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Vol. 4 Part I

Editor : Professor Sukumar Sen

Department of Comparative Philology
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CONTENTS

Shortening of the final vowel of Inst. sg. -ena and Phonology of the language in Saraha-Doha

Tsuyoshi Nara

(I.O.) In the bulletin Vol. 3, part 1, I tried to explain how the Skt. Inst. sg. ending -ena came into being. And the following analogical formations were supposed to be most influential factors which caused that ending.

(a) Some mc. & nt. forms based on i-stem and some adjective & neutral noun forms based on u-stem had got the secondary formation (i.e. adding -nā instead of the normal -ā)

(b) At the Indo-Iranian stage the in- & u̯en-stem formations had already influenced en- (>a-) stem. So it is plausible that the analogical formation of n-stem had been extended to a-stem.

(c) Pronominal formations and the Vedic formations of Inst. sg. of en- (an-) stem are also supposed to have been another influential factor for causing ths analogical formation of a-stem.

So if we consider the analogical formatin of a-stem under these conditions, the resultant form of priya- is assumed to be *priyană.

a-stem(priya-)	i-stem(ávi-)	u-stem (sūnú-)
?	ávi-n-ā	sūnú-n-ā
	an-stem (áhan-)	pronoun
	áhan-ā	ténă

(d) But the actual form we get is not priyanā but priyenă. Therefore I proposed that we must take the Vedic Inst. pl. ending -ebhis as another influential factor which caused the analogical formation of Inst. sg. ending -enă.

However I must admit here that I dropped a very important point for executing the cause of Skt. Inst. sg. ending -ena. In my previous paper I explained only up to the point that those factors, (a) (b) (c) (d), caused the form -enā. But I did not explain clearly how the final long vowel of the ending became short (-ā>a). So the present paper deals with this point first.

(I. 1.) I presume that the following pronominal formation gave the decisive influence to the shortening of the final vowel of -enā.

Vedic demonstrative pronouns Inst. sg. mc. : ténă̆ (the Pada text always reads téna)

A defective unaccented pronoun of 3 pers. Inst. sg. mc. : enena (only twice in AV.)

Interrogative pronoun Inst. sg. mc. : kéna

Relative pronoun Inst, sg. mc. : yénă̆ (the Pada text always reads yéna)

Possessive pronoun Inst. sg. mc. : svénă̆ (the Pada text always reads svéna)

Pronominal adjective Inst. sg. mc. : anyéna

Almost all the pronominal forms of Inst. sg. mc. end in short (—a) since it stands in the weakened position after the accented syllable. The demonstrative pronoun e-nā́ is only the example which ends in long -ā. But even this appears in the unaccented form e-na twice. A. A. Macdonell says in his 'Vedic Grammar' that this e-na and all other oblique cases formed from the demonstrative pronoun a-, when used merely to replace preceding substantive, and not occuring at the beginning of a sentence of Pada, they lose their accent (VG. 85. 2., p. 81).

(I. 2.) In Veda the Inst, sg. mc. & nt. ending of a-stem appears very frequently in -enă being formed more than 300 stems due to the influence of pronominal ending. The commonest forms are : mc.— sūryeṇa, índreṇa, vā́jreṇa, yajñena ; nt.—ghṛténa etc. But about 25 forms still retain long vowel -ā in their end generally where the metre at the end of a Pada favours a long vowel : amṛ́tenā (AV.), á-śivenā, ā́jyenā, ṛténā, kā́vyenā, kúliśenā, pétvenā, taviṣéṇā, dā́kṣiṇenā, dā́ivyenā, bā́kureṇā, bhedréṇā, (AV.),

mártyenā, mārutenā, ravāthenā, vāruṇenā, vithuréṇā, vi-rāveṇā, vīryèṇā, vṛjānenā, vṛṣabhéṇā, sahasyèṇā, sāyakenā, sūryeṇā, skāmbhanenā. In all these forms, however, the Pada text has the short final vowel a. The pronominal forms ténā, yénā, svénā also appear, but always with the short vowel in the Pada text. The accented enā has always long vowel ā, but the unaccented ena, beside eṇa, has the short vowel in the Pada (VG. p. 256-7).

The final vowel is twice nasalized sporadically: ghanénaṁ ékas (1.33), téjanenaṁ ékam (1.110).

(I. 3.) The tendency of shortening of the final vowel in the Inst. sg. ending is found in the i-stem also. The Inst. sg. fm. ending of i-stem has two forms—normal form ā and contracted form ī. The latter is made by 35 stems in the RV. and occur more than twice as often as the uncontracted -yā; ā-cittī, ā-prabhūtī, a-vyathī, āhutī, ūtī, ṛju-nītī, cittī, júṣṭī, dīdhitī, du-ṣṭutī, du-ṣṭutī, dhītī, ni-śitī, pāri-viṣṭī, puro-jitī, prāṇītī, prā-bhūtī, prā-yutī, prā-yatī, matī, vartanī, viṣṭī, vītī, vṛṣṭī, śaktī, śāktī, śruṣṭī, sā-hūtī, su-dītī, sú-nītī, su-matī, sú-mitī, su-śastī, su-ṣṭutī, hasta-cyutī, su-paptanī, hetī, -iṣṭī. And this form is further shortened to -i in about a dozen words in the RV., occurring altogether 25 times: iṣāṇi, úpa-śruti, upābhṛti, tri-viṣṭi, nī-tikti, prā-yukti, vāṣaṭ-kṛti, sadhā-stuti, su-vṛkti, su-śasti, sv-asti, haviṣ-kṛti, ā-smṛti (AV)(VG. p. 281).

This tendency of shortening of the final vowel in i-stem also might have affected the Inst. sg. mc. ending of a-stem.

Phonology

(II.O.) This chapter is given mainly to explain the phonological change of *the language in Saraha-Doha* (-hereafter the abridged form *SDL* is used).

[A] Vowels

In most instances we can trace the OIA source of the SDL vowels and can tell under what conditions the phonetic change of vowels took place. But we must also admit that there are some instances, though quite a few, for which we can not give any definite explanation whether they result from analogy,

assimilation, dissimilation, contamination or just scribal error. Another fact we should notice here is the existence of allomorphs :

e.g. diṭṭh- (BS. 8,10,17,34,99)∽dīṭṭh- (BS. 48)<dṛṣṭ-, kiu (BS. 105)∽kīa- (BS. 20)<kṛta-, hiai (BS. 18)∽hiae (BS. 39)<hṛdaye, dīsai (BS. 18,38,65,67,79)∽dissai (BS. 81)<dṛśyate, rahia- (BS. 19,44)∽rahio (BS. 58)<rahita-, se (BS. 47, 106)∽so (BS. 16,17,27 etc.)<saḥ

The co-existence of changed form and changing (-transient) form, I guess, is due to the fact that the SDL vowels are still on the changing process and/or that these allomorphs indicate their different dialectal development.

(II. 1.) SDL possesses the following vowel sounds : a, i, u (short) ; ā, ī, ū (long) ; e, o (long in an open syllable, short in a closed). There seems no limitation for combinations of double and triple vowels because of the loss of intervocalic consonants. But any example of combinations of more than three vowels is not found in SDL.

Combinations of two vowels :—

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	e	o
a	bhaavaṁ	paāga	evai		cauveu		gaenda	dosao
ā	avāa	kāā	jāi		kāu		pasāeṁ	
i	virahia	siālaha			sāhiu		airiehiṁ	rahio
ī	indīa		mārīi					
u	huavaha	viṇuā			guru-uvaseṁ		uesem	
ū	ūara	ūāra						
e	dhea		mukkei		bheu			
o	loa		hoi				joesu	

Combination of three vowels :—

a saiu
ā māie
i hiai, padhiau, hiae
ī kīaa, kīai, pīau, kīaū
u suau

(II. 2.) The SDL vowels generally go back to the OIA source with the following conditions :

(a) An OIA long vowel in a closed syllable becomes short orthographically and/or metrically :

initial e.g. atta (BS. 37)<āptam, appaṇu (BS. 23,65,79,80) <ātmāna-

middle e.g. matta (BS. 61,75)<mātram, tittha (BS. 15, 48)<tīrtham

(b) In some instances a long vowel in a closed syllable appears in SDL as a long vowel in an open syllable :

initial e.g. ūara (BS. 64)<utpalam,

middle e.g. cāhante (BS. 34)<cakṣante, akāma (BS. 67) <akarma

(c) In rare instances a long vowel in an open syllable in OIA becomes short in a closed syllable in SDL :

middle e.g. paḍijjahu (BS. 33)<*pratīyathaḥ, tiṇṇa (BS. 36)<*trīṇa

(d) In some instances a long vowel in an open syllable in OIA becomes short in an open syllable in SDL :

[a] initial (1) airiehiṁ (BS. 4)<*ācāryakebhiṃ,

middle (2) jaḍabhāreṁ (BS. 4)<jaṭābhārena, (3) appaṇa (BS. 6)<ātmānam (4) mahajāṇahiṁ (BS. 11)<* mahāyānabhiṃ, (5) appaṇu (BS. 23,65,79,80)< ātmāna-, (6) vasiau (BS. 36)<vāsitakaṃ, (7) sahave (BS. 45)<svabhāve (8) vaṇārasi (BS. 47)<vārāṇasī, (9) mariau (BS, 56)<māritakaṃ, (10) jāṇai (BS. 58,68,95)<jānāti, (11) pariāṇasi (BS. 60)< parijānāsi, (12) savvarua (BS. 77.)<sarvarūpaṃ, (13) āvai (BS. 82)<āyāti, (14) jāṇami (BS. 90)< jānāmi, (15) ruaṅeṁ (BS. 91)<rūpaṇena (16) kahami (BS. 93)<*kathāmi, (17) karei (BS. 97)<kārayati, (18) harei (BS. 97)<hārayati, (19) tārāvai (BS. 98) <tārāpatiḥ

[i] middle (20) vivaria (A. 43)<viparīta, (21) marutthalihiṁ (BS. 56)<*marusthalībhiṃ, (22) asarira (BS. 89) <aśarīraṃ, (23) gahia (BS. 101)<gṛhīta,

(i) Among the words listed above (6), (9), (10), (11), (13), (14),(16),(17), & (18) may be from such MIA verbal roots as √

vasa, √mara, √jāṇa, pari √jāṇa, ā-√va, √jāṇa, √kaha, √kara & √hara respectively.

(ii) In the instances (1), (2), (4), (7), (8) & (19) the long vowel ā becomes short immediately before long syllables. But (7) is most probably a scribal error for sahāve, cf sahāva- (BS. 18 etc.)

(iii) The shortening of the vowel ā in (3) & (5) is rather peculiar. It may be due to the analogy to the weak stem of ātman (i.e. ātmanā, ātmane, ātmanaḥ, ātmani etc.)

(iv) The shortening of vowel ī in the instances (20), (21), & (23) may be due to the weakening by position because they happen always in the final but one syllable,

(v) The inatances (12), (15) & (22) are inexplainable. They may be scrible errors.

(vi) We have variant readings : dhūmeṃ (A) for dhumĕ (BS. 2)<dhūmena.

(e) New vowels anaptyctic and glidic origin are frequent specially before -r- and -y- ;

e.g. kariai (BS, 65)<kriyate. visaria (BS. 84)<vismṛta siri- (BS. 54, 66)<śrī-, vicintejjai (BS. 86)< vicintyate

(f) i and u/o sometimes result from samprasāraṇa :

e.g, airiehiṁ (BS. 4)<*ācārykebhiṁ, jāu (BS. 67) <yāvat, paramesuru (BS. 81)<parameśvaraḥ, dohācchande (BS. 92)<dvādhāchande

(g) Single vowels sometimes result from the contraction of two or more vowels :

(a) eg. visahi (BS, 64) <*visaahi<*viṣayadhi
(ā) eg. andhāra- (BS. 20)<*andhaāra<andhakāra
(i) eg. gāhi (BS. 63)<*gāhii<*gāhiya<*gāhia<gāhita
ṇivejjaṁ (BS. 14) <*nevejjaṁ<*naivedyaṁ
(ī) eg. picchī-(BS. 8)<*picchiā-<picchikā-
(u) eg. lomupādaneṁ (BS. 7)<*romopādaneṁ<roma-utpāṭanena
(ū) eg. ūāra (BS. 107, 112)<*uaāra<upakāraḥ
(e) eg. citteḳka (BS. 41)<citta-eḳaṃ (or *citta-aikyaṁ)

The examples of u and e might result from the loss of final vowels in their first elements of compound noun.

(h) u, e & o in the final is from MIA e/o<aḥ or aṃ (Dialetal different development)

eg. bheu (BS. 1,104)<bhedaṃ, sāhiu (BS, 13, 22)< sādhitaḥ, se (BS. 47, 65, 106)<saḥ, mahāsuhe (BS. 91)<mahāsukhaṃ vaiṭṭho (BS. 10)< upaviṣṭaḥ, mokkho (BS. 14)<mokṣaṃ

(i) It should be noted that all the Atmanepada ending coalesced into Parasmaipada ending without exception (e->i).

(11. 3.) OIA ṛ does not survive in SDL where it becomes a, i, I, u, e, ri, rī etc :

[a] eg. mattī (BS, 2)<mṛttikā, gahia (BS. 101)<gṛhīta

[i] eg. diṭṭha (BS. 8)<dṛṣṭa-, kiu (BS. 105)<kṛtam, sai (BS. 44)<sakṛt

[ī] eg. kīaa (BS. 20)<*kṛtakaṃ, dīṭṭhao (BS. 48)< dṛṣṭakaṃ

[u] eg. pūccha- (BS. 29, 50, 62, 100)<*pṛccha-

[e] eg. dekkha- (BS.55,62,83)<*dṛkṣa-

[ri] eg. sarisaa (BS. 48)<sadṛśakaṃ, visaria (BS. 84)< vismṛta

[rī] eg. parīsahu (BS. 55)<*spṛśathaḥ, sarīsoṁ (BS. 76) <sadṛśaṃ

OIA -ri- becomes -ī- before -y- in SDL :

eg. kīai (BS. 22)<kriyate, indī- (BS. 67, 92)< indriya-

(II. 4.) In SDL we can find three types of vowel sandhi forms : (1) tatsama—OIA vowel sandhi forms are retained in some compound nouns, (2) a sort of contraction—the preceding vowel is lost and the following one is preserved, and (3) glidic or prothetic consonant is inserted.

(1) dhammādhamma (BS. 3,38)<dharma-adharma, bhāvā-bhāva (BS. 20,32)<bhāva-abhāva, paramesāru (BS. 58) <parama-iśvaraḥ, dehāṇuttara (BS. 60)<deha-anuttrām ghorāndhāreṁ (BS. 97)<ghora-andhakārena, duriāsesa (BS. 97)<durita-aśesaṃ

(2) lomupāḍaṇeṁ (BS. 7)<roma-utpāṭanena, cittekka (BS. 41)<citta-ekaṃ

(3) guru-vattau (BS. 18)<guru-uktakaṃ

But in many cases vowel sandhi does not take place because all possible vowel combinations are allowed in SDL (See II 1.) :

haṁsa-uesem (BS. 3)<haṁsa-upadésena, dakkhiṇa-uddeseṁ (BS. 5)<dakṣinā-uddeśena, mokkha-uveseṁ (BS, 6)<mokṣa-upadeśena, guru-uvaeseṁ (BS. 37,38,56, 69)<guruupadeśena, sahaja-ulālu (BS. 57)<sahaja-*ullala + ulāsa, appaṇu-iccheṁ (BS. 79)<*ātmāna-icchena-,bhūa-āattaṇa-indīvisaa (BS.92)<-bhūta-āyatana-indriyaviṣaya-, khaṇa-uvāa (BS. 95)<kṣaṇa-upāyaḥ or utpādaḥ, paratta-ūāra (BS. 107)<parata-upakāraḥ, para-ūāra (BS. 112)<para-upakāraḥ

(II. 5.) Weakening of vowels is found in some instances :

a<ā eg. ma (BS. 1,20,23,32,44,49,55,71,83,103,106)<mā, dakkhiṇa- (BS. 5)<dakṣinā-,amia- (BS. 56)<amṛtā, taha (BS. 14, 71)<tathā

i<ī eg. asarira (BS. 89)<aśarīraṃ, gahia (BS, 101)<gṛhīta, vaṇārasi (BS. 47)<vārānasī, siri- (BS. 54,66)<śrī-

i<e eg. hiai (BS. 18)<hṛdaye

i<ai eg. ṇivejjaṁ (BS. 14)<*nevejjaṁ<*naivedyanaṃ

ī<ay eg. mārīi (BS. 65)<*mārei<*mārayita

e<ya eg. vande (BS. 10)<vundyaḥ

e<ava eg. hoi (BS. 3,6,7.8,14,40,45,57,69,74,76,88)<bhavati, tovi (BS. 65,68)<*tavavi<tadapi

(II. 6.) In rare instances short vowel a becomes long ā due to metrical cause :

vikālo (BS. 34)<vikalah (rhyme with vālo or it may result from the contamination of vikala with vikāra)

diṇṇā (BS. 83)<*dīna (rhyme with bhiṇṇā)

(II. 7.) The following changes of vowels are found sporadically in some instances for which we can not give any plausible explanation :

ā<a initial (1) ālīkā (BS. 16)<alīkāḥ, (2) ālem (BS. 18,33, 49)<*alena

	middle	(3) vāhir- (BS. 62,80,86,89)<bahir-
i<a	middle	(4) airiehiṁ(BS.4)<*aariehiṁ<*ācaryakebhiṃ
u<ă	middle	(5) viṇuā (BS. 3)<*vijñakāḥ
	final	(6) etthu (BS. 47,48,73,93)<*etra, (7) jagu (BS. 50,52,88)<jagat, (8) tatthu (BS. 52)<tatra, (9) parama-kalu (BS. 53)<parama-kalā, (10) viṇu (BS. 63,65,105)<vinā, (11) saiu (BS. 90) <*satika
u<ām	final	(12) dīau (BS. 112)<dīyatām
u<ām	final	(13) kīaū (BS. 112)<kriyatām
e<i	middle	(14) teloa (BS. 50)<trilocanaḥ
e<ām	final	(15) cinte (BS. 10)<cintām
o<ā	final	(16) taho (BS. 101)<tatha
o<u	middle	(17) sosai (BS. 10)<śuṣyate, (18) ṇikkolī (BS. 61)<*niṣkulika, (19) poḍai (BS. 80)<*puṭati (10) loḍai (BS. 80)<luṭate

A Skeleton Grammar of Prakrit attributed to Jiva Gosvami

Satya Rañjan Banerjee

[Contents : Discovery of a Prakrit grammar appended to a Vaiṣṇava Vyākaraṇa entitled Harināmāmṛta § 1 ; Jīva's grammar —a sectarian character § 2 ; Three versions of his grammar ; Prakrit belongs to the Lāghu version §§ 3-7 ; Consanguinity of the three § 8 ; Authorship of the three §§ 9-13 ; Its date § 14 ; About this Prakrit grammar §§ 15-16 ; Analytical contents of this grammar § 17 ; Description of the MSS consulted in editing this Prakrit grammar § 18 ; The Text.]

§ 1. While searching for the manuscripts of the Prakrit portion of Kramadiśvara's Saṃkṣiptasāra, I have lately come across two manuscripts which contain two folios on Prakrit grammar appended to a Vaiṣṇava-vyākaraṇa, entitled *Harināmāmṛta.* One of these two manuscripts deposited in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, has been catalogued by Haraprasād Śāstrī in his Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS etc. Vol-VI (grammar), 1931, but to my utter surprise it is found that while describing this MS (vide 4567, PP. 230-32) he fails to point out, perhaps, through oversight the folio (16A) which contains a few characteristics of Prakrit. The other MS is found in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat of Calcutta. In both the MSS the name of the author is not mentioned. It is simply stated—*iti Śrī Harināmāmṛte Vaiṣṇava-vyākaraṇe prākṛta-pādaḥ samāptaḥ.* But the authorship of these MSS has been attributed to Jīva Gosvāmī by the compilers of the Catalogues mentioned above. Before going into details about this Prakrit grammar, I would like to put forth the results of my study of the same and to discuss whether this can be attributed to Jīva Gosvāmī.

§ 2. Now, it is well-known from the history of the Vaiṣṇava literature that the Sanskrit grammar, entitled *Harināmāmṛta,*

in which the rules and illustrations of Sanskrit language are associated, has been composed by Jīva Gosvāmī[1], the only son of his untimely deceased father Anupama and the distinguished nephew of Sanātana and Rūpa Gosvāmī of Bengal. It is said that Jīva Gosvāmī composed his grammar in the interest of the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal who wrote their religious literature not only in Sanskrit but also in the vernacular language of his time. Of the few sectarian schools[2], Jīva Gosvāmī, who

1. For his life and personal history, vide, Dr. Sukumar Sen, History of Bengali Literature (in Bengali) Vol-I, part 1, 4th enlarged and revised edn., Calcutta, 1963; and cf. also, D. C. Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literatrue, Calcutta, 1911; The Vaiṣṇava Literature of Mediaeval Bengal, Calcutta, 1917; Haridāsa Dās, Śrī Śrī Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Jīvana (in Bengali), Vol-I, Navadvīpa, Gaurāṅga era 465, PP. 82—84; Śrī Śrī Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Sāhitya (in Bengali), Navadvīpa, Caitanya era 462, PP. 215—17; S. K. De, Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal, 2nd edn., Calcutta, 1961, PP. 146-165. etc.

As regards his date or antiquity no authentic information is available. His birth-date is uncertain, but he does not appear to have seen Caitanya. He was a mere child of two or three years old when his father died. However, Professor Sukumar Sen has shown that his reputation as a prolific, versatile and voluminous writer was well established towards the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries. Moreover, from the folio of a MS, preserved in the Vardhamāna Sāhitya Sabhā (the photostat copy of which has also been given in his book), he has tried to prove that the date of Jīva, may fall between 1516-17 to 1603 A. D. These two dates, says Professor Sen, can be taken respectively as the latest possible birth-date and death-date of Jīva.

2. H. P. Śāstrī in his Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol-VI, Calcutta, 1931, P. lxil wants to say that Kramadīśvara also wrote his Prakrit grammar in the interest of the Śaivas of Bengal. But this is not true, his sūtras and examples are not of any sectarian type.

makes grammar the vehicle of religion, is the prominent, although as early as in the 13th century, Vopadeva[3] in his *Mugdhabodha* gave a sectarian turn in the selection of examples illustrating his rules, whenever possible, from the names of his gods; but he did not make so extravagant a use of divine names for the technical terms of his grammar[4]. Hemacandra (1088-1172 A. D.) as a Jaina writes his grammar at the suggestion of the king Siddharāja Jayasiṃha and gives examples from the Jaina works; but his sūtras are quite free from any Jainistic touch. But in the 15th-16th centuries, all these authors were out done by the followers of Caitanya (1486-1534 A.D.)[5]. They followed their doctrines so much that even in their grammatical texts they took not only all examples, but also were their technical grammatical terms described by the employment of numerous names of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, the favourite deities of the Vaiṣṇavas. Their intention is explained in the introductory verses of *Harināmāmṛta* where a quotation from the *Bhāgavata* is found:

"*sāṅketyaṃ pārihāsyaṃ vā stobhaṃ helanam eva vā* |
vaikuṇṭha-nāma-grahaṇam aśeṣāghaharaṃ viduḥ. || *6.2.14.*

i. e., "Uttering the name of Vaikuṇṭha even when done symbolically or in joke, with due veneration or in disrespect, always absolves one from sin." It is, therefore, for this purpose that Jīva Gosvāmī has taken all the grammatical nomenclatures for his grammar from the names of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa etc., so that, the devout Vaiṣṇvas may be doubly benefited—by learning

3. His name has curiously been derived: *u* means Śiva and *a* means Viṣṇu; therefore by euphonic combination (u+a), we have *va*, meaning thereby, that a worshipper of Śiva and Viṣṇu will be called a Vopadeva. cf. H. P. Śāstrī, Ibid. P. lxxxi. Since he has taken examples from the name of these two deities, his name has, therefore, been derived in this manner.

4. S. K. Belvalkar, Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, Poona, 1915, P. 106; H. P. Śāstrī, Ibid. p. lxi.

5. This date is conjectural for which vide, Sukumar Sen's book mentioned above.

grammatical rules and by uttering the blessed names of Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā or their gaṇas at every step.

§ 3. But it is to be noted here that the Sanskrit grammar *Harināmāmṛta* mentioned above is a bigger treatise than the present *Harināmāmṛta* (our MSS concerned) which is, perhaps, the shortest version of this bigger work and it is to this shortest version that a Prakrit grammar, so long unknown and unear thed, is added. It is said above (§1), that Haraprasād Śāstrī, Purīdāsa and others in their respective treatises mentioned below are of opinion that this shortest version has also been composed by Jīva Gosvāmī, and therefore, this Prakrit grammar found in this shortest version must have been attributed to him, in spite of the fact that the name of the author is not mentioned in the MSS. Now, with regard to this Prakrit grammar which is appended only to the (Laghu)—Harināmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa we are confronted with some difficulties. Because from a careful perusal of all the MSS of *Harināmāmṛta* found in the Asiatic Society and in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta, it can generally be said that his grammar (excluding Prakrit portion) has got three versions whose descriptions are given below :

Version A.

§4. With regard to this verson A designated by me as "longer version" in the colophon[6] of which the name Jīva Gosvāmī occurs, we do not find any Prakrit portion. I have consulted all the available MSS[7] as well as the three autho-

6. "*iti veda-vedāṅga-vedāntetihāsa-purāṇādya-dhyayanā-dhyāpana-janita-yaśastoma-soma-dhavalī-kṛta-diṅmukhair mahāmahopādhyāya-nikaraiḥ parama-bṛhattama-siddhi-saṅghaiśca niṣevita-pādapaṅkajaiḥ paramahaṃsa-kula-mukuṭamani—Śrīmaj-Jīva-Gosvāmi-pādair viracitam idam Śrīmad-Harināmāmṛtākhyaṃ vaiṣṇavaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ saṃpūrṇam.*

7. H. P. Śāstrī Ibid, P. 232, Entry No. 4568 : [The chapter on Akhyāta only, Folio, 2 to 57, of which 28 to 54 are missing] and Entry No. 4569 : [The chapter on Nāmaviṣṇupāda only of the Version A, Folio 37. Śāstrī says 'this is the shorter

rised printed editions[8]; but unfortunately none of tnem contains any Prakrit grammar. Moreover, the editors of these three do not mention any Prakrit grammar belonging to this version.

Version B.

§5. We know the existence of this version B, also designated by me as *Saṃkṣipta-Harināmāmṛta*, from the introduction of Purīdāsa's edition of longer version mentioned above. The MS of this version generally contains 36 or 37 folios. It has been edited[9] by Śrī Purīdāsa from the two MSS—one brought from Vṛndāvana and the other from the University of Dacca bearing No. 4517. This Dacca MS[10], the editor informs us,

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verson'; but it is not ture. cf. Mitra's No ice No. 423]; Chintaharan Chakraborty, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Skt. MSS in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, 1935. P. 178, MS. No. Skt. 854 and P. 179, MS. No. 1460.

8. Hariṇāmāmṛta-vyākaraṇam, Murshidabad, from 1291 BS. —1337 BS. in several parts; second edn. by Śrī Brajanāth Miśra, Beharampur, 1337 BS. with two commentaries—Bālatoṣaṇī of Harekṛṣṇācārya and Taddhitoddīpanī of Gopīcaraṇadāsa and a Bengali translation. Harekṛṣṇa commented upto the sūtra No. 259 of the samāsa chapter and the rest (nos: 260-373) of the same were completed by Gopīcaraṇa with the same name "Bālatoṣaṇī", but with a different name on the Taddhita chapter, called, Taddhitoddīpanī. Another edition by Śrī Bhakti Siddhānta Sarasvatī Gosvāmī, Nadia, Caitanya era 442; latest critical edition by Śrī Purīdāsa, published by Sacindranath Roy Choudhury, Mymonsinha, 1947. This edition contains two books more—Saṃkṣipta (Laghu) Harināmāmṛta and Dhātu-saṃgraha of Jīva Gosvāmī.

9. Vide the Appendix of his edition of larger Harināmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa.

10. It is needless to say that I have neither consulted nor seen this MS.

also contains a Prakrit grammar. But unfortunately he has neither edited that portion, nor has he made any indication at the time of editing this saṃkṣipta version. So until this MS is examined carefully nothing can be said on the Prakrit grammar of this version.

Version C

§6. In this version C, containing 15 or 16 folios, there is a skeleton grammar of Prakrit in addition to Sanskrit. It has been named by me as 'Laghu-Harināmāmṛta, although in none of the MSS we do find any such name. I know only the four MSS of this version, of which two contain the folios on Prakrit grammar. Of the other two there is one MS in the University of Dacca, bearing No. D.R. 162, which as Śrī Purīdāsa[11] says, also contains a Prakrit grammar. But it is needless to mention that I have not been able to consult this. Rajendralal Mitra in his Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS[12] refers to one MS which fully corresponds to the two MSS[13] consulted by me. But Mitra's MS lacks in Prakrit portion. Moreover, the authorship of this MS is attributed to Rūpa Gosvāmī for which the discussion will be made later on. However, it must be pointed out here that it is only in this Laghu—Harināmāmṛta that we find the Prakrit grammar, but not in the versions A and B which we have in printed forms.

§7. Now, it will not be out of place here if I give a brief synopsis of these three versions for the proper comprehension in this matter.

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11. Ibid. Intro. P. 2.

12. A Descriptive Catalogue of Sankrit MSS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part First-Grammar, Calcutta, 1877. P. 163, No. 1136.

13. The description of these two MSS on which this Prakrit grammar is based will be given below.

	CONTENTS	Versions[14]				
		A	B	C Manuscripts.		
		Printed	Printed	AS	VS	RM
Beginning	Śrī Śrī Rādhākṛṣṇābhyāṃ namaḥ (A,B). ŏ namo vighneśvarāya (AS). Śrī Śrī Harirjayati (VS). Śrī Kṛṣṇāya namaḥ (RM). Kṛṣṇam 'upāsitum asya srajam iva nāmāvaliṃ tanavai/	Do	Do	Do	×	×
	tvaritaṃ vitared eṣā tatsāhityādijāmodam/1/					
	āhata-jalpita-jaṭitaṃ dṛṣṭvā śabdānuśāsanastomam/	Do	Do	Do	×	×
	Harināmāvali-valitaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ vaiṣṇavārthamācinmaḥ /2/					
	vyākaraṇe marunīvṛti jīvanalubdhāḥ sadāgha saṃvighnāḥ/	Do	Do	Do	×	×
	Harināmāmṛtam etat pibantu śatadhāvagā hantāṃ /3/					
	Śrīhariṃ madhuraṃ natvā harināmāmṛtaṃ rasam/	×	Do	Do	Do	Do
	vyākaraṇañca tad-bhaktyā pibantu vrajavāsinaḥ /4/					
	sāṅketyaṃ pārihāsyaṃ vā stobham helanam eva vā/	Do	Do	Do	Do	Do
	vaikuṇṭha nāma-grahaṇam aśeṣāghaharaṃ viduḥ /5/					
	nārāyaṇād udbhūto' yaṃ varṇa-kramaḥ	Do	Do	Do	Do	Do
Colophon & chapter marking	i) iti Śrī Harināmāmṛte (tākhye) (Saṃkṣipta) etc. Vaiṣṇava-vyākaraṇe sandhi-prakaraṇaṃ samāptaṃ.	147	86	85	92	83
	ii) iti Śrī Harināmāmṛte Vaiṣṇava-vyākaraṇe subanta (viṣṇu)pādaḥ samāptaḥ	218	154	118	113	108

CONTENTS	Versions[14]				
	A	B	C Manuscripts.		
	Printed	Printed	AS	VS	RM
iii) iti ... ... ākhyātapādaḥ samāptaḥ	586	309	61	65	116
iv) iti ... ... kāraka pādaḥ ,,	275	41	29	33	30
v) iti ... ... kṛdanta pādaḥ ,,	466	98	24	26	37
vi) iti ... ... samāsa pādaḥ ,,	373	45	22	28	25
vii) iti ... ... taddhita pādaḥ ,,	1127	24	18	20	20
	3192	757	357	377	419
viii) iti ... ... Prākṛta pādaḥ ,,	×	×	28	32	×
			385	409	
ix) iti ... ... Chandonirūpaṇam. [akin to Chando-mañjarī but with minor alterations]	×	×	a few verses	a few verses	×

14. AS = MS of the Asiatic Society ; VS = MS of Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, RM = MS of Rajendralal Mitra ; × indicates not found, while 'Do' indicates 'found'.

§8. From the above it is evident that although there is no Prakrit portion in the printed texts i.e., versions A and B, yet a closer and critical analysis will reveal the fact that there is a consanguinity in all of them, nay they are identical. Because the introductory verses (quoted above), the sūtras and the commentary on the Sanskrit grammar of all these three versions are practically the same, the only difference is in their number due to shortness. Furthermore, the congruity is noticed in the case of colophon also. There are minor differences, no doubt, in the commentary, but this is for shortening the commentary from the longer version, while those of the three MSS of the "Laghu" version are almost alike. So from a perusal of all these three versions, it can definitely be said that they are closely identical.

§9. If all these three are identical, then, can it be said that they are all coming from the pen of one and the same author ? The answer to this question would have been easier if tradition would not stand in our way. Let us, therefore, discuss briefly what the tradition says about the authorship.

§10. Harekṛṣṇācārya in the introductory portion of his commentary *Bālatoṣaṇī*[15] has made a statement that *Harināmāmṛta* was originally composed in the sūtra form by Caitanya's disciple Sanātana Gosvāmī (1484—1558 A.D.)[16], and which afterwords was revised and enlarged by Jīva Gosvāmī. Similarly there is a tradition[17] by which this grammar is attributed to Rūpa Gosvāmī (1490—1563 A.D), another principal disciple and companion of Caitanya, who gave up the service

15. *Śrīkṛṣṇadeva-prasādam adhigamya Śrīmacchrīla-sanātana Gosvāminām sūtrānusāreṇa Śrī Jīva Gosvāmināmā granthakāraḥ ...Śrī Harināmāmṛtākhya-Vaiṣṇava-vyākaraṇam ārabhamāṇaḥ etc.* P. 2, of Brajanath Miśra's edn. 1337 B.S.

16. The date is conjectural, vide, Sukumar Sen, Ibid.

17. For this, cf. Belvalkar, Sys. Skt. Gram. P 113 ; H. P. Sāstrī, Des. Cat. Skt. MSS (VI) P. cxii ; Gurupada Haldar, Vyākaraṇa darśaner Itihāsa, Calcutta, 1947, p. 456 ; Srī Purīdāsa's edition of Harināmāmṛta, Intro. P. 2.

of Allauddin Hussain Shāh of Bengal and became a Vaiṣṇava Sannyāsī. Rajendralal Mitra in his Descriptive Catalogue of SKt. MSS notices one Harināmāmṛta [18] of the "Laghu" version attributed to Rūpa Gosvāmī. But this MS fully corresponds with the other two MSS of this version (C), where the name of Rūpa Gosvāmī is not found. Moreover, Mitra's MS is similar to the versions A and B, both of which are attributed to Jīva Gosvāmī. However, besides these references, unfortunately we do not find any grammar going by their names, excepting "*Prayuktākhyātacandrikā* which is ascribed to Rūpa Gosvāmī [19]. This treatise of Rūpa dealing with the roots and verbs as the title suggests, is not available at present, nor has any reference to his MSS been yet brought to light [20].

§11. Now, it should be borne in mind that the grammar which is current now a days and goes under the title *Harināmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa* (i. e. version A) was written by Jīva Gosvāmī who is clearly mentioned in the colophon quoted above. So, no doubt has yet been arisen as to the authorship of Jīva Gosvāmi's *Harināmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa*. If that is the case with regard to the authorship of this grammar (i. e., version A), then what are we to suppose for the rest? Should we surmise on the strength of Harekṛṣṇacārya that Sanātana has originally composed the grammar in a skeleton form (like our version B or C), which has been rewritten and enlarged by Jīva Gosvāmī in order to make it a standard one? Or, should we believe in tradition for the authorship of Rūpa Gosvāmī's grammar (like version B or C), which has been revised by Jīva for its

18. "The work [by Rūpa Gosvāmī] differs from another work of the same name, which is due so Jīva Gosvāmī alias Jīveśvara Svāmī, mentioned by Colebrooke, and noticed under no, 428 of the Notices of Sanskrit MSS." Ibid, P. 163.

19. Vide. Purīdāsa's edn. -Intro. P. 2 ; Haridāsa's Vaiṣṇava-sāhitya etc.

20. But Gurupada Haldar says that Rūpa Gosvāmī's grammar is still consulted by the Vaiṣṇavas (vide, Ibid, P. 456). The validity of his statement has not yet been proved.

perfection? Or, should any one of the versions B and C be attributed to Sanātana and Rūpa respectively? The conclusion would have been hasty if we attach too much importance to these two authorities. Because the authorship of a grammarian, flourished in the 16th—17th centuries, cannot be proved on the evidence of a commentator like Harekṛṣṇācārya belonging to the middle of the 19th century, where there is no stronger proof in support of his statement. Similarly, how far it will be worthwhile for us to attribute a grammar to Rūpa Gosvāmī solely on the evidence of Mitra's MS, is a matter of wide discussions. Moreover, Mitra's MS is remarkably new. Therefore, in the absence of any conclusive evidence we refrain from commenting anything on this controversy, although we are inclined to prefer Jīva's authorship for obvious reason.

§12. There is no denying the fact that the current *Harināmāmṛta* (i. e. version A) has been composed by Jīva Gosvāmī. There is again nothing to deny even that the introductory verses (quoted above) as well as the common Sanskrit sūtras and vṛttis of the versions B and C are exactly identical with those of A. This proves beyond doubt that all the Sanskrit sūtras of these three versions were from the pen of the same author; and as Jīva's name is mentioned explicitly in the colophon of A, I am, therefore, convinced that Jīva is the author of all the Sanskrit sūtras of these three versions.

§13. The reason behind these three versions is not far to seek. Purīdāsa is inclined to assume that Jīva Gosvāmī, perhaps, first composed the "Laghu" grammar for the beginners and then revised it in two instalments before it took a final and larger shape in which we find it [21] nowadays, or *vice-versa*. It is true, says he, that in A no Prakrit portion is available; but that may be owing to the fact that he has not revised or re-written the same any further. So in his opinion

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21. At the end it is stated that this was composed for Gopāladāsa. The verse is:

Harināmāmṛta-saṃjñaṃ yad artham etat prakāśayāmāsa |
ubhayatra ca mama mitraṃ sa bhavatu Gopāladāsākhyaḥ ||

all the three versions (including Prakrit portion) were originally written by Jīva Gosvāmī. But we hold a different view. Two possible alternatives may be suggested. In the first place it can be said that when in course of time the study of the longer version of *Harināmāmṛta* was getting obsolescent owing to its bulky size, for which it had become an impediment on the part of a student to acquire mastery over the subject, some one of his disciples or followers thought it necessary to re-edit this longer version by omitting many aphorisms which are not important for the beginners to learn. And with this end in view he, perhaps following the methods adopted by Varadārāja in his *Madhya-Siddhānta-Kaumudī* and *Laghu-Kaumudī*, reduced the size of this longer version by eschewing many sūtras which are difficult for the beginners to understand. And it is at the time of re-editing that editor, keeping a keen and constant eye on the grammars of Kramadīśvara and Hemacandra, might have added this Prakrit portion to the Laghu-version of his Sanskrit Grammar in order to complete the study of a language which not only includes Sanskrit, but also Prakrit. It can also be said that as the study of Prakrit at his time had been gradually declining, he, did not think it necessary to render it into a bigger work which might not gain any popularity in the presence of other Eastern Prakrit Grammarians whose works are comparatively short. And that editor, out of reverence, has duly attributed these two versions including Prakrit Grammar to Jīva Gosvāmī. So in that case these two versions have been completed by one and the same person. Secondly, it is also possible that any one of the versions B and C might have been composed by the former one, while the other has been written by another man in subsequent times; and the Prakrit portion might have been added by any one of the two, or altogether by a different man in later times. But in any case all these versions B and C have been attributed to Jīva Gosvāmī by all these later writers. Because one of the peculiar characteristics of most of the Vaiṣṇavas is their extreme modesty which does not allow them to explicitly mention their names in many a work of their authorship.

It is only for this reason that a good deal of controversy has centred round the authorship of a number of Vaiṣṇava works—specially those of Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva Gosvāmī.[22] So may be the case with this grammar also. Our surmise cannot be summarily rejected so far as the Prakrit portion is concerned. Because we notice a striking similarity of this grammar with that of the fragmentary *Prākṛta-kāmadhenu* attributed to Rāvaṇa Laṅkeśvara,[23] both in froms, contents, arrangement and almost number of sūtras, but with a differnt grammatical terminology. The similarity does not, of course, mean the exact reproduction from either of the two; but it is so strong, indeed, that no one could examine the two without believing them to have sprung from a common source; but that common source is not easy to ascertain at present. It may be that both of them might have taken their skeleton

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22. Instances of this kind of confusion have been noted by S. K. De, History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol I, London, 1923, P 255. fn. 3. Besides his references Professor Chintaharan Chakraborty has pointed out some more instances: "Haṃsadūta, generally known to be a work of Rūpa is found to have been attributed to Jīva and also to one Devadāsa in a MS of the work and a commentary on it in the Dacca University. The Vaiṣṇavatoṣiṇī, a commentary on the tenth Book of the Bhāgavata believed to be a work of Sanātana, is also ascribed to Jīva and Rūpa. The Harināmāmṛtavyākaraṇa, supposed to be a work of Jīva is attributed to Rūpa." Sanskrit Literature of the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal, ABORI (Vol-X), Poona, 1930, P. 117.

23. Prākṛta-kāmadhenu of Rāvaṇa Laṅkeśvara (A Lost Work Re-discovered) ed. by G. C. Basu in New Indian Antiquary, Vol—VIII, 1946, PP 31-39. To facilitate our comprehension in this matter, I have given the identical sūtras from the Prākṛta-kāmadhenu in the footnote of the text appended to the end. In addition to this I may say that in editing this Prakrit grammar I derive immense help from this fragmentary Kāmadhenu in correcting my text by eschewing numerous errors and obscurities of the MSS.

grammar of Prakrit from a text current at that time. A few verses on metre which are akin to *Chandomañjarī* give us an additional support to the later interpolation of this portion. So, in these circumstances, with the material available at our disposal, it is not worth-while to ascribe this Prakrit Grammar to Jīva Gosvāmī.

§14. It will not be out of place here if I mention a few words regarding the date or antiquity of this Prakrit grammar. The upper limit of the time of this grammar cannot be before the seventeenth century A. D. as the editor of the versions B and C knew very well the *Chandomañjarī* of Gaṅgādāsa which had perhaps gained popularity by that time. The lower limit may be assigned to the 18th-19th centuries, because of the fact that it is akin to the fragmentary Prākṛtakāmadhenu which was composed by that time as determined by G. C. Basu.[24]

§15. Now we say something about this Prakrit grammar. Like Kramadīśvara this grammar is also divided into eight chapters, the Prakrit portion being added to the last.[25] The author does not mention the name of the language he is describing, but only from the colophon [26] we come to know that he illustrates the grammar of a Prakrit language. Although he mentions "Prakrit" in the general sense of the term, yet in reality he sets forth the vernacular type of a language of his time used for the propagation of the religious literature of the Vaiṣṇavas. From his description of Prakrit language it seems probable that the author may have in front of his eyes the fifth chapter of Kramadīśvara's Prakrit grammar (although there is a striking similarity with Prākṛta-kāmadhenu). As Kramadīśvara describes

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24. NIA, Vol-VIII, 1946. P. 33.

25. In version C, particularly of AS and VS, there are five or six incomplete introductory verses called "Chandonirūpaṇam"; these are akin to Gaṅgādāsa's Chandomañjarī with minor alterations.

26. iti Śrī Harināmāmṛte Vaiṣṇava-vyākareṇe **Prākṛta pādaḥ samāptaḥ.**

in the fifth chapter the language of Apabhraṃśa (or Avahaṭṭha ?) which fully corresponds to this grammar, it is, therefore, possible that the author might have discussed in a condensed form this Apabhraṃśa (or Avahaṭṭha) language of Kramadiśvara.

§16. Now, the characteristics of Prakrit as enunciated there are not a full detailed grammar of that language, it is, on the other hand, a meagre description of a type of language as was embalmed and treasured up in the literature of his time. The arrangement of the sūtras is inconsistant and incoherent, and he begins abruptly and describes in an unsystematic manner the elementary sūtras of a Prakrit language for the beginners to learn, but unfortunately it is so short, indeed, that a student can learn little from it.

§17. But this work is of great value to us, at least, in one respect which proves, beyond doubt, that at least 150 years ago the study of Prakrit was prevalent in Bengal and this helps us in recording some of the salient linguistic features of the eastern Prakrit (?) which he has culled out from his own experience. The linguistic analysis of this grammar from the text edited by me will help us to understand this.

Vowels.

1. **Change of quantity.** A long vowel sometimes becomes short., e.g. kāryam > kajjam ; vadhūḥ > vahu. (Ref. 17, 29) [27]

2. **Omission of vowels.** e.g. idānīm > dāṇiṃ (Ref. 28.)

3. **Anusvāra.** Nasals become anusvāra ; e.g., katham > kadhaṃ (Ref. 5).

Consonants.

4. **Intervocalic.** Intervocalic or medial ṭ, t and r are generally changed into ḍ and t and ṇ : i. e.

ṭ > ḍ, no example is given (Ref. 24).
t > ḍ and d e.g. patitam > paḍidaṃ (Ref. 2, 24).
r > t and ṇ, e.g. śrirāma > siriṇāma or siritāma (Ref. 20).

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27. The number within brackets indicates the serial number of the text, edited by me and appended to the end.

5. **Consonantal sounds** are sometimes dropped (Ref. 28).

6. **Aspiration.** Non-aspirate mutes have become aspirated in Prakrit, (no example is given, Ref. 21).

7. The aspirates kh, th, dh and bh between vowels are generally changed into h ; e.g. tathā > tahā (Ref. 23).

8. **Elision of Consonants.** Intervocalic d, if followed by t, is elided ; e.g. tadīyam > tīyaṃ (Ref. 27).

9. **Conjuncts.**

(i) ṣ or (s) is elided, e.g. kāṣṭham > kāṭham. (Ref. 8).

(ii) Kṛṣṇa > Kaṇha (Ref. 13).

10. **Svarabhakti.** e.g. śrī > siri (Ref. 20) ; prīti > piriti (Ref. 26).

11. **Declensional endings.**

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	u, o (Ref. 6-7)	
Acc.		
Ins.	ṭā > e. (Ref. 12)	bhis > hiṃ (Ref. 14)
Abl.	aiṃ (Ref. 15)	
Dat-Gen.		nām > ṇaṃ (Ref. 16)
Loc.	mmi (Ref. 18)	suṃ (Ref. 19)
Voc.	e (Ref. 7)	

12. **Pronomial Substitute.** bhavān is substituted by tuṃha, (Ref. 11), e. g. bhaṇai tuṃha.

13. Dative-Genitive singular of asmad is majjha. (Ref. 4).

14. Nominative and genitive singulars of yuṣmad are tuṃha and tujjha respectively. (Ref. 3).

Conjugation

15. **Present Indicative.**

(a) Third person singular ending is in i (with the elision of t) ; eg. bhramati> bhamai (Ref. 9).

16. **Verbal Substitute.**

(i) kṛ> kijja, kuṇa (Ref. 10).

(ii) vad> bhaṇa (Ref. 11).

(iii) ā-lok> pekkha (Ref. 30).

17. **Past participle Passive.**

(a) Past participle suffix ta (<kta) is used in the sense of imperfect and perfect tense ; e.g. gata> gao (Ref. 32).

18. **Abstract Suffix.**

(a) tva> tuṃ, tūṇaṃ, eg. devatva>devatūṇaṃ (Ref. 31).

19. **Indeclinables.**

(a) idānīm becomes dāṇim. (Ref. 28),

20. **Technical Phraseology**. Some of the technical terms used by him in his Prakrit portion, is given below ;

(a) Trivikrama—Longs are known as Trivikrama (Trivikramo guruḥ. 1.80).[28]

(b) Buddha—Vocative is described by Buddha (sambodhane sur Buddha-saṃjñaḥ. 2.24).

(c) Rāma—To describe a particular letter Rāma is used (Varna-svarūpe Rāmaḥ. 1.37), eg. k-rāma means only the letter k.

(d) Vāmana—Short is Vāmana (Vāmano laghuḥ. 1.79).

(e) Viṣṇu—Insertion of a sound is termed as Viṣṇu (āgamo Viṣṇuḥ. 1.40)

(f) Viṣṇucakram—Anusvāra is generally named as Viṣṇucakram (am iti Viṣṇucakram. 1.14).

(g) Viṣṇusarga—Visarga (:) is known as Viṣṇusarga (aḥ iti Viṣṇusargaḥ. (1.16).

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28. These are references to Puridāsa's edition, the first refers to the chapter, while the second is the number of the sūtras,

(h) Sat-saṅga—Conjunct is known as Sat-saṅga (mithaḥ saṃlagno Viṣṇujanaḥ Sat-saṅga-samjñaḥ. 1.82).

(i) Hara—Elision is considered as Hara (lopo Haraḥ 1.41).

(j) Harikamala—Non-aspirate mutes (ka-ca-ṭa-ta-pāḥ harikamalāni. 1.21).

(k) Harikhaḍga—Aspirate mutes (kha-cha-ṭha-tha-phāḥ harikhaḍgāḥ. 1.22).

§18. Lastly, I must say a few words about the text-constitution of this Prakrit grammar. This Prakrit grammar, made known for the first time before the scholarly world, is based on the two MSS [29] described below.

A=This MS is found in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and is described by H. P. Śāstrī[30] in his Descriptive Catalogue of SKt. MSS P230, thus :

"Substance, foolscap paper. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Folia, 19 (the first three leaves are extra). Lines 7, 8 on a page. Extent in Ślokas, 456, character, Bengali. Date, Śaka, 1744. Appearance, fresh. Complete."

Out of these 16 (19-3) folios, the Prakrit portion contains only in one folio (i e. 16A). It has eight lines only. At the end of this folio, it is written—*iti Harināmāmṛte Vaiṣṇava-vyākaraṇe Prākṛta-pādaḥ samāptaḥ*". It has some verses on metres; but these are akin to Chandomañjarī with minor alterations.

B=This MS is found in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta It bears the MS No. Skt. 1130 and contains 15 folios, out of which, the Prakrit portion starts from the folio 14B (3rd line

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29. These two MSS have not been referred to by Puridāsa, nor they have been studied earlier by any scholar.

30. While describing this MS (vide No. 4561, pp. 230-32) he fails to point out, perhaps through oversight, the folio (16 A) which contains the Prakrit portion. It is out of curiosity that I have consulted this MS with an idea that this 16-folio MS may contain the Prakrit portion and to my utter surprise I have been successful in getting it.

after three words) and extends upto the end, i.e. 15B (one line). In 14B and 15A, it has five and seven lines respectively ; while the 15B contains only ["iti Harināmāmṛte Vaiṣṇava-vyākaraṇe, 15A] Prākṛtapādaḥ saṃpūrṇaḥ. Śrīharaye namaḥ. Śri Bhavānī prasāda Upādhyāyena likhitam". It is written in a Bengali character and its condition is good. It has some verses on metres, but these are taken from Chandomañjari with minor alterations.

The Text.

Harināmāmṛta-vyākaraṇe Prākṛta-pādaḥ

Śrī Rādhā-kṛṣṇau jayataḥ.[1]

*|| paṭater[2] ḍo'nantyo gatau || 1 ||

|| tasya do vā || 2 || **Ki.** V.4.

paḍidaṃ.

*|| tuṃha-tujjhau yuṣmadaḥ prathamā[3]-ṣaṣṭhyoḥ[4] || 3 || **Ki.** V. 41, 46

tvaṃ tuṃha. tava tujjha.

*|| mama-mahyayor majjha [ḥ][5] || 4 || **Ki.** V. 45.

majjha.

|| savarṇānāṃ savarṇa-viṣṇucakraṃ[6] viparyayo[7] vā || 5 ||

katham, kadhaṃ.

*|| ur[8] viṣṇupadānte vā syād arāmasya || 6 || **Ki.** V. 19, 22.

suru [<sūraḥ].

*|| o-tvaṃ viṣṇusargā[9] e buddhe[10] || 7 || **Ki.** V. 23.

deo [<deva].

**Identical sūtras from Prākṛta-kāmadhenu.*

(1) patato ḍo'nantye || 5 ||

(3) tuṃha-tujjhā[u] yuṣmadi prathamā-ṣaṣthyoḥ || 6 ||

(4) mama-mahyayor majjaḥ || 7 ||

(6) u padānte [akā]rasya ca || 10 ||

(7) o-tvaṃ visarjanīya[sya] sambodhane || 12 ||

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1. Not found in B. 2. B. *pater ḍo'nanto gatau.* 3. A. *prathamā etc.* 4. B. drops *y.* 5. Both drop ḥ (:). 6. *cakram* is not found in B. 7. A writes with *rjya.* 8. A. o (scribal error). 9. *viṣṇu sargīye.* 10. A. *baddhe* (scribal error).

*॥ hara ādau ṣ[11]-rāmasya ॥ 8 ॥
kāṭhaṃ.
॥ ādya [12]-sat-saṅgāntasya haro bahulaṃ tipa[s]taśca ॥ 9 ॥
bhamai.
*॥ kijja [12]-kuṇau karoteḥ ॥ 10 ॥ KĪ. IV. 54.
kijjai kuṇai.
*॥ vadati [12]-bhavator bhaṇa-tuṃhau ॥ 11 ॥
bhaṇai tuṃha.
॥ ṭā [12] e ॥ 12 ॥ KI. V. 39.
mahurāe mahu [13].
॥ kṛṣṇasya kaṇha[ḥ] ॥ 13 ॥
kaṇhehim.
*॥ bhiso hiṃ ॥ 14 ॥
brāhmaṇ[e]hiṃ.
*॥ pañcamyā [a]iṃ ॥ 15 ॥ KĪ. V. 30.
vṛkṣāiṃ.
*॥ hara [14] arāmasya ṣaṣṭhī-bahu-vacane ॥ 16 ॥
vṛkṣāṇam.
*॥ arāmaharo' nādau bahulam ॥ 17 ॥
kajjam [15].
*॥ saptamyāṃ mi dvitvañca ॥ 18 ॥ cf. KĪ. V. 27.
mayi (?) ammi [16].

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(8) lopa ādau sa-kārasya ॥ 13 ॥
(10) kijja-kunau karoteḥ ॥ 18 ॥
(11) vadati bhavatyor bhaṇa-h[au] ॥ 19 ॥
(14) bhiso hiṃ ॥ 20 ॥
(15) pañcamyā iṃ syāt. ॥ 22 ॥
(16) lopa ātaḥ ॥ 23 ॥
(17) anādau bahulam āto lopaḥ syāt ॥ 24 ॥
(18) saptamyāṃ mi dvitvañca ॥ 25 ॥

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11. A. *sa-rāmasya.* 12. A omits this sūtra. 13. After that B has a sūtra "*bhyāme* [*i*] *him*". *kṛṣṇehim.* But I think it is wrongly written for the sūtra No. 14. 14. A. *ārāmasya.* 15. A. *kajyam.* 16. B. *atthi.*

*|| bahuṣu viṣṇucakram || 19 ||
devesuṃ[17].
*|| rasya taṇāvanādau || 20 ||
siritāma, siriṇāma [<Śrīrāma].
|| harikamalasya harikhaḍgaḥ || 21 ||
|| tasya ca ṛ[18]-rāma it || 22 ||
|| kha-tha [19]-dha-bh [ā] nāṃ haḥ [20] || 23 || cf. KĪ. II. 14.
tathā tahā [21].
|| taṭayor [22] ḍaḥ [23] || 24 || cf. KĪ. II. 10.
paḍidaṃ.
|| athātra [24] pasya bo vā padayor [25] jabau [26] vā
yadā jabā. bahulam [27] || 25 ||
*|| saṃyoga-vīrāmasya vāmanatvaṃ [28] pṛthagbhāvaśca [29]
piriti. pūrve [30] || 26 ||
*|| ta-rāmād daharaḥ pūrvayogaśca || 27 ||
tadīyaṃ [31] tīyaṃ.
*|| varṇānāṃ haro bahulam || 28 ||
idānīṃ dāṇiṃ, kṛtvā kai (ṃ), punaḥ uṇa.
*|| trivikramāṇām api vāmanatvaṃ tatho' ccāritānam || 29 ||
vadhū vahu. KĪ. V. 104.
*|| ālokane [32] pekkhi || 30 || cf. KĪ. IV. 66.
pekkhai.

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(19) bahuṣva' nusvāra [ḥ] || 26 ||
(20) rephasya tanā-vanādau || 27 ||
(26) saṃyoge vīto hrasvatvaṃ pṛthagbhāvaḥ || 28 ||
(27) tād dalopaḥ pūrvayogaḥ || 29 ||
(28) lopatyāgau varṇānāṃ bahulam || 30 ||
(29) dīrghāṇām api laghutvaṃ tathaivoccāritāṇām || 32 ||
(30) ālo[ka]ne pekkhi syāt || 33 ||

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17. A. *ṣum*. 18. A. *ṛ-rāmam itam* || It may be [*jha-rāma it*]. The sūtra is uninteligible. 19. A omits *tha* || 20. A. *haraḥ* || 21. B has first *tahā*, then *tathā* || 22. A omits *ṭa* || 23. B *yo dah* || 24. A. *a-ātra* || 25. B. *jodayoḥ* || 26. A. *ṛra-* || 27. This sūtra is corrupt and unintelligible. || 28. A. *vāmanaḥ* || 29. A. *pṛthābha vaśca* (or *pṛthvabhāvaśca*) || 30. Before that B has *haśca* || 31. B *tṛtīyam* || 32. A. *ālocane pakki* ||

*|| bhāve tuṃ tūṇaṃ [33] || 31 || KĪ. V. 51.
devatūṇaṃ.
|| parokṣātītayośca o || 32 ||
kao gao.
iti Śri Harināmāmṛte Vaiṣṇava-vyākaraṇe Prākṛta-pādaḥ [34]
Samāptaḥ [35].

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(31) bhāve ttaṇaṃ syāt || 35 ||

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33. A. *tuṇam* || 34. A omits *pādaḥ* || 35. B. *saṃpūrnaḥ* || After that B writes—śrīharaye namaḥ. Śrī Bhavānīprasāda Upādhyāyena likhitam.

Some aspects of Simanta-Radhi dialect

Sudhir Kumar Karan

According to Dr. Sukumar Sen, the dialects of Bengali language are generally five in number, namely, Rāṛhī, Barendrī, Kāmrūpī, Bangāli and Jhāṛkhaṇḍī.

There is no doubt that some more dialects and sub-dialects which are not yet surveyed properly, may be traced out even within the jurisdiction of West Bengal, particularly in border areas. The dialect known as South Western Bengali spoken in the South-West Midnapur is not yet included properly within the dialectal fold of Bengali language.

Dr. Sukumar Sen in his book *Bhāṣāra Itivṛtta* has told us about the characteristics of these five dialects of Bengali language. The dialect of South-Western Bengal, the name of which is given as Jhārkhaṇḍi, has some remarkable phonological and morphological characteristics which require a proper linguistic investigation. The name Jhārkhaṇḍī has got some political implication and if not so, it smacks of inferiority for the speakers of that dialect. The name Sīmānta-Rāṛhī (or South-Western Sīmānta-Rāṛhī), I think, will be more appropriate, as the area of that dialect is situated in the West of the ancient Rāṛha, some parts of which were known as Vajrabhūmi in the Ācārāṅga Sūtra.

This dialect of south-western border areas of West Bengal may be found with little variations in the districts like Purulia, Midnapur (Jhargram sub-division), western Bankura of West Bengal and also in some parts of the districts like Dhanbad, Singbhum and Santalparganas in Bihar. In this article I am giving some chief characteristic features of this dialect. These are given below :—

1 (a) Preponderance of nasal vowel :

The verbal forms of present perfect tense and past perfect tense become nasalised. Examples :

āsiẽche / āsiãche,
āsiẽchila / āsiãchila,
jāiẽche / jāiẽchila
kariẽche / kariẽchila etc.

In some areas, however, this tendency of nasal sound is less prominent.

(b) Conjugatives affixed with 'iā' only become nasalised. Examples :

haiẽ (<haiã), āsiẽ (<āsiã)
meśāĩ, dekhāĩ, marāĩ (mixing up, showing, causing death) etc.

(c) Spontaneous nasalisation. Examples :—

chã (tea), ũṭ (camel), hãti (elephant), sãp (snake), ghãs (grass) etc.

2. Most of the nouns and onomatopoetic words are used as verb, and perhaps excepting South Western Bengali of Midnapur, no dialect of the Bengali language is rich with denominatives.

Examples :—jalṭā bāsache (< bās : 'smell')
māthāṭā dukhāche (< dukh : 'pain')
meyāṭā ḍukrāche (< ḍukrā : 'to cry loudly')
tor māthā bhulkāĩ diba (< bhuluk : 'hole')

bhināĩche (< bhinna : 'separate') ; durdurāĩ (< durdur : 'beating of heart') etc.

3. In simple future and in simple past a verb is affixed with 'ka' when the nominative is in the third person.

Examples : karbek, jabek, khābek, āsbek, balbek,
ās'lek, ba'llek, śunlek etc.

4. The causative verbal forms are often in use. Examples :—
tāke dãṛ karālo / bas *or* basā karālo /
uṭhā karālo / balā karālo / mārā karālo ;
marā karābo / balā karābo / ānā karābo etc.

5. Some verbs used in the present continuous tense are pronounced with less stress, unlike standard Bengali. So we get—hoche, jāche, khāche (or even holche, gelche, but not khālche) in place of standard Bengali hocche, jācche, khācche etc., and so also 'niche, diche, śuche' etc.

6. In the first person nominative case 'ili' is affixed with the verbs of the simple past and with the past perfect continuous tense. Examples :

āmi (sometimes hāmi) / āmrā khāli, kāle-chili ;
āmi / āmrā geli, jātechili
āmi / āmrā āli, āstechili etc.

It should be noted that 'lām' or 'lum' is not at all affixed to the verbal forms in these cases. Only the caste Hindus and literate persons use 'lam' as may be found in karlam khāilam, gelam etc.

7. Preservation of aspirated sound as was in Middle Bengali. Examples :

buṛhā, gāṛhā paṛhā, bāmʰan, lāhā
arhā (orā, : they), erhā (erā : 'these people')
āmrāh (we), tumrāh (you), āmhāder (of us),
laṛhāi (fighting), dhur (far),
dilhen (gave), hāmder (of us) etc.

8. To denote plural number 'lā' (<gulā) is affixed sometimes with the nouns and with some pronouns. Examples :

laklā (men), katlā (some), bāgālīlā (the Bengalees), dhanlā (the paddies), atlā (all these).

9. Change of sounds :

In a dissyllabic word with initial 'o' and final 'ā' 'o' is changed to 'a'. Examples :—

rogā > ragā	ghorā > gharā
bokā > bakā	jholā > jhalā
norā > narā	chorā > charā
cokhā > cakhā	chokrā > chakrā etc.

10. In ablative 'le' is used as a post position which is peculiar only to this dialect. It is also found in some Bihari dialects. Examples ;

ghar le (from home),
uār le (from him),
uṭhin le (from that place),
iṭhin le (from this place),
bādh le (from the pond),
bādher le (from the pond), etc.

11. The negative nāi generally comes before the verb. Examples :—

nāi khāba (I shall not eat),
nāi jaba (I shall not go),
nāi hay (It is not),
nāi bale (He does not or did not say). etc.

But 'nā' is used to express command. As for examples we get nā jā'ha (don't go), nā kariha (don't do) etc.

When 'nā' is used rhetorically, it is pronounced as 'na'. Examples :—

tui jāvi na ! (will you go ?)
hẽ na (Is it yes !)
bal na (speak) etc.

12. Rhetorically and also vocatively in particular, 'ba' is used generally after a verb. Examples :—

khāchi ba (I am eating)
ki ba (What is the matter ?)
nāl jāba ba (I shall not go)
hẽ ba (hallo.)

13. Sometimes initial 'n' becomes 'l' in pronunciation. Examples :—

niba>liba, naukā >laukā,
nahe>lahe, nāti >lāti. etc.

14. The root 'baṭh' is frequently used as emphatic verb substative. Examples :—

hāmder bhāṣā bāglā baṭhe,
uṭā ki baṭhe ?,
campāi lagarṭā kuthāy baṭhe ?
uṭā tumhār michā kathā baṭhe.
lak ṭā bhala baṭhe, etc.

15. The causative forms affixed with 'āno' in standard Bengali is not in vogue. Example :—

bālāno, karāno, dharāno etc. > balā, karā, dharā.

(তাকে দিয়েঁ বলা হঁয়েছে, করা হয়েঁছে, ধরা হয়েঁছে)।

These are some of the notable characteristics of the Sīmānta-Rāṛhī dialect, but a proper investigation will find out more, no doubt. In its vocabulary a large number of Austric words are be found. Now I am giving an example of this dialect when spoken rather chastely.

[অশক রাজা হবার বহুৎ আগু যখন পাটনায় ভূমিজলা রাজা ছিল, তখন আয্যরা আসিয়েঁ তাদের রাজধানীটা লুটে্য লিলেঁছিল। তখন অরহা পাটনালে পালাইঁ আসিয়েঁ ছট্নাগপুরে রাজা হল্য (হলিয়)।

সেই ভূমিজলার লাতিপুঁতিলা এখন মানভূইএ বাস করছে (কইচ্ছে)। আর এই ভূমিজলা হল্য মানভূঁইএর আদি বাসিন্দা।

ইংরাজলা যেখনে রাজা হল্য তেখনে মানভূঁইটাকে পহিল পহিল বাগে ঘুরা'তে (ghuraíle) লায়্যেছিল। দমে লড়হাইঁ হঁয়্যেছিল। তখন ইংরাজদের মুল্যুকটা একেটাই ছিল। বাঙ্গলা, বিহার উড়িষ্যা এই তিনটা ঠিন ইংরাজলা একেই সাগে রাখিয়েছিল। ক'লকাতাটা (Kaìlkātā) তখন ছিল অদের রাজধানী।]

Examples of some words used in Sīmānta Rāḍhī

rajaṛ—to pull up and down

bajar } — <bajra : bodily clash
bojar }

sādhala—entered

ṭheskāla—stumbled

ubhrila—there was surplus

phānnāla—became free from fever etc.

gilā—much boiled

hiskā—habit

legdhāba—I shall throw (a stick, stone etc)

phābṛā—a small stick

hebṛā—to come to the forefront

āguṛ—door

khāprā—broken piece of earthen pot, a kind of earthen equipment for thatching
ḍhāṛar—hole
bhuluk—hole
gaṛhā—small pond, hole
ulgā—to pick up
ulyā—to clean
ḍahar—track
lik—cart-way
juṭhā, ānṭhā —leavings
dirkhā, pākhā —a place to keep lamp etc.
nijhā—to extinguish
pelu—coward
tannik—up to

A Note on Gothic *du*

Subhadra Kumar Sen

The preposition *du* (meaning, to, towards, in against, as in *du maürgina* (=to-morrow), *du θamma ei* (=to the end that, because), *du ginnan* (=to begin, under take etc.) offer certain difficulties. Gothic *du* cannot be a cognate form of Old English *tō*, Old Frisian, Old Saxon *tō*, Dutch *toe* Old High German *Zuo*, German *zu*. Had the Gothic form been derived from the same root, then the form in Gothic should have been **tu* ; *d* is expected to have been *t* according to the operation of Grimm's Law. How, then, are we to account for this anomaly ? This problem has escaped the attention of most Gothic grammarians.

Only E. Prokosch in his 'A Comparative Germanic Grammar' (Linguistic Society of America, 1939) has made the following observations :

Gothic *du*. (i) Reduced grade of **dē*, **dō* : **də*, probably Germanic treatment of **ə*. (§ 38d)

(ii) The vowel of Gothic *du* is problematic. According to Del brück Gothic *ō* in proclitic position became *u* ; but it is an isolated example. (§49m. Note 2)

Here we are not concerned with the problem of the vowel but of the consonant. The problem of the consonant can be avoided if we posit here the operation of consonantal alternation : IE **dh* : **d*. Such alternation between aspirated and non-aspirated consonants (e.g. **t* : **th*, as in Lat. *rota* : Skt *ratha*) is attested within and without individual I. E. languages ; e.g. **st* : **sth*

Gk. *hìstēmi* : Skt. *tiṣṭhāmi*

Av. *hiśtaiti* : Skt. *tiṣṭhati*

Compare also Gk. *thugátēr* : Skt *duhitā* (<*dhughətēr*) ; Gk. *egō*(*n*) : Av. *azəm*, Skt *aham*.

Therefore, it may be suggested that Primitive Germanic had inherited from I.E. both aspirated and unaspirated **dhu* and **du*, respectively and the first is retained in East Germanic, while the second is preserved in the West Germanic.

Traces of the Sanskrit Nominal Compositions in the Awadhi Language of Jaisi

Ramesh Mathur

Sanskrit language has a well-knit pattern and method of making compounds and these compositions are systematically classified according to the mutual relation shown by the two or more components, comprising a compound. Vedic language has restrained the composition mainly to two components, though compounds of more than two components are not absent. Whereas in the Classical Sanskrit long compounds of even fifteen to sixteen components are easily digested. The spirit of short compounds of the Vedic language is well retained by the spoken tongues of the Middle-Indo-Aryan era. (Vide 'Comparative Grammar of the Middle-Indo-Aryan' by Dr. Sukumar Sen, Nominal Composition, Page 188). This assumption may be further strengthened by the study of the Awadhī language of Jāisī, where compounds of the two components are exceedingly common and of more than two very rare. This fact supports the view that the language used by Jāisī in his works, is the spoken tongue of the people of that period. This view can be firmly established if a comparative study of the languages of Jāisī and Tulsīdās, the two Awadhī poets of repute, may be undertaken. Though the difference of time between them is hardly forty years, there exists a marked difference in their languages in general and Nominal Composition in particular. Tulsīdās has given a literary touch to the Awadhī language by making it Sanskritised, hence, has used long compounds, much more on the lines of the Sanskrit compounds.

Apart from the compositional restriction, Jāisī has used compounds as a rationed commodity. Even this meagre data shows few deviations from the Sanskrit compound system. (See the Negative Determinative). Compounds found in Jāisī's works are mostly inherited. These are of two types. 1. The

two components of the Sanskrit compounds, amalgamated so much due to the drastic phonetic changes took place during the earlier centuries that the two became undistinguishable and may be termed as Simplex. A large number of simplices, preserved in the language under study, owe their origin to the Sanskrit compounds and this turns out to be the fascinating aspect of the language study. 2. The two components are preserved in Tatsama, Semi-Tatsama or Tadbhava forms.

The combination of two or more words, results by dropping the post-position, case-termination, conjunction, or other word, which denotes the existing relation between the components, is called a compound-word or simply a compound. But in certain combinations the denoter does not exist, and in such cases a prefix or an adjective is joined with a substantive to form a compound-word.

Following the Sanskrit pattern, the characteristic types of the compound in the language of Jāisī are 1. Dvandva or Copulative compound 2. Tatpuruṣa or Determinative Compound 3. Bahuvrīhi or Attributive compound 4. Avyayībhāva or Adverbial compound.

Copulative Compound

"A Copulative compound consists of two or more nouns which, if not compounded, would be connected by the copulative particle 'and,". (Higher Sanskrit Grammar by M. R. Kale) The examples are from, 'Padamāvata' by Śri Vāsudeva Śaraṇa Agarawāla's edition.

ahanisi<aharniśi, 'day and night', 383/6.

ahuṭha <*adhyuṣṭa >ajjhuṭṭha >ahuṭṭha, =Skt. ardhacaturtha, 'three and a half' 121/8.

kathā-kahānī <kathākathānikā, 'tales and stories', 226/7.

gāga-jauna <gaṅgā-yamunā, 'Ganges and Yamunā', 15/9.

guna-auguna <guṇa-avaguṇaḥ, 'virtue and vice', 385/1.

guna-dōkhā <guṇa-doṣaḥ, 'virtue and fault', 462/7.

ghara-bāra <gṛha-dvāram, 'house and door', 127/7.

cāda-suruja <candra-sūryaḥ, 'moon and sun', 285/8.

tana-mana <tana-manaḥ, 'body and mind', 209/2.

dina-rāti <dina-rātriḥ, 'day and night', 275/6.
dharati-saraga <dharitrī-svargaḥ, 'earth and heaven', 369/1.
puhumi-akāsu <pṛthvī-ākāśaḥ, 'earth and sky', 160/4.
bāsa-rasa <vāsa-rasaḥ, 'perfume and juice', 617/7.
marana-jiyana <maraṇa-jīvanam, 'death and life', 320/1.
rātē-syāma <rakta-śyāmaḥ, 'red and black', 79/5.
hāṭa-bāṭa, 'market and road', 275/8.

Determinative Compound

In a Determinative compound the first component functions in an attributive capacity and shows its subordination to the second component. According to the grammatical nature of the first component the Determinative compounds are divided into five types :

1. Dependent Determinative.
2. Nañ or the Negative Determinative.
3. Karmadhāraya or the Appositional including Dvigu.
4. Prādi or Prepositional.
5. Upapada or Verbal Determinative.

1. Dependent Determinative compounds are further classified according to the case relations, such as : Accusative, Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative.

Accusative :

gaṛhabhaṃjana <*gaṛha-bhañjanaka, 'the fort breaker', 507/7.
Instrumental : agiḍāhū <agni-dagdhaḥ, 'burnt by fire', 236/6.
purukha-bihūnā <puruṣa-vihīnakaḥ, 'bereft of men', 369/2.
bikha-bharī <viṣa-bharitaḥ, 'filled with poison', 321/5.
rasa-bhījā <rasa-(a) bhyantaḥ, 'drenched with nectar', 320/6.
Dative : Simplex :
kasauṭī <karṣa-paṭṭikā > kassavaṭṭiā > kasaüṭṭiyā > kasauṭī, 'touch-stone, stone for rubbing or testing,' 384/9.
pāvari <pāda-paṭṭikā > pāyavaṭṭiā > pāvaṭṭi > pāvaḍi > pāvaṛi > pāvari 'straps for feet', 167/6.
susāra <sūpaśālā > sūvasārā > susārā > susāra, 'apartment for food', 403/5.
sovanārā <śayanāgāra, 'room for sleeping', 336/5.

Juxta-positional : marana-paṃkha<maraṇa-pakṣāni, 'wings for death', 240/4.

Ablative : dharati-akāsa<dharitrī-ākāśam, 'from earth to heaven', 249/9.

nakha-sikha<nakha-śikham, 'from nail to head', 98/8.

saraga-patāra<svarga-pātālam, 'from heaven to hell', 458/1.

Genitive : It is the most favourite compound of the poet and has used it very liberally. Simplex :—

apaghātā<ātmaghāta, 'killing of soul', 409/6.

alakāuri<alaka-avalī, 'the line of hairs', 326/4.

ābacura<āmra-cūrṇam, 'the powder of mangoes', 549/6.

ābarāũ<āmra-ārāmaḥ, 'orchard of mangoes', 27/2.

iṃdrāsana<indrāsanam, 'the seat of Indra', 36/6.

kaṭhahāḍī<kāṣṭha-haṇḍikā>kaṭṭhahaṃḍiā>kaṭhahaṃdī>kaṭhahāḍī, 'the pot of wood', 549/9.

karihāũ<kaṭi-bhāgaḥ,>kaḍihāva>karihāũ, 'the part of waist' 414/5.

gayaṃda<gajendra, 'the king of elephants', 429/7.

jamabāra<yama-dvāram, 'the door of Yama', 301/4.

jaṛakālā<jāḍya-kālaḥ, 'the time of winter', 351/1.

ḍaṃḍavai<daṇḍapatiḥ, 'the commander of the expedition army' 577/6.

dēvaharai<deva-gṛham, 'God's temple', 336/9.

naihara<jñātī-gṛham>nātihara>nāihara>naihara, 'the house of the paternal relation i.e. father',336/3.

paĩta<pada-anta>payaṃta>paĩta, 'the step of end,' 313/3.

paunārī<padma-nālikā>paumanāriya>paumanārī>paunārī, 'the stalk of lotus', 482/2.

pāyala<pāda-valaya, 'the anklet or the ornament for feet' 296/6.

phulavārī<phulla-vāṭikā, 'the garden of flowers', 184/8.

baghachālā<vyāghra-chāla, 'the skin of tiger', 126/6.

banãha<vana-madhyam,>vanamajjha>banamãjha>banãha, 'the middle of the forest', 371/9.

bavaṃḍara<vāta-maṇḍalam, 'the circuit of wind', 355/1.

birahānala<viraha-analaḥ, 'the fire of severance', 211/1.

māhuṭa<māgha-vṛṣṭi>māha-vuṭṭi>māhaüṭṭa>māhuṭṭa, 'the rain of the month of Māgha or winter rain', 351/5.

miragārana<mṛga-araṇyam, 'the forest of deer', 139/1.
rajabāra<rājñeḥ dvāram, 'the gate of king', 46/1.
ranivāsa<rājñī vāsaḥ, 'the abode of queens or for queens' 328/1
rajāesu<rājñeḥ ādeśaḥ, 'the order of the king', 80/1.
rājapaṃkhi<rājñeḥ pakṣin, 'the birds of the king' 148/4.
lakhapati<lakṣapati, 'the lord of lakhs', 331/9.
siyāla<śītakālaḥ, 'the time of winter', 340/1.
sejavā̃<śaiyyāyaḥ-pārśva>sejjapā̃ha>sejjavā̃ha>sejavā̃, 'near the bed', 304/2.
hathōrī<hasta-puṭikā>hatthavuḍiā>hathauṛī >hathōrī, 'hand's palm', 112/2.
haṛāvari<haḍda-avalī, 'the garland of bones', 207/2.

Besides these inherited simplices, juxta-positional compounds are exceedingly common. Few examples are given below:
agini-pahāra, 'the mountain of fire', 493/3.
iṃdra-akhārā, 'the assembly of Indra', 116/6.
udadhi-jala<udadhi-jalam, 'the water of the ocean', 324/7.
kaṃcana-kayā<kañcana-kāyā, 'the body of gold', 583/3.
kanaka-kevārā <kanaka-kapāṭaka, 'the door of gold', 553/1.
khura-khēha <kṣura-*kheha, 'the dust of the hoof', 457/9.
gaja-jūha <gaja-yūthaḥ, 'the herd of elephants', 614/2.
carananha-raja <caraṇa-rajaḥ, 'the dust of the feet', 607/4.
jaga-sūra <jagat-sūryaḥ, 'the sun of the universe', 538/4.
ṭhaga-lāḍū <Deśī origin), 'the sweet of the cheats', 292/8.
ḍaṃḍa-ghāu <daṇḍa-ghātaḥ, 'the hit of the stick', 495/2.
ḍhā̃ka-bana, 'the forest of the Ḍhāka trees', 137/5.
tana-tapani <tana-tapanam, 'the heat of the body', 169/3.
daraba-lōbha <dravyasya-lobhaḥ, 'the greed of/for wealth', 624/3.
dasana-jōti <daśana-jyotiḥ, 'the brightness of the teeth', 65/9.
dharama-paṃtha <dharma-pantha, 'the path of piety', 446/5.
naina-nīra <nayana-nīraḥ, 'the water of the eyes', 175/7.
paduma-gaṃdha <padma-gandhaḥ, 'the perfume of the lotus', 466/1.
prīti-gā̃ṭhi <prīti-granthikā, 'the knot of love', 307/6.
baga-pā̃tī <vaka-paṅktikā, 'the row of herons', 297/4.
bhōga-birikha <bhoga-vṛkṣam, 'the tree of pleasure', 71/4.
mani-kuṃḍala <maṇi-kuṇḍalaḥ, 'the ear-pandants of jewels', 110/2.

raini-masi <rajanī-masi, 'the inky-blackness of night', 158/3.
ruhira-ãsu <rudhira-aśruḥ, 'the tears of blood', 608/2.
lakhā-grihã <lākṣāyaḥ-gṛham, 'the house of lacquer', 611/8.
sarada-sasi <śarada-śaśi, 'the moon of autumn', 333/2.

There are sporadic instances, where the compound is found to be in inverse order for prosodical reasons, such as :
kirina-rabi<ravi-kiraṇam, 'the ray of the sun', 158/3.
ḍãṛī-kãvala<kamala-daṅḍikā, 'the stalk of the lotus', 482/1.
bāna-bikha<viṣa-bāṇaḥ, 'the arrow of poison', 224/5.
bāsa-campā<campā-vāsaḥ, 'the fragrance of jasmine', 307/3.
bōhita-dharama<dharmasya-bohitaḥ, 'the boat of piety', 18/4.
samũda-dadhi<dadhi-samudram, 'the ocean of curd', 151/8.
sasi-caudasi<caturdaśyaḥ-śāśi, 'the moon of the fourteenth day', 16/2.
sāvaka-sādūrū<śārdūlasya-śāvakaḥ, 'the cub of the lion', 419/6.

Locative: kãṭha-mālā<kaṇṭhe-mālā, 'the garland in the neck', 207/3.
gala-bãhã<gale-bāhu, 'the arms in the neck', 648/5.
dhūri-lapēṭā<dhulyām-liptaḥ. 'covered in dust', 23/7.
banō bāsa<vana-vāsaḥ, 'to dwell in the forest', 176/5.
rājapaṃkhi<pakṣiṣu-rājaḥ, 'Royal bird or the king in the birds', 396/3.
samũda-taraṃga<samudra-taraṅgam, 'the waves in the sea', 474/2.

Nañ Samāsa or the Negative Determinative

In Sanskrit the negative prefixes *a-* and *an-* are compounded with a word beginning with consonant and vowel, respectively. We find deviation from this restriction in the language of Jāisī, where *an-* has become *ana-* and is freely compounded with the words beginning in consonant. This feature can be seen in the New-Indo-Aryan languages, well preserved. Following are the examples :
akāja<akārya, 'useless work', 88/9.
agama<agama, 'inaccessible', 215/4.
acala<acala, 'unmovable', 19/4.
acētā<acetana 'unconscious', 247/4.
achata<akṣata 'unhurt, untouched', 106/5.

athāha, 'unfathomable', 405/5.
adiṣṭa<adṛṣṭa, 'invisible', 122/6.
apārū, 'endless', 10/5.
abalā<abalā, 'weak', 618/8.
abhōga<abhukta, 'unenjoyed', 118/8.
amara<amara, 'immortal', 422/8.
asthira<asthira, 'unsteady', 125/5.
anacākhē, 'untasted', 113/7.
anacinha, 'unknown, stranger', 300/4.
anabhalā, 'not good i. e. bad', 69/3.
anabhāvata, 'not liked', 563/7.

Karmadhāraya or the Appositional, including Dvigu or Numeral Appositional Compound :

ādhakūpā<andha-kūpaḥ, 'the dark well', 199/6.
karapallau<kara-pallava, 'hand-shoot', 9/4.
karamukhī<kāla-mukhī, 'black faced', 257/2.
kayā-udadhi<kāyā-udadhi, 'ocean like body', 401/1.
kāvala-carana<kamala-caraṇam, 'the lotus feet', 607/2.
kāvala-hathōrī<kamala-hasta-puṭikā, 'the lotus flower like palms', 112/2.
caṃda-badana<candra-vadana, 'moon like face', 126/3.
jōbana-ratana<yauvana-ratna, 'pearl or jewel like youthfulness', 586/9.
prītama-khambha<prītama-skambha, 'pillar like husband', 402/9.
bhāvara-purukha<bhramara-puruṣaḥ, 'bee like (unsteady) man', 429/5.
mahāpātara<mahāpātra, 'great man', 268/8.
mādacālā<mandam-calitaḥ, 'evil-worker', 15/5.
ratamūhī<raktamukhī, 'red faced', 326/5.
rājapaṃkhi<rājapakṣin, 'the royal bird', 487/6.
hiya-kāvala<hṛdaya-kamalam, 'heart like lotus', 121/8.

Numeral Appositional Compounds :

adhajarata<ardha-jvalitam, 'half-burnt', 208/7.
asṭau-kurī<aṣṭa-kulīnaḥ, 'eight-tribes', 99/8.
catura-mukha<caturmukhaḥ, 'four faces', 265/4.
dasaguna<daśa-guṇaḥ, 'ten times', 145/3.

batīsau-lakkhanī<dvātriṃśati-lakṣaṇikā. 'thirty-two characteristics' 49/8.
bahu-barnā<bahu-varṇā, 'of many colours', 35/7.
bārahabānī<dvādaśa-varṇī. 'of twelve colours', 49/7.
māseka<māsam-ekam, 'one month', 364/7.

Few interesting examples of simplices :

gaṛaunā< garttaparṇa> gaḍḍapaṇṇa> gaḍavaṇṇa> gaṛaunā, 'a kind of betel-leaf', 309/3.
caugunā<caturguṇakaḥ, four times', 108/6.
caudaṃtā<caturdantakaḥ, 'four teeth', 444/6.
caupara<caturpaṭṭaḥ, 'a game played with dice, having four flanks', 312/7
caupārī<caturpāṭikā, 'an upper apartment or a sitting place', 44/5
caubārā<caturdvāraka, 'an apartment, having four doors' 337/5
caumukha<caturmukha, 'four faces', 164/5.
cauhāna<caturbhānuḥ ? 'name of a Rājpūt caste or four suns, 268/4.
chudrāvali<kṣudra-avalī, 'a girdle with small bells', 296/6
dhaurahara<dhavala-gṛham, 'white house/palace', 44/2.
dhaulāgiri<dhavala-giriḥ, 'white mountain', 147/4.
paiga<pada-eka>payaega>paiga, 'one step.' 421/4.
baṛaunā<bṛhat-parṇa>baḍḍapaṇṇa>baḍḍavaṇṇa>baṛaunā, 'a kind of big betel-leaf,' 309/3.
maharā<mahārāja>mahārāya>maharāa, 'a great king', 392/6
sājana<sat-jana>sajjana>sājana. 'husband or lover', 301/8.

Prādi or the Prepositional Compounds :

Most of the compounds under this class are inherited from Sanskrit hence, have undergone certain phonetic changes.

auguna<avaguṇaḥ, 'vice', 172/8.
nikalaṃku<niṣkalaṅkam, 'stainless', 101/3.
niciṃta<niścinta, 'careless, unconcerned', 69/7.
nipātē<niṣpatra, 'leafless', 183/7.
niphala<niṣphala, 'fruitless, resultless', 532/5.
nibūdhī<nirbuddhi, 'senseless', 88/4.
niradōkhā<nirdoṣaḥ, 'faultless, blameless', 88/3.
niradhātu<nirdhātu, 'without strength', 293/4.

nirāpana<niḥ-ātmatvana, 'not own', 196/4.
nihakalaṃka<niṣkalaṅkam, 'stainless, blameless', 18/8.
parajarē<prajvalita, 'burnt', 200/2.
paradēsī<paradeśin, 'foreigner', 214/5.
parichāhī<prati-chāyā, 'reflection, shadow', 109/7.
parimala<parimala, 'fragrance', 211/2.
parihāsa<parihāsa, 'ridiculing, jealousy', 116/3.
saghana<saghana, 'dense', 137/5.
sabhāgā<sabhāga for Skt. saubhāgya, 'fortunate', 468/5.
sayāna<sajñāna, 'learned', 92/8.
sāmuhā<sammukha, 'in front of', 109/4.
sukuvāra<sukumāra, 'tender, delicate', 485/1.
suguru<suguruḥ, 'good preceptor', 20/8.
sudiṣṭi<sudṛṣṭi. 'good look', 165/9.

Upapada or the Verbal Determinative Compound :

mānusaharā<mānuṣam-haratīti, 'the men kidnappers', 25/7.
ranabādī<raṇe-vadati, 'one who shouts in the battle-field', 614/1.
suturusāla<śatrum-śālayatīti, 'foemen's bane', 507/7.

Bahuvrīhi or the Attributive Compound :

An Attributive compound, refers to a person or thing, denoted by neither of the compounded components and so functions in an adjectival capacity. These compounds usually have a historical and social recognition.

caturbhuja, 'one who has four arms i. e. Viṣṇu', 629/5.
sahasarābāhu<sahasrabāhu, 'having a thousand arms i. e. Arjuna', 390/8.

Avyayībhāva or the Adverbial Compound :

The use of this compound is exceptionally rare. The solitary hybrid example available is also not of Sanskrit origin. This paucity is not peculiar to the language of Jāisī as this tendency was present in the late MIA also, as shown by Dr. Sukumar Sen in his book 'A Comparative Grammar of the Middle Indo-Aryan, page 188'.

hara-svāsā, 'in every breath', 5/7.

The Plural Suffixes in Assamese

Satyendra Narayan Goswami.

1. The plural suffixes play a very prominent role in the declension of nouns and pronouns in the domain of NIA. Much has been contributed on the plural suffixes by the great linguists like Jules Bloch, Dr Chatterji, Dr Kakati, etc. in their respective works, and this paper is on the same topic as appeared in Assamese, and side by side a few examples from other sister languages of Assamese in different occasions.

2. The entire group of Magadhan speeches of the present day form the plural by addition of some nouns of multitude (AFD ; pp. 291). But survivals of OIA inflexions and help-words were established during the MIA stage, from which the NIA speeches have mostly inherited them. Thus, in Bhojpuri the plural is formed by the addition of *-an, -ani, -anh, -anhi* (in consonantal stems), *-nhi, -ni, -nh, -n* (in vowel stems). (ODBh ; §360). The gen. pl. affix OIA *-ānām* > *-ṇa, -na,* > *-n* is preserved in Bengali dialectally, but in nouns its proper genitive force is now lost. It is used mainly as a secondary affix added to the nouns of multitude to form the plural. (ODBL ; §486). e. g., *-gulin* / *-gulān* besides *-guli* / *-gulā*. Dr Kakati suggests that dialectally (in Kāmrūp and Goālpārā) in As. -n occurs in the combination -hun used as a respectful definitive to nouns and as a plural affix to pronouns. (AFD ; § 617). e. g., *tāhun, tewāhun* (: *teo* + *āhun* ; *o* + *ā* = *wā*, *-w-* glidic) 'they', *āhun* 'these people)'. Dialectally in Western Assamese (i. e., Goālpārā and West-Central Kāmrūp) *-gilān* / *-gelān* exactly parallel formation of Bg. *-gulān* (or *-gulin*) is also available e. g., *seigilān* 'these (all)', *māchgelān* 'fishes (all)', etc. In the respectful form of the verb, which represents an original plural, we have *-na in* Bg. e. g., *karena* 'does', *gelen* 'went', *diben* 'will give', etc. Although *-n* represents OIA *-anti*, Dr Chatterji's remark in this point must be kept in mind ;

"it is certainly in the gen. pl. *-na* extended from the noun to the verb to indicate the plural or the honorific." (ODBL ; § 486). Such use of the plural forms of verbs in an honorific sense is found in all Magadhan speeches. In As. honorific plural affix *-ā* (<*-ā̆ <*-āhā̆ <*-assa* <*-asya*) is extended to the second personal honorific.

3. To indicate the plural sense now some new devices came in permanently in As. in its old stage as in other Magadhan speeches. The affixing of some noun of multitude to the noun is also observed in the Caryās, e.g., *pañca vi ḍāla* '(with) five brances indeed' (C.I), *tini bhuana* 'the three worlds' (C.18), etc. In Caryās the plural numeral, which qualifies a noun is not always compounding with the noun of multitude is seen in aforesaid examples, but sometimes we have periphrasis while the plural idea is to be specified. That characteristic is inherited by As. from the Caryās directly. e.g., OA *cāri hāte dhari* 'holding with four hands', *daśa hāzāre batsara* 'ten thousand years' (Prahlād Carit : Hem Sarasvatī) ; *sundarī sakale kānay* 'the women weep' (Ayodhyākāṇḍa : Mādhav Kandali) ; *cāri bhuja jvale* 'the four arms glitter' (Śiśulīlā ; Kīrttan : Śankardev) etc.

4. During OA the words used to form the plural are—ts. *kata, gaṇa, cay(a), jan(a), nikar(a), bistar(a), bṛnda, anek(a), bahut, maṇḍali, mela, samūh(a), samāj(a), samudāi/y, lok(a)*, and tbh. *sāb, mān(e), mākhā, khān(a), jhāk(a), pāl(a)*, etc. Most of them are used in the modern representatives of Magadhan language also, and different authorities have discussed them. So I would discuss here briefly on ts. *lok(a)* and all tbh. pl. suffixes, with all other interesting plural suffixes attested in Modern Assamese.

5. The pl. suf. '*lok(a)*' is generally added to noun denoting a group of persons to indicate the idea of plural. e.g., OA *nagarīyā lok(a)* 'the people (living) in town' (Ayodhyākāṇḍā : Mādhav Dev). This *lok*<OIA *loka-*, is used to indicate peripharastic plural always to clarify the idea of 'a group or class of people'. It is appended to oblique forms of first, second and third (honorific) pronouns in MA and NA frequently and in OA occasionally. e.g., *āmālok* 'we in a group', *tomālok* 'you in

a group', *teolokak* 'to them in a group', *āponālokarparā*, 'from you in a group', etc. Here a comparison may be shown with other NIA. e.g., H. *unlogose kahā*' (I) told (to) them' ; Aw. *wakil log* 'the vakils' ; Bh. *hamlog* 'we', Mai. *devatā lokani* 'the god', etc. In Bg. *-lok* is never used as periphrastic plural, but instances with *-loa*(<*loka*) are available in Caryās. e.g, *bidu-janaloa* 'the educated people' (C.18), but this is an instance of double plural : *bidu-jana-loa*. Another example *panditaloa* 'the scholars' is attested in 'Dohāhoṣa'. In other NIA like H., Aw., Bh., Mag., etc. this *log* is not used with restriction in pronoun as in As., rather its use is extended to noun also. Thus, *H. rājā log* 'the kings', *kavi logonko* 'to the poets' ; Bh. *kamār logan/i* or *loganh/i mẽ* 'among the blacksmiths' ; Mag. *bacchā log* 'the boys (as a group)' ; N. *keta log* 'boys (as class)'. In Hindi and Magahi the use of *-log* is occasionally somewhat jocularly extended to animals as a class by the common people. e. g., *bandar log* 'the monkey folk'. (HL ; pp.104).

6. The rare use of this periphrastic plural in OA and its whole-sale absence from OMai., Or. and Bg. suggest that it is recently incorporated to the NIA. In this connection Dr. Saksena's opinion 'the device of indicating the plural periphrastically by the use of the words *log* and *pañc* is modern and has been brought about by necessity' is quite justified. (EAw. ; pp. 119-120). In As. *-loka* may be called a substitute of *-sab* only with the personal pronouns as plural suffix.

7. Tbh. *sab, mān(e)*, etc. are used as periphrastic plural in a specialized sense of "all included" in OA like OB. The suffix *sab* (<*saba* < *sabba* < *savva* < *sarva-*) indicates simply the number and not grouping and it is loosely compounded with nouns as attributive to express the plural. Sometimes it also precedes the noun to indicate plural. e. g., OA *sabaloka* 'all people', etc. This *-sab(a)* is replaced by *-lok(a)* in the latter stage in As.

8. The suffix *mān(e)* is a peculiar development as pl. suf. In Oriya this is regular agglutinating plural affix like *-bor* in As. and *-gulā/i* in Bg. It is derived from OIA *mānava* compounded to indicate the plural like *-jan(a)* / *-lok(a)*. In tbh.

forms in Or. it became an affix and was possibly confused with ts. *māna* 'measure' (<OIA *parimāṇa-*) and this had led to the spelling with a dental *-n-* which obtains now *māne* / *māṇe* (<**mānai* <*mānahi* <**mānavahi*). e. g., Or. *puruṣamāne* 'the males', *goru mānaṅka(ra)* 'the cows', etc. Dialectally *māna*, *mana* and *mina* are found in Bg. (ODBL ; § 492), while *māna* and *māne* are available in OA. Thus, in As. *bhālemān* 'many' (*bhāla* + *māna* : measure in a sense of good size / number), etc. are formed. This *bhālemān* which indicates merely number are loosely compounded with nouns as attributive to express the plural. This is rare in OA, but in NA it is used in high standard language. e. g., *bhāleman lok* 'many people', *bhaleman chātra* 'many students', etc.

The periphrastic plural suffixes *mākhā*, *j(h)āk*, *pāl*, *dal*, etc. are used in a determinative sense of a group or a folk in the various stages of As. e g., NA *la'rā makhā* 'a group of boys', *carāijāk* 'a herd of birds', *bherāpāl* "a folk of sheep", etc. Each of these suffixes stands for "a multitude or a collection", and therefore, with the help of numeral they are made separate groups excepting '*makhā*'. e.g., *dujāk carāi* 'two hords of birds', *epāl garu* 'one flock of cows' (*e*+*pāl* : *e*<*ea* <*ekka* <*eka*=*āikya*), etc. The derivation of *makhā* is as follows : *makṣ* -(=to collect) ; Rv. *makṣa-*, *makṣā*>MIA *makkhā-*> OA *mākhā*> NA *makhā*, dial. *mākhā* (West & Central Kāmrūp), *mekhā* (East Kāmrūp). *j(h)āk* may have got some connection with OIA *jākka*(?) 'a multitude', but the derivation is not possible ; cf. H. *jhuṇḍ-*, Skt *puñjika*, Most probably j(h)āk is originated from some D. e.g., OA *prajājhāk(a)* 'the folk of the subjects' (Kīrttan : Śankardev), but in Modern Assamese '*jāk*' is restricted to non-human beings only. The pl. suf. '*pāl* is derived from Skt *pāla-*(OIA *pal*=to save+*nic*+*a* 'a horde'). Cf. MB *brajakula bālā rājapathe āilā laiyā dhenura pāl* 'the girls of the Brajas came to the public- road taking their cow-herds', *rākhāl grour(a) pāl laiyā yāy māthe* 'the cow-boys have gone to the field taking (their) cow-herds' (SKK), ete. This '*pāl*' is also used in non-human beings, but joculously it is used with human-beings in inferior sense. e.g., *la'rāpāl* 'the

boy-herds', etc. The suffix '*dal*' is used in As. with human-beings as in Bg. It might be developed from OIA *dala-* 'part' after some semantic variation. Dialectally in central Kāmrūp *dhal/dhōl* is used in the sense of *dal* 'a group' in animals. e.g., *e-dhal/dhol goru* 'a hord of cows', etc.

9. The most of the ts. and tbh. suffixes to denote plural have now become obsolete in Modern Assamese. Their use is restricted only in the writings of the orthodox writers or in the high standard language. In NA the most commonly used plural formative suffixes are *-bor*, *-bilāk*, and *-hāt*. Among them *-bor* is used extensively while *-bilāk* is restricted with a respectable or superior sense ; but the use of *hāt* cannot be distinguished like *bor* and *-bilāk*. It is also used with some restrictions.

10. While explaining the origin of the suffix *-bor*, Dr Kakati (AFD ; §622) following Dr Chatterji (ODBL ; §493) and Kellogg (HL ; §255) wants to suggest a relation between *bolā*, a pl. suf. in Mārwārī with -bolāk, a dialectal form of *-bor*, and thus *-bor* suggested to be a derivative form of OIA *bahu+ṭa* (<MIA *bauḍa*, *bouḍa*). But this derivation is doubtful for the recent introduction of *-bor* into MA, and for the direct relation of *-bolāk* with another dilectal form *-belāk*, cf. St. Coll. *bilāk* (see below). Moreover, non-Aryan element, particularly Tibeto-Burman (i.e., Baḍo, Āhom, Gāro, Micimi, etc.) element and Austric (mainly Khāsi) element comprise an important characteristic in Assamese language. The dialectal formations *bhōr* (used extensively in Burañjī 'chronicle' in the sense of '*-bor*'), *bhorāk*, *-bolāk* (a blending formation of '*bor+bilak*' or *belāk*) throw some light on it that *-bor* is formed after some phonetic changes of Baḍo plural suffix *-fur*, *-bhur*. (Kachari Lang. : part. ii ; pp. 9) e.g., Baḍo *dalaṅ* (sg.) 'bridge' : *dalaṅ-fur/-bhur* (pl.) 'bridges'. Another suggestion *-bhuri* as the source of *-bor* is also totally unacceptable as *bhuri* always precedes the noun and never used as pl. suf. (Bharali ; pp. 35). Khāsi *-bhur/-bhor*, which indicates sometimes plurality of the noun shows some similarity with *-bor* and dialectal -bhor outwardly. e.g., Khāsi *-paid* (sg.) 'crowd' : *paid -bhur/-bhor* (pl.) 'common ignorant people'. (AGr. ; §229). Therefore, it

may be presumed that *-bor* has some etymological relation with Khāsi *-bhur/-bhor* and Baḍo *-fur/-bhur* ; and dialectal *-bhor/ -bhorāk* seems to be the best bridge between them.

11. Another pl. suf. *-bilāk* is very recently incorporated into As. Dr Kakati's view regarding only its introduction into As. literature is justified. (AFD ; § 623). But his suggestion on its derivation as a blending formation of OIA *viśāla+bahula* is merely conjectural as in case of *-bor* discussed above. The suffix *-bilāk* has carried the same sense like *-bolāk* or *-gilāk* dialectal plural periphrasis. Therefore, B. C. Mazumdar following the suggestion of a powerful Assamese essayist L. N. Bezbarua wants to opine that '*bilāk*' has got no link with any Mongolian source, its link with Dravidian plural forming suffix '*gal*' which gives '*gulā/guli*' in Bg. and Or. and further '*gilā/gilāk*' dialectally in Bg. and As. is correct. (HBL ; pp. 67-68). This view is also not very convincing like Dr Kakati's one as the change of *-g-* to *-b-* remains unexplained. Regarding its origin we must look forward towards the influence of Tibeto-Burman languages on Assamese for the prensence of some connected plural periphrasis in some Tibeto-Burman languages surrounding Assamese. Gāro word '*f/philāk*' (=all) is frequently added to the noun to denote plural, Micimi, another Tibeto-Burman dialect 'kā-*plāk*' (=all) is connected to the Gāro word '*f/philāk*'. (LSI, Vol. III, pt. I). Assamese pl. suf. *bilāk* might have developed from '*f/philāk*' after some phonetic changes like '*bor*'. In both the cases a change of Tibeto-Burman *f/ph/bh-* (initial) to b- in Assamese is suggested.

12. The periphrastic pl. suf. *-hāt* is derived from the present participial word used as an enclitic suffix showing some relation, and later on as a plural affix. In OA it is inveriably used after numerals. e.g., *duihanta* 'both (Lit. they two)', *tinihanta* 'all three' etc. ; but while it stands after demonstrative pronominal stem it never denotes plural. e.g., *ehanta* 'this man', *tehanta* 'that man', but in NA it denotes plural. e.g., *ihāt* (dial. *ehāt*) 'this group of men' *tāhāt* (dial. *tehāt*) 'that group of men', *sihāt* (dial. *sehāt*) 'they', etc. It (*hāt*) is derived from the pr. part. of OIA √as- 'to be' through MIA *santa*, OA *santa/hanta*. It is mostly used after nouns of relationship both honorific and

non-honorific carrying always the sense of 'the members of a group', e.g., Hon. *pitāhăt/deutāhăt* 'fathers=father and other members with him' *māhăt/āihăt* 'mothers=mother and other members with her' *cārhăt* 'sirs=sir and other members with him'. Non-hon. *tahăt* 'you all', *sihăt* 'they', *Rāmhăt* 'Ram and other members with him', etc.

13. Dialectally *-hăt*> *-hāt*, *-hte* (always with pronominal base). e.g., *kāmlā -hāt/hăt* (st. coll. kāmilāhăt) 'labourers in a group', *sehăt* 'they', *tăhte* 'you all', *coli -hāt/-hăt* 'boys and girls in a group' etc.

(Note : In Kāmrūpī '*coli*' is a common term both for boy and girl, *āpā* and *āpī* are the Kām. words to mean Boy and girl respectively. This is very peculiar in Kām. dialect).

14. Another periphrastic plural oblique form '*khan*' (<OA *khān(a)* <MIA *khanna*, **khaṇṇa* <OIA *khaṇḍa-*) is used after noun just to indicate the sense of plural in a group or assemblage. Originally '*khāna*' is used in OB and OA as a definitive to a flat or broad thing with reference to anything turn into pieces, but in NA its use is extended to 'a collective or a combinative (i.e., covering all or combining all)' sense and thus it shows a semantic change. e.g., *biyākhan* 'functions of a marriage ceremony or a marriage ceremony including all functions connected to', *nānal khan* 'the plough with all its articles' etc. Dialectally it is also need with human-beings *lá'rākhan* 'the boys in a group', *mānukhan* 'the people in a group i.e. a crowd'. (cf. OA *kanyākhāni* 'the girl' : here '*khāni*' is a definitive).

15. Dialectally we get a number of periphrastic plural suffixes among which *-hā(n)*, *-hun*, *-hnā*, *-hnāi*, *gilāk*, *gilākhān*, *-gelāk*, *-gelākhān*, *-gelān*, *(n)glā*, *(n)glāk*, *(n)glān*, *-(n)glākhan*, -bhor, *-bhorāk*, *hāt*, *-hăt*, *-hte*, *-xapā*, *xopā*, *-xape*, *-hapā*, *hopā*, *-hape*, *-ane*, *-hane*; etc. are used very frequently in different dialect areas in Assamese.

(a) The suffix-*hun* is a double genitive developed from gen. pl. affix *-na* added pleonastically to the gen sg. suf. *-hu* (<*-su* : *cf.* Ap *tāsu*, *jāsu*, etc.). This *-hun* is also used dialectally In Hindi. e.g., *sabkāhun* 'all', *vahun* 'these', etc. The forms *-hāt* and *hăt* are originated from OIA *santa*.

Again, *-santa*>*-*sanda*> *-handa*>*-*hanna*> -**hāna*>*-hān*. This *-hān* (also *-hun*) always takes an 'ā' initially while used to donote plural. Other plural affixes *-hnā* may be developed from this *-hān* after metathesis of *-ā-* and *-n-* and from this *-hnāi* is developed after the addition of *-i* finally to it. The form *-ane* and *-hane* mostly used in Kāchār district is derived from hante : *hante*>**hande*>**hanne*, **anne*>*hane*, *ane*. Of course '*ane*' is a dialectal formation to denote the past conditional tense. e.g. ; *bhālā* (*—bhālā*) *pāilā ane/hane* '(he) would have found it good.' (LSI, Vol. I, pp. 234). All these pl. aff. are added to nouns and pronouns in a definite sense. *xopā/hopā*, *xapā/hapā*, *xape*, *hape* are always used in a combinative sense in Kāmrūpī dialect. e.g., *māch xapā/xape* 'a reasonable number of fishes'. It might be developed from some Dēśī origin. (cf. Skt *sarva*>As. *sab*).

(b) *-gilā*, *-gilāk*, *-gelā*, *-gelāk*, *-gilān*, *-gelān* *-(n)glā*, *-(n)glāk*, *-(n)glākhān*, *-(n)glān* : Among these *-(n)glā*, *-(n)glāk*, *-(n)glākhān* and *-(n)glān* are affixed to pronouns while the rests are joined to nouns. Dr Chatterji suggests that *-glā* or *-nglā* has been connected to Pan-Bg. affix for plural *gulā*, derived from OIA *kula* + *ka* (ODBL ; § 488). But Dr Kakati's view that these 'all seem to be of non-Arygn' is more dependable. (AFD ; § 641 & § 642). The determinative plural affixes *-gulā* and *-guli* in Bg. are used from the period of MB onwards and they have got no link with OIA *kula* ; they might have some connection with the definitiva *-goṭā* as Dr Sen suggests. (Bh. It. ; pp. 154). In this connection we must compare some other plural affixes of different non-Aryan languages. Thus, in Tamil we get *-gal* as a plural affix. e. g., *keigal* 'hands', *karkal* (<*kaḷ-gal*) 'stones', etc. In Malayalam it is *-gaḷ* / *-kaḷ* or *-kkaḷ* and in New Canarese *-galu* ; but in Old Canarese *-gal*. New Telugu neuter plural affix is *-lu* (added generally after a vowel stem). e. g., *gurralu* 'horses' : the long *-ā-* is derived from the combination of the short final *-ā* to the inflexional base *gurrā* and a vowel, evidently *-ā-*, which must have preceded *lu*. (Drav. Gram. ; pp. 244-245). The affix *-gilā* might be developed from some non-Aryan element like this *-gulā*. Other forms connected to *gilā* are nothing

but the results of some phonetic modification and additions to the same source.

16. The termination to form the various cases are always added to the periphrastic plural suffixes which are added to the nouns or pronouns, etc. This is a common feature with most of the NIA. e. g.,

As. *lāraborarparā* 'from the boys', *nagarīyabilākalai* 'to the town dwellers'.

Bg. *chelederake* 'to the boys', *meyederahaite* 'from the girls'.

Mai. o *lokanike* 'to them', *brāhmaṇa sabahika* 'of Brahmins'.

Or. puruṣa *manaṅkara* 'of men', *pakhi mānaṅkathāru* 'from the birds'.

Br. *raññā sabhani se* 'to you respected people', *kukuranhike* 'of dogs'.

N. *babu harule* 'by fathers', *chora haru-ko/a/i* 'of boys'.

H. *baniyẽ logõ se* 'by shopkeepers', *kaidi logokā/e/i* 'of the prisoners'.

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CONTENTS

Genealogy from Tṛtsu to Sudās

Muhammad Shahidullah

The Mahabhārata (1) and nearly all the Purānas (2) agree that in the line of Puru there was a king named Matināra, his son was Taṃsu, Taṃsu's son was Ilina, Ilina's son was Duḥṣanta, whose son by Śakuntalā was the illustrious Bharata. There are different forms of Matināra as Antināra, Atināra, Rantināra. The different forms of Taṃsu are Trasu, Traṃsu, Tatsu, Utsu, Trasnu, Trastu.

Taṃsu is evidently Tṛtsu of the Ṛgveda (3). King Sudās has been called a Tṛtsu and as also belonging to the race of Bharatas e.g.

व्यानंवस्य नृत्सवे गयं भागज्जेष्म पूरुं विदध्मे मृध्रवाचं ।

"The goods of Anus' son he gave to Tṛtsu. May we in sacrifice conquer scornful Pūru." (Rv. VII. 18. 13. Griffith's Translation).

दंडा इवेद् गोव्रजनास आसन् परिच्छिन्ना भरता अर्भकासः ।
अभवच्च पुर एता वसिष्ठ अदित् तृत्सूना विक्षो अप्रथत ॥

"Like sticks and staves wherewith they drive the cattle, stripped bare, the Bhāratas were found defenseless" :

Vasiṣṭha then became their chief and leader : then widely were the Tritsus' clean extended. (Rv. VII. 33, 6 Ib Oldenberg (4) and Macdonell & Keith (5) also indentify the Tṛtsus with the Bharatas.

In the Rv. VI 16. 4 Bharata has been mentioned as an ancient king. Bharatas grand father Ilina is no doubt correctly Ulāna.

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1. Published by the Bhāndarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona, 1933) I.89.11-15 ; I. 90.25-33.
2. Dās Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa by W. Kirfel (born, 1927) P. 538 f.
3. VII. 18. 13, 15, 19. VII. 33.5.6. ; VII. 83.6.8.
4. Buddha, pp. 405. 406.
5. Vedic Index I, 363,

Śāntanu, a descendant of Bharata has been called Autāna in Rv. X. 98. 11. Scholars have hitherto been unable to explain properly this Autāna. The Rg. (6), however, differs from later literature in holding the Tṛtsus and the Bharatas as different from the Purus. It should also be noted that in the Rv. Puru is always spelled with long ū in the first syllable.

प्रप्राचमभि भरतस्य शृण्वे वि यत् सूर्यो न रोचते बृहद्भाः
अभि यः पूरुं पृतनासु तस्थौ घृतोनो देव्यो अतिथिः शुशोच ॥

"Far famed is this the Bharatas own Agni : he shineth like the sun with lofty splendour.

He who hath vanquished Puru in the battle, the heavenly guest hath glowed in full refulgence."

(Rv. VII. 8. 4. Ibid ; cf. also VII. 18. 13.)

The genealogy from Matināra to Bharata was very well known. There are two mnemonic gāthās commemorating it. The first is found in the Mahābhārata (7) and the second in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. (8)

1. तंसुं सरस्वती पुत्रं मतिनारादजीजनत् ।
इलिनं जनयामास कलिन्द्यां तंसुरात्मजम् ॥

2. माता भस्त्रा पितुः पुत्रो येन जातः स एव सः ।
भरस्व पुत्रं दुःषन्त मावमंस्थाः शकुन्तलाम् ॥
रेतोधाः पुत्रं उन्नयति नरदेव यमक्षपात् ।
त्वं चास्य धाता गर्भस्य सत्यमाह शकुन्तला ॥

From Bharata to Ajamīḍha accounts differ. Book I, chap. 89 of the Mahābhārata gives the following genealogy :
Bharata—Bhumanyu—Suhotra—Ajamīḍha.

Chap. 90, however gives the following :—
Bharata—Bhumanyu—Suhatra—Hastin-Vikuṇṭhaha-Ajamīḍha.

The Purānas (9) generally give an inflated list :—
Bharata—Bharadvāja-Vitatha-Bhuvamanyu-Bṛhatkṣatra-Suhotra-Hastin-Ajamīḍha.

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6. Rv. VII. 18.13. etc. 7. Mbh. I.90.28. 8. I 90.31.32. Kirfel pp. 539. 9. Kirfel p. 539 f. For 7, 8 & 9 foot notes see copy.

According to thg Agni (10), Brahma (11) and Harivaṁśa (12) Vitatha—Suhotra—Bṛhat—Ajamīḍha.

From Bharata to Suhotra in this list of descendants of Bharata, Bharadvāja, Vitatha and Bṛhatkṣatra are to be omitted as they are not found in the two accounts of the Mahābhārata. Viṣṇu (13), Vāyu (14), Matsya (15), Agni (16) and Bhāgavata (17) make Vitatha an alias of Bharadvāja after his adoption by Bharata. Whereas according to the Brahma (18) and Harivaṁśa (19) Bharadvāja after his adoption by Bharata obtained Vitatha as a son as a result of a sacrifice performd by him. These authorities make Suhotra a son of Vitatha. Pargiter (20) has tried to reconcile the different accounts by making Vidathin Bharadvāja a descendant of Bharadvāja, son of Bṛhaspati, as an adopted son of Bharata and Vitatha, a son of Vidathin Bharadvāja, these being a confusion, between Vidathin and Vitatha.

But the true explanation is quite different. In the text of the Mahābhārata (21) occurs a verse—

तत स्तस्य महीन्द्रस्य वितथः पुत्रकोऽभवत्।
ततः स वितथो नाम भुमन्यारभवस्तुतः ॥

This verse must be a corruption of the text of the original Mahābhārata, as there is no evidence that Bhumanyu had a son named Vitatha. Bhumanyu's five sons one of whom is Suhotra are mentioned in the next verse No. 21 without enumerating Vitatha among them. The southern recension (22) gives the correct text as follows—

तत स्तस्य महीन्द्रस्य वितथे पुत्रजन्मनि।
ततः स वितथो नाम भुमन्योरभवत्तदा ॥

"Then the birth of children of that lord of the Earth having

10. Bibliotheca Indica, chap. 277 verses 7-15. 11. Veṅkaṭeśvara Rv. XI 60-62, 80,81. 12. Vaṅgavāsī 32, 16-19,41, 13. Jivānahda IV 19,8. 14. Bibliotheca Indica II 37.152. 15. Ānandāśrama 49.32 16. 277.8. 17. IX 20.39. 18. 11.60. 19. 32.17. 20. Ancient Indian Historical Tradition by Pargiter p. 159-163. 21. Mbh. (Poona) I 89.20. 22. edited by P. P. S. Sastri I.88.50.

become futile, Bhumanyu's name them then became Vitatha." From this we conclude that Bhumanyu's and not Bharadvāja's nickname was Vitatha.

This verse is found in corrupt forms in the Purāṇas (23) as well. e.g. the Hari Vaṁśa (24) has

पूर्वं तु वितथे तस्य कृते वै पुत्रजन्मनि ।
तेतोथ वितथो नाम भरद्वाजसुतोभवत् ॥

The Matsya (25) has

पूर्वं तु वितथे तस्मिन् कृते वै पुत्रजन्मनि ।
तत्स्तु वितथो नाम भरद्वाजो नृपोऽभवत् ॥

corresponding śloka is found also in the Brahma (26) and the Vāyu. The Vāyu (27) gives the reading तथा in place of सुतो or नृपो. That the reading Bharadvāja is a mistake is evident as later on the Matsya (28) gives out that Bharadvāja went to Heaven after cosecrating Vitatha, thus making them two persons. So for the last pāda of the śloka the correct reading is to be construed as in the Southern recension or भुवमच्युस्तदाभवत् as suggested by the Purāṇas. This suggests that the name was Bhuvamanyu as an alternative form of Bhumanyu. In fact the Vāyu and Matsya have Bhuvamanyu.

The Mahabharata (29) mentions five sons of Bhumanyu : Suhotra, Sohotṛ, Suhaviḥ, Suyajuḥ and Reka. The last name is doubtful in the text.

सुहोत्रश्च सुहोताच सुहविः सुयजुस्तथा ।
पुफारित्यामृचीकस्य भुमन्योरभवन् सुताः ॥

The Calcutta edition reads : मृचीकश्च ।

The southern recension (30) reads in the printed edition, as

सुहोत्र सुतहोतारौ तथा गर्हश्चरावुभौ ।
पुष्करिण्यामृचथ्यं वै भुमन्योरभवन् सुताः ॥

The Brahma (31) and Harivaṁśa (32) mention Suhotra, Suhotṛ, Gaya, Garga and Kapila as sons of Vitatha. The Vhāga-

23. Kirfel p. 541. 24. 32.16.17. 25. 49.32 26.11.60. 27. II. 37. 52. 28. 49. 34. 29. I. 89. 12. 30. I. 88. 51 52. 31. II. 62. 63. 32. 32. 19.

vata (33) mentions Bṛhatkṣatra, Jaya, Mahāvīrya, Nara and Garga as sons of Manyu (=Bhumanyu). The Viṣṇu (34) and Matsya (35) mention Bṛhatkṣatra, Mahivīrya, Nara and Garga. The Vedārthadīpikā (36) or Mv. VI. 52 assigns to Bharadvāja five sons: Suhotra, Sunahotra, Nara, Garga and Ṛjiśvan. In view of this the text of the Mahābhārata as corrected below will give the original text—

सुहोत्र शुतहौत्रच तथा गर्गचराबभौ ।
पुष्करिण्यामृजिश्वा च भुमथोरभवन् सुताः ॥

It is possible to take Sunahotṛ as a variant of Sunahotra.

In the Rv. (37) Ṛjisvan has the psyronymic Vaidathina, showing that his father was Vidathin. This is really the vedic form of Vitatha. The very fact that Suhotra and his four brothers have been mentioned as sons of Bharadvāja in the Vedārthadīpikā and that Bharadvāja has been named Vidathin in the Brhaddevatā (38) shows that very early Bharadvāja was identified with Vitatha as in some Purāṇas mentioned above. That Bhardvāja was very much later than Bhumanya Vitatha is evident from the Rv. According to Rv. vi-27 he was the priest of Abhyāvartin Cāyāmāna. This Akhyāvartin was a contemporary of Divodāsa, a distant descendant of Bhumanyu.

Suhotra was a famous king. He has been mentioned among the 16 kings in the Soḍaśarājika narration of the Mahābhārata (39). In XII, 29, 917 the printed text reads—

सुहोत्रस्वैवातिथिनं मृतं शुश्रुम सृञ्जय । which is metrically wrong.

It is to be corrected as

सुहोत्र ञैव वैतथं मृतं शुश्रुम सृञ्जय ।

Again in line 921 ततोऽस्मपदथोऽतिथिः should be corrected as ततोऽस्मयत् वैतथः The southern Ed has ततोहस्मयत द्वैमिथः which is nearer the correct reading. This will make to Vaitath a patronymic for Suhotra.

In the VI mandala of the Rv. which belongs to the

(33) IX. 21. 1. (34) IV. 19-9. (35) 49. 36. (36) Pargater p 161 foot note 6. (37) Rv. IV. 16. 13; V. 29. 11. (38) V. 102. (39) Mbh VII. 55-70; XII. 29.

Bharadvāja family Śuhotra is mentioned in the Sarvānukrama of Kātyāyana as the seer of the hymns no. 33, 34, Śunahatra of the hymas no. 33, 34 Nara of nos. 35, 36 and Garga of no 47, Ṛjiśvan of nos 49, 50, 51, 52. They have all the patronymic Bhāradvāja.

In the Mbh (40) I. 89. Suhotra's son is Ajāmedha ; but in I. 90, 36, 37 Hastin and Vikuṇthana have been put between them. Hastin is an eponymics to explain the name of Hastināpura. Vikuṇthana is not found elsewhere. The Agni (41), Brahma (42) and Harivamsa (43) have Bṛhat in place of Hastin. Rv. IV. 43 and 44 are ascribed to Sauhotra. Parūmmilha an Ajāmīḷha. All the traditions agree in making them two brothers. So the first account of the Mbh. in making Ajāmīḷha, the son of Suhotra is to be accepted as the correct genealogy. According to the Mbh. (44) they were three brothers, Ajāmiḷha, Sumīḷha and Parumiḷa. The Purānas have Dvimilha in place of Sumilha. But Sumīḷha is found in Rv. VI 63. 9 thcugh nothing but the name is mentioned there.

Ajāmīḷha is an important ancient personage. He is the common ancestor of the Pañcālas, the Kurus and the Kuśikas. According to the unanimous tradition of the Veda (45) and the Purānas Viśnāmitra was a descendant of Jahnu and belonged to the Kuśika clan. The Mahābhārata (46) and some Purāṇas (47) trace the Kuśika clan from Jahnu, son of Ajāmiḷha. Aitareya Brāhmana (VII. 3, 5) and Sānkhāyana śrauta sūtra (XV. 25) call him Bhāratarṣabha, the formost among the Bhāratas (48). Against this early tradition the fable of Bharata's mother Śakuntalā's birth from Visśvāmitra can not stand. In fact Kaṇva was her father Viśvāmitra was the priest of Sudās (49). Both Viśvāmitra and Sudās

(40) I. 89. 26. (41) 277-15. (42) ii. 80. (43) 32. 41. (44) I. 89, 26. (45) Rv. III 58, 6 (Jahnu) ; III 33, 5 ; 29, 15, 30, 20 ; 41, 9, 50 53, 9, 10, 11 (Kusika). (46) I. 89, 29 ; (vangavasi) XIII. 4, 201-5. (47) Agni 277, 16. Brahma XI. 82 Harivansa 32, 43. (48) Pargiter p. 100. (49) Rv. III 53, 9.

are descendants of Ajāmiḷha. The genealogy of Viśvāmitra from Ajāmiḷha will help up to check that of Sudās.

The Mbh. gives two genealogies. The longer one given in the Anuśāsana Parva, chap. IV is as follows: Ajāmiḷha-Jahnu-Sindhudvīpa Balākāśva-Ballabha-Kuśika-Gālhi-Viśvāmitra. The shorter one in the Śānti Parva chap. 49 verse 3-6 and 30 is as follows :- Jahnu-Aja-Balākāśva kuśika-Gādhi-Viśvāmitra. The Agni (50) Pūrāṇa agrees with this account. It makes Jahnu the son of Ajāmiḷha. The Purāṇas (51) generally give the following genealogy: Jahnu-Śunaha-Ajaka-Balākaśva - Kuśa - Kuśika (Kuśāśva) - Gādhi - Viśvāmitra. The Brahma (52) and Harivamśa (53) omit Sunaha and Kuśa from the list. Vedārthadīpikā makes Isiratha the father of Kuśika. So Viśvamitra cannot be more than 9th degree in descent from Ajāmīḷha, the father of Jahnu.

All the Purāṇas (54) agree in tracing the descent of Sudās (Sudāsa in the Purāṇas) from Ajamīḷha. So at best he will be not more than 10th or 11th in descent from Ajāmīḷha, if we regard him as junior to Viśvāmitra. But Pargiter (55) depending on the Purāṇas makes him 15th in descent. His proposed genealogy is as follows: Ajāmīḷha-Nīla-Susānti-Purujānu - Ṛkṣa - Bhrnyaśva - Mudgala (Brahmiṣṭha) - Vadhryaśva Divodāsa - Mitrāy - Maitreya Soma - Sṛujaya - Cyavana - (Pijavna Sudāsa). Dr. S. N. Pradhan (56) has clearly shown that Bṛhmiṣṭha is to be taken to be an adjective of Mudgala, and is therefore to be omitted. He (56a) proposes the following genealogy of Sudās :

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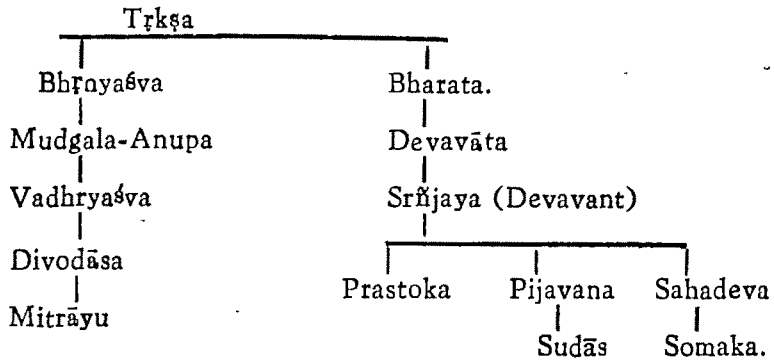
(50) 277, 12, 13. (51) for reference to Puranas Pargiter p. 99 Kirfel p. 361. (52) XI. 88-91 (53) 32. 49-52 (54) Kirfel p. 549 (55) Pargiter p. 146, 147 (56) Chronology of Ancient India.



Rv. VII. 18 is a hymn by Vaśiṣṭha, who was laterly a priest of Sudās, in praise of his client Sudās' charity. So it is a piece of contemporary document. In it (verse 25) Divodāsa has been said to be the father or forefather (pitā) of Sudās who has the patronymic Paijavana (verse 22, 25). Again Sudās has been called a descendant or grand son (naptṛ) of Devavant (verse 22). So evidently both the above genealogies are wrong in these respects. According to the Vedic Index (57) Devavant-Vadhryaśva-Divodāsa-Sudās.

The Viṣṇu (58) gives the following genealogy :-

Ajamīḍha - Nīla Sānti - Suśānti - Purujānu - Cakṣus-Haryaśva-Mudgala — Vṛddhāśva-Divodāsa-Mitrāyu-Cyavana-Sudāsa. The Mbh. (58a) does not mention Duḥṣanta as a son of Ajamīḍha. The Brahma and Harivaṃśa (60) omit Nīla and Śānti. The Vāyu (61) omits Śānti. There are variations of Purujānu (Viṣnu, Matsya) as Purujāti (Ag. Hv. Br.), Puruja (Bhag). There are different names for Cakṣus in different purāṇas ; Rikṣa (Vāyu), Pṛthi (Matsya), Arka (Bhāgavata). Dr. Pradhan (62) on the authority of Āśvalāyana Srauta Sūtra (II, 6) corrects this name to Tṛkṣa. For Haryaśva Bhāgavata gives Bharmyaśva. Dr. Pradhan corrects it to Bhṛmyaśva on the authority of Yāska's Nirukta (IX. 24). Harivaṃśa (64) gives the correct form of Vadhryaśva which is also found in the Rv. from which we learn that his son was Divodāsa.

(57) By A. A. Macdonell (C.U. 1937) p. 4. Ibid pp. 86, 89, 102 & A. B. Keith Vol I (Souden 1912) p. 396.

The Brahma (66) and Harivaṃśa (67) close the lineage of Divodāsa with Soma, son of Mitrāyu. The Agni (68) makes Somapāi, the son of Mitrāyu. They then take up the line of Sṛñjaya, a brother of Mudgala thus :—Srñjaya-Pancadhanusa-Pañcayana Br. Hv. Somadatta-Sahadeva. Dr. Pradhan (69) corrects Pañcajana (Picyayana of Vāyu) to Pijavana and equates Somadatta with Sudās. This equation may be accepted. Considering the corruption of the Purāṇa Text, there are, however, serious objection to the genealogy proposed by him. According to the Purāṇa (78) Mudgala with Sṛñjaya and three other brothers were called collectively Pāñcālas, they being five in number. According to Mbh I. 89.29 Pāñcālas were the descendants of Duḥṣanta and Parameṣṭhin, the sons of Ajamīḍha. In Rv. (VI. 47) Praskoka has been called a Sārujaya. In the Rv. (V. 15) Sahadeva's son Somaka has also been mentioned and Sṛñjaya has been called by the patronymic Duivarava. Rv. (III. 23.2) mentions Deiravahu and Dehasasrnas as Bhārata, but Sudās never. There is no guarantee for his supposition that Devavant was a surname of Sṛñjaya. I should like to equate Susant with Duḥṣant of the Mbh. and take Devavant to be the maternal grand father of Sudās. I take Devavanta to be the surname of Bhumanyu, son of Bharata. After all these discussions I should propose the following genealogy from Ajamīḍha.

(1) Ajamīḍha- (2) Duḥṣanta- (3) Purujānu- (4) Tṛkṣa-
(5) Bhṛnyaśva (6) Devāvanta

(6) Mudgala (7) Sṛñjaya (7) (6) Devasrāvas
(7) Vadhryaśva Pṛthus (8) Rayamāna
(8) Divodāsa & Devavant (8) Prastoka (8) Sahadeva (9) Abhyāvartin.
(9) Pijavana (daughter) (9) Somaka.
(10) Sudās.

The number of generations from Ajamīḍha to Sudās can be checked in two other synchronisms. According to Mbh

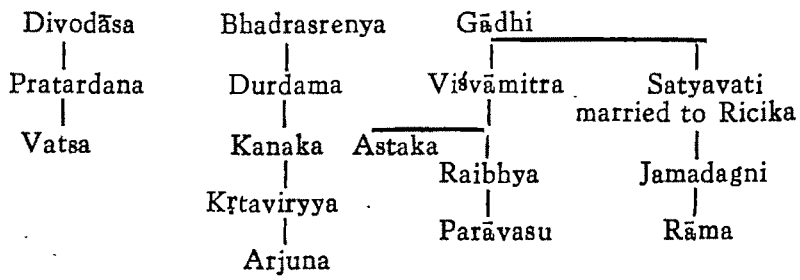
(śānti 49) Visvāmita's grandson and Jāmadagna Rāma Parāvasa is a junior comtemporaries with the son of Vidūratha of the Paurava line king Bṛhadratha (of Māgadha king Sarvakarmā, son of Kalmāsapado and king vartsa, son of Pratardana. Now according to the Purānas Viduratha's son Sārvabhauma is in the 10th generation from Ajamīḍha. Ajamīḍha-Ṛkṣa-Samvarvaṇa-Kuru- Avikṣit- Parīkṣit- Janamejaya- Suratha- Viduratha (Viḍuratha) Sārvabhauma (Arugvant) according to Mbh 1.90 42. We have supplied Avikṣit from the Mbh Vrhadrath I. 89 44.45 where he is called Asvavant Mbh I. 90.42 omits all persons between Kuru and Viduratha (viḍuratha) Mbh I. 89.49 gives a different account from Janamejaya which is not supported by any Purāṇa, Bṛhadratha (71) is also in the 10th degree from Ajamīḍha. Ajamīḍha- Rkṣa- Samvaraṇa- Kuru- Sudhanvan-Suhotra- Cyavana- Kṛta- Caidya- Uparicara Vasu- Bṛhadratha. The Pañcāl king according to Mbh (89. 33) who conquered Sāmvarana must have been a grand son of Ajamīḍha by Duḥṣanta or Paramesthin and cannot be sudās as supported by pargiter.

According to Agni (72) and a second account of Brahma (73) Harivansa (74) the Kāśi line of kings was also descended from Sunahotra or Sunahotṛ of the Paurava line (wrongly written as Suhotra in Br. and Hv. and Suketu in Ag). This account is indirectly supported by Mahābhārata which as we have already seen, mentions the same five brothers Suhotra and others as these Purāṇas. A famous king of this line is Divodāsa (namesake of the Bharata king) whose grandson is Kṣattraśrī, son of Pratardana. Pratardana is the author of the Ṛgveda lx, 96, and joint author of x, 179. Kṣattraśrī has been mentioned in the Ṛgveda vi, 26, in which Divadāsa, grand-father of Sudas, has also been attended to. According to the Mahābhārata (75)

We have already shown, that Viśvāmitra was nineth in discent from Ajamiḍha. So his grandson Parāvasu would be a junior contemporary of Sarvabhamu Bṛhadratha.

(72) Chp. 277, 9-14. (73) Chp. 11, 62-79. (74) Chp. 32, 18-40. (75) Vangavasi ed v, chp. 116 and 118. Purgiter is wrong in supposing three Drsadvatis and denying the contemporaneity of the kings (p. 135, 142, 143).

Pratardana, the son of Divodāsa (of Kāśī) and Astaka (the son of Biswamitra) were born of the same mother, Mādhavī (Dṛsadvatī in the Purānas). Pargiter supposes two Divodāsas in the Kāśī line, Divadāsa being a contemporary of Bhadraśrenya of the Haihaya line and Divodāsa II being the father Pratardana. But synchronisms show that the Purāṇas are correct and Pargiter is incorrect. According to the Purāṇas there are three generations from Divodāsa to Vatsa and five generations from Bhadrasenya to Karta Veryya Arjuna (75a). That this Divodāsa was a junior contemporary of Bhadrasrenya and a contemporary of his son Durdama is narrated by the Purāṇas and admitted by Pargiter. We have already stated that Vatsa was a contemporary of Rāma, son of Jamadagni. This Rāma killed Arjuna, son of Kartaveryya. I give below the synchronisms :



Therefore, Vatsa, the son of Pratardana mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas would he a contemporary of Sudās, who is one degree below Viśvāmitra. Now from Sunohotra who was a brother of Suhotra to Vatsa there were eleven generations from Suhotra to Sudās. So it is quite proper to count ten generations from Ajamīḍha to Sudās. We have already seen that from Tṛtsu to Suhotra there are six generations. Hence from Tṛtsu to Sudās there would be 16 generations. It should be mentioned here that Mahābhārata (B. K. XIII. ch. 30) gives the following geneology. Haryaśa—Sudeva—Divodāsa—Pratardana. In Mbh. Bk. I. Chap. 114 Dibodāsa has been said to be the son of Bhimasena.

(75a) Kirfed (pp. 411, 412. Purgiter pp. 153. (75b) Kirfel pp. 368-372.

This list of 16 generations can be checked by comparing it with other geneological lists by means of synchronisms. According to the Purāṇas (76) Gauri, the daughter of Matināra was married to Yuvanaśva of the Ikṣvāku line whose son by her was Māndhātṛ. Hence Yuvanāśva was a contemporary of Tṛtṣu, the son of Matināra. Visvāmitra was a priest of Hariscandra (77) when his son Rohita was pretty old. Now according to the Purāṇas (77a) there are 15 generations from Yuvanāśva to Rohita including Satyaratha who is to be placed between Tṛsaṅku and Hariścandra (78). This Satyaratha was another name from Vedhas of the Aitareya Brāhmana (vii.3.1.f) We have seen that from Ajamīdha to Viśvamitra there were 9 generations and from Trtṣu to Suhotra, the father of Ajamīrḍha there were 6 generations. So there would be 15 generations, from Tṛtsu to Visvāmitra We also find the same number Yuvanaśva to Rohita. We should observe here that though the number of generations is correct the order of persons is defective, e. g. Purukusta (?) who is a contemporary of Sudās according to the Ṛigveda has been placed much higher in the Puranic list and Girikṣit and Durgaha, the ancestor of Purakasta have been omitted altogether (79).

There is yet another synchronism. Bhagīratha of Ikṣvāku line was a contemporary of Jahnu (79a). Viśvāmitra acted as a priest of Mitrasaha Kalmāsapāda (80) as he did also of Hariścandra and Sudās. Now from Bhagīratha to Kalmāsapāda there were 9 generations. It should be mentioned here that

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(76) Purgiter pp. 83.

(77) Purgiter pp. 151. (77a) Purgiter pp. 145, 147. Kirfel pp. 316. (78) for ref. vide Purgiter pp. 111, note 2.

(79) Vedic Index I, 327 Trasadasya (pp 541 Purukutsa)

(79a) Ramayana (Bangabasi) I 43.34-38. Pergiter pp 142 denies the contemporariety wrongly. p. BL iii, 56, 44-8

(93) Purgiter pp. 208, 236. Pergiter wrongly dismisses the mention of Viśvāmitra with Kalmāsapada. Mahābhārata I. 176. I doubt the connection of Viśvāmitra with Tṛsanku as it is unknown in the Brahmanas, Chronologically impossible.

in the table of persons given by the Viṣṇu and followed by Pargiter (81) I leave out Sruta following the Agni (81a) and Matsya (82). There were also 9 generations from Duḥṣanta II (son of Ajamīḍha) a contemporary of Jahnu to Sudās. In the Mahābhārata (83) Kalmāṣapāda's son, Sarvakarma has been mentioned as a contemporary of Parāvasu. He of course would be an elder contemporary of Parāvasu. Dr. Pradhan (84) has shown that Indrasenā, the daughter of the famous king Nala was the wife of Mudgala. King of Ṛtuparṇa of the Ikṣvāku line was a friend of Nala. So Ṛtuparṇa would be a contemporary of Mudgala. Kalmāṣapada, the 4th in descend from Ṛtuparṇa would also be a contemporary of Pijavana. We have seen before that Viśvamitra and Pijavana were both 9th in descent from Ajamīḍha. I give below the synchnisms discussed above.

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(81) pp 14. Krifel pp 331-333, 347. (81a) 272.30. (82) xii. 45. (83) xii 49. (84) pp 4.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Tratsu	Yuvanasva (2)					
2.	Ulana	Mandhatṛ					
3.	Duḥṣanta I.	Purukutsa					
4.	Bharata	Trasadasyu					
5.	Bhumanyu (Vitatha)	Sanbuta					
6.	Suhotra	Anarnya	...	...	...	...	Sunohotṛ
7.	Ajmīḍha	Trāsadaśva	Ajamirdha		Ajamīḍha	Ajamīḍha	Kasika
8.	Duḥśanta II.	Haryaśva II.	Jahnu—	Bhagiratha—	Ṛkṣa—	Ṛkṣa—	Kaseya
9.	Purnjana	Vasumanas-	Sindhudvipa--	Nābhāga—	Samvarana—	Samvarana—	Dirghatapa
10.	Tṛkṣa	Tridhanvan	Ajaka	Ambarīsa	Kuru	Kuru	Dhanva
11.	Bhṛmyaśva	Trayyaruna	Balakāśva—	Sindhudvipa—	Avikṣit—	Sudhanvan—	Dhanvantari
12.	Mudgala	Trisanku	Kuśa	Ayutāśva	Parīkṣit	Suhotra II	Kṛtamanta
13.	Vadhryaśva-	Satykratha—	Kusika	Rituparna—	Janamijaya-	Cyavana	Bhimaratha
14.	Divodāsa	Hariscanda	Gādhi	Sarvakama—	Suratha	Kṛta	Divodasa
15.	Pijavana	Rohita	Viśvāmitra—	Sudāsa	Vidūratha	Vasu	Partardhana
16.	Sudās	Harita	Raibhya	Kalmāṣapada-	Sārvavhauma-	Bṛhadratha—	Vatsa
17.			Paravāsu	Sarvakarmā	Ṛkṣa		

Affricates in Standard Bengali

D. N. Basu

I

CHATTERJI observes (§ 225 seq. *ODBL* & 72 ff. *IL*, 1960) how the Old Indo-Aryan palatal 'stops' were modified into 'affricates' by the beginning of the Christian era. His conclusive opinion about it is :

> "...the palatal affricate pronunciation of / c, j / had gradually spread over all IA. ; and under new conditions, the palatal affricates further were dentalised in some of the NIA dialects,—Assamese, East Bengali, Southern Oṛiyā, Marāthī and dialectal Gujarātī." (§ 132. *ODBL*)

GRIERSON also opined (391ff. *JRAS*, 1931) that the 'affricates' in Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī and Śaurasenī areas are palatal, while in Mahāraṣṭrī and South Śaurasenī area the 'affricates' are dental. Thus while in the estimation of GRIERSON and CHATTERJI the 'affricates' in Northern Oṛiyā, Panjābī and Hindustani are palatal like those in Bengali of West Bengal, *PIPA*, 1949 describes Standard Bengali (=Calcutta Colloquial, § 71, *ODBL*) 'affricates' corresponding to the 'sibilant' which is between 'alveolar' and 'palato-alveolar' (of English) but Panjābī & Hindustani 'affricates' as varieties of the English ones and the fricative off glides of the Oṛiyā (North) 'affricates' as 'alveolo-palatal ! In this connection, mention may be made of the notes of KELLOGG (§ 20, *HG*) and BAILEY (Notes on Pronunciation, *HG*, 3rd Edition, 1938) that the Hindī affricates are "like English, but a little further forward"..."almost like *ty* and *dy*". And ALLEN (§ 2.02 *PAI*) mentions "the affricates such as are general in modern Indian pronunciation" as 'pre-palatal'.

2. Thus there are contradictory views regarding the place of articulation of affricates in Standard Bengali ; they

may be palatal, or pre-palatal, or between alveolar and alveolo-palatal, or palato-alveolar or a variety of English affricates. An investigation has, therefore, been made with the Experimental Phonetics to locate the affricates of Standard Bengali, as pronounced by the writer who is a native of Calcutta. Besides locating the stricture in the roof of the mouth caused by the occlusion of the tongue it has also to be seen if the 'fricative off-glide' which finishes the 'affricate' is really 'homorganic' as it is said necessarily to be (§ 592, *OEP*), because the digraphs generally use are *cʃ* etc., not *cç* etc. There are a few more connected questions which are along with to be solved, viz. whether there is any difference in the places of articulations of the aspirate/non-aspirate, voiced/voiceless, affricates,—of affricates in the initial/final/medial (single/doubled) places,—of affricates followed by different vowels.

II

3. The method adopted for investigation is mainly "Word-palatography" in the 'Direct Method' with the help of an apparatus illustrated by ANTHONY (*STAB*-Oct-Nov. 1959) and discussed by ABERCROMBIE (*ZP*, 1957) & LADEFOGED (*JSHD*-Dec. 1957)*. Actual meaningful Bengali words have been suitably selected, which are : /cāp/, /chāp/, /jāp/, /jhāp/,—/pāc/, /ābchā/, /bāchā/, /bācchā/,—/cāp/, /cup/, /cæ̃/, /cĩ/, /sāp/, and in the pronunciation of a British English words ; chop ; top ; shop and sob.

4. These words have been pronounced and a palatogram of each word has been obtained. From the palatograms of the British speaker, sketches have been reconstructed with a view to fit with the writer's palatograms for comparison. "Zoning the palate on the basis of the dentition plan, adding a median line and right and left lines parallel to the median", (as said by FIRTH in *BSOAS*, 1948), we tabulate the wipe-offs in the respective blocks as detailed below :

* The writer is greateful for this help to Phonetics Department of the Edinburg University.

(a) Block I—Block formed by Front Incisor and Lateral Incisor.

(b) Blocks M1, M2, M3, M4, M5—Blocks formed by the Medial and Lateral lines between the lines joining on the two sides the junctures of Incisor-Canine, Canine-1st Molar, 1st Molar-2nd Molar, 2nd Molar-3rd Molar, 3rd Molar-4th Molar, respectively.

(c) Blocks L1, L2, L3, L4, L5—Blocks formed by the Lateral line and the teeth respectively beside M1, M2, M3, M4, M5.

In a Table we have noted the extent of the 'wipe-off' in each block of every palatogram. By a comparative study from this Table, we can have a fairly rough idea of the region of the stricture of the tongue in the palate at the first stage in the articulation of the 'Affricates' and the nature of the 'fricative off-glide' with which the pronunciation finishes, (from the lateral 'wipe-offs' with a comparison with that of the 'fricatives'). We can also see if there is much variation in the pronunciations of the 'Affricates'—with aspiration/no aspiration, with voice/no voice, in the initial, final and medial (single/doubled) places, and followed by different vowels, and we can also see the differences with the English pronunciations. At the time of naming the regions of the 'wipe-offs', we have to modify the regioning system given by FIRTH (BSOAS, 1948), viz. instead of the 'dental' 'alveolar' 'palatal' regions between straight lines (Incisor, Lateral Incisor, Canine, 1st Molar, 2nd Molar Lines etc.), we have to conceive the different palate-regions between oblique lines, somewhat like SCRIPTURE'S (EEP). A tin-foil palate-cast of the writer has been made and a rough sketch of the sagittal section of the palate has been drawn to show the shape and depth of the palatal cavity and the position and slope of the alveolar ridge. The inner view of the tin-foil cast shows how wide the alveolar ridge is in the palate of the writer. The back-limit of the 'alveolar region' is marked by a line (oblique) passing through the $\frac{3}{4}$th of the Median Line in M1-Block and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Lateral Lines in L2-Block terminating in the 2nd Molar-3rd Molar junctures.

5. Besides taking the help of the Instrumental Phonetics, the limitations of which have to be admitted, a check-up of every point has been made by "feeling" by the tongue and fingers, "looking" through the mirrors as far as practicable, and by repeated "listening" of the differences of the sounds.

III

6. In the Table given below, we have also noted in actual measurements (in inches) the narrowest width of the back limit of Frontal contact areas (N.W.Frr.) from the Incisor (external), and the farthest depth of the lateral contact from the 1st Molar tooth (external) (= F.D.Lat.).

	I	L1	L2	L3	L4	L5	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	N.W. Fr	F.D. Lat
cāp	F	F	F	$\frac{3}{4}$	$+\frac{1}{2}$	$+\frac{1}{2}$	$+\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	0	.6″	.4″
chāp	-F	F	F	$+\frac{3}{4}$	$-\frac{1}{2}$	$+\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	0	.5″	.4″
jāp	?	F	F	$+\frac{3}{4}$	$+\frac{1}{2}$	$+\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$-\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	0	?	.4″
jhāp	F	F	F	$\frac{3}{4}$	$+\frac{1}{2}$	$+\frac{1}{2}$	$+\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	0	.6″	.4″
pāc	F	F	F	−F	$+\frac{3}{4}$	$+\frac{1}{2}$	−F	$\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	0	.7″	.45″
ābchā	F	F	F	$-\frac{3}{4}$	$-\frac{1}{2}$	$-\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$-\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	0	.6″	.45″
bāchā	F	F	F	$\frac{3}{4}$	$-\frac{1}{2}$	$-\frac{1}{2}$	$+\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	0	.6″	.4″
bācchā	F	F	F	$+\frac{3}{4}$	$+\frac{1}{2}$	$+\frac{1}{2}$	F	$\frac{3}{4}$	0	0	0	.7″	.5″
cup	F	F	F	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$-\frac{1}{2}$	F	$-\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	.85″	.45″
cæ̃	-F	F	F	F	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$-\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	?	.45″
cĩ	F	F	F	F	F	F	$+\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$-\frac{1}{2}$	$+\frac{1}{4}$	$-\frac{1}{4}$	.6″	.6″
sāp	-	-	-	−F	$+\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	−	−	$\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	−	.4″
Eng.chop	0	0	0	$-\frac{1}{4}$	$+\frac{1}{2}$	F	0	$+\frac{3}{4}$	−F	$-\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	−	.6″
„ top	0	0	−F	$\frac{3}{4}$	$+\frac{3}{4}$	$+\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	F	0	0	0	−	.45″
„ shop	0	0	0	−F	−F	$\frac{3}{4}$	0	$+\frac{1}{4}$	$+\frac{1}{4}$	$-\frac{1}{4}$	0	−	.6″
„ sob	0	F	$+\frac{3}{4}$	$+\frac{3}{4}$	$+\frac{3}{4}$	$+\frac{3}{4}$	$-\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0	0	−	.45″

((F = full ; + = slightly more ; − = slightly less : ? = uncertain ; O = vacant ;))

In the case of / cæ̃ / and / jāp / the frontal wipe-off is not very clear.

IV

7. From the palatograms and the table as given above, the following observations can be made :

(a) The lateral wipe-offs of / cāp / and / sāp / correspond with each other, from which it can be concluded that the fricative glide with which the pronunciation of the 'Affricate' ends, is the same as / ś / as pronounced by the writer, which again appears to be intermediate between / s / of Eng. 'sob' and / sh / of Eng. 'shop' (in the pronunciation of a British speaker).

(b) The fricative glide appears to be 'homorganic' with the articulating organs for 'occlusion' in this pronunciation of the Bengali 'affricates'.

(c) The fricative glide in the final and the medial (both single and double) seems to be more prominent than in the initial 'affricate'.

(d) The places of articulation of the aspirate/non-aspirate, voiced/voiceless 'affricates' appear to be more or less the same.

(e) The 'affricate' appears to be influenced by the vowel following it. (The 'wipe-off' spreads more to the back with the back vowels).

It has been felt that the tongue-tip remains behind the 'Incisors' and the blade of the tongue makes the semi-circular contact with the roof of the mouth.

The table given above shows that the back limits of the 'wips-offs' in the pronunciation of the 'affricates' do not go very much in the middle beyond M2, and even in M2 it is very slight, generally $\frac{1}{4}$; that is to say, the 'wipe-offs' go slightly beyond the Alveolar region of the writer, as already marked at the end of para. 4. Hence, it can be concluded that the 'affricates' in Standard Bengali (in the pronunciation of the writer, which is most probably not too differ from the average Standard Bengali pronunciation, as he is a native of Calcutta colloquy speakers)—that is mainly 'alveolar', although some portion of the 'pre-palatal' region is also touched, and in comparison with the English 'affricates' which are called 'palato-alveolar' in the pronunciation of which a considerable area of the 'dental' and 'alveolar' regions left "unwiped off" unlike

Bengali, we can name the series of sounds studied as "Front Alveolo-palatal" and the digraph also may be revised to / ts / for / cʒ /. Yet the question of the general Standard Bengali pronunciation of the sound is left open, pending a wider study of the sound in the similar line of other speakers of Standard Bengali, this is very much needed for the 'affricate' not only of Bengali but also of other Indian languages.

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Phonology of the underworld language*

Bhakti Prasad Mallik

[Abbreviations : B. : Bengali, E. : English, H. : Hindi, Und. : Underworld language.]

1.0 The language of the underworld is artificial and mixed. Its phonetics is variable.

The Bengalee speakers of this sub-culture have come from diverse local dialectal zones of West Bengal and East Pakistan. The overwhelming majority of the delinquents and criminals are either uneducated or half-educated although there are a very limited section of 'educated' criminals. With diverse and variable linguistic and non-linguistic peculiarities, they represent a mixed culture and language. Amongst the Hindi speaking criminals in West Bengal linguistic variations are observed with shades of differences.

There is a third group of criminals of microscopic minority, speaking underworld language, emerging from Orissa, Maharastra, Gujrat & South India. They comprise not more than 5% of the total number of criminals interviewed by the author in West Bengal. They generally use both Bengali and Hindi terms with slight variation in their pronunciations.

Reciprocal influence is observed in the speech habits of the Bengalee and Hindi speakers and other counterparts along with the adoption of speech pattern of their own. Considering all these features the study in the phonetic pattern of the underworld language as a whole presents a typical problem.

The phonological pattern of the underworld language is no doubt interesting indeed and the methodology of their creation can be explained properly.

In the matter of phonology, the changing pattern is more or less of the same type like that of a normal language. Like normal words, slangs are also created under certain rules or norms. Regular changes can be explained and may be regarded as a distinct feature of the underworld language. The distinction is less prominent among the Bengalees, Hindustanis and

* This paper was read at the Annual General meeting of the Philological Society of Calcutta on 28. 8. 63.

others, i.e., in the matter of phonological changes different speech communities adopt more or less the same principle. Different forms of the underworld language have been compared with Standard Colloquial Bengali or Hindi forms. The salient phonological features are the following :

1.1 DROPPING OF VOWELS

A. Initial vowel : when emphasis is on the following syllable. khāṛā : window-breaking instruments ; cf. ākhṛā : a gymnasium with instruments for physical culture. gun : danger cf. āgun : fire.

B. Medial vowel : when the first syllable is accented or given emphasis. gurmā ; leader of a gang cf. gurumā : a female preceptor or the wife of a priest. cāpni : 1 pressure. 2. make-up materials cf. cāpuni : pressure. tarāli : a girl with attractive lips cf. und. taroāli : do. cf. taloyār : a sword.

C. Final vowel : slurring of pronunciation in the final position. āraṭān ; an eight-anna bit, ān cf. ānā. otol : there cf. otalā (tallāṭ) : that area. okhrān : one who helps the chief operator for siding a wagon from the main body of a goods train cf. opṛāno, ogrāno : to uproot. katrān leā : to decamp. katrānā : to escape unnoticed.

1.2 Deliberate vowel mutilation in the initial, medial and final positions. indhār : darknight cf. Oriya andhār : darkness (received from an Oriya informant). aeṭuli : flatterer cf. eṭuli : sticky ḍali : dead cf. B ḍuli : bier. jhom : sleep cf. jhum : a nap, sleep. jegel haoā : to be awakened cf. jāgā : to wake. jesam : wrist-watch band cf. jasam : female ornaments, especially bangles. karmu : an associate ; an ordinary pickpocket cf. karmī : a worker. garmu : a drunk cf. garmī : hot. kāṭā : knife cf. kāṭā : to cut. caṛu : gallows cf. B caṛā : to climb.

1.3 INSERTION OF VOWELS
IN THE INITIAL, MEDIAL OR FINAL POSITIONS

ārelā : hubbub, connected with H. relā : abundance.
ākhāṛā : window-breaking implements cf. B. ākhṛā.
āṛiā : to stare at a girl ; cf. āṛ : oblique look.

1.4 LENGTHENING OF VOWELS BEFORE OR AFTER CONSONANT CLUSTERS

annā melānā : to be out in quest of theft. annā <ànna : food> rice.

āgli bāgli : 1. to & fro. 2. loitering cf. H. agal-bagal : around; in the neighbourhood.

1.5 ā>a BY CONSONANTAL ADDITION

kaṭni : wooden box cf. kāṭh : wood. katti : a house-breaking implement cf. kāturi : a small cutting tool. chappi : buttock cf. chāp<pāch : buttock ; behind ; back.

1.6 VOWEL HARMONY

ghiṛi : wristwatch cf. ghaṛi : do. gilli : a fountain-pen cf. gilā : to devour.

1.7 DIPHTHONGISATION OF VOWELS IN CONTACT

A. monophthong > diphthong
āṛiā : to stare at a girl cf.
āṛī : an oblique look.

B. by the loss of a consonant
gãi (ā) : waist ; a long cotton bag cf. gẽje : a bag. ghāo, ghāu : a blade cf. ghāta, ghā.

C. by the loss of intervocalic -h-
gaunā, gaonā : a hidden cavity inside the throat to hide stolen goods (money, gold etc.) cf. gahan : secret, inaccessible. daelā : ten cf. dahalā : do.

D. by contraction of two words
ṭeniā : a brothel-house servant who works at night cf. ṭene āne : one who procures.

1.8 FORMATION OF NEW WORDS BY DIPHTHONGAL CHANGES

ākheā : 1. eyes. 2. sight ; cf. H ãkhiyā : eyes. aojar : a big knife cf. Ar. auzar : instruments, tools. khāi : rope. cf. khei : a thread portion.

1.9 Like vocalic elision consonantal elision is also found and some of the important elisions are indicated below :

DROPPING OF CONSONANTS

A. initial consonant

āli : ink cf. kāli : do. ādā : fair cf. sādā : white. sābrā umāke : a sleeping durwan.—umāke may be connected with ghumāte : sleeping.

B. medial consonant

daelā cf. dahalā. thuṛi : an old woman cf. thubṛi : do.

C. final consonant

uppu : to lie down cf. upuṛ : lying downwards.

ca : deception, cheating cf. coṭ : cheat.

dā : areola. cf. dāg : a spot.

1.10 FORMATION OF NEW WORDS BY CONSONANTAL INTERCHANGE. Initial change is more frequent than the medial and the final change is least frequent.

ānsān : a loose and irrelevant talk : may be connected with āncān : restless.

oglāno : confession cf. ograno : to vomit.

kak : sputum cf. kaph : phlegm, cough.

konā : gold cf. sonā : do. korā : a thief cf. cor or corā : thief or thieving. khām : thigh of a girl cf. thām : pillar. gālā : bangle cf. bālā : do. ghõṭ : to swallow a stolen thing to avoid detection cf. ḍhõk : to swallow. cāmmu : copper cf. tāmmu : do. coāni, cauāni : eunuch cf. joyāni : youth. chuṭ : dacoity cf. luṭ : plunder. checki : small coins cf. rejki : small coins. jire : diamond cf. hīre : do. nāpi : navel of a woman cf. nāvi : navel.

2.0 DOUBLING OF CONSONANTS

uppu cf. upuṛ. ekki : one rupee (note) cf. ek : one. kaccā : hemp cf. kac : very tender twig of a tree. khābbis : an old woman cf. khabis : do. khullā : naked cf. khulā : open. gilli : fountain-pain cf. gilā. cillar : 1. small coins. 2. a child cf. cilar : small coins. ṭakkar : head cf. ṭikar : uvula. tarṛā : clothings, cloths etc. cf. tāṛā : bundle. thābbā : a large amount of money not counted cf. thābā : a handful.

2.1 SIMPLIFICATION OF CONSONANT CLUSTER in a phrase, in initial cluster and word containing more than two syllables.

kadu kā pāni : mineral water in a bottle cf. kaddu : pumpkin. gāhāk : a customer of a prostitute cf. grāhak : a subscriber. patidār : a richman cf. paṭṭīdār : a man who has some share in a property i.e. a partner or sharer.

2.2 Formation of words by deaspiration, and this feature is more frequent than aspiration.

kāṭā : 1. work. 2. imprisonment cf. khāṭā : to work. cf. jel (jail) khāṭā. karkā : a want. cf. kharcā : expense. garānci : collapsible gate cf. gharānci : a fence. ṭokar : shoes cf. ṭhokar : do. ḍhoṛā : female abdomen cf. Bhoj. ḍhoṛhī : abdomen. tābṛi : a slap cf. thābṛā : do.

2.3 VOICING : it is a rare phenomenon.

thāg : stairs cf. thāk : step.

2.4 CHANGE BY METATHESIS

ārṛcā : wedge-opening : may be connected with cāṛ(ā). pressure. karcā : a servant : by syllabic metathesis cf. cākar : do. kodān : a shop cf. dokān : do. chāpāi : hip pocket cf. pāchāi : connected with pāchā : hip. nāthā : police station cf. thānā : do. nuce neā : to snatch cf. chine neyā : do. chine >nechi>neci>nece>nuce.

2.5 CHANGE BY ASSIMILATION USUALLY IN CONNECTION WITH r/ṛ.

caḍḍā, coḍḍā : a thief cf. cor+ṭā : the thief cf. cor+ḍā> coḍḍā. carṛā : frivolous : may be connected with caṛbaṛ : pattering sounds, indicating haste, restlessness etc.

nettā : three cf. netra : eyes.

2.6 ASSIBILATION

kāmās : near cf. kāch : do.> kās> kāmās.

2.7 CONTAMINATION OR PORTMANTEAU FORMATION

umrā : room, house : may be from upar (upper)+kāmrā (room). khaṛpā : 1. sandal slippers cf. khaṛam pā : wooden slippers. gupṭi : a room under the staircase cf. gupti : a cavern, a cave, hiding etc.+ghāpṭi/ghupṭi : lurking. ghāpā : a room or den cf. ghar (a room) and gopā cf. gopan : concealment. cuālā : wine cf. coyāno : to ooze and peyālā : a cup. ṭhuṅkā, ṭhunkā : a

casual visitor to a prostitute cf. ṭhunko : fragile+thāuko : small or retail. dauni, dawāni : mineral water cf. dawai : medicine +pāni : water.

2.8 BY ANAPTYXIS

ālag : criminals coming from different places cf. ālgā : detached.

2.9 CEREBRALISATION

uṇḍā : an attractive young woman cf. Ar. 'unda(h) : good, noble. ṭor : to snatch a necklace from the neck ; cf. tornā : to break. ṭāṇḍi : an assault cf. taṇḍi : do. ṭānāṭal : a collapsible gate. ṭal cf. tol : lift up cf. ṭene tol : drag up. Here cerebralisation is by noncontiguous assimilation. ḍal : fore-gap of clothes cf. dal : a lump. ḍuri : a gate-keeper cf. dvāri : do.

2.10 LOSS OF CEREBRALISATION

gothni : a sister cf. goṣṭhī : lineage, kin. doli : murder cf. ḍuli : bier. neti : a dancer cf. naṭī : do. pātidār cf. paṭṭīdār.

3.0 NASALISATION

ãṭkābāj : a coal-thief cf. S. B. āṭkā : confined, compelled to stay. ãski : cf. akṣi. kãṭi : 1. a false key cf. cābi kāṭhi : key. ghãṭ : silk-worm-gut splash a gut-knot by the neck cf. ghāt : murder.

3.1 LOSS OF NASALISATION

ãkh : 1. spectacles. 2. a torch. 3. light cf. ãkh. kãcci : silver cf. kãcā : raw. kocar : to hide cf. kõcor : front tuck of the lower garments. gãṭiã : a long belt like cotton bag worn at the waist region cf. gãṭiyã : knot. khoc : a rough : especially one who extracts money from the criminals by threat of divulging their secret dens of wine, hemp, gambling etc. to the police cf. khõcã : poke.

3.2 COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING

ãkar : gambling cf. akṣar : number. mãkrã : joke cf. maskarã : do >makkarã> mãkarã.

3.3 BACK FORMATION

cãp : back, behind cf. pãch : do. chãm : 1. fish. 2. girl ; cf. mãch : fish. nep : a fountain-pen cf. E. pen. khum : mouth cf. mukh ; do.

3.4 BACK AND FRONT CLIPPING

clipped phrases and words are popular, because these people dislike long or direct statements.

ārā : a ladder cf. ārkāṭhā : fixed hanger for keeping clothings and fixed ceiling hanger for beddings etc. kunji : motor car lock cf. tālākuñji : lock and key. gādā : a gun : an abbreviation of gādā banduk : a country made gun. cākāllās : revelry. cakrākāre or cāk bēdhe ullās : revelrous gathering. charā : a necklace. It is an abbreviation of hār charā. jadu : Indian museum at Calcutta cf. jādughar : do. jāli : forged currency notes cf. jāli note : do. jhāppā : dress, especially mendicants' dress in a kidnappers gang cf. jhāppā-jhoppā : covering with too many clothings. ṭāpu : a gentleman cf. bābu ṭābu. ṭusi cf. T. C. cf. a ticket collector. ḍi : a cheat working as a broker or a pimp cf. dālāl : a broker. nos : a man cf. mānos < mānuṣ. tir : Calcutta river bank cf. nadīr tīr : a river bank. nicer : lower pocket cf. nicer pocket : do. lakkar : a knife cf. lohālakkar : iron tools or materials.

3.5 SYLLABIC ADDITION

āraṭān : eight-anna cf. āṭ+ān with the addition of ār. kimire : what cf. kire with -mi-. chiṭobi : a photo, a picture cf. chabi with -ṭo-. kime : what cf. ki with -me. komāthāe : where cf. kothāe with -mā-. biṭuṛi : an old woman. cf. buṛi : do.

3.6 FORMATION OF NEW USAGES

FROM UNKNOWN FORMS BY PHONETIC CHANGES

āk : gambling cf. ākar : do. kulsi : to be out for theft cf. kulphi : a burglar. kõṭ : an accomplice cf. kod : a thief. keāri : three cf. teāri : do. khillocor, khomocar : a policeman cf. khocor : do. gāk : a customer of a prostitute cf. gāhāk : do. jugu : ? shaped steel tool for scaling a wall. This hook like tool with a rope attached at its end to facilitate scaling up. cf. und, jiggāsā : meaning is the same as jugu. jhāp : female buttock. cf. chāp(ā) <pāchā : buttock. tiṭā : wine cf. kiṭā : do. ṭek deā : to assist cf. ṭhek : do.*

* I am indebted to Shri R. Mathur, M.A. for the Hindi etymology of two forms cited above.

A Mixed Dialect of Bengali

Pranabesh Sinha Ray

As an example of linguistic miscegenation we shall begin with a quotation from Sir George Grierson: "The language of Contai subdivision of Midnapore District is certainly Oriya but strongly corrupted by the Bengali spoken to the north across the river Haldi. It is not that a new dialect has been found pertaning of some of the characteristics of each and intermediate between each language. On the contrary the language of the subdivision is a curious mixture of fairly pure Bengali and fairly pure Oriya, the speaker using words of each language apparently at haphazard and mixing them up." (Linguistic Survey of India Vol. V. pt. II. p. 420).

Somewhat reverse of this mixed Oriya and Bengali as spoken in the Contai subdivision of West Bengal where the base is Oriya, we have here an admixture with Bengali substratum. This opposite type of linguistic fusion is the theme of our present discussion which deals with some aspects of the home language of a transplanted speech-community viz.; Bengali-speaking emigrants forming a speeh-island amdist Oriya-speaking masses. This from of mixed idiom used in the domiciled Bengali homes in Orissa—particularly in the districts of Cuttack and Puri is somehow branded kerā Bāṅglā. No satisfactory derivation of the term 'kerā' (pron. kærā) has as yet been advanced for aught I know, but it is commonly, perhaps popularly traced back to the word 'kiri' (lit. having done) < kṛtvā—which is much used in a sort of a very loose colloquial Oriya. This 'kiri' seems to be descended from kari(yā)/kairiyā, a non-finite form of √kṛ. Beng. karā, Or. karibā=to do. This generally accepted explanation would lead us to Skt. kriyā < kṛta=done cp. saṃskṛta. Oriya colloquial constructions with 'kiri' are abundant e.g., jāi kiri, āsi kiri, khāi kiri etc. having gone, come, eaten &c. cp. Oriyā dhāi kiri, Beng. jhā kare, śā kare, caṭ kare &c. in another though perhaps related context.

Another source of this term of otherwise obscure origin as suggested by Dr. Sukumar Sen—from kerāṇī, kerāṇṭi, kenni—clerk—is also very plausible considering the history of the idiom and its speakers who were mostly engaged in clerical works.

The speakers of this hybrid speech are rather chary of giving any firsthand account of its characteristic or even supplying specimen thereof and it seems there has always existed a stigma attached to the use of this speech outside the pale of those initiated into it. Even its very name and mention thereof is disconcerting to the speaker. There has been, therefore, an almost insurmountable difficulty is elucidating necessary information regarding the nature and materials of the speech. Unless this idea of contaminated or "corrupt form"—a sort of "dog Bengali" as it were, is eradicated no speaker of the tongue can ever be drawn out to help. This is, indeed, regrettably unfortunate for the investigators in the line.

Before we try to get an insight into some of the peculiarities in this speech of the early Bengali settlers in Orissa, a brief notice and chronological account of them will be pertinent to and helpful in our study.

The earliest indication of Bengali-speaking families settling in Orissa was found towards the end of the 15th century. Any prior movement has not, so far, been brought to light. There had been an interregnum priod for some years before the ascension of Husein Shah when Bengali scholars moved to Orissa where a contemporaneous Hindu House was still reigning. Take for instance, the case of Pandit Sārvabhauma who came along with his family to Puri with the intention of settling down there which he eventually did. Thereafter in the beginning of the 16th century the historical advent of Sri Chaitanya with his followers was of great significance and a landmark opening up another avenue of a far greater magnitude. For close upon his retinues and companions there had undoubtedly been others who had left Bengal in successive almost consecutive batches spread over a very considerable period of time. Next, towards the closing decades of the 16th century during Akbar's reign numerous Bengali clerks, revenue officers and various other

officials and in their wake yet others manning the emperor's far-flung outposts entered Orissa. Thus, we can account for a large number of Bengali speakers in the employ of Man Singh and subsequently of Todar Mall making Orissa their home from the time. Already many Bengali settlers had proved their worth and became influential in the public life of Orissa. One of the closest associates of Sri Chaitanya in Orissa, Ramananda Roy had become a trusted officer of Pratāparudra-deva. Ramananda Roy belonged to a Bengali family domiciled in Orissa. His brothers, again, also held very high positions there.

And finally as the last big wave of exodus we find during the British regime many Bengali officials posted in Orissa most of them settling down there for good. Eventually we must also take into account the Bengali zeminders as purchasers of Orissa zemindaris sending their employees to look after their estates and interests. These latter invariably made Orissa their home. And all these Bengali speakers continued using their mother tongue at home and amongst themselves in society.

From the examples that follow it will be apparent that the particular form or dialect of Bengali taken over to Orissa by the early settlers was that of the Rāḍha or West Bengal—especially of Burdwan and adjoining areas of Bankura and Hooghly.

The absence of epenthesis fixes the date as post 16th century.

Absence of deaspiration, voicing, bimoric enunciation, nasalisation as also of vowel-harmony and non-transformation of the dental sibilant to alveolo-palatal variety so conspicuous in the Bengali of later times unmistakably show traits of the Bengali of roughly about the time of mid 16th/17th centuries. The specimens even within the limited compass do not point to the development of the phoneme æ which corroborates the period of introduction. On the whole, characteristically the mixed idiom displays the traits of Bengali of those days and being severed from its mother-stock and hemmed in by the conservative

surroundings of a sister speech like Oriya, it indeed became immune from the later evolutionary transformations peculiar to Bengali proper in its homeland.

It is interesting to muse over the fate and the future of such a mixed idiom as kera Bengali. Will it in course of time become extinct or just a dialect of Oriya ? The latter seems more probable. Anyway it cannot or shall I say may not survive, not being the vehicle of thought and expression of a community of considerable size nor having any written literature vouchsafing preservation and perpetuation. However, it is not for us to indulge in any speculations for we are to note what we find and the above is merely said in passing.

As I close this discussion the October 1963 issue of 'Span' magazine came to hand containing a very illuminating popular article entitled "A great seachange in the Language—the growth of American English" by Lincoln Barnett from which I cannot help quoting the following relevant extracts and so end with another quotation :—

"In the century that saw its full flowering in the poems and plays of the Elizabethan age, the English language began its circumnavigation of the world. Its first syllables reached the Western Hemisphere in 1497...The language that disembarked at Jamestown and Plymouth was Elizabethan English rich and resourceful, fluid and flexible ready to borow and invent, quick to clip or compound words or to interchange parts of speech... And so, since the Old World and the New were separated ...the American language has sailed down its own roadsteads on a course of its own devising...Many "Americanisms" are borrowings from this strange language (American-Indian). Yet curiously, many others are in fact archaisms, relics of pure Elizabethan speech imported by the original colonists and preserved in use in the U.S., while the mother tongue of the homeland gradually digressed and diverged from the 17th century forms and accents once shared in common. The survival of these Elizabethan elements in American speech is, however, no unique linguistic phenomenon. For all transplanted languages tend to preserve their conservative features. Thus

to-day similar vestiges of the past live on in Canadian French, in Icelandic Norse and in the Spanish of Latin America, though they have long since evaporated from the ancient fountains of speech whence once they sprang." We may add Kera Bengali to the list and make a study of the survivals or 'survivors' as Burnett puts it of a byegone Bengali. Bernard Shaw's typescript in the article shows "England and America are two countries separated by the same language." Nicely put there, and characteristically too—yes, Bengal and the tract covered by Kera Bengali, or why, for the matter of that we can say Bengal and Orissa stand "separated by the same language".

Below is given a comparative list of vocables in Kerā Bengali and Bengali in opposite columns for comparison :—

Kera Bengali		*Bengali*
Kuthāke	where to, whither	Kothāŏ
diā	giving	deŏa
haiche	has become	hoec(h)e
jāte jāte	while going	jete jete
ikhāne	here, hither	ekhāne
karche	is doing	karc(h)e
haŏ	'passing through'	hoŏe
upās	fasting	upoś
parā	methinks	bujhi
idike	this way	(e)idike
dain	(to)right	ḍān
ḍer(i)	late	deri
ata	so much	æta
khāte	for eating	khete
tumrā	you (pl.)	tomrā
khidā	hunger	khide
pāche	having, getting	pācc(h)e
jalakhiā	tiffin	jalkhābār
āji	to-day	āj
bethā	pain	bæthā
ḍākiba	shall call	ḍākba
dāktara	doctor	ḍāktār
ukhuni	right now	ækhāni, ek(k)huni

ukhuni bi	even now	ækhana(ŏ)
khāṭecha	have toiled	kheṭec(h)a
rāndhecha	have cooked	rẽdhec(h)o
nāi	is not	nāi, nei
pukhur	pond	pukur
bāsun	utensils	baśan
asal	pure, genuine	āśal
udike	that way, thither	o(i)dıke
thike	by, through	theke, ṭhenge
chāliā	boy, son	chele
pāriben	shall be able	pār(i)ben
pacis	twenty five	pāciś
āle	comes	ele
ekbār	just, once	ækbār
tumār	your	tomār
sanjhā	evening	sandha, sondhe, sājh
duphar	noon	dupur
butal	bottle	botal
bārhābā	going out	berono, bārhaŏā
ukhāne	there, thither	o(i)khāne, sekhāne
andhāre	in dark	ādhāre, andhakāre
bujhile	'you see !'	buj(h)le
cinhā	'known' ; to recognise	cenā
phāṇḍā	mishop	phāṛā
kāndā	crying	kādā
nāŏ	boat	na, naukā
noḍhā	pestle	noṛā
kie	who ?	ke
āṇṭibe	will do suffice	āṭbe,
,,		
akhan	'to be sure'	(æ)khan
dikṭāte	'on that side'	dikṭāŏ
ate	with this	etc, ihāte

The full form of negative substantive 'nāi' is to be noted calibe nāi, pāriba nāi, dibe nāi, chāṛe nai, vis-á-vis Bengali cale nā, pārba nā, debe nā, chāṛe nā. cf. dialectal Bengali 'ṇi' for nāi and Oriya 'nāhi'.

Several vocables are undoubtedly taken over from Oriya. eg. parā<prāya ; jalākhiā, cf. jalpān ; paiḍ : ḍāb=green cocoānut, or at least they are contaminated Oriya forms. The relative consevatism of Oriya in linguistic transformation as compared to Bengali and the Oriya form of those days helped Kera Bengali cut off from its source, retain its archaic features.

As a few relis of old time vocables the following equations may well testify :—

pher : ābār ; darkar ; cāi ; dehete : gāe ; ra(h)iche : āche ; gāli : bakuni ; jaldi ; śighra ; besi ; bāṛti ; ḍaṅgā : naukā ; etc. etc. Particularly interesting is the preference for √kah to √bal —kaha : balā ; kahiba : baliba ; kahite : bal(i)te ; kahachi : bālc(h)i ; kahen : balen ; kahachen : balchen &c.

Some Vocables from Birbhum Dialect

Satyanarayan Das

The following vocables are cellected from the village Karidhyā (or Kaṛidhya) in the Sadar Subdivision of Birbhum District.

A. **Nouns** :

abay (অবয়) : trace, sign.
alakaṭa (অলকট) : indulgent, excess.
āolā (আওলা) : pandel.
ākal (আকল) : blister.
āgāci (আগাচি) : broken rice.
āchāl (আছাল) : shower (of rain).
āpā (আপা) : small holes dug for water.
ārāpāṭā (আরাপাটা) : arrangement.
āsuṭon (আসুটোন) : indulgent excess.
ittilok (ইত্তিলোক) : common people.
udbaktā (উদ্বক্তা) : one who would always speak.
ene (এনে) : courtyard.
oran (ওরন) : funnel.
kāthrā (কাঁথরা) : homestead in rains.
ku(y)o (কুও, কুয়ো) : fog.
kuli (কুলি) : path, thoroughfare.
khondar (খোন্দর) : hole.
ghẽte (ঘেঁতে) : one who does not want to pay up another's debt.
ghuni ghuni jal (ঘুনি ঘুনি জল) : drizzling rain.
cipas (চিপস) : miser.
ciki (চিকি) : miser.
ceṭhā (চেঠা) : sense ; ceṭhā nāi (চেঠা নাই) : senseless.
cerāi merāi (চেরাই মেরাই) : a noise.
cor (চোর) : leg of a goat.
cyāar myāar (চ্যাঅর ম্যাঅর) : a noise.
chāmu (ছামু) : front.
chācitel (ছাঁচি তেল) : mustard oil.

chitus (ছিতুস) : excuse.
cheṅā (ছেঙা) : leak, hole.
chorchāpuri (ছোরছাপুরী) : plentitude.
jaṅghābali (জঙ্ঘাবলি) : trouble, bother.
jāa (জোঁঅ) : twin.
jhalkhali (ঝলখলি) : trouble, bother.
jhũjurki (ঝুঁজুর্কি) : dawn.
ḍāri (ডাঁরি) fishing rod.
ḍiṃle (ডিংলে) : pumpkin.
ḍeṅgoḍāṅsā (ডেঙ্গোডাংসা) : aged bachelor.
ḍhẽkro (ঢেঁকরো) : a bamboo club, attached to the neck of a wicked cow, to restrict its movement.
tīse (তীসে) : thirst.
tõtā (তোঁতা) : stammerer.
nu (নু) : tears.
pa (প) : plant.
pacātel (পচা তেল) : cocoanut oil.
pāgā (পাগা) : rope.
puṅ (পুং) : budding plant.
poro (পোরো) : bag.
pyākrā (প্যাকরা) : budding plant.
phāpuri (ফাঁপুরী) : (ফাঁপুরী) : foam.
phẽcu (ফেঁচু) : tail of a fish.
phẽcā (ফেঁচা) :
phyār (ফ্যার) : foam.
babbale (বব্বলে) : a person who can not keep his word.
bāduk (বাঁদুক) : hucca.
bāar (বাঅর) : air.
bālas chele (বালস ছেলে) : baby.
bāgāl (বাগাল) : cowherd.
bāt (বাঁৎ) : vomit.
bāki (বাঁকি) : ladder.
benā (বেনা) : fan made of palm-leave.
boṅgā (বোঙ্গা) : dumb.
bhassīn (ভস্সীন্) : younger brother's wife.
bhāa (ভাঅ) : জলের জন্য কাটা বড় গর্ত।
bhārul (ভাঁরুল) : কলার থোড়।

bhor (ভোর) : leg.
mākhicuṣ (মাখিচুষ) : miser.
myācla (ম্যাচলা) : one who does not want to pay up another's debt.
mūr (মুর) : inconsiderate and illtempered.
la (ল) : iron.
liar (লিঅর) : dew.
lillaṭ (লিল্লট) : suffering,
lero (লেরো) : sick.
lyāi, lei, (ল্যাই, লেই) : quarrel.
lulugodā (লুলুগোদা)—a baby ; used in the sense of taunting. ("কিছু জান না হে লুলুগোদা")
lohu (লোহু) : blood.
lyāṅcā (ল্যাংচা) : lameman.
lyārā (ল্যার ন্যাওটা) :
sarān (সরান) : road, thoroughfare.
sāpure (সঁপুরে) } —ceilli
sāmre (সামরে) }
sān (সান) : veil.
sikuṭi (সিকুটি) : slim branch of bamboo.
situk (সিতুক) : oyster.
seṅgā (সেঙ্গা) : contract : second marriage in lower-class society.

Adjectives. (বিশেষণ)

aceṣṭa [ghum] (অচেষ্ট ঘুম) : sound (sleep)
āulibāuli bātās (আউলি বাউলি বাতাস) : wind blowing not from any particular direction.
ābajgābaj (আবজ গাবজ) : very bad (food).
ānkho (আনখো) : unfamiliar.
āire chele (আঁইরে ছেলে) : last but one child.
ulukdhusuk (উলুক ধুসুক) : dishevelled.
gyāṇḍā (গ্যাণ্ডা) : short-stature.
citre (চিৎরে) : shallow.
cikā, cekā (চিকা, চেকা) : sour.
coṅbeye (চোঙ বেয়ে) : whimsical.
cukha (চুখ) : sharp.
chyāla (ছ্যাল) : broad.

juṛonko (জুড়োন্‌কো) : cold.
ṭire (টিরে) : restless.
ḍhek (ঢেক) : plenty.
ḍhenḍi (ঢেণ্ডি) : last.
tẽtā (তেঁতা) : wet.
dhuppu rod (ধুপপু রোদ) : bright sunlight.
neka (নেক) : clean.
pāṭāla (পাটাল) : broad.
piciṅ (পিচিঙ্), picikpārā (পিচিকপারা) : small.
bāduṣṭe (বাদুষ্টে) : envious.
birenā (বিরেনা) : separate ; partitioned, unconnected.
bujil (বুজিল) : intelligent.
bhorkhol (ভোরখোল) : plenty.
māgḍẽre (মাগডেঁরে) : person living upon his wife's earning.
simsām (সিমসাম) : silent.
sunuri (সুনুরী) : experienced.
hālikuli tẽto (হালিকুলি তেঁতো) : excessively bitter.
hũra (হুঁর) : "হুঁর জলে কাচ" (wash in distant water).

Advarbs :

āyā(আঁয়াঁ) : before one's own eyes. e.g.
"আঁয়াঁ দেখলাম ; আর তুমি বলছ—'না' ! (I have seen with my own eyes ; and you say—No !)
kuyẽkũyẽ (কুঁয়েঁকুঁয়েঁ) : gradually. e.g.,
"কুঁয়েঁকুঁয়েঁ এগোইছ যে হে !" (Ah, you are pushing on gradually).
khere (খেরে) : to the last pie. e.g.
"খেরে শুদে দোব এ মাসেই !" (I will repay to the last farthing in this month).
guṭek (গুটেক) : much ; e.g.
"বোকো না ত গুটেক !" (don't talk much).
janāhi (জনাহি) : per head.
talānta (তলান্ত) : very much tired.
tannāsti (তন্নাস্তি) : topsyturvy.
tutie-bātie bojhāna (তুতিয়ে বাতিয়ে বোঝান)—to make one understand politely.
dhāpaṭka (ধাপটকা) : all on a sudden.

bule bule (বুলে বুলে) : slowly.
byāgare (ব্যাগরে) : in want of e.g.
"জল-ব্যাগরে মরবে।" (will die in want of water).
ra-ṭha kare (র-ঠ করে) : slowly.
rapaṭe (রপটে) : swiftly.
laye laye (লয়ে লয়ে) : slowly.
lisadā (লিসদা) : special, quite apart from other's. e.g.
'তোমার লেগে লিসদা রাঁধা হবে ("for you there will be special cooking")
lyāgo (ল্যাগো) : same as above.
hẽjjā-hõjjā (হেঁজ্জাহোঁজ্জা) : after higgling and bargaining.

Verbs

āurābāuri karā (আউরাবাউরি) to create disturbance.
ākhā ākā (আখা আঁকা) : to fair an oven.
ālis mārā (আলিস মারা) : to take rest.
uchurā (উছুরা) : to vomit.
ũtāl karā (উতাল করা) : to make dirty.
urā (উরা) : to wear.
ulāna (উলান), uliye neoyā (উলিয়ে নেওয়া) : to fry slightly.
oṭārā (ওটারা) to eat (used pejoratively).
kut karā (কুৎ করা) : to weigh.
kyāḍaiche (ক্যাঁড়াইছে) : is itching.
khārāle deoyā (খারালে দেওয়া) : to beat.
gābusche (গাবুসছে) : is eating greedily.
geiche, gelche (গেইছে, গেলছে) : has gone.
gobargār karā (গোবরগার করা) : to spoil.
ghẽṭuli karā (ঘেঁটুলি করা) : to make muddy.
carak chāḍā (চরক ছাড়া) : বাজ পড়া
citena (চিতেন) to teach a good lesson.
coṭepoṭe dharā (চোটেপোটে ধরা) : to make one confess one's theft by a challenge.
cyādrā bāsāna (চ্যাদরা বাসান) : to come to no use.
("খায় দায় চ্যাদরা বাসায়, ঘরে যে কি চলছে তাত দেখে না।")
chele kānāna (ছেলে কানান) : to make a crying child stop.
chupiye base thākā (ছুপিয়ে বসে থাকা) : to lie in wait.
jal-ṭipeiche (জল টিপেইছে) : It is raining.

jelche (জেলছে) : has gone.
ṭhyāk khāoyā (ঠ্যাক্ খাওয়া) : to come to stop.
ḍhyāna (ঢ্যান) : to wash by pouring water.
tan karā (তন্ করা) : to pay heed.
("কি বলছিলে, আমি অত তন্ করি নাই।")
tanchiṭ karā (তনছিট করা) : to feel uneasy.
tikhure oṭhā (তিখুরে ওটা) : to start in fear.
thake yāoyā (থকে যাওয়া) : to become tired.
dodure yāoyā (দদুরে যাওয়া) : to be scratched.
digdaḍi chĕḍā (দিগদড়ি ছেঁড়া) : to show excessive eagerness.
('digdaḍi' is a rope tied with which a cattle is allowed to graze in a restricted area.)
nehālche (নেহালছে) : is taunting.
pāthāli kare dharā (পাথালি করে ধরা) : to lift.
pũye khāoyā (পুঁয়ে খাওয়া) : to drink.
pyānāiche (প্যানাইছে) : is separating sand or dust from rice etc. by washing in water.
phodurā (ফোদুরা) : to speak nonsense.
phurule yāoyā (ফুরুলে যাওয়া) : to taste sour.
bāccie thākā (বাচ্চিয়ে থাকা) : to wait.
biribattan karā (বিরিবত্তন করা) : to scatter pellmell.
bibuṭi khāoyā (বিবুটি খাওয়া) ; to shout in fear.
maiche (মইছে) : is dead.
maymaṇḍal karā (ময়মণ্ডল করা) : to scatter pell mell.
māthā chĕḍā (মাথা ছেঁড়া) : to comb hair.
megh cikurche (মেঘ চিকুরছে) : lightning is flashing.
lillaṭ baiche (লিল্লট বইছে) : has been suffering for a long time.
saṭki lāgā (সট্‌কি লাগা) : to choke.
sāṅguṭā (সাঙ্গুটা) : to keep in the proper place.
soj karā (সোজ করা) : to repair.
hāḍe halud deoyā (হাড়ে হলুদ দেওয়া) : to beat excessively.
hābrāna (হাবরান) : to heap.
here yāoā (হেরে যাওয়া) : to lose weight.
hũṭurā (হুঁটুরা) ; to kick away anything carelessly.

Denominatives

ghunaiche (ঘুনইছে) : is drizzling.
ḍarḍamāna (ডরডমান) : to frighten children,

ḍhokārche (ঢোকারছে) : is drinking.
bāsāna (বাসান) : to smell bad.
bāurāiche (বাউরাইছে) : is blowing.
bhemcaiche (ভেম্‌চইছে) : is moking. ভেংচি কাটছে।
memāiche (মেমাইছে) : is bleating (a goat.)
syāiche (স্যাইছে) : is sewing.
hāmāiche, hāmlāiche (হামাইছে, হামলাইছে) : (cow) is lowing.
hākurche (হঁকুরছে) : is roaring.

Miscellaneous

āsirepāsire deoyā (আসিরে পাসিরে দেওয়া) : to belabour.
ulsuto (উলসুতো) : head or tail.
("তোমার কথার কোন উলসুতো নাই, বাপু।"
kāle-kabuse (কালে-কবুসে) : on very rare occasions.
dāt likusā (দাঁত লিকুসা) : mockery by showing the teeth.
pāgā badlāna (পাগা বদলান) : to sell (cattle).
pũṭhel marad (পুঁঠেল মরদ) : an able person (used in the sense of taunting.)
bhāt lāgā (ভাত লাগা) : to find an excuses.
marānti—nā (মরান্তি—না) : by no means.
("মরান্তি গেল না।")
rukāi (রুকাই) : not at all.
("কাজ তো করবে রুকাই ; মুখেই যত।")
la sumude yāoyā (ল সুমুদে যাওয়া) : to go to settle a marriage.
sāj bāure gela (সাঁজ বাঁউরে গেল) : evening is over.
somsomkāle (সোমসোমকালে) : at the eleventh hour.
syāi (স্যাই) : for that reason.
hak haoyā (হক হওয়া) : to die.
hiñsumo—nā (হিংসুমো-না) : by no means.
("হিংসুমো গেল না।")

Two Bengali Etymologies

Sukumar Sen

1. Nekā Jokā

The two words occur as names of two commanders of Śiva's retinue, who, according to Mukundarāma, a sixteenth century author, accompanied Satī when she, uninvited, attended a grand sacrificial ceremony held by her father Dakṣa Prajāpati.

dhāila aneka senā sāṅge preta bhūta dānā
nekā jokā dui senāpati.

"Many soldiers consisting of ghosts, spirits and demons hastily accompanied (her), with the two commanders Nekā and Jokā."

The words also oeccur in a nonsense nursery rime of some antiquity.

jaler bhetor nækā jokā
phul phuṭeche cākā cākā.

"There are Nækā and Jokā under water, (where) flowers are blooming, like (so many) discs."

Here the significance and meaning of the words are not difficult to guess. *nækā*<*nekā*<OIA *likṣā* 'nit, egg of louse' (Modern Bengali *niki* 'nit') ; *jokā*<**jukka*<OIA. *yūkā*, *yūka-* 'louse, leech' (Modern Bengali *jõk* 'leech'.)

These meanings also fit the Middle Bengali citation, the significance being blood sucker and the use being pejorative.

2. Nattā

It is the name of the ceremony which used to take place on the ninth day after the birth of a son to a family. The word is attested in sixteenth century texts ; e.g.

nay dine nattā kailā suta-śubha hetu.

"On the ninth day be performed Nattā for the welfare of the (newborn) son." (Mukundarāma).

nattā comes from MIA. *nattāka-*<OIA. *naptṛ* (*ka-*) 'son, grandson, progeny'. It also appears as *nava-nattā* which corresponds to Avestan *nava-naptya-* 'ninth generation' (cf. Bartholomae 1045).

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