i>	<i>efen</i>
Future tense	<i>bɔ</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>ben</i>	<i>ben</i>
Simple past	<i>lam</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>lɔ</i>	<i>len</i>	<i>len</i>
Past continuo uns	<i>filam</i>	<i>fili</i>	<i>file</i>	<i>filɔ</i>	<i>filen</i>	<i>filen</i>
Past perfect	<i>efilam</i>	<i>efili</i>	<i>efile</i>	<i>efilɔ</i>	<i>efilen</i>	<i>efilen</i>
Past habitual	<i>tam</i>	<i>tis</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>ten</i>

Table 7.7.2: Sylheti class 1 verb endings

	আমি I	তুই you	তুমি you	হে/তাই he/she	তাইন him/her	আফনে you
Simple present	<i>i</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>oin</i>	<i>oin</i>
Pres. continuo us	<i>iyar</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>ray</i>	<i>er</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>ra</i>
Pres. perfect	<i>fi</i>	<i>fɔs</i>	<i>fɔ</i>	<i>fe</i>	<i>foin</i>	<i>foin</i>
Future tense	<i>mu</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>bay</i>	<i>bɔ</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ba</i>
Simple past	<i>lam</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>lay</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>la</i>

Past continuous	<i>aslam</i>	<i>asle</i>	<i>aslay</i>	<i>aslo</i>	<i>asla</i>	<i>asla</i>
Past perfect	<i>slam</i>	<i>sle</i>	<i>slay</i>	<i>slo</i>	<i>sla</i>	<i>sla</i>
Past habitual	<i>ṭam</i>	<i>ṭe</i>	<i>ṭay</i>	<i>ṭo</i>	<i>ṭa</i>	<i>ṭa</i>

From the verb endings list of Bangla and Sylheti it is seen that there are lots of differences, for example 1st person the future tense ending for Bangla is *-bo* and in Sylheti it is *-mu* like this we can notice there are huge differences but despite of this differences there are some similarities shared by Bangla and Sylheti. The most striking similarities are :

- i) the verb endings of the past continuous tense, both Bangla and Sylheti use the simple past form of the 'have' verb *aʃi* (Bangla) and *aslam* (Sylheti).
- ii) the verb ending for the 1st person in the present tense is *i* in Bangla and Sylheti.
- iii) In both Bangla and Sylheti the verb ending for 3rd person *pol* and *hon* is similar in all tenses .
- iv) the verb ending for 1st person for past habitual tense is *ṭam* in Bangla and Sylheti.

Other Verb Endings :

There are some alternative forms of verb endings which are described in this section:

- 1) a) In Kolkata the native Bangla speakers use *lum* instead of *lam* for 1st person simple past,

tense 1st person

করছিলুম - আমি ভাত রান্না করছিলুম।

simple past *kortfilum – ami bhat ranna kortfilum.* I was cooking rice

b) For 1st person past habitual instead of *tam*, *tum* is used

tense 1st person

করতুম আমি স্কুলে কাজ করতুম।

past habitual *kortum - ami skule kaj kortum.* I used to work in a school.

2) Sylheti for its present continuous tense has different verb endings for all persons. These verb ending are used by Sylheti speakers from different regions (already mentioned in chapter-2). The following table shows the distinction:

Table: 7.7.3. Sylheti verb endings

Standard Bangla	East Sylhet	West Sylheti	gloss
আমি কাছি <i>ami katʃiʃi</i>	আমি খাইয়ার/ খাইরাম <i>ami xaiyar/ xairam</i>	আমি খাইতেসি <i>ami xaitesi</i>	I am eating
সে বই পরচে <i>se bɔi pɔrʃe</i>	সে বই পরের <i>he bɔi porer</i>	হে বই পরতেসে <i>he bɔi pɔrʃese</i>	he is reading a book

Here in the above table we have divided the verb forms in three groups – standard Bangla which is spoken mainly in Kolkata, East Sylhet which comprises the Mymensingh district and the Barak region, and West Sylhet that includes Habiganj and Sunamganj. But because of the huge language contact and mix these differences are less conspicuous in the Silchar region of Barak valley, and it is quite possible that one speaker is uses both (east and west) varieties in his speech.

7.8. Non-finite verb forms

Non-finite verb is a term used to describe a verb form which does not show any person agreement. Thompson in her book '*Bengali-A comprehensive Grammer*' has described Bangla Non-finite verbs under verbal noun, imperfective participle, perfective participle and conditional participle. Another scholar '*William Stanley Milne*' have categorized Bangla non-finite verb under infinitive, gerund and particles. Jean Clement in his book '*parlons Bengali*' have describe Bangla non-finite verbs as 'Le Nom Verbal', 'Le Participle en *-te*', 'Le Participle en *-e*', 'Le participle en *-le*' Here in this section we will discuss the Bangla and Sylheti non finite verb form under the category of Verbal noun, perfective participle , conditional participle and imperfective participle.

a) Verbal nouns:

Verbal nouns behaves like any other noun.

In Bangla Verbal noun are formed by adding *a*, *ba*, *no* and *oja* to the stem and in Sylheti verbal nouns are formed by adding *a*, *ba*, *ni* and *oja*.

a - It is added to the verb stem which belong to low stem of class 1 and 2.

Table 7.8.1 Bangla verbal noun with suffix *a*

	stem	transcrip	Verbal noun	transcrip	gloss
Class 1	কর	<i>kɔr</i>	করা	<i>kɔra</i>	do
	দেখ	<i>dekʰ</i>	দেখা	<i>dekʰa</i>	see
Class 2	মার	<i>mar</i>	মারা	<i>mara</i>	beat
	আন	<i>an</i>	আনা	<i>ana</i>	bring

Sylheti

Table 7.8.2 Sylheti verbal nouns with suffix *a*

	stem	transcrip	Verbal noun	transcript	gloss
Class 1	লেখ	<i>lex</i>	লেখা	<i>lexa</i>	write
	উঠ	<i>uʈ</i>	উঠা	<i>uʈa</i>	rise
Class 2	থাক	<i>tʰak</i>	থাকা	<i>tʰaka</i>	stay
	নাস	<i>nas</i>	নাসা	<i>nasa</i>	dance

ja* and *oja - *ja* is added to the verb stem of class 3 and *oja* is with class 4 verb stem in Bangla and Sylheti.

Table 7.8.3.: Bangla verbal nouns with *oja*.

	stem	transcriptio	Verbal noun	transcription	gloss
Class 3	হ	<i>hɔ</i>	হয়া	<i>hoja</i>	have
	শো	<i>ʃo</i>	শোয়া	<i>ʃoja</i>	lie down
Class 4	যা	<i>dʒa</i>	যাওয়া	<i>dʒaoja</i>	go
	খা	<i>kʰa</i>	খাওয়া	<i>/kʰaoja/</i>	eat

Table 7.8.4 : Sylheti verbal nouns with *ja* and *oja*.

	stem	transcrip	Verbal noun	transcip	gloss
Class 3	ব	<i>bɔ</i>	বওয়া	<i>boja</i>	sit
	ক	<i>xɔ</i>	কওয়া	<i>xoja</i>	eat
Class 4	গা	<i>ga</i>	গাওয়া	<i>gaoja</i>	sing
	যা	<i>dʒa</i>	যাওয়া	<i>faoja</i>	receive

no - is added with the 2nd person the verb stem of class 5 and 6.

Table 7.8.5 : Bangla verbal nouns with *no*

	stem	transcript	verbal noun	transcript	gloss
Class 5	চালা	<i>fala</i>	চালানো	<i>falano</i>	drive
	পড়া	<i>pora</i>	পরানো	<i>porano</i>	study
Class 6	এগ	<i>ego</i>	এগনো	<i>egono</i>	advance
	বেরো	<i>bero</i>	বেরনো	<i>berono</i>	go out

ni - is added with the Sylheti verb stem of class 5.

Table 7.8.6 Sylheti verbal nouns with *ni*

	stem	transcript	Verbal noun	transcript	gloss
Class 5	ঘুমা	<i>g^huma</i>	ঘুমনি	<i>g^humani</i>	sleep
	আউজ্জা	<i>aug:a</i>	আউজ্জনি	<i>aug:mni</i>	move

ba - is an alternative verbal noun form which is added to the class 1 verb forms.

Table:7.8.7 *ba* – verbal nouns in Bangla and Sylheti

	stem	transcript	Verbal noun	transcript	gloss
Class 1	লেখ	<i>lek^h</i>	লেখবা	<i>lek^hba</i>	write
	দেখ	<i>d^hek^h</i>	দেখবা	<i>d^hek^hba</i>	see
	ফেল	<i>p^hel</i>	ফেলবা	<i>p^helba</i>	throw
	বোঝ	<i>bod^h</i>	বঝবা	<i>bod^hba</i>	understand

ii) conditional participle: In Bangla for class 1 and class 3 verb stems the conditional participle *-le* is added to the verb having high stem vowels (Thompson,2010). For class 2 Bangla verb *-le* is added to the verb stem having [a] vowel. In class 4 verbs,

before adding *-le* the vowel *a* changes to *e* or *ai*. For Class 5 and 6 verbs the vowel in the stem remains unchanged.

In Sylheti the conditional participle *-le* is added with class 1 and class 2 verb stems. For class 3, class 4 and class 5 verb stems the conditional participle *-ile* is added without changing the vowel in the verb stem. The verb forms of conditional participles of Bangla and Sylheti are given in the following tables:

Table:7.8.8 Bangla class 1 and 3 verbs

	stem	transcription	C.P	transcription	gloss
Class 1	লেখ	<i>lek^h</i>	লেখলে	<i>lek^hle</i>	write
	কর	<i>kɔr</i>	করলে	<i>kɔrle</i>	do
Class 3	হ	<i>hɔ</i>	হলে	<i>hɔle</i>	be
	শু	<i>ʃu</i>	শুলে	<i>ʃule</i>	lie

Table: 7.8.9: Bangla class 2 verbs

	stem	transcription	C.P	transcription	gloss
Class 2	ভাব	<i>b^hab</i>	ভাবলে	<i>b^hable</i>	think
	থাক	<i>t^hak</i>	থাকলে	<i>t^hakle</i>	stay

Table: 7.8.10 Bangla class 4 verbs

	stem	transcription	C.P	transcription	gloss
Class 4	পা	<i>pa</i>	পেলে	<i>pele</i>	receive
	খা	<i>k^ha</i>	খেলে	<i>k^hele</i>	eat

Table 7.8.11.: Bangla class 5 and 6 verb forms

	stem	transcription	C.P	transcription	gloss
	চালা	<i>ʃala</i>	চালালে	<i>ʃalale</i>	drive

Class 5	ঘুমা	<i>g^huma</i>	ঘুমালে	<i>g^humale</i>	sleep
Class 6	এগ	<i>ego</i>	এগলে	<i>egole</i>	advance
	বেরো	<i>bero</i>	বেরোলে	<i>berole</i>	go out

Examples of Sylheti conditional participle verbs.

Table 7.8.12 : Sylheti class 1 and class 2 verb forms

	stem	transcription	C.P	transcription	gloss
Class 1	লেখ	<i>lek^h</i>	লেখলে	<i>lek^hle</i>	write
	ফড়	<i>ɸɔɾ</i>	ফড়লে	<i>ɸɔɾle</i>	study
Class 2	হাট	<i>haɽ</i>	হাতলে	<i>haɽle</i>	walk
	আন	<i>an</i>	আনলে	<i>anle</i>	bring

Table 7.8.13 : Sylheti verbs of class 3, class 4 and class 5.

	stem	transcription	C.P	transcription	gloss
Class 3	শ	<i>ʃɔ</i>	শইলে	<i>ʃɔile</i>	lie down
	খ	<i>xɔ</i>	খইলে	<i>xɔile</i>	tell
Class 4	খা	<i>xa</i>	খাইলে	<i>xaile</i>	eat
	সা	<i>sa</i>	সাইলে	<i>saile</i>	see, want
Class 5	সাবা	<i>saba</i>	সাবাইলে	<i>sabaile</i>	chew
	খামা	<i>xama</i>	খামাইলে	<i>xamaile</i>	income

iii) Perfective participle: perfective participle describes the events that happened in past or it describes the events of past tense. In Bangla -e is added with the high stem verb. Bangla verb with [a] in the stem form the perfective participle with an [e] stem. In class 3 verb -je is added to the high stem of the verb. With extended verbs the form

-ije is added and the ending vowel [a] or [o] is replaced.

In Sylheti the participle -ija is added for generating perfective participles and is added with all verb classes. The Examples of perfective participles from Bangla and Sylheti are shown in the tables below:

Table: 7.8.14 Bangle perfective participle verb forms

	stem	transcription	P.P	transcription	gloss
Class 1	পড়	<i>pɔr</i>	পড়ে	<i>pɔre</i>	study
	চল	<i>ʃɔl</i>	চলে	<i>ʃɔle</i>	move
Class 2	নাম	<i>nam</i>	নেমে	<i>neme</i>	getdown
	জান	<i>dʒan</i>	জেনে	<i>dʒene</i>	know
Class 3	শো	<i>ʃo</i>	শুয়ে	<i>ʃuje</i>	lie down
	দে	<i>d̥e</i>	দিয়ে	<i>d̥iye</i>	give
Class 4	চা	<i>ʃa</i>	চেয়ে	<i>ʃeye</i>	want
	খা	<i>kʰa</i>	খেয়ে	<i>kʰeye</i>	eat

Table7.8.15: Class 5 and class 6 (extended verb) verbs

	stem	transcription	P.P	transcription	gloss
Class 5	তাকা	<i>t̥aka</i>	তাকিয়ে	<i>t̥akiye</i>	look
	লাগা	<i>laga</i>	লাগিয়ে	<i>lahiye</i>	attach
Class 6	বেরো	<i>bero</i>	বেরিয়ে	<i>beriye</i>	go out
	চিবো	<i>ʃibo</i>	চিবিয়ে	<i>ʃibiye</i>	chew

In Sylheti perfective participle is marked by *ija* for all verb classes.

Table 7.8.17 : Sylheti perfective participles

stem	transcription	P.P	transcription	gloss
কর	<i>kɔr</i>	করিয়া	<i>kɔrija</i>	do

নাস	<i>nas</i>	নাসিয়া	<i>nasija</i>	dance
খা	<i>xa</i>	খাইয়া	<i>xaija</i>	eat
ঘুমা	<i>yuma</i>	ঘুমাইয়া	<i>yumaija</i>	sleep

Imperfective participle: Imperfective participle ends in *te* in Bangla and Sylheti. With the class 5 verbs the imperfective participle *ite* is used in Sylheti.

Table 7.8.18: Bangla imperfective participle

stem	trans	Imperfective participle	trans	gloss
কর	<i>kor</i>	করতে	<i>kor_{te}</i>	do
শুন	<i>fun</i>	শুনতে	<i>fun_{te}</i>	listen
হ	<i>hɔ</i>	হতে	<i>hɔ_{te}</i>	be
ঘুমা	<i>g^huma</i>	ঘুমাতে	<i>g^huma_{te}</i>	sleep

Bangla : আমি কাজটা করিতে এসেছি । I
ami kajta korite eseci.
 I came to do the work.

Table 7.8.19: Sylheti imperfective participle

stem	transc	Imperfective participle	transc	gloss
খেল	<i>xel</i>	খেলতে	<i>xel_{te}</i>	play
খর	<i>xɔr</i>	খরতে	<i>xɔr_{te}</i>	do
আই	<i>ai</i>	আইতে	<i>ai_{te}</i>	come
থাক	<i>t^hak</i>	থাকতে	<i>t^hak_{te}</i>	stay

Table 7.8.20: Sylheti class 5 imperfective participle

stem	transc	Imperfective participle	transc	gloss
ঘুমা	<i>g^huma</i>	ঘুমাইতে	<i>g^humaiṭe</i>	sleep
চালা	<i>sala</i>	চালাইতে	<i>salaiṭe</i>	drive

Sylheti: আমি র থাকতে ফারতাম না।
ami r thakte ḥartam na.
I will not be able to stay

7.9. Conclusion

The verb is a building stone of any language, in this chapter we tried to describe the verb of Sylheti keeping in reference the Bangla verb. From this work we have encountered many similarities and differences which are pointed out below:

Similarities:

- 1) The class division from 1 to 5 is similar in Bangla and Sylheti.
- 2) The verb endings for 2nd person (hon) and 3rd person (hon) are similar for all tenses. This is noticed in both Bangla and Sylheti.
- 4) The use of the ending *a* and *ba* for verbal nouns is similar.

Dissimilarities:

- 5) Bangla has the use of vowel mutation but Sylheti does not have any vowel mutation.
- 6) Bangla has only one form of verb endings for the present continuous tense

while in Sylheti the verb endings vary according to the region.
It is these differences and similarities which make Bangla and Sylheti different
from each other

VIII

ADJECTIVES

8.1. Introduction

An adjective is a part of speech that modifies a noun, usually making its meaning more specific. An adjective in a sentence is used in an attributive or in a predicative manner. In Bangla and Sylheti adjectives vary in gender. In Bangla and also in Sylheti most adjectives do not have any distinctive endings, example: লাল *lal* 'red' is an adjective while মাল *mal* 'goods' is a noun. However there are some adjectives that are derived from verbs and nouns by addition of specific prefixes and suffixes (Thompson, 2010). In this chapter we have attempted to study the adjectives of Sylheti following the reference of Bangla and English adjectives.

8.2. Types of adjectives

Adjective of quality - Adjectives that are used to describe the qualities of somebody or something. Bangla and Sylheti adjectives do not take any case endings. Adjective of quality are further divided into following types :⁹

a) Descriptive adjective used to describe physical attributes namely: shape, size, color, touch, age etc.

⁹ Some of the adjective words in Sylheti differ from Bangla. Sylheti speakers may use both the Bangla and Sylheti adjectival words.

i) Shape and size

Bangla:	বড় <i>boɾɔ</i> 'big'	ছোট <i>ʃʰɔɾɔ</i> 'small'
	লম্বা <i>lɔmba</i> 'long'	বেটে <i>beɽe</i> 'short'
	গোল <i>gul</i> 'round'	সজা <i>ʃɔɽʒa</i> 'straight'.

Sylheti:	বাদা <i>banda</i> 'big'	হরু <i>hɔru</i> 'small'
	লাম্বা <i>lamba</i> 'long'	ত্রিবুজ <i>tribudʒ</i> 'triangle'

ii) Color:

Bangla:	লাল <i>lal</i> 'red'	হলুদ <i>hɔluɽ</i> 'yellow'
	রঙ্গিন <i>rɔŋin</i> 'colorful'	ফেকাশে <i>ʃekafe</i> 'pale'

Sylheti:	গুলাফি <i>gulaɸi</i> pink,	ফাইঞ্চা <i>ɸaintʃa</i> pale.
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iii) Touch

Bangla:	তেলতেলে <i>tɛltɛle</i> 'oily'	ছিপছিপা <i>ʃʰipʃʰipa</i> 'sticky'
	পিছলা <i>piʃʰla</i> 'slippery'	নরম <i>nɔrɔm</i> 'soft'

Sylheti:	তেলতেলা <i>tɛltɛla</i> 'oily'	ফিস্লা <i>ɸisla</i> 'slippery'
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iv) Age:

Bangla:	পুরান <i>puran</i> 'old'	নতন <i>nɔtun</i> 'new'
	প্রাচীন <i>praʃin</i> 'ancient'	অইতিহাসিক <i>ɔiʃihasiʃik</i> 'historic'
Sylheti:	ফুরানা/ফুন্না <i>ɸurana</i> or <i>ɸunna</i> old,	প্রাচীন <i>praʃin</i> ancient,
	নুতন <i>nutun</i> 'new'	অইতিহাসিক <i>ɔiʃihasiʃik</i> 'historic'

v) mental qualities

Bangla:	লাজুক <i>ladzuk</i> 'shy'	অহঙ্কারি <i>ahᅇkari</i> 'proud'
	অবদর <i>obᅇr</i> 'manner less'	চালাক <i>ᅇalak</i> 'clever'
Sylheti:	সিয়ান <i>sijan</i> 'clever'	বুদ্ধিমান <i>buddᅇman</i> 'wise'

vi) opinion

Bangla:	সুন্দর <i>sundᅇr</i> 'beautiful'	সাহসি <i>fahᅇsi</i> 'brave'
	কটিন <i>kᅇtin</i> 'difficult'	
Sylheti:	বেক্কার <i>bekkar</i> 'unnecessary'	

vii) quantity, numerals

Bengali:	সব <i>ᅇob</i> 'all'	অনেক <i>ᅇnek</i> 'much'
	অল্প <i>ᅇlpᅇ</i> 'little'	
Sylheti:	হকল <i>hᅇkol</i> 'all'	বেজান <i>bedᅇan</i> 'much'
	থুৱা <i>ᅇhura</i> 'little'	বাক্কা <i>bakka</i> 'much'

8.3. Degree of Adjectives

The degree of adjectives in English involves superlative *er* and comparative *est*. In Bangla and Sylheti the Superlative degree is formed by means of *ᅇᅇmᅇ* and comparative by means of *ᅇᅇrᅇ* and is added only with *tatsama* adjectives (words closest to their Sanskrit forms) (Chatterjee.1926). Here are some Examples :

Table 8.3.1: Degree of adjectives

Base form	comparative	superlative	gloss
প্ৰিয় <i>priᅇ</i>	-	প্ৰিয়তম <i>priᅇᅇᅇmᅇ</i>	beloved
উচ্চ <i>uᅇᅇᅇ</i>	উচ্চতর <i>uᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇrᅇ</i>	উচ্চতম <i>uᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇmᅇ</i>	high

However, the comparative *ᅇᅇrᅇ* and superlative *ᅇᅇmᅇ* are not used with most other

adjectives to form the superlative and comparative degrees. In most cases the speakers use the terms *aro*, *ʃeje*, *ʃʰeke* with adjectives (Thompson, 2010), (Choudhury, 2015). Their uses and functions are discussed in the following subsections.

8.3.1. With আরও *aro* – more (used in Bangla and Sylheti)

i) আরও *aro* can be placed before an adjective.

Example: এটা আরও মুস্কিল ।
eṭa aro muʃkil
This is more difficult.

এটা আরও দূরে ।
eṭa aro dure
This is farther.

আমার টা আর কটিন ।
amarṭa aro koṭin
Mine is more difficult.

ii) আরও *aro* can be used as an adjective with a noun :

তার আরও বাড়ি আছে ।
ṭar aro baṛi aʃʰe
He has more houses.

আমার আরও টাকা আছে ।
amar aro ṭaka aʃʰe
I have more money.

iii) আরও *aro* can be expanded by adding *onek* (Bangla) *befi* (Bangla and Sylheti), *bejan* (Sylheti), *bakka* (Sylheti) , (Thomson, 2010), (Myenum,2015)

Example:

Bangla: সে আরও অনেক বেশি কাজ করে । .

se aro onek besi kadz kore

He work much more.

আমার আরও বেশি ইচ্ছা ছিল ।

amar aro befi iffha fhilo

I had much more wishes.

Sylheti: বাড়িটা আরও বেজান বড় আসিল ।

barita aro bedjan boro asil

The house was much more big.

আমার আরও বাক্বা কাজ আসে ।

amar aro bakka kadz ase

I have much more work left.

8.3.2. with চেয়ে *tfaje* 'than' (common in Bengali)

i) It is used with nouns or pronouns having genitive forms. *tfaye* is a post position which demands a preceding genitive.

Example: সে আমার চেয়ে ভালো রান্না করে ।

se amar tfaje bhalo ranna kore

He cooks better than me

রাম আমার চেয়ে লম্বা ।

Ram amar faje lmba

Ram is taller than me.

ii) To make a statement about something which involves 'very much' or 'much more' or 'best', 'better', we can use *onek* or *onek befi* in the sentence.

Example:

রামা আমার চেয়ে অনেক বেশি রজগার করে.

Rama amar faye onek befi rodgar kore

The income of Ram is much more than me.

সে তার মার চেয়ে অনেক সুন্দর।

Je tar mar faje onek sundor

She is more beautiful than her mother.

iii) Other words like *t^heke*, *fai^he* are also used instead of *faje*: *fai^he* is the Imperfective participle of *faoa* 'look' and *t^heke* is the perfective participle of *t^haka* 'stay'.

Example:

Bangla

আমার থেকে তাদের বাড়ি সুন্দর।

amar t^heke tader bari sundor

Their house is more beautiful than mine.

তার চাইতে আমার কাজ টা বড়।

tar fai^he amar kadzta bora

My work is more important than his.

8.3.3.with থাকি *tʰaki* (Sylheti)

i) The function of *tʰaki* is similar to that of *tʰeje* of Bangla. Sometimes the postposition *tʰaki* requires a preceding genitive noun or pronoun.

Example:

আমার বাড়ি থাকি তার বাড়ি সুন্দর ।

amar bari tʰaki tar bari sundor

His house is more beautiful than mine.

হে আমার থাকি বালা গায়ক ।

he amar tʰaki bala gajok

He is a better singer than me.

ii) Like Bangla, in Sylheti also the postposition *tʰaki* is accompanied by *bedʒan*¹⁰ *befi* in order to express something which is very much, more than, better, best.

Examples :

B আমার থাকি বেজান বেশি কাজ করে তাই ।

amar tʰaki bedʒan befi kadʒ kore tai

She works much more than me.

তারার আমার থাকি বেজান বেশি দোকান আসে ।

tarar amrar tʰaki bedʒan befi dukan ase

They have more shops than us.

Example:

¹⁰ *bedʒan* is the Sylheti word which functions similarly like *onek* of Bengali.

S আমার থাকি হে বেশি সয়তান ।
amar tʰaki he beʃi sojtan
He is much more naughty than me.

তাই আমার থাকি বেজান বেশি বালা রান্না করে ।
tai amar tʰaki beʒan besi bala ranna kore
she cooks much better than me.

8.4. Superlative

when three or more nouns are compared the superlative degree is used, in Bangla *ʃeye* is used with the word *sob* 'all' added before it.

Bangla আমি সবচেয়ে ভালো
ami sobʃeye bʰalo
I am the best.

আসামের ছা সবচেয়ে ভালো ।
asamer ʃa sobʃeye bʰalo
Assam's tea is the best.

ii) For the comparison of amounts বেশি *beʃi* is used after the superlative.

আমার কাজটা সবচেয়ে বেশি কঠিন ।
amar kaʒta sobʃeye beʃi koʰin
My work is the most difficult one.

সে সবচেয়ে বেশি রজগার করে ।
se sobʃeye besi roʒgar kore

He earns the most.

iii) In Sylheti থাকি *tʰaki* is used with the word *hokol* or *job* meaning 'all' and is placed before the adjective – as *sobtʰaki* or *hokoltʰaki*

Example:

আমি সবথাকি বাজে ।

ami job tʰaki badʒe

I am the worst.

গরুর ধুদ সবথাকি বালা ।

gorur dʰud jobtʰaki bala

Cow-milk is the best.

iv) In Bangla for comparing amounts *befi* is used after *job tʰeke*

/befi/:

সে সবথেকে বেশি আমার কথা সুনো ।

se jobtʰeke befi amar kotʰa fune

He listens to me the most.

তুমি সবথেকে বেশি কথা বলছিলো ।

tumi jobtʰeke befi kotʰa bolʰhile

You were talking the most.

v) In Sylheti for comparing amounts *befi* and *bef* are used after *sobtʰaki* or *hokoltʰaki*

befi:

হে হকলথাকি বেশি কথা কয় ।

he hokoltʰaki befi kotʰa koj

He talks more than everyone.

তাই সবথাকি বেশি খাটে ।

tai sobtʰaki beʃi kʰaʈe

she works more than everyone.

bef:

হে হকলখাকি বেশ রুজগার করে ।

he hokolʰaki bef ruʒgar kore

He earns more than all of us.

8.5. Comparing equals

a) In Bangla when two items are equal the postposition মত *moʈo* is used (Thompson,2010).

i) সে দেখতে তার বাবার মত ।

se dekʰte tar babar moʈo

He looks like his father.

ii) সে তার বোনের মত কথা বলে ।

se tar boner moʈo koʈʰa bole

He speaks like his sister.

b) The sentences can be negated by the addition of *naj* :

i) হে তার বাবা র মত সৎ নয়

he tar babar moʈo soʈ naj

He is not honest like his father.

ii) ও ওর ভাইয়ের মত এত ভালো না পায় ।

o or b^haajer mɔtɔ eto b^halo na poraj

He is not as good in studies as his brother.

c) In Sylheti for comparison লাকান *laxan* is used:

i) হে তার বাফর লাকান ।

he tar baɸɔr laxan

He is like his father.

ii) আমার বাড়িটা তার বাড়ির লাকান ।

amar baɸita tar baɸir laxan

My house is similar to his house

d) These can also be negated by *na* or *nay*:

i) তাই তাইর মার লাকান বালা রান্না করতে পারে না ।

tai tair mar laxan bala ranna kortɛ pare na

She cannot cook as good as her mother.

ii) হে তার বাপর লাকান নয় ।

he tar baɸɔr lakan naj

He is not like his father.

8.6. Quantifiers

Languages use quantifier expressions for talking about quantities of things or amounts of stuffs. In Bangla and Sylheti quantifiers can be differentiated from adjectives by their ability to take classifiers without turning into a noun. When a classifier is added to an adjective, for example the classifier *ta* is added as in *ei lalta* 'this red one' but not

ei lalta kolom which is incorrect. Instead quantifiers can be used attributively with or without a classifier : *onek dʒol* and *onekta dʒol* 'many water'. (Thompson, 2010). The uses of quantifiers from Bangla and Sylheti are :

a) Bangla: এত *eṭṭa*, কত *kṛṭṭa* - so much

These can be used as adjectives and adverbs, they are used with count and non-count nouns and can take singular and plural classifiers. The quantifier *kṛṭṭa* is used for exclamatory sentences.

Example:

i) as an adjective

without classifier :

কত গাছ ।

kṛṭṭa gaṭʃh

How many trees !

কত পাখি ।

kṛṭṭa pakʰi

How many birds!

with classifier:

কতটা পুকা

kṛṭṭa puka

How many insects !

এতগুল কাপড় ।

eṭṭulo kapṛ

So many clothes.

ii) as an adverb

আমাকে এত ছুট মনে কর কেন ।

amake et̪ tʃʰoʈo mone korɔ kenɔ

Why do you underestimate me so much ?

b) Sylheti

অত ৩ত, খত ৪ত - so much

The functions of these Sylheti quantifiers are similar to the Bangla quantifier *et̪* and *korɔ*.

i) as an adjective:

without classifier:

অত বালি তুমার কাপড়ও ।

ot̪ bali tumar kapɔro

So much sand on your cloths.

কত মাছ ।

korɔ mas

How many fish !

with classifier:

অতটা বই দিবায় নি?

ot̪ta bɔi dibay ni ?

Will you give away so many books ?

ii) as an adverb:

নিজেৰে অত কমজুর মন করিয় না ।

nidgere otɔ komɔzur mɔnɔ korijo na.

Do not think of yourself as that much weak

c) Bangla

অনেক *ɔnek* – many, much.

The quantifier *ɔnek* functions as an adverb 'many'. This quantifier can be used with count and non-count nouns and can take the classifier *ta* and *gulo*.

i) without classifier :

- a) অনেক কাজ | *ɔnek kadɔ* 'Many works'
- b) অনেক দেরি হল | *ɔnek ɔderi holɔ* 'It is very late'.

ii) with classifiers :

- a) অনেকটা পথ *ɔnekta pɔt* 'too much to go'.
- b) তার অনেকটা কথা বলার ছিল | *tar ɔnekta kotʰa bolar ʃilɔ* 'He had so much to say'
- c) অনেকগুলো জমি খালি পড়ে আছে | *ɔnegulo ɔzomi khali porɛ atʃe* 'So many lands are empty'.

iii) as an adverb:

- a) তুমার কথা সনে অনেক ভালো লাগল. *tomar kotʰa fune ɔnek bʰalo laglo* 'I liked very much what you said'.

iv) with time adverbial *khani*

- a) অনেকখানি পথ চলে আসলাম | *ɔnek khani pɔtʰ ʃɔle aslam* 'I came a long way'

v) With -e ending the quantifier *ɔnek* becomes a noun meaning many people :

- a) অনেকে তাকে অভিনন্দন দিল | *oneke take ob^hinondon dilɔ* 'Many have congratulated him'.

d) Sylheti

বেজান- *bedzan* 'much', 'many'

bedzan is a Sylheti quantifier and can function as an adverb. It can be used with count and non-count nouns. The quantifier *bedzan* takes the classifier *ta* to be used only with non-count nouns.

i) without classifier:

- a) বেজান রাইত অইসে | *bedzan rait oise* 'It is a very late hour at night'
b) বেজান কষ্ট | *bedzan kostɔ* 'Many sufferings'.

ii) with classifier

- a) বেজানতা কাজ বাকি | *bedzanta kadz baki* 'Many works left'

iii) as an adverb

- a) তুমার কথা সুনি বেজান বলা লাগসে | *tumar kot^ha juni bedzan bala lagse* 'I liked very much what you said'

iv) Like Bangla in Sylheti also the quantifier takes *-e* ending to make it a noun.

- a) বেজানে তারে বলা পাইন | *bedzane tare bala pain* 'Many people like him'

e) Bengali

একটু *ektu* 'a little'

ektu is the non-count version of *ekta* meaning one. *ektu* can be used as an adjective or an adverb. Both Bengali and Sylheti have this quantifier but in Bangla this quantifier

is combined with /k^hani/ while in Sylheti it does not take any classifier.

i) As an adjective:

a) তাকে একটু বলতে হবে। *take eḳtu boḷte hobe* 'I need to tell him'

b) আমার একটু সময় লাগবে। *amar eḳtu soṃoj lagbe* 'I need some time'

ii) Bengali takes the combination *ạḍ̣tu* 'half' with *eḳtu*

a) একটু আদটু সময় দেগা বাল। *eḳtu ạḍ̣tu soṃoj dewa bala* 'It is good to give some time'

b) Sylheti takes the combination *aḳtu* with *eḳtu*

c) একটু আকটু সয়তানি করা বাল। *eḳtu aḳtu sojṭani ḳora bala* 'It is good to do some mischiefs'

ii) As an adverb

a) আমি র একটু কাজ করব। *ami r eḳtu kaj ḳorḅo* 'I will do some more work'

iii) Doubled meaning 'little by little' or 'bit by bit'

a) একটু একটু করি কাও। *eḳtu eḳtu kori kao* 'eat little by little'

.

iv) With classifier in Bangla

a) আমার র একটু খানি কাজ বাকি। *amar e eḳtu k^hani kaḍz baki* 'I have some more work left'

f) থুরা *ṭ^hura* 'little', 'a bit'

ṭ^hura is a Sylheti quantifier. It can be used as an adjective and as an adverb but it does not take any classifier.

i) as an adjective:

a) তারে থুরা সময় দিতে লাগব। *tare t̪hura sɔmɔj d̪ite lagbo* 'He need some time'

b) আমার থুরা সন্দেহ আসে। *amar t̪hura sondeho ase* 'I have some doubt'.

ii) as an adverb

a) আমি আরও থুরা কাজ করমু। *ami ro t̪hura kad̪ kormu* 'I will work a bit more'

b) মেয়েটা থুরা পোরে আবার আইব। *mejeṭa t̪hura baḍe aibo* 'She will come a bit later'

iii) Doubled as an adverb with *kori*.

a) থুরা থুরা করি করি খাও। *t̪hura t̪hura kori kao* 'eat slowly'

b) হে থুরা থুরা করি কথা সিকের। *he t̪hura t̪hura kori kotha koy* 'He speaks slowly'

8.7. Derivation of Adjectives

Derivation of adjectives is similar in Bangla and Sylheti. In this section a list of adjectives is given which are derived from other parts of speech. Like English, in Bangla and Sylheti also adjectives are derived by the addition of suffixes.

Here are some examples from Bangla and Sylheti adjective from nouns after vowel change or after addition of suffix:

a) With the suffix শিল *fil*, বান *ban*, মান *man* for indicating qualities.

শ্রদ্ধা *frɔḍa* 'respect' to শ্রদ্ধাশীল *frɔḍafil* 'respectful'

ক্ষমা *khoma* 'forgive' to ক্ষমাশীল *khomafil* 'kindhearted'

বুদ্ধি <i>buddi</i>	'wisdom'	to	বুদ্ধিমান <i>buddiman</i>	'wise'
দয়া <i>dja</i>	'kind'	to	দয়াবান <i>djaban</i>	'kind hearted'
মূল্য <i>mullo</i>	'price'	to	মূল্যবান <i>mulloban</i>	'expensive'

b) With the addition of the suffix হীন *hin* meaning 'without', this suffix is used with many abstract noun.

আশা <i>afa</i>	'hope'	to	আশাহীন <i>afahin</i>	'hopeless'
দয়া <i>dja</i>	'kind'	to	দয়াহীন <i>djahin</i>	'cruel'

c) Addition of the vowel /i/

ভার <i>b^har</i>	'weight'	to	ভারি <i>b^hari</i>	'heavy'
মান <i>man</i>	'honour'	to	মানি <i>mani</i>	'respected'
গুণ <i>gun</i>	'quality'	to	গুনি <i>guni</i>	'intelligent'
দাম <i>d^ham</i>	'price'	to	দামি <i>d^hami</i>	'expensive'

8.8. Conclusion

In this chapter we have tried to do a study on Sylheti adjectives comparing them with the Bangla adjectives. The use of adjectives in Bangla and Sylheti is similar. The derivation of adjectives and degrees of comparison are similar in use. But the use of quantifiers is different, in Bangla the quantifier takes the classifier while in Sylheti the quantifier usually does not take any classifier. Only the classifier *ta* is used but with the quantifiers which are most similar to Bangla.

IX

ADVERBS

9.1. Introduction

The function of adverbs is to modify verbs, adjectives and other adverbs. Adverb answer the following questions – *where?*, *when?*, *how?*, *why?* etc.

In Bangla and Sylheti adverbs sometimes resemble adjectives with which they are often formally identical. Example: The word *balo* in Bangla functions both as an adjective and an adverb. The difference is understood from the syntactic constructions, like – a) *o balo manus* (he is a good man)

b) *garita balo chole* (the car runs well)

Here *balo* functions as an adjective in sentence (a) and as an adverb in the sentence (b). Same phenomena are also prevalent in Sylheti.

9.2. Formation of adverbs

Like English, in Bangla and Sylheti also adverbs are formed by adding suffixes but unlike English in Bangla and Sylheti there are more than one suffix which are used for adverb formations. The list of suffixes and the ways of forming adverbs in Bangla and Sylheti are shown below:

a) Suffixation is one of the most common way of forming adverbs. Adverbs in Bangla and Sylheti are formed by adding *e* (a locative ending in Bangla) to some nouns and adjectives. A list of adverbs formed after adding the suffix *e* are shown below:

Table 9.2.1: Formation of adverbs in Bangla and Sylheti

Bangla script	Bangla pronunciation	Sylheti pronunciation	gloss
অবশেষে	<i>ɔbɔʃefe</i>	<i>ɔbɔʃefe</i>	finally
নিরবে	<i>nirɔbe</i>	<i>nirɔbe</i>	silently
গোপনে	<i>gopɔne</i>	<i>gufone</i>	secretly
আড়ালে	<i>aɽale</i>	<i>aɽale</i>	secretly
অনায়াসে	<i>ɔnajafe</i>	<i>ɔnajafe</i>	easily
অকারণে	<i>ɔkarɔne</i>	<i>ɔxarɔne</i>	unnecessarily
সেষে	<i>ʃefe</i>	<i>ʃefe / hefe</i>	finally
প্রথমে	<i>prɔtʰɔme</i>	<i>prɔtʰɔme</i>	In the beginning
সহজে	<i>ʃɔhɔdʒe</i>	<i>ʃɔhɔdʒe</i>	easily
আসেত	<i>aʃte</i>	<i>aʃte</i>	slowly
ধীরে	<i>dʰire</i>	<i>dʰire</i>	slowly
দূরে	<i>dure</i>	<i>dure</i>	at a distance

b) Some adverbs are formed by adding *tɔ* to adjectives and nouns (Thompson,2010)

Table 9.2.2 : Formation of adverbs from noun and adjectives

Bangla script	Bangla Pronunciation	Sylheti pronunciation	gloss
অংশত	<i>ɔɽʃɔtɔ</i>	<i>ɔɽʃɔtɔ</i>	partly
অন্তত	<i>ɔntɔtɔ</i>	<i>ɔntɔtɔ</i>	at least
সাদারনত	<i>ʃadɔrɔnɔtɔ</i>	<i>ʃadɔrɔnɔtɔ</i>	normally
প্রথমত	<i>prɔtɔmɔtɔ</i>	<i>frɔtɔmɔtɔ</i>	mainly

d) Adverbs are also formed by means of reduplication.

আসেত্বাসেত	<i>aste aste</i>	'slowly'
ধিরে ধিরে	<i>ḍ^hire ḍ^hire</i>	'slowly'
তারাতারি	<i>ṭaraṭari</i>	'quickly'
জলদিজলদি	<i>ḍzaldḍi ḍzaldḍi</i>	'quickly'
পাসাপাসি	<i>paṣapaṣi</i>	'alongside'
রাতারাতি	<i>raṭaraṭi</i>	'tonight'
মিখামুখি	<i>mukamuki</i>	'face to face'
ছিপিছুপি	<i>ḥipitḥipi</i>	'silently'
পিটাপিতা	<i>piṭapiṭi</i>	'back to back'

d) Adverbs are also formed by means of onomatopoeia.

B	তকতকে	<i>ṭaktṭake</i>	'sparklingly'
	চটচটে	<i>ḥoṭḥoṭe</i>	'sticky'
	টকটকে	<i>ṭaktṭake</i>	'bright'
S	তেলতেলা	<i>ṭelṭela</i>	'oily'
	সিপসিপা	<i>sipsipa</i>	'sticky'

e) *kare-* the perfective participle of *kora* in Bangla can be added to adjectives, interrogatives or some nouns (Thompson,2010).

Example: ও নিশ্চিত করে বলতে পারে ।
o niṣṣiṭṭi kore bolṭe pare
 he can tell it certainly

f) *kari*- In Sylheti adverbs *kari* is one of the participle or converb of *kora* 'to do' is added with adjectives, nouns and interrogatives.

Example: তাই জুর করি আমারে লইয়া গেল।
tai d̥ʒur kori amare loija gelɔ
 she took me forcibly

9.3. Use of adverbs

Adverbs can be classified according to the parts of speech with which they are used.

a) Adverbs modifying adjectives

B & S	খুব দামি	<i>k^hub d̥ami</i>	'very expensive'
B	বেসি ছালাক	<i>befi ʃalak</i>	'very clever'
B	অনেক সুন্দর	<i>onek sun̥dɔr</i>	'very beautiful'
S	বেজান সালাক	<i>bedʒan salak</i>	'very clever'

b) Adverbs modifying adverbs

B & S	অতি সহজে	<i>ɔti ʃohɔdʒe</i>	'too easily'
B & S	কত সুন্দর	<i>kɔtɔ sun̥dɔr</i>	'how beautifully'
S	বেজান জলদি	<i>bedʒan d̥ʒɔldi</i>	'very quickly'

c) Adverbs modifying verbs

B	ধিৰে বলুন	<i>d̥hire bolun</i>	'speak slowly'
B	ও তाराতारि चले गेल	<i>o ɔtarat̥ari ʃɔle gelɔ</i>	'he went fast'
S	ঠিক কথা কইস	<i>ʃik kɔt̥a k̥oisɔ</i>	'what you said is correct'

S হে আনমনে গুরের *he anmone gurer* 'he is wandering in
an absent-minded
way'

9.4. Description of adverbs

Adverbs can be divided into the following groups by meaning: time, frequency, place, degree and manner.

a) Adverbs of time: Adverbs of time provide information about the question when?

Adverbs of time used in Bengali and Sylheti are:

B অনেককাল *onekkon* 'for long time'

অনেককাল হল অপেক্ষা করি।

onekkon holo opekka korfi

Waiting for a long time

B অবশেষে *obofefe* 'finally'

অবশেষে ন্যায় পাওয়া গেল

obofefe naj pawa gelo

Finally we got justice

B & S সেষে *fefe* 'finally', 'in the end'

B সেষে কি হল

fefe ki holo

What happened in the end?

S সেষে তারার হুস ফিরসে।

fefe tarar hus φirfe

In the end they understood

S শেষমেশ *fefmef* 'finally'

শেষমেশ আমার কাজটা হল ।

fefmef amar kadzta holo

Finally I finished the work

B&S আগে *age* 'before', 'ago'

আমি দু বছর আগে আসেছিলাম ।

ami du bof^hor age afef^hlam

I came two years ago

B আজ *adz*, আজকে *adzke* 'today'

আজকে কি করলে ।

adzke ki korle

What did you do today?

S আইজ *aidz*, আইজকু *aidzku* 'today'

আইজ কই গেস্লাম ।

aidz koi geslaj

Where did you go today?

B&S আবার *abar* 'again'

B আমার আবার ছাকির হল.

amar abar fakri holo

- I got a job again
- S আমি আবার আইলাম
ami abar ailam
I came again
- B&S ইতিমধ্যে *iṭimɔdʰe* 'in the meantime', 'by now'
- B মেয়েটা ইতিমধ্যে সব কাজ করে নিল?
mejeṭa iṭimɔdʰe ʃɔb kaɟ kore nilɔ
that girl finished the work in the mean time
- S আমি ইতিমধ্যে সব সেরা করি
ami iṭimɔdʰe ʃɔb sef kori
I finish everything in the meantime.
- B&S এরমধ্যে *ermɔdʰe* 'in the meantime', 'by now'
- B এরমধ্যে জগ্না শুরু হয়ে গেল
ermɔdʰe ɟɔgra suru hoje gelɔ
In the meantime they started quareling
- S তাই এরমধ্যে আই গেল।
ṭai ermɔdʰe ai gelɔ
She came in the meantime
- B&S ইদানীং *iḍaniṅ* 'at present'
- B আমরা ইদানীং বেকার আছি।
amra iḍaniṅ bekar aḥi
We are unemployed at present

b) Adverbs of frequency: Adverbs of frequency answer the question how often?

B প্রতিদিন *proitiḍin* 'everyday'

আমি প্রতিদিন অফিস জাই ।

ami proitiḍin aphiḍi ḍai

I go to office everyday

S রুজদিন *rudḍin* 'everyday'

বাইচ্ছারার রুজদিন স্কুল জাআ উছিত ।

baifḥrar rudḍin skulo ḍawa utḥiti

Children should go to school everyday

B&S সব সময় *ḥob ḥomaj* 'always'

B ও সব সময় বারি জায় ।

o ḥob ḥomaj bari ḍaj

He always go to his house

S হে সব সময় বড়রার কথা সুনৈ

he ḥob ḥomaj bḍrar koḥa fune

He always listen to elders

S হকল সময় *hokol ḥomaj* 'always'

তুই হকল সময় আমারে দুস দেস ।

tui hokol ḥomaj amare ḍuf ḍes

You always blame me

c) Adverbs of direction or location

- B এখানে *ek^hane* 'here'
আমি এখানে থাকি।
ami ek^hane t^haki
I live here
- S ইখান *ixanɔ* 'here'
তাই ইখান থাকে।
tai ixanɔ t^hake
She lives here
- B ডানে *ɔande* 'right'
রাস্তাটা ডানদিকে
raɔtaɔa ɔandike
The road is on the left
- S ডাইনে *ɔaine* 'right'
দুকানটা ডাইনে
ɔukantaɔa ɔaine
The shop is on the left
- B অনেকদূর *ɔnekɔur* 'far'
মন্দিরটা অনেকদূর
mɔndirɔta ɔnekɔur
The temple is far
- S বেজান দূর *bedʒan ɔur* 'far'

হে বাজান দূর গেসেগি ।

he beɟan ɖur gefegi

He went very far

d) Adverbs of degree

S বেশ *bef* 'very'

হে বেশ বালা মানুস ।

he bef bala manuf

He is a very good man

B ভীষণ *b^hifɔn* 'extremely'

উনি ভীষণ সখ বাবে চলেন ।

uni b^hifɔn ʃɔ t^h b^habe ʃɔlen

He leads his life in an extremely honest way

B খুব *k^hub* 'very'

সে খুব জরে পরে ।

ʃe k^hub ɖɔre pɔre

He reads very loudly

e) Adverbs of manner

B ধীরে *ɖ^hire* 'slowly'

ধীরে য়ারি চালাবেন

ɖ^hire g^hai ʃalaben

Drive slowly

B&S আস্তে *afte* 'softly'

B ছেলেটা আস্তে কথা বলে
ʃ^heletə afte kɔ t̪^ha bole
He speak softly

S আস্তে খা
afte k^ha
Eat slowly

B একসঙ্গে *ekʃɔŋe* 'together'
আমরা একসঙ্গে ছলি
amra ekʃɔŋe ʃ^hɔli
We work together

S একলগে *eklɔge* 'together'
একলগে কাজ করলে বালা অইত ।
eklɔge kaʒ kɔrle bala oy
It would be better if we work together

B&S হতাৎ *hɔtət* 'suddenly'
হতাৎ কী হল
hɔtət ki hɔlɔ
What happened suddenly?

S আক্তা *axta* 'suddenly'
আজ্ঞা তার জে কিতা অইল?
axta tar dʒe kiɽa ɔilɔ

What happened to him suddenly?

9.5. Placement of adverbs

Adverbs in Bangla and Sylheti are placed in all position in a sentence. They are flexible in their placement

Before an adjective:

ভীষণ কঠিন কাজ ।

b^hifɔn kɔʃin kaʒ

Very hard work

At the end of a sentence as non-verbal predicates:

দুকান্‌তা ডানে

ḍukanṭa ḍane

The shop is on the right



POSTPOSITIONS

10.1. Introduction

In the grammar of Bangla and Sylheti languages postpositions are one of the vital linguistic components. The function of postpositions in Bangla and Sylheti is similar with that of prepositions in English – these are two unique linguistic elements that exhibit close syntactic-semantic functions although they occur in two different position in respective languages (Thompson, 2010).

The functions of post positions used in Bangla and Sylheti are similar with those of English prepositions which are placed before nouns or pronouns as in 'by father', 'with you', 'under the table', yet post positions in Bangla and Sylheti are used after nouns or pronouns and they must have case markers.

B	বাবার	সাথে	S	বইনর	লাগি
	<i>babar</i>	<i>saṭṭhe</i>		<i>boinor</i>	<i>lagi</i>
	father-GEN	with		sister-GEN	for
B	হাতের	ধারা	S	বাবারে	দিয়া
	<i>haṭer</i>	<i>ḍḍhara</i>		<i>babare</i>	<i>ḍḍija</i>
	hand-GEN	by		father-OBJ	by

According to Thompson postposition in Bangla are not a closed word class, and this is also valid for Sylheti. In Bangla and Sylheti there is a great number of postpositions. Some of them are derived from nominal or verbal while some are

underived postpositions.

10.2. Postposition in Bengali and Sylheti: Overview

Postposition are broadly divided into nominal, verbal and underived postpositions. Nominal postpositions are further subdivided into *tatsama*, *tatbhava*, native and other groups of postpositions.(Choudhury,2015). The classification along with the examples are shown below:

a) Nominal *tatsama* postpositions: These postpositions are Sanskrit borrowed words derived from nouns. They are mostly used in literature and it is very rare to use in normal conversation. The list of nominal *tatsama* postposition are given in the table:

Table 10.2.1 : Bangla and Sylheti Nominal *Tatsama* Postpositions

Bangla script	Transcription	gloss
আপেক্ষা	<i>apaksa</i>	then
প্রতি	<i>praṭi</i>	towards
উদ্দেশ্য	<i>uḍesja</i>	pointing at/ towards
নিকট	<i>nikoṭ</i>	near
পাসছাতে	<i>pasṭhāte</i>	later
সম্মুখে	<i>ṣommuke</i>	in front/near

b) Nominal *tatbhava* postpositions: These postpositions originated from Sanskrit but did not retain much similarities with the original Sanskrit words. The nominal

tatbhava postpositions which are used in Bangla and Sylheti are shown in the following table:

Table 10.2.2 : Nominal *Tatbhava* Postpositions

Bangla script	Transcription	gloss
আগে	<i>age</i>	before
বিনা	<i>bina</i>	without
উপরে	<i>upre</i>	above
সাথে	<i>saṭ^he</i>	with

c) Nominal Postpositions – Foreign: These postpositions are obtained from foreign languages through language and cultural contact.

Table: 10.2.3: Foreign Postpositions

Bangla script	transcription	gloss
বদলে	<i>bɔḍɔle</i>	instead of
বরাবর	<i>bɔrabɔr</i>	straight

d) Verbal Postpositions: These are originated from verb roots and are used¹¹ after words which may or may not have case endings. The verbal postpositions used in Bangla and Sylheti are given in the table below:

Table 10.2.4: Verbal postposition

¹¹The verbal postposition in Bengali have mostly two varieties: *saḍ^hu* (koriya) and *ḥaliṭ* (kore). In Sylheti verbal postpositions frequently are perfective participle forms.

language	Bangla script	transcription	gloss
Bangla	করে	<i>kore</i>	by
Bangla	থেকে	<i>t^heke</i>	from
Bangla	দিয়ে	<i>dije</i>	by
Sylheti	দিয়া	<i>dija</i>	by
Sylheti	থাকি	<i>t^haki</i>	from

e) Underived Postpositions: These are postpositions which are neither derived from nouns and verbs.

Table 10.2.5: Underived Postposition

language	Bangla script	transcription	gloss
Bangla	অবধি	<i>obdi</i>	until
Bangla	জন্য	<i>djonjo</i>	for
Sylheti	লাগি	<i>lagi</i>	for
Sylheti	তনে	<i>t^hone</i>	from

10.3 : Meaning of Postpositions:

The use of postpositions in the sentence level carries a significant amount of semantic information. Speakers use postpositions in order to express the information regarding spatial, causal, manner, temporal aspects and so on. Below we have given lists of

postpositions used in Bangla and Sylheti and also tried to discuss their use in detail¹² (Bagchi,2007).

Table: 10.3: Meanings and Semantic roles of Postpositions

No .	language	Bengali script	transc	gloss	Semantic role
1.	B & S	আগে	<i>age</i>	before/earlier	temporal
2.	B & S	আপেক্ষা	<i>apekʃa</i>	than	comparative
3.	B & S	অধি	<i>obɽi</i>	until	temporal
4.	B & S	অন্তর	<i>ɔntɔre</i>	inside/ in an interval of	temporal/spatial
5.	B & S	বদলে	<i>bɔɽɔle</i>	instead	comparative
6.	B & S	বারাবার	<i>borabor</i>	straight	directional/spatial
7.	B & S	বাইরে	<i>baire</i>	outside	directional/spatial
8.	S	বাদে	<i>baɽe</i>	after/later	temporal
9.	B & S	চেয়ে	<i>ʃeje</i>	than	comparative
10.	B	চাইতে	<i>ʃaiɽe</i>	than	comparative
11.	B	দিয়ে	<i>ɽije</i>	by	instrumental
12.	B & S	দিয়া	<i>ɽija</i>	by	instrumental
13.	B & S	দারা	<i>ɽara</i>	by	instrumental
14.	S	গেসে	<i>gese</i>	with/towards	directional/manner related content
15.	B & S	জন্য	<i>ɽɔnjo</i>	for	casual/circumstantial
16.	B	করে	<i>kore</i>	by	instrumental
17.	S	করি	<i>kori</i>	by	instrumental
18.	S	করিয়া	<i>kɔrija</i>	by	instrumental
19.	S	লাগি	<i>lagi</i>	for	circumstantial
20.	S	লইয়া	<i>lɔija</i>	with/including	Circumstantial/manner related
21.	B & S	মদ্যে	<i>modje</i>	inside	locational
22.	B & S	মাঝে	<i>madʒ^{he}</i>	middle	locational/spatial

¹². Sylheti speakers use more or less all the postposition of Bangla. But Bangla speakers do not generally use specifically the Sylheti postpositions.

23.	B	নিয়ে	<i>nije</i>	with	circumtantail
24.	B	পরে	<i>pore</i>	after/later	temporal
25.	S	ফরে	<i>φore</i>	after/later	temporal
26.	B&S	সামনে	<i>samne</i>	front	directional
27.	B&S	সঙ্গে	<i>sone</i>	with	circumtantial
28.	B	থেকে	<i>t^heke</i>	then	comparative
29.	S	তনে	<i>t^hone</i>	from	directionale

10.4. Postpositions used with case markers

Postpositions in Bangla and Sylheti usually occur after nominal or pronominal forms and make a relation with the other syntactic elements in a sentence. Postpositions almost perform functions of inflectional markers or case endings and carry a semantic information about the relation of verbs and nouns in a sentence. But in some cases postpositions demand inflectional markers or case endings like *-re,-dara,-ke* etc. It is to be noted that all postpositions do not come with all case makers. Indeed in Bangla and Sylheti case markers are accompanied by particular post positions, examples of postposition are given below to show how they work in a sentence with different case markers.¹³

a) অন্তর *ontor*

i) *in interval of*, ii) nominative, iii) nominal, iv) not very common, used also a noun, v)
por por

B: তিন দিন অন্তর অসুদ টা নিতে হবে ।

tin din ontor ofud ta nite hobe

¹³i) meaning, (ii) case ending of preceding noun, (iii) derivation, (iv) how often used, (v) synonymous postpositions.

The medicine should be taken in the interval of three days

b) অভিনুখে *ɔb^{hi}imuke*

i) *towards*, ii) genitive, iii) nominal, iv) not so common.

সাধিনতার আভুনিখে তারা জাত্ৰা সুরু করল ।

ʃaɖ^{hi}inɔɖ^{ar} ɔb^{hi}imuke ʈara ɖʒaɖ^{ra} suru kɔrlɔ

They started to move toward freedom.

c) অবধি *ɔb^dhi*

i) *until*, ii) nominative, iii) underived, iv) common, v) *porɖʒntɔ*

B: আজকে অবধি কাজ ʈa হল না ।

aɖʒke ɔb^dhi kaɖʒ ʈa hɔlɔ na

The work is not finished until today.

S: হে এখন অবধি আইসে না ।

he exon ɔb^dhi aise na

He has not come yet.

d) আগে *age*

i) *before, ago, front*, ii) genitive, iii) nominal, iv) common in both Bengali and Sylheti, also used as adverb.

B: আমার আগে সেস হয়েছিল ।

amar age ses hojetʃ^{hi}ilɔ

I finished it before.

S: আমি তার আগে আইসলাম

ami ʈar age aislam

I came before him.

e) বদলে *bɔɖɔle*

i) *instead*, ii) genitive case, iii) nominal, iv) very common, v) *binimoj*

B: আমার বদলে তুমি যাও।
amar bɔɖɔle tʊmi dʒao
You go instead of me.

f) বদলে *bɔɖle*

i) *instead*, ii) genitive case, iii) nominal, iv) common, v) *binimoj*. The use is similar like Bangla *bɔɖɔle* only in Sylheti it is pronounced as *bɔɖle* without pronouncing ɔ after ɖ.

S: তার বদলে আজকে আমি রান্না করমু
tar bɔɖle adʒke ami ranna kormu
I will cook today instead of him

g) চেয়ে *ʃeje*

i) *than, compared to*, ii) genitive, iii) verbal, iv) common in Bengali, v) *tʰeke*

B: সে আমার চেয়ে ভাল।
se amar ʃeye balɔ
He is a better than me

h) ছাড়া *ʃʰara*

i) *without, except*, ii) used with all cases, iii) verbal, iv) commonly used in Bangla, in Sylheti with the phonological change of /ʃʰ/- /s/, *ʃʰara* is the verbal noun of a verb that means 'to leave'.

B: জল ছাড়া জীবন হলে না
dʒɔl ʃʰara dʒibɔn ʃʰɔle na
Life is hard without water

S: আমি সারা কেউ আইসে না
ami sara keu aise na
Noone has come yet

i) দিয়ে *ḍije*

i) *with* (instrumental), *via*, *by*, ii) nominative, objective case used with animate noun
iii) verbal, iv) used in Bangla.

B: আমরা ছুরি দিয়ে সবজি কাটি
amra ḡuri ḍiye sobḍi kaṭi
We cut vegetables with knife

j) দিয়া *ḍija*

i) *with*(instrumental), *via*, *through*, *by*, ii) nominative, objective case with animate nouns. iii) verbal, iv) common in Sylheti.

S: তারে দিয়া ঘর ফরিস্কার করানি আইসে
ṭare ḍiya ḡor foiskar korani oise
The house was cleaned by him

k) দ্বারা *ḍara*

i) *by*, *by means of*, ii) nominative, used as genitive case with animate nouns and pronouns, iii) underived, iv) used in Bangla and Sylheti. In Sylheti this postposition is commonly used with animate nouns or pronouns.

B: খারাপ মানুসের দ্বারা খারাপ কাজ ই হয়
k^harap manuser đara k^harap kađ i hoj
Bad people can do only bad works

S তার দ্বারা ই কাজ অইত না।
tar đara i kađ oit na
He cannot do this work

l) গেসে *gese*

i) *towards, with*, ii) genitive, iii) verbal, iv) common, v) used in Sylheti.

S আফনার গেসে কলম আসে নি?
aφnar gese kolom ase ni?
Do you have a pen with you?

m) জন্য *đonjo*

i) *for*, ii) genitive, iii) common in Bangla, not so common in Sylheti.

B আমার জন্য কিছু আনিস
amar đonyo kitfu anis
Bring something for me.

n) লাগি *lagi*

i) *for*, ii) genitive, iii) verbal, iv) common in Sylheti, v) *đonjo*

S তিন দিনর লাগি আমি আইতাম না।

ṭin ḍinɔr lagi ami aiɽam na

I will not come for three days.

o) পরে *pɔre*

i) *later*, ii) genitive, iii) nominal, also used as adverb iv) common in Bengali, in Sylheti /*pore*/ is used with the phonological change /p/ - /ɸ/

B তিন দিন পরে
ṭin ḍin pɔre
After three days

S প্রায় তিন মাস ফরে হে বারিত আইল
pray ṭin mas ɸɔre he bariɽ ailo
He came home after three months

p) বাদে *baɽe*

i) *later, after*, ii) genitive, nominative iii) nominal, iv) used in Sylheti, v) *pɔre*

S তাই বাদে আইব
ṭai baɽe aibɔ
She will come later

q) থেকে *ṭheke*

i) *from, then*, ii) genitive, iii) verbal, iv) common in Bangla

B আমার কাচ থেকে নিয়ে গেছে।
amar katf ṭheke nije gef̣he
He took it from me.

r) তনে *ṭone*

i) *from, then, compared to*, ii) genitive, iii) underived, iv) common in Sylheti, v) *tʰaki*

S আমার তনে হে বালা গান গায় ।
amar tʰone he bala gan gaj
 He is a better singer than me.

10.5. Postpositions as adverbs

Postpositions which reveal spatial, temporal and locational informations function as adverbs since they deliver the information regarding time, place and manner in which the action took place (Thompson, 2010). Two postpositions also functioning as adverbs in Bangla and Sylhet are listed below:

Bangla:	পরে	<i>later</i>
postposition	অনেক দিন পরে আবার এলাম । <i>onek din pore abar elam</i>	I came after many days
adverb	তারা পরে আসবে । <i>tara pore asbe</i>	They will come later
Sylheti :	বাদে	<i>later,</i>
postposition	বাক্বা দিন বাদে তরে দেখলাম । <i>bakka din baḍe tʰore deklam</i>	I saw you after so many days.
adverb	তারা বাদে আইবা ।	They will come later

tare baḍe aiba

10.6. Conclusion

During the course of this study, the function, origin and concept of the postpositions in Bangla and Sylheti has been studied. A through analysis of Sylheti postposition has been done keeping in mind the concept and behavioral aspects of postposition in Bangla and prepositions in English. Like prepositions, postpositions also play a vital role for understanding languages. From the above analysis of postpositions in Bangla and Sylheti it is clear that their function is similar; the only difference lies in the choice of postpositional words for example the word *ḡore* is used in Bangla for 'later' while in Sylheti *baḍe* is used for 'later'.

XI

CONJUNCTIONS

11.1 Introduction

Conjunctions are a part of speech that has the function of connecting two phrases within a sentence or two clauses in a complex sentence. Conjunctions can be classified on the basis of their form or on the basis of their function. Conjunctions in Bangla and Sylheti are broadly divided into four types:

- i) Coordinating conjunctions
- ii) Subordinating conjunctions
- iii) Coordinating correlative conjunctions
- iv) Subordinating correlative conjunctions

Conjunctions in Bangla and Sylheti also function like English, some conjunctions in Bangla and Sylheti also function as nouns, pronouns, adverbs and adjectives (Thompson,2010). Example:

a) *ki* acts as an interrogative pronoun in-

B *eta ki?*
 what is this?

b) *ki* acting as conjunction

B *o asbe ki asbena ami ki jani?*
 How do I know whether he is coming or not.

This chapter discusses Bangla and Sylheti conjunctions grouped by their semantic components as well as types.

11.2.Coordinating conjunctions: Like English in Bangla and Sylheti it is not necessary to add comma after the conjunction. Coordinating conjunctions can be categorized according to their functions as in,

11.2.1.conjoining – ও o– and, also

Bangla

and – আমি ও তুমি যাব ।

ami o tumi dzabo

'I and you will go'

also - আমি যাব তুমিও যাবে ।

ami dzabo tumio dzabe

'I and you will go'

In Sylheti the use of *o* functioning as 'also' is more common than functioning as 'and'.

Sylheti:

also – আমিও জাইমু

amio dzaimu.

I will also go

এবং *ebonj* - and

Bangla – আমি এবং আমার বন্ধুরা

ami ebonj amar bondura

Me and my friends.

আর *ar* - 'and', 'more'.

Bangla – আমি আর আমার বন্ধুরা আসবে ।

ami ar amar bōṅḍura aḷbe.

Me and my friends will come

Sylheti - আমি আর আমার ফরিবার ।

ami ar amar ḫṛibar

me and my family

The use of আর *ar* in Bangla and Sylheti is similar, but it is more frequent in Sylheti.

11.2.2 Conjunctions used for alternatives

আথবা *ṭṭṛba* - 'or' (used mainly in Bengali, used also in Sylheti but not so common)

Example:

B আমি অতবা তুমি যাবে ।

ami ṭṭṛba ṭṭumi ḍṛabe

I or you will go

S আমি করমু অতবা তুমি করবায়

ami kṛmu ṭṭṛba ṭṭumi kṛbaj

I will do or you will do

বা *ba* - 'or' (used in both Bengali and Sylheti)

Example:

B আমি থাকব বা তুমি থাকবে ।

ami ṭṭṛakḅ ba ṭṭumi ṭṭakbe

I will stay or you will stay

S আমি জাইমু বা তুমি জাইবায়
ami dzaimu ba tumi dzajibaj
I will go or you will go

কি *ki* 'or' (Bangla and Sylheti)

Example:

B সে আসবে কি আসবেনা আমি কেমন করে বলব ।
je ajbe ki ajbe na ami kemon kore bolbo
He will come or not how can I say

S তুই থাকতে কি থাকতে না কইতে ত
tui t^hakte ki t^hakte na koite t
you should say whether you want to stay or not

কিংবা *kiᅇba* - 'or' (Bangla and Sylheti)

Example:

B তুমি আসবে কিংবা আসবে না আগে জানিও
tumi ajbe kiᅇba ajbena age dzanio
Inform me befor whether you will come or not

S জারা আসইন কিংবা জারা আইসইন না সবরে ইতা জানানি অইব
dzara aifcin kiᅇba dzara aifcin na tara fcbre dzanani oibo
who came or who doesnot came all will be informed

কিনা *kina* - 'or' (Bangla)

Examples :

B ওরা আসবে কিনা আসবে না ।
ora aʃbe kina aʃbena
They will come or not

না *na* - 'or' (Bangla and Sylheti)

Example:

B ও পাস করেছে না ফেইল
o paʃ kɔreʃa na p^heil
He passed the exam or he failed

S হে কাজটা করল না করলনা ?
he kaʒta kɔrlɔ na kɔrlɔ ?
Did he finished the work or not ?

নাকি *naki* - 'or' (Bangla)

Example

B ও প্ররিক্কা দিবে নাকি দিবে না
o pɔrikka ɖibe naki ɖibe na.
He will give his exam or not

বরং *bɔrɔŋ* - instead, 'rather' (Bangla and Sylheti)

Example

B আমি বরং কাজটা সেস করে আসি ।
ami bɔrɔŋ kaʒta seʃ kɔre aʃi

Let me finish the work instead

বরংস *bɔɾɔŋsɔ* - 'instead', 'rather' (Sylheti)

Example

S আমি বরংস কাজ টা সেস করিয়া আই ।
ami bɔɾɔŋsɔ kadʒ ta sef kɔrija ai

Let me finish the work instead

11.2.3. Adversative conjunctions or contrasting conjunctions

অথচ *ɔtʰɔtʰɔ* - 'yet' (Bangla)

B কাজ টা করেচি অথচ তার কাছে কুন সম্মান পেলাম না ।
kadʒ ta kɔretʃi ɔtʰɔtʰɔ tar katʃe kunɔ sɔmman pelam na
I did his work yet I received no respect from him

অতস *ɔtʰɔsɔ* - 'yet', 'but' (Sylheti)

S আমি কালেক্ তার বাড়ি গেসলাম অথস হে আমারে কুনতা কইল না ।
ami kalke tar bari geslam ɔtʰɔsɔ he amare kunta kɔilɔ na
I went to his house yesterday but he did not tell me anything

কিন্ত *kinɽu* - 'but' commonly used in Bangla and Sylheti

B আমি খাব কিন্তু এতটা খেতে পারব না
ami kʰabɔ kinɽu etʃta kʰete parɔ na
I will eat but this much I cannot.

তবে *t̥be* - 'but' common in Bangla but rare in Sylheti

B ছেলেটা ইকানে পরতে আসে তবে রোজ আসে না
ʃ^helet̥a ikane p̥ɔrt̥e aʃe t̥be roɟ aʃe na
That boy come here for study but not everyday

S আমি আইমু তবে কুন সময় কইতে পারতাম না
ami aimu t̥be kun ʃɔmɔj koit̥e part̥am na
I will come but I cannot tell the time and date

তেব *t̥ebɔ* - 'but' (Sylheti)

S আমি তারে আগে থাকি কইয়া রাকসি তেব হে আমার কথা শুনছে না
ami t̥are age ɔ^haki koija rakʃi t̥ebɔ he amar ko^ha ʃunʃ^ha na
I warned him before but he did not listen to me

তবু *t̥bu* - 'but' used in Bangla

B ওরা গরিব তবু ওরা সৎ
ora g̥ɔrib t̥bu ora ʃɔ^{t̥}
They are poor but they are honest

11.2.4. Resultative conjunctions

অতএব *ɔ^{t̥}eb* - 'therefore' (Bangla and Sylheti)

B আমি কাজটা করব অতএব তুমি ছানিত করবে না।
ami kaɟ ta k̥ɔrbɔ ɔ^{t̥}eb tumi ʃ^hin̥ta k̥ɔrbe na
I will do the work therefore you can relax

S আমি তুমার বাসাত আইমু অতএব তুমি বাসাত থাকিও

ami tumar bafat aimu ctob tumi bafat thakio

I will come to your house therefore stay at home

সুতরাং *fuṭṭoraṅ* - 'therefore', 'consequently'

(Bangla and Sylheti)

B সে অনেক চেষ্টা করেছে সুতরাং তার ফলটাও সে পেয়েচা

se onek ṭheṣṭa koreṭhe fuṭṭoraṅ tar pḥol tao se pajatṭhe

she worked very hard therefore she got this result

S আমি ঘরের সব কাজ করবু সুতরাং তুমি খুঁরা আরাম করতে পার

ami ghorer sob kadz korbu fuṭṭoraṅ tumi thura aram korṭe parṭ

I will do all the home chores therefore you can take some rest

কাজেই *kadzei* - 'therefore', 'so' (Bangla and Sylheti)

B আমি জাব কেজেই তুমার জাগর দিরকার নেই।

ami ḍabṭ kadzei tuma ḍaijar ḍrkar nei

I will go therefore you can stay

তাই *ṭai* - 'so' (Bangla)

B ওরা আমার বন্ধু তাই ভয়ের কুন কারন নেই

ora amar bṅḍu ṭai bhṭjer kuno karṅ nei

They are my friends so we donot have to worry

সেজন্য *ṭedṭṅṅ* - 'for this reason', 'therefore' (Bangla)

B মানুষ তা খুব ভাল। সেজন্য তাকে সবাই ভাল বাসে

manuṭ ta kḥub bhḥalṭ. ṭedṭṅṅ ṭake ṭobai balṭ bafe

He is very broadminded. For this reason everyone likes him

এরলাগি *erlagi* - 'for this reason', 'therefore' (Sylheti)

S মানুষ টা খুব সখ | এরলাগি তার জত কষ্ট

manuf ta k^hub jɔt^h. erlagi tar dʒɔtɔ kɔstɔ

He is very honest. For this reason he has lots of trouble.

না হলে *na hɔle* - 'if this is not so', 'otherwise' (Bangla)

B তুমি কান্না ব্দ কর | না হলে আমি ছলে জাব

tumi kan:a bɔndɔ kɔrɔ. na hɔle ami tʃɔle dʒabɔ

stop crying. Otherwise I will leave

নাইলে *naile* - 'is this is not so', 'otherwise' is used in Sylheti

S তারাতারি খতম কর | নাইলে আমি জাইমু গিয়া

taratari xɔtɔm kɔr. naile ami dʒaimu gija

finish your work quickly. Otherwise I will leave

11.2.5. Temporal conjunctions

তারপর, তারপরে *tarpɔr, tarpɔre* - 'after', 'then' is used in Bangla. Sylheti speakers mainly from urban areas also use these conjunctive words.

B আমি আসব, তারপর নিয়ে জাব |

ami aʃbɔ, tarpɔr nije dʒabɔ

I will come, then we will take it

S আমি আগে আমার কাম টা সেস করি লাই | তারপরে তুমার লগে কথা অইব

ami age amar kam ta jej kori lai. tarpore tumar loge kotaha jibo

let me finish my work and then we can talk

এরপর, এরপরে *erpər, erɔpɔre* - 'after', 'then'

S আমি আইমু, এরপরে দেখিয়া কইমু।

ami aimu, erɔpɔre dekija koimu

I will come, after that I will tell you

11.3. Subordinating Conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions are used to link dependent and independent clauses (Thompson,2010). In Bangla and Sylheti there are very few subordinating conjunction and in addition to this non-finite verb forms perform many functions of subordinating conjunction. In this section we will list the subordinating conjunction of Bangla and Sylheti..

Examples :

যে *dze* - 'that' common in Bangla and Sylheti

B তুমি জান না যে তার অসুক?

tumi džano na dze tar ɔjuk

don't you know that he is unwell?

S তুমি জান নানি যে তার ফরিক্কা?

tumi džano nani dze tar φrika

don't you know that he have exams?

বলে *bɔle* - 'that' is commonly used in Bangla

- B চিনেমা দেক্লে কতি হয় বলে মনে করে ।
ʃinema dekle kɔti hɔj bɔle mone kore
They think that watching movie is bad.

যেন *ɔzenɔ* - 'so that', 'as if' commonly used in Bangla, but less in Sylheti

- B খিক করে কাজ কর যেন সব প্ৰসংসা করে ।
tʰik kore kadʒ korɔ ɔzenɔ ʃɔb pʃɔŋʃa kore
Work properly so that everyone appreciates it

যাতে *ɔɔte* - 'so that' common in Bengali and Sylheti

- B সারের কাছে গিয়ে বুজব যাতে বাল নম্বর পেতে পারি ।
ʃarer katʃʰ gije budʒbɔ ɔɔte balɔ nombɔr peɔte pari
I will go to the teacher so that I could get good marks

- S একটা বাল্য চাকরি কুজিয়ার যাতে বাল্য ঠিকে বাস্বেত পারি
ekta bala ʃakri kudʒijat ɔɔte bala tʰike baʃte pari
I am looking for a job so that I can live my life in a good way

যেলা *ɔzela* - "as if" common in Sylheti

- S হে এমন ভাব করের যেলা কুন্তা জানে না ।
he emɔn bʰab kore ɔzela kunta ɔzane na
He is acting as if he doesnot know anything

11.4. Correlative conjunctions

Correlative conjunction come in pairs and help in joining two clauses or phrases.

Correlative constructions are here classified as:

- 1) Coordinating correlative constructions
- 2) Subordinating correlative constructions¹⁴

1) Coordinating correlative constructions – These constructions contain an element which is used to join two different clauses.

a) হয় ...না হয় *hɔj.....na hɔj* 'eitheror' (Bangla and Sylheti)

B হয় তুমি আমার বাড়ি ছাড় না হয় বাড়ি বাড়া দাও
hɔj tʊmi amar baʒi ʃʰaʒɔ na hɔj baʒi baʒa ɖeo
Either you leave my house or pay me the rent

S হয় তুমি থাক না হয় আমি থাকি
hɔj tʊmi tʰakɔ na hɔj ami tʰaki
either I stay or you stay

2) Subordinating correlative constructions :

যদি...তাহলে *ɖʒɔɖi..... tʰahɔle* - 'if...then'

B যদি তুমি আমার কাজটা কর তাহলে আমি তুমাকে বাল মাইনে দেব.
ɖʒɔɖi tʊmi amar kaʒta kɔɔ tʰahɔle ami tʊmake balɔ maine ɖebɔ
If you do my work then I will pay

¹⁴ Subordinating – correlative conjunctions behave quite similarly to relative pronouns. These have been discussed under the section 6.3.3. This is typical of Indo-Aryan from the very beginning of its documentation in the 'rigveda' and 'atarvaveda'.

যদি...তে *ɔɔdi.....te* - 'ifthen'

S যদি তুমি আমার কথা সুন তে তুমাউ ল্যাব অইব ।

ɔɔdi tumi amar kɔtʰa funɔ te tumaru lab ɔibɔ

If you listen me then you will be benefitted

c) যদিও...তবুও *ɔɔɔio..... tɔbuɔ* - 'even...then', 'although', 'though..then'

B জদিও আমি ওকে বাল বাসি না তবুও আমি অর কতি করব না ।

ɔɔɔio ami oke balɔ baji na tɔbuɔ ami or kɔ ti kɔrbɔ na

Though I do not like her, yet I will not harm her.

যদিও ...তেও *ɔɔɔio..... teo* 'even.....though'

S যদিও আমি তার নজর বইন না তেও হে আমারে খুব আদর করে ।

ɔɔɔio ami tar nidzer boin na teo he amare kʰub aɔɔr kɔre

Though I am not his own sister still he loves me.

যেমন...তেমন *ɔɔemɔn..... temɔn* - 'so'

B আমি যেমন রেকে গেছি তেমনী রয়েছে

ami ɔɔemɔn reke gefʰi temɔni rɔjefʰe

Everything is same.

যেলা...অলা *ɔɔela ola* 'so'

S আমি যেলা রাকিয়া গেসি অইলাউ রইসে ।

ami ɔɔela rakija gefi olau roife

It is still the same

যত...তত *ɔɔtɔ..... tɔtɔ* 'so much'

B যতটা খারাপ ভেবেছিলাম সে ততটা খারাপ নয়

đɔɔɔɔ k^harap b^hebef^hilan fe ɔɔɔɔ k^hrap noj

he was not that bad as I imagined.

যত ...অত *đɔɔɔ..... ɔɔɔ* 'so much'

S যত তাকে বুজাই হে অত রাগ করে ।

đɔɔɔ ɔɔɔ budaɪ he ɔɔɔ rag kore

The more I make her understand the more she gets angry

যখন...তখন *đɔk^hɔn...ɔk^hɔn* – 'when'

B যখন বৃষ্টি পরছিল তখন তুমি কই ছিলে?

đɔk^hɔn brifti pɔrt^hilɔ tumi kɔi ʃ^hile

where were you when it was raining?

S আমি যখন ফন করসলাম তখন তুই কইস আসলে

ami đɔk^hɔn ʃɔn kɔrslam ,ɔk^hɔn ,tui kɔi asle

where were you when I called you?

11.5.Conclusion:

In Bangla and Sylheti the use of conjunctions is similar but the conjunctive words are different, in some cases some sounds are changed as in – *nahole*(Bangla) and *naile*(Sylheti). Moreover in Bangla the number of conjunctions is higher than Sylheti for example in Bangla there are three conjunctions like *o,ar, eboŋ* in Sylheti the conjunctions *o* and *eboŋ* are used by educated or urban Sylheti speakers, while in rural areas the conjunction *ar* is more common. Like this all the Bangla conjunctions are used in Sylheti by educated Sylheti speakers because of language contact and use.

XIII

INTERROGATIVES

12.1. Introduction

Interrogative is a term used in grammar to refer to features that form questions. There are different types of question patterns: *Wh* - questions, yes-no questions, negative questions - “aren’t you coming?”, tag questions - “she is coming -isn't she?” etc. In Bangla and Sylheti all these question patterns are used. For the tag questions, in Bangla there is only one kind of tag question, *tai na* (isn't it).

In Bangla *Wh* - question word start with *k* phoneme and in Sylheti they starts with both *k* and *x* phoneme. The list of the question words from Bangla and Sylheti are given in table (12.1.1) and (12.1.2) . In this chapter we will discuss in detail the method of question formation, their uses and will also focus on discussing the similarities that exist between Bangla and Sylheti.

Table 12.1.1 Bangla *Wh* - question words

Bangla script	transcription	English words	Word class
কে	<i>ke</i>	who	pronoun
কি	<i>ki</i>	what	pronoun
কেন	<i>kenɔ</i>	why	adverb
কেমন	<i>kemɔn</i>	how	adverb
কবে	<i>kɔbe</i>	when	adverb
কত	<i>kɔtɔ</i>	how much	adjective
কোথা	<i>koʈʰa</i>	where	adverb
কখন	<i>kɔkʰɔn</i>	when	adverb
কোন	<i>kon</i>	which	adjective

কয়	<i>kɔj</i>	how many	adjective
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Table 12.1.2: Sylheti Wh - question words

Bangla script	transcription	English words	Word class
খে	<i>xe</i>	who	pronoun
কিতা	<i>kiṭa</i>	what	pronoun
কেনে	<i>xene</i>	why	adverb
কিরকম	<i>kirokom</i>	how	adverb
খবে	<i>xɔbe</i>	when	adverb
কুন	<i>kun</i>	which	adjective
খই	<i>xoi</i>	where	adverb
খত	<i>xɔṭɔ</i>	how much	adjective
খয়	<i>xɔj</i>	how many	adjective

From the above two lists, we have seen that the question words in Bangla start with *k* whereas in Sylheti the phoneme *k* and *x* are in use. In Sylheti some question words have their colloquial version like *xoi* - *xano*. These versions are used in rural Sylheti speaking areas but in the urban areas the speakers try to use the version which is closer to Bangla, for example instead of using *xano* they (urban speakers) will use *koi* because it is similar to that of Bangla.

12.2. Use and position of the Question words

a) Bangla: কে *ke*

The interrogative pronoun *ke* is used in all positions in a sentence. *ke* has a number of inflected forms which are: *kar*, *kake*, *kara*, *kader* and they are used as their respective

cases. *ke* or its inflected forms are used with all cases except locative.

	Interrogative	affirmative
	Nominative	
sg	উনি কে ? <i>uni ke ?</i> who is he/she ?	উনি এই সহরের ময়র । <i>uni ei śhorer meyor</i> He/she is the mayor of this city.
	Genitive	
sg	কার ছেলে ? <i>kar t^hele ?</i> whose boy ?	তার ছেলে । <i>tar t^hele</i> His /her boy.
	Objective	
sg	কাকে ডাকছ ? <i>kake dak^th^o ?</i> whom you are calling ?	আমার বন্দুদের <i>amar b^ondu^der</i> I am calling my friends.
	Nominative	
pl	কারা আসবে? <i>kara aśbe?</i> who will come?	বন্দুরা আসবে <i>b^ondura aśbe</i> Friends will come.
	Genitive	
pl	কাদের আসার কথা? <i>ka^der aśar ko^t^ha?</i>	মামাদের আসার কথা । <i>mama^der aśar ko^t^ha</i>

who are expected ?

Uncle and his family

Objective

pl কাদের ডাকছ?

আমার বন্ধুদের।

kader dakɔʃ ?

amar bñduder

whom are you calling?

I am calling my friends.

ke and its forms are mainly used with animate objects, but the question word used for singular objective case *kake* is also used with inanimate objects.

eg: নদি কাকে বলে?

nɔdi kake bole

What is meant by a river?

kake used with inanimates is always followed by the verb *bole* (say).

b) Sylheti: কে *ke* / *xe*

কে *xe* in Sylheti has a number of inflected forms : কার *xar*, করে *xare*, used for singular number and কারা *xara* , কারার *xarar*, কারারে *xarare* for plural number. *ke/xe* and its forms are used for formal and informal situations. Sylheti has a different set of question words whose functions are similar to that of *ke / xe* and its forms but are used for informal situations or with someone who does not hold any respectable position in the society. Question words used for informal situations start with *ki* like *kigu*, *kigure*, *kigur*, for singular and *kigun*, *kiguntor* and *kiguntore* for plural. All these question words are potentially used in all positions and they are used with all cases except the locative (Mayenin, 2011).

Interrogative**affirmative****Nominative**

sg	তাইন কে ? <i>tain ke ?</i> who is he ?	তাইন রাহুল <i>tain Rahul</i> He is Rahul
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Genitive

sg	কার লাগি রান্দা খরস ? <i>kar lagi randa xors ?</i> whom do you cook for ?	মার লাগি <i>maar lagi</i> For my mother
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Objective

sg	খারে ডাকাত আস্নায় ? <i>kare daxat aslay</i> whom were you calling?	আমার বন্দুরে <i>amar bondure</i> My friend.
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Interrogative**affirmative****Nominative**

pl	খারা আইরা খালকে <i>xara aira xalke ?</i> Who are coming tomorrow ?	মামাতারা <i>mamatara</i> Uncle and his family.
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Genitive

pl	জমিটাইন খার ? <i>dzomitain xar ?</i> whose lands are this ?	আমরার <i>amrar</i> Ours
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Objective

pl	কারে গালি দিরায়ে?	আমার ভাইরে
	<i>kare gali diray</i>	<i>amar baire</i>
	Whom are you scolding ?	I am scolding my brother

কিঙ *kigu* and its variants are used only in informal situations or it can be said that they are used for someone with whom one is very intimate or for someone who receives less respect in the society. These variants are used mostly in rural areas.

Nominative

sg	কিঙ ইঙ ?
	<i>kigu igu ?</i>
	Who is he/she ?

Genitive

sg	কিঙর জাঙর কথা?
	<i>kigur dzawar xɔtʰa</i>
	who is supposed to go ?

Objective

sg	তারা কিঙরে ডাকরা ?
	<i>ɽara kigure daxra ?</i>
	Whom are they calling ?

Nominative

pl	কিঙন আইবা কালকে ?
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kigun aiba kalke ?

who are coming tomorrow ?

Genitive

pl কিগুন্তর জিনিস ইটাইন ?

kigunt̃or d̃ziniŋ iṭain?

Whose things are these ?

Objective

pl কিগুন্তরে তুকাইরায় ?

kigunt̃ore tukairay ?

Whom are you looking for ?

In the Barak valley, the Sylheti speakers use another word *korgu* for informal situations but it is used only with nominative and genitive cases.

Example: করগু ? (nominative)

kɔrgu ?

Who ?

করগুর বাড়ি ? (Genitive)

kɔrgur baṛi ?

whose house ?

b) In Bengali কি *ki* – what ?

1. *ki* is used in all positions to form interrogative sentences.

কি করছিস ?

ki kɔrtʃʰis ?

what are you doing?

ki is combined with nouns in a sentence; sometimes *ki* forms a sort of compound with a noun as in: কিভাবে *kibʰabe*, কিরকম *kirɔkɔm* -How?

Examples of *ki* with other nouns:

তুমি কিভাবে বাড়ি যাবে ?

tumi kibʰabe baʃi dʒabe ?

How will you go home ?

Besides nouns, *ki* is also added with some of the Bangla perfective participle to form interrogatives.

কি করে ?

ki kɔre ?

How

কি করে যাবে

ki kɔre dʒabe ?

How will you go ?

কি দিয়ে ?

ki dʒije ?

With what

কি দিয়ে রান্না করবে ?

ki dʒije ranna kɔrbe ?

With what will you cook ?

কি নিয়ে ? about what

ki nije ?

কি নিয়ে ভাবছ ?

ki nije bʰabʃɔ ?

about what ?

what are you thinking about ?

The participle of *kora* is thus used as a converb to form an adverbial subordinating clause of manner.

2. In the beginning we have mentioned that *ki* is used in all positions in a sentence but in order to transform a declarative and imperative sentence into an interrogative one, *ki* is inserted usually after the subject or at the end of the sentence. Here *ki* is used as interrogative particle.

Examples :

a) declarative: তুমি বাজারে যাবে।

tumi badzare dzabe

You will go to the market

b) interrogative: তুমি বাজারে যাবে কি ?

tumi badzare dzabe ki ?

Will you go to the market ?

c) imperative: তুমি বিয়েতে যাবে।

tumi bijete dzabe

you will go to the wedding.

interrogative: তুমি বিয়েতে যাবে কি ?

tumi bijete dzabe ki ?

Will you go to the wedding ?

3. *ki* is used to form questions using affirmative and negative forms.

Example: যাবে কি যাবে না ?

ɔʒabe ki ɔʒabe na ?

Will you go or not?

d) In Sylheti কিতা *kiṭa* - What?

1. Like in Bangla, the interrogative pronouns *ki*, *kita* are also used in all positions

Example: তুমি কিতা ফড় ?

tumi kiṭa φɔɽɔ ?

What do you study ?

কিতা কররায় ?

kiṭa kɔrraj ?

What are you doing ?

তুমি জাইরায় নি কিতা ?

tumi ɔʒairaj ni kiṭa ?

Are you going ?

kita when used at the end of sentences, acts as an interrogative particle but is always preceded by the particle *ni*. However, the use of *kiṭa* in the end is not ungrammatical but is less common in use.

2. *kita* as interrogative particle is used to form yes-no questions, for which it is inserted after the subject.

Example: তুমি বাজার জাইয়ায় ।
tumi badzarɔ dʒairaj
you are going to the market.

তুমি কিতা বাজার জাইয়ায় ?
tumi kiṭa badzarɔ dʒairaj ?
Are you going to the market ?

In Sylheti the genitive form of *kita* is *kitar* adding the phoneme *r* at the end. The question word *kitar* is not used individually, it is always accompanied by prepositions.

Example :

তুমি কিতার লাগি জাইয়ায় ?
tumi kiṭar lagi dʒairaj?
For what reason are you going there ?

কিতার লাগি ?
kiṭar lagi
For what?

It is not wrong to form the above two questions with *kita*, even it will not change any meaning but the Sylheti speakers prefer to use *kitar* instead of *kita* when the question word is accompanied by the preposition *lagi*.

e) In Bengali কেন *kenɔ* – why?

kenɔ is used to obtain an explanation or a reason. *kenɔ* can be positioned :

In the beginning.

কেন এসেছো ?

kenɔ esɛʃɔ

Why have you come ?

After the subject.

তুমি কেন তাদের বাসায় যাও ?

tumi kenɔ ʈaɖer naʃaj dʒao?

Why do you go to their home ?

After an adverb

এখানে কেন এসেছো ?

ek^hane kenɔ esɛʃɔ ?

Why have you come here ?

Before verb.

তুমি কেন লিখছো ?

tumi keno lik^hʃɔ ?

Why are you writing ?

At the end.

তুমি আসবে না কেন ?

tumi asbe na kenɔ ?

Why won't you come ?

f) In Sylheti কেনে *xene* -why ?

The use of *xene* in Sylheti is similar to that of Bangla *kenc*.

In the beginning

কেনে ই ওষুধটা খাও ?

xene i osud^hta xao ?

Why are you taking this medicine ?

After the subject

রামে কেনে রাবনরে মারসে ?

Rame xene rabonre marsil ?

Why did Ram kill Ravana ?

After adverb

ইকান কেনে আইস ?

ikan^o xene aiso?

Why have you come here ?

At the end

আগে কইলায় না কেনে?

age koilay na xene?

Why didn't you tell me earlier ?

e) Bengali কেমন *kem^on*– how ?

Like English 'how' in Bangla also *kem^on* is used both as an adjective and as an adverb.

Though the question word *kemɔn* means 'how' but in some situations it also means 'what kind' or 'what sort of' ?

কেমন as a modifier

তিনি কেমন মানুষ ?

t̪ini kemɔn manuʃ?

What kind of person is he ?

কেমন *kemɔn*

কেমন তাড়াতাড়ি বাড়ি যেতে পারবে ?

kemɔn taɽataɽi baɽi d̪ɛte paɽbe ?

How quickly can you go home ?

of কেমন করে *kemɔn kɔre*

কেমন করে গান গাও ?

kemɔn kɔre gan gao ?

How do you sing a song ?

f) Sylheti কিরকম *kirɔkɔm* /কিলা *kila* /কেন্নে *kemne*/ কেমতে *kemte*- how ?

Unlike Bangla, in Sylheti 'how' has four question words but the functions of all four are not the same. The question words *kirokom* and *kila* are more widely used and are used with both adjectives and adverbs. The other two questions are used with adverbs and also form questions by getting added to a verb and with the perfective participle *kora*.

কিরকম *kirɔkɔm* as modifier.

তাইন কিরকম মানুষ ?

tain kirokom manuḥ ?

What kind of person is he ?

কিলা *kila* as modifier

তুমি কিলা আস ?

tumi kila aso ?

How are you ?

Like Bangla, in Sylheti the perfective participle *kōra* is added.

কিলা করি করস ?

kila kori kōras ?

How do you do it ?

কিরকম করি করস ?

kirōkom kori kōras ?

How do you do it ?

In Sylheti however, the use of *kōra* is present but the use of it is not so common and frequent as in Bangla. The formation of interrogative sentences without *kōra* in Sylheti is more common.

For example, In Sylheti a speaker can say

তুমি কিলা করি ই ফুতুলটা বানাইস ?

tumi kila kori i ḥuṭulta banaiso ?

How have you made this doll ?

- or

তুমি কিলা ই ফুতুল বানাইস ?

tumi kila i φutul banaiso ?

How have you made this doll?

Both sentences are correct but the second one is more common.

Use of কেমতে *kemṭe*– how ?

kemṭe act as an interrogative adverb.

Examples :

কেমতে করস ইতা ?

kemṭe korso ita?

How do you do it ?

কেমতে তুমি শেষ আইলায় ?

kemṭe tumi seṣo ailay ?

How have you arrived at the conclusion ?

g) কোথা *kṛṭṭhā* -where

The interrogative pronoun কোথা *kṛṭṭhā* appears in combination as in : *kṛṭṭhā pṛjṅṅto* 'upto where' *kṛṭṭhā theke* 'from where'. The interrogative *kṛṭṭhā* has a locative ending *kṛṭṭhāy* and the use of this locative ending is very common. It has some colloquial variation like *koi*. All interrogative words appear after or before the verb and also immediately after the subject. They also occur at the end of existential sentences. (Choudhury, 2015).

Examples :

তুমি কোথায় থাকো ? *tumi kṛṭṭhāy thako ?* 'where do you live?'

তুমি থাক কোথায় ? *tumi thako kṛṭṭhāy?* 'where do you live?'

কোথায় যাবে তুমি ? *kṛṭṭhāy jabe tumi?* 'where will you go?'

kɔtʰay is used at the beginning, after the subject, and at the end. The other version *koi* is also used instead of *kɔtʰay*. The other variation *kɔtha* is used as an indefinite by adding the vowel /o/ at the end.

kɔtʰa is even used with post positions.

তুমি কোথা পর্যন্ত যাবে ?

tumi kɔtʰa pɔrdʒɔtɔ dʒabe ?

How far will you go?

ট্রেনটা কোথা থেকে আসছে ?

tren ta kɔtʰa tʰeke astʃe ?

From where the train is coming from ?

h) In Sylheti খান *xano* – where ?

xano and *xoi* are used for asking location in Sylheti. *xano* is used in all positions.

In the beginning

তুমি খই থাক ?

tumi xoi tʰakɔ ?

Where do you live ?

Medial

খান থাকি আইরায় ?

xan tʰaki airaj

From where are you coming ?

At the end
তুমার বাড়ি খান ?
tumar baṛi xanɔ ?
Where is your home ?

চাবিটা খই ?
ʃabiṭa xoi ?
Where is the key ?

কোন ***kon-*** which

The interrogative adjective *kon* is used in a similar manner in Bangla and Sylheti, the only difference lies in the pronunciation, in Bangla it is pronounced as *kon* and in Sylheti it is pronounced as *kun*. In both languages it is used for specifications, like *which time, which place* ? *kun* cannot be used alone, it must always be accompanied by some noun or classifier. For both Bangla and Sylheti *kon/kun* is used in the initial and in the medial positions.

Bangla: গাড়িটা কোন দোকান থেকে কিনেছো ?
gaṛiṭa kon ḍukan tʰeke kineʃɔ
From which shop have you bought this car ?

তোমার কোনটা ভালো লাগলো ?
tɔmar konṭa balɔ laglɔ ?
Which one have you liked ?

Sylheti: কুন টাইন তুমার আম ?
kunṭain tumar am ?

Which mangoes are yours ?

For time: কুন সময় বাড়ীত জাইবায় ? (Sylheti)

kun sɔmɔj baɽiṭ dʒaibaj ?

When are you going home ?

For place: কুনবায় জাইতাম ? (Sylheti)

kunbaj dʒaiṭam?

Which way should I go ?

j) কবে *kɔbe* or কখন *kɔkʰɔn* -when ?

In Bangla *kɔbe* and *kɔkʰɔn* are used for *time*, but the use of these two is different because *kɔbe* is used to indicate a time frame of more than a day like a week, a month or a year.

Example: তুমি কবে যাবে ?

tumi kɔbe dʒabe ?

When will you go ?

এই বইটা কবে শেষ হবে ?

ei bɔiṭa kɔbe sef hɔbe ?

when will this book be finished (reading) ?

কখন *kɔkʰɔn* is used for *time* within a day as in hours on a clock.

তুমি কখন আসবে ?

tumi kɔkʰɔn aʃbe ?

When are you coming ?

রান্না কখন শেষ হবে ?

ranna kɔkʰon sef hɔbe ?

When will you finish your cooking ?

কবে *kɔbe*- when ?

The use of *kɔbe* is also present in Sylheti and the use is exactly the same as that in Bangla.

Example: B তুমি কবে ইটালি যাবে
tumi kɔbe Italy dzabe?

When are you going to Italy ?

S তাইন কবে মারা গেসইন ?
tain xɔbe mara gesoin ?

When did she/he die ?

Sylheti does not have the use of *kokʰon* for denoting time for a short period. Instead *kun* (which) is used by adding the time and day, as in কুন সময় *kun sɔmoj* (what time), কুন দিন *kun din* (what day).

Example : তুমি কুন সময় আইবায় ?
tumi kun sɔmoj aibaj ?

At what time are you coming ?

In Bangla the use of other question words is also involved in asking questions related to time, these features are also common in Sylheti. Besides the use of *kobe* and *kokon*, *ki* is also used in asking the question about weekdays in both the languages.

আজ কি বার ?

ad̥ ki bar ?

Which day is it ?

Though in Sylheti *ki* is not used either as an interrogative pronoun or as a particle but still we can see that in Sylheti one can ask question about weekdays by using *ki*.

k) কত *kɔ̃tɔ* - how much, কয় *koj* - how many ?

Both *kɔ̃tɔ* and *koj* are used for asking the amount of something. *koj* is used for count nouns and is added with singular classifiers for forming measure words in Bangla and Sylheti. In Sylheti it is pronounced as *ɔ̃tɔ* and *ɔ̃y*, *koj* is often shortened as *kɔ* in Bangla. In Bangla and Sylheti *koj* is added to *ek* (one) forming *kojek* which means 'some' (*kojek* is not used in forming questions, it is used in declarative sentences).

Examples are from both Bangla and Sylheti

Bangla

কয় ঘন্টা পড়ে ?

koj gʰɔ̃nta pɔ̃ɔ ?

How many hour do you study ?

কয় দিন বাকি ?

koj ðin baki ?

How many days left ?

Sylheti

খয় কেজি চাউল ?

ɔ̃j keɟi saul ?

How many kilos of rice ?

with classifier :

(Bangla and Sylheti)

কয়টা বাজে ?

kojta badje ?

What is the time?

(Sylheti)

কয়গু ছেলে ?

kojgu sele ?

How many boys ?

কত *kɔtɔ* – **how much ?**

কত *kɔtɔ* is used for uncountable noun. But sometime *kɔtɔ* is also used for measure and count words. In this case the singular classifier *ta* in Bangla and *ta, gu* in Sylheti are added to *kɔtɔ*. The Bangla plural classifier *gulo* is also added to *kɔtɔ*. *kɔtɔ* also acts as an adverb.

Example :

B কত সময়?

kɔtɔ sojoj?

How much time?

কতটা শেষ হল ?

kɔtɔta seʃ hɔlɔ?

How much did you finished ?

কতগুলো বাকি ?

kɔtɔ gulo bakki ?

How much left ?

Sylheti

কতগু ওষুধ রইসে ?

kɔtɔgu oʃud roise ?

How much medicine is left?

কতটা রাস্তা বাকি ?

kɔtɔta rasta bakki ?

How much road is left ?

In Sylheti *kɔtɔ* is not used with any of the Sylheti plural classifiers.

kɔtɔ as an adverb

কত বেশি তুমার লাগে ?

kɔtɔ beʃi tumar lage ?

How much more do you want ?

12.3. Pluralisation

In Bangla and Sylheti reduplication of the question word is very common. The reduplication of the question words implies plural meaning, though question words like *ke* have a plural form *kara*. All question words have this sort of plural form.

a) Bangla:

<i>ke</i>	<i>ke ke?</i> (all the case form of <i>ke</i> can be reduplicated)
<i>ki</i>	<i>ki ki?</i>
<i>Koi</i>	<i>koi koi?</i>
<i>Kothay</i>	<i>kothay kothay?</i> (only the locative ending <i>kothay</i> and <i>koi</i> are reduplicated)
<i>kobe</i>	<i>kobe kobe?</i>
<i>Kon</i>	<i>kon kon?</i>
<i>Koto</i>	<i>koto koto ?</i>

b) Sylheti:

<i>xe</i>	<i>xe xe ?</i>
<i>Kita</i>	<i>kita kita ?</i>
<i>Kirokom</i>	<i>kirokom kirokom ?</i> (all the colloquial variants can be reduplicated)
<i>xano</i>	<i>kano kano?</i> (not very common in use)
<i>kun</i>	<i>kun kun?</i>
<i>Xoto</i>	<i>xoto xoto ?</i>

Only the question words which are used individually can be reduplicated.

12.4. Tag questions

In Bangla there is only one kind of tag question with *tai na* (isn't it). Like English in Bangla tag questions are not formed with auxiliary verbs or pronouns and for this reason the tag questions in Bangla remain always the same in all aspects and tenses. They do not change their form.

Example:

ও বইটা পড়েছে, তাই না ?

o boita porche, tai na ?

He's read the book, hasn't he ?

The tag question *tai na* though accompanied by the negative marker *na*, is used with both affirmative and negative sentences. In Sylheti *thik na* is used to form tag questions but it is not frequently used.

12.5. Use of *na*, *ki*, *ni* and *ta*

Yes-no interrogative sentences are mostly formed by using interrogative words but in some occasions interrogative sentences are formed by using verbs like - *is*, *can*, *may*, *might* etc. In Bangla the negative marker *na* is used for forming interrogative sentences by changing the intonation. Examples :

- a) তুমি যাবে না ?
tumi djabe na ?
Will you not go ?

- b) রমা কলেজে যাবে না ?

roma koledze dzabe na ?

Will Roma not go to the college ?

c) তুমি যাবে না

tumi dzabe na

You will not go

d) রমা কলেজে যাবে না

roma koledze dzabe na.

Roma will not go to the college.

(a) and (b) are formed as interrogative sentences because of the intonation, (c) is imperative negative and (d) is a negative sentence. In Bangla it is possible to form imperative and declarative question sentences and this can be formed without adding the negative particle *na* like *tumi jabe na*. The negative marker *na* is added to a question to clear the doubt or ambiguity in a sentence. (Milne,1993).

Interrogative particle *ki*

After the negative particle *na*, let us see the uses and functions of the interrogative particle *ki*. In the previous section, the uses of the interrogative pronoun *ki* has been discussed which means 'what'; the interrogative particle is not like the interrogative pronoun nor does it carry the sense of 'what'. The interrogative particle appears in indirect or direct sentences or with yes-no questions and it is not used with any other interrogative pronouns. Here we have taken the interrogative pronoun *ki* to show the differences between the two. Like the interrogative pronoun *ki*, the interrogative particle *ki* cannot be used in all positions.

Examples :

(e) তুমি কি খাবে ?
tumi ki k^habe ?
What will you eat ?

(f) তুমি কি খাবে ?
tumi ki k^habe ?
Will you eat ?

Here in (e) and (f), *ki* is used in the medial position and the sentence and the word order is also similar between them, but the two sentences gives two different meaning. This is because of the use of the tonic syllable carrying the emphatic stress (Bhatterjee, 1988). It is because of the tonic syllable that the native speakers are able to distinguish between particle and pronoun.

Examples :

g) তুমি খাবে ?
tumi k^habe?
Will you eat ?

(h) তুমি কি খাবে ? (particle)
tumi ki k^habe ?
Will you eat ?

(i) তুমি কি খাবে ? (INT pronoun)
tumi ki k^habe ?
What will you eat ?

In the sentences (h) and (I), *ki* is used in same position (medial). The difference between the meanings is understood by the intonation which does not change the structure of the sentences but affects the meaning. The particle *ki* is not permissible with any other interrogative pronouns.

Combination of *na + ki - /naki*.

In Bangla it is very common to find the combination of negative and interrogative particle and both occur in yes-no questions which is the characteristic of the interrogative particle *ki*. In the following examples the use of *naki* is shown:

(j) তুমি নাকি চাকরি কর ?
tumi naki chakri koro?
Is it true that you do a job ?

(k) তুমি নাকি গান গাও ?
tumi naki gan gao ?
Is it true that you sing a song?

(l) ও নাকি স্কুলে পড়ে ?
o naki skule pore ?
Is it true that he/she studies in the school ?

Let us consider the sentences (m), (n) and (o) that are constructed without */naki/*.

(m) তুমি চাকরি কর ?
tumi chaki koro ?
Do you have a job ? rising intonation.

(n) তুমি গান গাও ?
tumi gan gao ?
Do you sing ?

(o) ও স্কুলে পড়ে ?
o skule poro ?
He/She study in the school ?

All the three sentences (j), (k) and (l) have one common semantic property – the expression of uncertainty or doubt. However, the uncertainty or doubt is not present in (m), (n) and (o) because they are without *naki*

The negative Particle *na* in Sylheti :

Like Bangla, the negative particle *na* is also used in Sylheti in forming interrogative sentences. But *na* in Sylheti is not used with all the forms of verbs. In Sylheti the negative particle *na* is not used with the future tense only with the 2nd person informal future tense the negative particle is added.

Example:

S তুই খাইবে না?
tui xaibe na?
Won't you eat

Uses of the particles *ni* and *to*

The particles *ni* and *to* are used in both Bangla and Sylheti, they do not belong to any word classes. The particle *ni* is used at the end of the sentence and is solely used for the formation of interrogative sentences.

S (d) তুমি আইবায় নি ?
tumi aibaj ni ?
Will you come ?

S (e) তুমি আইবায় ?
tumi aibaj ?
Will you come ?

The particle *তুমি* is used in the medial position and in the final position. It is used in interrogative sentences expecting an affirmative answer.

S (f) তুমি আইবায় ত ?
tumi aibaj ত ?
You are coming, right ?

S (g) তুমি ত আইবায়
tumi তুমি aibaj
you are surely coming

The translations of (d), (e) and (f) are similar but in the case of (e) the interrogative is marked by the rising intonation. In case of (d) and (f) the interrogative is marked by *নি* and *তুমি* and also by the rising intonation, both of them have the same characteristics of yes-no questions. The sentence (g) is a declarative sentence with the particle *তুমি* in the medial position.

Use of *kiṭa*

Like Bangla *ki*, in Sylheti also *kita* is used as an interrogative particle, and is used either after the subject or after the particle *ni*.

তুমি কিতা খাইবায় ?

tumi kiṭa xaibay ?

Will you eat?

তুমি কিতা খাইবায় ?

tumi kiṭa xaibay ?

What will you eat?

The difference between the two sentences can be noted by the rising and falling intonation and the use of stress. For the second sentence, the stress is on *kiṭa* and for the first the stress is given on *-bay*. But if *kiṭa* is used with *ni* as in *tumi kiṭa khaibay ni* ? *kiṭa* is bound to act as an interrogative particle and the listener does not have to follow the intonation. Unlike Bangla *ki*, in Sylheti *kiṭa* does not form a combination with another particle.

12.6. Interrogatives in the Barak Valley region

The people who are staying in urban areas of the Barak valley region speak Sylheti but do not use all the Sylheti interrogative pronouns neither they use all the Bangla interrogative pronouns, so we can assume that the speakers have chosen some interrogatives which are relatively similar in both languages. The interrogative pronouns used by the Sylheti speakers of urban areas in the Barak Valley are listed below:

List of interrogative pronouns used in the Barak region :

<i>ke</i>	who?	
<i>ki</i>	what?	(Bengali)
<i>kita</i>	what?	(Sylheti)
<i>kene</i>	why?	(Sylheti)
<i>kirokom</i>	how?	(Sylheti, only this version is used)
<i>kɔi</i>	where?	(Sylheti, Bengali, only this version is in use)
<i>kɔbe</i>	when?	(Sylheti and Bengali)
<i>kɔtɔ</i>	how much?	(Sylheti)

From the list it is seen that the Sylheti Speakers from urban Barak, use very few interrogative pronouns because they do not use the colloquial variations like *kila*, or *kemte* - 'where'. Another important point to note is the use of *niki*; in section (12.5) we have seen the use of *naki* which is a combination of negative particle and interrogative particle. The Sylheti speakers of the Barak valley instead of *naki* use *niki*, even though in Sylheti there is no use for the interrogative particle *ki*. The function of *niki* is not as wide as that of *naki* in Bangla. In Sylheti *niki* is used to form and is always used with the Standard Bangla vocabulary.

Examples :

তুমি ভাত খাবে নিকি ?

tumi bʰat kʰabe niki ?

Will you eat rice ?

তুমি ভাত খাবে নাকি ?

tumi bʰat kʰabe naki ?

Will you eat rice ?

তুমি ভাত খাইবায় নি ?

tumi bʰat kʰaibaj ni ?

Will you eat rice ?

All the above have the same meaning but also used by different speakers. The function of *niki*, *ni* and *naki* is similar

12.7. Conclusion

From the above sections we can conclude that interrogatives in Bangla and Sylheti shares lots of features but still display some dissimilarities that make the two languages distinct. The similarities between two the languages are :

- a) Both have yes-no questions, and use of intonation to form questions.
- b) The use of particles is common in both languages.

Dis-similarities are

- a) Bangla has a single set of interrogative pronouns for all situations, while in Sylheti there are two sets of interrogative pronouns: one for formal situations.

The other for informal ones.

- b) Bangla has the use of the interrogative particle *ki*, which is combined to the negative particle *na*, while in Sylheti the interrogative particle *kita* is not combined with any other particle.

XIII

USE OF EMPHASISERS, INTERJECTIONS

13.1. Introduction

Emphasisers and interjections are important parts of a language, these are the parts of speech through which speakers express their feelings, emotions, in one word, with a sound or with a single phoneme (Dash, 2015). Scholars like Thomspson in “*Bengali – A Comprehensive Grammar*”, have discussed in detail the use and function of Bangla emphasisers and interjections. In this chapter we have tried to explain the function of emphasisers and interjections used in Sylheti and through this study we will also focus on the Bangla part to show the differences if there are any.

13.2. Emphasisers

Emphasisers in Bangla and Sylheti are added after the noun. (Thompson,2010)

Emphasisers in Bangla : ই *i*, ও *o*, তো *to*

Emphasisers in Sylheti: উ *u*, ই *i*, ও *o*, তো *to*.

13.2.1 ই / উ (ই *i* used in Bangla and উ *u* used in Sylheti)

ই / উ is used in an utterance to specify nouns, adjectives or any other part of speech (Thompson,2010). This specifier is used at the end of words, after case endings. ই/উ is used for highlighting a particular item. Examples of the emphasizeers *i* and *u* are shown

below.

Bangla: - আমিই বললাম খাবার আনতে ।
ami-i bollam k^habar ante.
I-EMP say PST food bring.
I have asked to bring food.

Sylheti - আমিউ তার বিপদর দিন আসলাম ।
amiu tar bifodor dinɔ aslam.
I -EMP his-GEN bad-GEN day stay-PST.
I was there during his bad days

In Bangla emphasizees are used with inanimate and animate pronouns. Examples :

সে - সেই

se - sei

এ - এই

e - ei

ও - ওই.

o - oi

The emphasizeer *i* from Bangla and *u* from Sylheti are regularly used with deictics.

The emphasizeer *i* is used with singular deictics.

সেটা - সেটাই

seta - setai

that - that is

এটা - এটাই
eṭa – eṭai
this - this is

ওটা - ওটাই
oṭa – oṭai
this – this is

The emphasizer *i* with plural deictics.

সেগুলো - সেগুলোই
segulo – seguloi
those – those one only.

এগুল - এগুলোই
egulo – eguloi
these – these one.

ওগুলো - ওগুলোই ¹⁵
ogulo – oguloi
those – those one only.

Emphasisers used with Sylheti singular deictics

ইটা - ইটাউ
iṭa – iṭau
this – this is only.

হটা - হটাউ
hṭa – hṭau
that – that one.

¹⁵I have tried to give a rough idea through translation

হটা - হটাউ
hɔʈa – hɔʈau
that – that one.

ওটা - ওটাউ
oʈa – oʈau
that – this is only.

ওকটা - ওকটাউ
okʈa - okʈau
this - this one

ইগু - ইগুউ
igu – iguu
this - this one

হগু - হগুউ
igu – iguu
this – this is only

ওগু - ওগুউ
ogu - oguu
this – this one.

The use of the emphazier *i* in some cases has been lexicalized in both Bangla and Sylheti :

Bangla - একন - একনই
ekon – ekoni
now – right now

তকন - তকনই
ʈɔkɔn - ʈɔkɔni
then - right then

এক - একই
ek – eki
one – same

তা - তাই
ʈa - ʈai
that – therefore

Sylheti - এখন - এখনু
exɔn – exɔnu

এখ - এখু
ex – exu

now – right now

one – same

প্রায় – প্রায়

এলকু - একলুউ

pray - prayu

elku – elkuu.

almost – often

now – right now.

Emphasizers used with verbs in some syntactic structures imply the meaning of *as soon as* in both Bengali and Sylheti.

Imperfective participle:

Bangla - ও যেতেনা যেতেই আমি চলে আসলাম.
o džete na džetei ami fole aklam
he go-IP not go – IP -i I came back.
As soon as he/she left I came back.

Sylheti - হে খাজটা সেস করতে না করতেই আইগেসে।
he xadžta ses xorte na xorte u aigese
he work-CL finish do- IP not do -IP come
He came back as soon as he finished the work.

Perfective participle:

Bengali - সিতা চেয়ারে বসেই রামের কথা জিজ্ঞেস করল।
sita fajare bōsei Ramer kōtā džig:es korlo
Site chair-LOC sit-PP -EMP Ram-GEN about ask do.
Just after sitting on the chair Sita aske about Ram.

Sylheti – হে তাইরে দেখাতউ আইসে
he tairē dekatu aise
he she-OBJ see-PP-EMP come.

He came just to see her.

The Sylheti emphasiser ই i:

The Sylheti emphasiser *i* is used when the word ends with the vowel *u* like *ami jaimui*. Sometimes the speaker uses *i* instead of *u* as both are correct but it is not permissible to use both *i* and *u* together.

13.2.2.৩ o emphasiser is used both in Bangla and Sylheti:

৩ *o* is an emphasiser like ই *i* but the function of ৩ *o* is much more extended and wider than *i* (Bangla) and *u* (Sylheti). According to Thompson, in Bangla, the emphasiser *i* is a dissociative emphasiser which is used for separation and *o* is an associative emphasiser, this feature is similar in Sylheti. But unlike the emphasiser *i* in Bangla and *u* in Sylheti, *o* has numerous other functions besides being an emphasiser (Muhamad, 2003).

a) addition of ৩ *o* changes the question words from Bengali into indefinite pronoun and adverb. Example:

কার	-	কারও	কোথা	-	কোথাও
<i>kar</i>	-	<i>karo</i>	<i>kɔtʰi</i>	-	<i>kɔtʰo</i>
'whose'		'someone's'	'where'		'somewhere'
কোন	-	কোনও			
<i>kon</i>		<i>kono</i>			
which		if any			

In Sylheti the emphasiser *o* is added only with *kun* – *kuno*.

কুন	কুনও
<i>kun</i>	<i>kuno</i>

which if any

b) The emphasiser ও o in many cases give a meaning similar to English 'even'.

Example:

B and S	একন	—	একনও
	<i>ekon</i>		<i>ekono</i>
	now		even now

	তবু	-	তবুও
	<i>tɔbu</i>		<i>tɔbuo</i>
	if		even if

	যদি	-	যদিও
	<i>ɔɔdi</i>		<i>ɔɔdio</i>
	if		even if

c) ও o is added after the case ending in both Bangla and Sylheti.

Example:

B	তাকে	তাকেও	গ্রামে	গ্রামেও
	<i>take</i>	<i>takeo</i>	<i>grame</i>	<i>grameo</i>
	to him	even to him	in village	even in village

	দাদার	দাদারও
	<i>ɔɔdar</i>	<i>ɔɔdaro</i>
	brother's	even brother's

S	তাইরে	তাইরে	মার	মারও
	<i>taire</i>	<i>taireo</i>	<i>mar</i>	<i>maro</i>

to her even to her mother's even mother's

d) ও o gives a conjunctive meaning : *and, also*.

Example:

B : সেও যাবে আমিও যাব
feo dʒabe amio dʒabo
He and I both will go.

B : আমিও এখন যাব
amio ek^hon dʒabo
I will also go now.

S : আমিও এলকু আইসি-
amio elku aisi
I have also come just now

S : তাইও আমার লগে আইব
taio amar loge aibo
she will also come with me.

e) o is also used in the middle of a word for emphasis.

B : ঘটেনি - ঘটেনি
g^hoʈeni - g^hoʈeoni
Did not happen

S ঘটসেনা - ঘটসেনা
g^hoʈsena - g^hoʈseona
Dis not happene

instead of *to*, *te* is used to mean 'so', 'so what' and 'well'.

Bangla - আমার ওকে ভাল্লাগেনা, তো ?
amar oke b^halo lage na, to ?
I-GEN he good like not,EMP
So what, if I do not like him/her.

d) *to* is also used as an emphatic *but*.

Bangla: আমি তো আছি
ami to achi
I EMP habe-SP
But I am here.

Sylheti: আমি ত মানুষ
ami to manuf
ami EMP human being
But I am a human being.

13.3. Interjections

Interjection is a part of speech used to express emotion or disgust of the speaker. Interjection can stand alone and can be used before or after the sentence. Here in this section we have tried to present some uses of interjection.

a) এইস *aif* - expressing: making fun (Bangla)

এইস কি আনন্দ
ais ki anond

INTERJ what-INT happy

Oh, what a happiness!

b) এইয়া *aiya* expressing: joy, surprise

(Sylheti)

এইয়া তারা কালকে আইবা

aiya tara kalke aiba

INTERJ they tomorrow come-SP

Hooray, they are coming tomorrow.

c) আঃ *aa* expressing: relief.

(Sylheti & Bangla)

আঃ কি শান্তি

aa ki sanṭi

INTERJ what-INT relief

What a relief.

d) আহা *aha* expressing: well, oh

(Sylheti & Bangla)

আহা কি আনন্দ

aha ki anondɔ

INTERJ what-INT happy

Oh, what a joy!

e) বাঃ *bah* expressing : joy

(Sylheti & Bangla)

বাঃ কি সুন্দর

ba, ki sundɔr

INTERJ what beautiful

Wow, how beautiful

- f) বাপরে *bapre* expressing: shock (Sylheti)
 বাপরে কি কষ্ট
bapre ki kɔstɔ
 INTERJ what pain
 What a pain!
- f) বেতলা *bet̪ala* be expressing: amazement (Sylheti)
 বেতলা কাজ করসস
bet̪ala kad̪ kɔrsɔs
 INTERJ work do-SP
 You have done an amazing work
- g) ছিঃ *ʃʰi* expressing: disgust (Bengali)
 ছিঃ কি নোংরা
ʃʰi ki noŋra
 INTERJ what dirty
 Very dirty
- h) ধুর *ɖur* expressing: anger, disbelief (Bangla & Sylheti)
 ধুর বিরক্ত করিস না
ɖur birokt̪ɔ kɔris na
 INTERJ irritate do-IMP not
 Do not irritate
- I) ধাৎ *ɖʰat̪* expressing: disgust (Bengali)
 ধাৎ কি বিরক্তকর
ɖʰat̪ ki birokt̪ɔkor
 INTERJ what irritate-ing
 How irritating

- j) ধাৎতেরি *d̥ʰat̥teri* expressing: disgust, anxiety (Sylheti)
 ধাৎতেরি এখন থেকে যা
d̥ʰat̥ eri ekʰan t̥ʰeka d̥ʒa
 INTERJ here from go
 Get away from here
- h) হুর *hur* expressing: disbelieve, disrespect (Sylheti in Barak valley)
 হুর কি বাজে গল্প
hur ki bad̥ʒe golfo
 INTERJ what-INT bad story
 what a bad story
- i) হম *hm* expressing: agree (Sylheti & Bangla)
 হম বুজলাম
hm bud̥ʒlam
 INTERJ understand SPST
 I understood
- j) হায় রে *hay re* expressing: grief (Sylheti & Bangla)
 হায় রে কি কষ্ট
hay re ki kɔʃtɔ
 INTERJ what-INT pain
 What a pain
- k) ইশ *if* expressing: Pain, sympathy (Sylheti & Bangla)
 ইশ কত দূর
if kɔtɔ d̥dur

INTERJ what -INT far

So far

l) ইস is expressing: disgust

(Sylheti)

ইস কিতা নুংরা

is kiṭa noṅra

INTERJ what-INT dirty

So dirty

n) মাইজ *maiggo* expressing: regret, shock

(Sylheti)

মাইজ কিরকম দেখতে

maiggo kirokom dekte

INTERJ strange.

Very strange

o) ওমা *oma* (literally oh mother, similar to Italian “mamma mia”) expressing:

surprise

(Bengali)

ওমা কি সুন্দর

oma ki sundor

INTERJ what-INT beautiful

So beautiful

p) উঃ expressing: revulsion

(Bangla & Sylheti)

উঃ কি গরম

u ki gorom

INTERJ what-INT hot

So hot

q) উফ *uf* expressing: weariness

(Bangla & Sylheti)

উফ কি গরম

uf ki gɔɔm

INTERJ what-INT hot

So hot

r) কি রে *ki re* expressing: surprise

(Bangla)

কি রে তুই একন

ki re tui ekon

INTERJ you now

You are here now

s) কিতা রে *kiṭa re* expressing : surprise

(Sylheti)

কিতা রে তুই ইন

kiṭa re tui inɔ

INTERJ you here

You are here

13.4. Conclusion

During the study of this topic an analysis of the emphasisers and interjections in Bangla and Sylheti has been conducted in comparison to the concepts and behaviors of similar words in English. Like English, in Bangla and Sylheti, emphasisers are used to emphasise and interjections are used to express the feelings that play a vital role in understanding the language. In this chapter, emphasizers have been categorized according to the functions they perform and interjections are categorized according to their uses in Bangla and Sylheti.

Appendix 1 Sylheti Verbs

Sylheti word	transc	gloss	Sylheti word	transc	gloss
আকা	<i>aka</i>	'draw'	কিনা	<i>kina</i>	'buy'
আসরানি	<i>afrani</i>	'comb'	খাদা	<i>xanḍa</i>	'cry'
খমা	<i>xɔma</i>	'decrease'	খাপা	<i>xaḥa</i>	'shiver'
খরা	<i>xɔra</i>	'do'	খাটা	<i>xaṭa</i>	'work hard'
গাওয়া	<i>gaoja</i>	'sing'	গিলা	<i>gila</i>	'swallow'
ঘটা	<i>gɔṭa</i>	'happen'	ঘামা	<i>ɣama</i>	'sweat'
চাফা	<i>saḥa</i>	'press'	চাওজা	<i>saoja</i>	'seek'
ছুয়া	<i>suja</i>	'touch'	চড়া	<i>sɔra</i>	'climb'
ছুলা	<i>sula</i>	'peel'	ছাখা	<i>saxa</i>	'sieve'
চলা	<i>sɔla</i>	'move'	জানা	<i>ḍjana</i>	'know'
জাগা	<i>ḍaga</i>	'wake'	ঢুকা	<i>ḍuka</i>	'enter'
টিপা	<i>tiḥa</i>	'press'	টানা	<i>tana</i>	'pull'
তুকানি	<i>tukani</i>	'search'	থাকা	<i>ṭaxa</i>	'stay'
থামা	<i>ṭama</i>	'stop'	দেখা	<i>ḍexa</i>	'see'
দেওয়া	<i>ḍoja</i>	'give'	দাড়ানি	<i>ḍarani</i>	'stand'
নাচা	<i>nasa</i>	'dance'	নামা	<i>nama</i>	'descend'
ফড়া	<i>ḥɔra</i>	'read', 'fall'	ফাওয়া	<i>ḥaoja</i>	'get'

ফাটা	<i>ɸaɸa</i>	'burst'	ফাল	<i>ɸal</i>	'jump'
বকা	<i>bɔxa</i>	'scold'	বয়া	<i>bɔja</i>	'carry', 'sit'
বাসা	<i>bafa</i>	'float'	ব্বাদা	<i>banda</i>	'tie up'
বাজানি	<i>badʒani</i>	'play music'	বেচা	<i>besa</i>	'sell'
বাড়া	<i>baɾa</i>	'grow'	ভাবা	<i>baba</i>	'think'
ভিজা	<i>bidʒa</i>	'get wet'	ভুগা	<i>buga</i>	'suffer'
ভরা	<i>bɔra</i>	'fill'	ভাঙ্গা	<i>baŋa</i>	'break'
ভাজা	<i>badʒa</i>	'fry'	ভুলা	<i>bula</i>	'forget'
মরা	<i>mɔra</i>	'die'	মাঞ্জা	<i>mandʒa</i>	'brush'
মানা	<i>mana</i>	'respect'	মাফা	<i>maɸa</i>	'measure'
মারা	<i>mara</i>	'beat'	মিলা	<i>mila</i>	'mix'
মিশা	<i>mifa</i>	'mix'	মুছা	<i>musa</i>	'wipe'
যাওয়া	<i>dʒaɔja</i>	'go'	লাগা	<i>laga</i>	'attach'
লাফ	<i>laɸ</i>	'jump'	লুকানি	<i>lukani</i>	'hide'
শিকা	<i>fika</i>	'learn'	শিকানি	<i>fikani</i>	'teach'
হরা	<i>hɔra</i>	'move'	হুকানি	<i>hukani</i>	'dry'
হুনা	<i>huna</i>	'listen'	হারানি	<i>harani</i>	'be lost'
হাজা	<i>hadʒa</i>	'dress up'	হাসা	<i>hafa</i>	'laugh'

Appendix 2

Sylheti adjectives

Sylheti word	transc	gloss	Sylheti word	transc	gloss
অদ্ভুত	<i>oḍb^huṭ</i>	'strange'	অন্ত	<i>onṭo</i>	'end'
অনন্ত	<i>ononṭo</i>	'endless'	অমানসিক	<i>omanosik</i>	'inhuman'
অন্য	<i>onj</i>	'other'	অস্থির	<i>ost̪ir</i>	'restless'
অশান্ত	<i>osant̪o</i>	'restless'	অধৈর্য	<i>oḍorj̪o</i>	'restless'
অশ্লীল	<i>oflil</i>	'obscene'	অসহায়	<i>of̪ohaj</i>	'helpless'
আসাঙ্কা	<i>asaṅka</i>	'extraordinary'	আসল	<i>aʃol</i>	'real'
আমির	<i>amir</i>	'rich'	আহত	<i>ah̪oṭ̪o</i>	'injured'
আসলি	<i>aʃli</i>	'real'	আফসা	<i>aʃfa</i>	'unclear'
আধুনিক	<i>aḍunik</i>	'modern'	আলিয়া	<i>aliya</i>	'lazy'
উসা	<i>usa</i>	'high'	উন্নত	<i>unn̪oṭ̪o</i>	'developed'
উদার	<i>uḍar</i>	'kind'	উদাসিন	<i>uḍaʃin</i>	'absent minded'
একঘেয়	<i>ekg^heje</i>	'boring'	একরুকা	<i>ekruka</i>	'monotonous'
কসি	<i>kofi</i>	'raw'	কমসা	<i>kofma</i>	'young', 'raw'
কুক্ৰি	<i>kukri</i>	'wicked'	কামলা	<i>kamla</i>	'orange'
কিফটা	<i>kiʃṭa</i>	'miserly'	কাহিল	<i>kahil</i>	'tired'
খালা	<i>xala</i>	'black'	খানা	<i>xana</i>	'blind'
খাটি	<i>xati</i>	'pure'	খালি	<i>xali</i>	'empty'
খারাম	<i>xaraḥ</i>	'bad'	খুলা	<i>xula</i>	'open'
খসা	<i>xoʃa</i>	'sour'	খুশি	<i>kufi</i>	'happy'

গত	<i>goɔo</i>	'last'	পরম	<i>gɔrɔm</i>	'hot'
গম্ভীর	<i>gɔmbir</i>	'serious'	গরিব	<i>gɔrib</i>	'poor'
গানডা	<i>ganɖa</i>	'big'	গান্দা	<i>gadda</i>	'dirty'
গুল	<i>gul</i>	'round'	গানডা	<i>ganɖa</i>	'huge'
জংলি	<i>dʒoŋli</i>	'wild'	জটিল	<i>dʒoɕil</i>	'complex'
জরুরি	<i>dʒaruri</i>	'urgent'	জ্বিদা	<i>dʒinda</i>	'alive'
জিভিত	<i>dʒibiɕo</i>	'alive'	জিদি	<i>dʒiddi</i>	'stubborn'
জাতীয়	<i>dʒaɕijɔ</i>	'national'	টক	<i>ɕok</i>	'sour'
টেঙ্গা	<i>ɕeŋa</i>	'sour'	টাটকা	<i>ɕaɕka</i>	'fresh'
ঠান্ডা	<i>ɕʰandʒa</i>	'cold'	তাজা	<i>ɕadʒa</i>	'fresh'
তিত্বা	<i>ɕitɕa</i>	'bitter'	দামি	<i>ɕami</i>	'expensive'
দায়ি	<i>ɕaji</i>	'responsible'	দুঃখিত	<i>ɕukitɕo</i>	'sad'
দুর্বল	<i>ɕurbɔl</i>	'week'	দেশি	<i>ɕefi</i>	'indige -nous'
নরম	<i>nɔrɔm</i>	'soft'	নিসা	<i>nisa</i>	'low'
নিরাপদ	<i>nirapɔɕ</i>	'safe'	নুংরা	<i>nuŋra</i>	'dirty'
ফসা	<i>ɕsa</i>	'rotten'	ফাকনা	<i>ɕakna</i>	'ripe'
ফিন্সা	<i>ɕisla</i>	'slippery'	ফাতলা	<i>ɕaɕla</i>	'thin'
বর	<i>boro</i>	'big'	বানডা	<i>banda</i>	'big', 'huge'
বেইমান	<i>beiman</i>	'teacherous'	বুরা	<i>bura</i>	'old'
বেহায়া	<i>behaja</i>	'shameless'	বালা	<i>bala</i>	'good'
বাজা	<i>badʒa</i>	'fry'	বিজা	<i>bidʒa</i>	'wet'
লেত্ৰা	<i>leɕra</i>	'dirty'	লক্কি	<i>lɔkki</i>	'kind nature'
লাম্বা	<i>lamba</i>	'long'	লাসারি	<i>lasari</i>	'lengthy'
শক্ত	<i>ɕokɕo</i>	'hard'	শান্ত	<i>ɕanɕo</i>	'peaceful'
শিক্ষিত	<i>ɕikɕo</i>	'educated'	সুন্দর	<i>sundɔr</i>	'beautiful'

হাসা	<i>hasa</i>	'laugh'	ছকনা	<i>hukna</i>	'dry'
হালকা	<i>halka</i>	'light weight'	হইলদা	<i>hɔilɔɔa</i>	'yellow'

The List of Sylheti verbs and adjectives are arranged according to the Bangla alphabetical order.

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