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to

Ācārya Sukumar Sen

By his Students

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Ācārya Sunil Kumar Chatterji

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'SUBHĀSAMSANAM 0

*āvīr āvīr ma ēdhi
mānavikiṣu bhāratasya
jātiya ācāryaḥ*

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI
National Professor of India
in Humanities

sat-sāhitya-vicāra-niṣṭhita-manā-
vaidagdhya-dhīras sadā,
vāk-tattvē paṭutvaṃ bhuvi praviditaṃ,
śraddhā ca vidvaj-janē /
jñānāt pūtataṃ na vētti viṣayaṃ
lokēṣu pathyaṃ śubhaṃ,
śiṣyō mē Sukumāra-sēna iti yaḥ
syāl labdha-nāiḥśrēyasah //

Asvati-Pūja-vāsare,

Varata-Prajātantra-pratiṣṭhā-divase

(26 January 1966)

Kāśyapa-Śrī-Sunīti-Śarmaṇaḥ



Ācārya Sukumar Sen

LIFE AND ACADEMIC DISTINCTIONS

- 1900 Born at 27 Goabagan Lane, Calcutta.
- 1917 Matriculated in the First Division from Burdwan Municipal School.
Awarded a Second Grade Government Scholarship and the Mohinimohan Mitra medal.
- 1919 Passed I. A. in the First Division from Burdwan Raj College.
Awarded Burdwan Raj Scholarship.
- 1920 Passed Higher Sanskrit Examination in Sanskrit College, Calcutta
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- 1921 Passed B. A. from Sanskrit Collage, Calcutta with Honours in
Sanskrit. Placed—First Class Second with a Government Scholarship
and the P. K. Sarbadhikari Gold Medal.
- 1923 Passed M. A. in Comparative Philology (with a thesis in lieu of
two papers). Placed First Class First with the University Gold
Medal and Prize.
- 1924 Awarded Premchand Roychand Studentship thesis submitted and
approved—
(i) Noun—Syntax in the Brāhmaṇas
(ii) Syntax of Budhistic Sanskrit
(iii) Syntax of Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit)
(iv) Syntax of Pali
Awarded Mouat Medal on completion of the Premchand
Roychand Studentship.
- 1925 Awarded Griffith Memorial Prize : Thesis on “Women’s language
in Indo-Aryan.”
- 1926 Awarded Asutosh Mookerjee Medal : Thesis on “Philological
and Literary Study of Aśvaghōṣa”.
- 1928 Awarded Griffith Memorial Prize : Thesis on “Brajabuli—A
Linguistic and Literary Study of an Artificial language”
- 1929 Awarded Ramendrasundar Trivedi Prize of the Vangiya Sahitya
Parisad : Thesis on ‘The Stories and Anecdotes of the Brahmanas’

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(a) Books :

- The Use of Cases in Vedic Prose (Reprinted from the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Vol VIII-X (1926-29) in 1929 Bāṃlā sāhityer Gadya (in Bengali) Calcutta, 1341 B. S.
- A History of Brajabuli Literature (University of Calcutta), 1935.
- Bāṅgālā ṣāhiyer Kathā (in Bengali) (University of Calcutta), 1939
- Bhāsār Itivṛtta (in Bengali) (Ṣāhitya Sabha, Burdwan) 1939.
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- Bāṅgālā Sāhityer Itihās (in Bengali) 1st Edition, 1940—Revised Edition. in 4 vols, Burdwan 1350 B.S.—1365 B. S.
- Prācīn Bāṃlā o Bāṅgālī (in Bengali) (Viśvavidyā saṃgraha) 1350 B. S.
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History of Bengali Literature (Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi) 1960.

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On the Saundarānanda of Aśvaghosa (JASB., 1931).

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-

SĀMAVASA SANDHI IN THE RGVEDA

Moti Lal Rastogi

The term 'Sāmavasa sandhi' occurring in the Ṛk Prātiśākhya, stands in opposition¹ to the usual rules of Sandhi. It is an exception to the 'Anuloma', 'Anvaṣara' sandhis². It means lengthening of a short vowel³ before the following consonant⁴, which is also known as 'pluti'⁵. Its main purpose⁶ is to make up the metrical deficiencies in the Vedic mantras, where the orthographic quantity is different from the metrical (i. e. phonetic) quantity. But, fortunately, the Saṃhitā Text of the RV., as it has come down to us, shows usually the uniformity in the two, that helps us in ascertaining the psychological mood⁷ of the composers of the mantras i. e. where they wanted long or short quantity⁸. Under these circumstances one is led to think that there is no scope for the consideration of the present Sāmavasa sandhi. The task of deciphering the metrical lengthening from the natural quantities would have been most difficult but for Śākalya's Padapāṭha and Śaunaka's Ṛk Prātiśākhya. Their stand helps us a great deal in this work. They never considered the texts in their Saṃhitā forms, as handed down to them, as original. They believed that the texts in their Pada-form⁹ were nearer to the original texts.

-
1. R Pr. I. 60.
 2. R Pr. II 8-9
 3. Excepting ṛ because there is no such instance in the RV., where a short final ṛ of Padapāṭha shows a long form in the Saṃhitāpāṭha. cp. R Pr. VII. 1.
 4. In Saṃhitā text (by implication).
 5. R Pr. VII. 2. Although the two terms are not identical in meaning or even in application.
 6. R Pr. I. 60 Uvaṭa's commentary on it.
 7. cp. Dr. Siddheshwar Varma's "The Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians" ch. IV p. 91-2.
 8. Readers can frequently observe the reverse state of affairs while reading the Kāvya in Classical Sanskrit, Buddhist Sanskrit & Prākṛtas.
 9. R Pr. II. 1

The Samhitā text of RV. in its present orthographical form does not represent the musical form correctly, as was expected of it. We know that the Vedic mantras were composed to propitiate various gods and powers of Nature. The melody was indispensable for the poets and the singers to bring the desired effect. Musical quantities and the grammatical quantities of syllables do not go hand in hand, as the purposes of the two are totally different. Melody moves in prosodical channels. It is regulated by musical measures of accent, raising and lowering of voice and short and long syllables. Whenever the orthographic quantities in words are not in conformity with the musical requirements, singers have to modify them accordingly and none questions the purity and correctness of the words. The singers of RV. have to modify the written text to suit their melody and rhythm. We, on the other hand, also notice that the words in Samhitā form do not always correspond to actual usage. This diversity in it, along with many others, had urged Śākalya to give his Padapāṭha, where he works according to some general principles and conventions.

Now, so far the present Sāmavasa sandhi is concerned, Śākalya, as a rule simply shortens the length of a vowel in all such cases, positions where it shows metrical length according to him, without adding a single letter. Śaunaka, while studying the Padapāṭha has collected and examined all such cases and described them elaborately and exhaustively in three chapters viz. VII. I-IX. 52 of his Ṛk Prātiśākhya, without of course, explaining the positions.

For the sake of convenience and systematic study we shall divide the cases as Lengthening in (A) simple words and (B) compound words, giving further sub-headings as Lengthening (i) in the final syllable, (ii) in the initial syllable, (iii) in the medial syllable.

A. LENGTHENING IN SIMPLE WORDS.

(i) Lengthening in the final syllable.

One can hardly help noting that the greatest number of such cases appear when a long vowel is seen in the final syllable in the SP.—

¹⁰ *vṛṣabhēṇā*¹¹ - *vṛṣabhēṇa* (1.33.13. b). *kūliṣenā* - *kūliṣena* (1.32. 5c).
bākureṇā - *bākureṇa* (1.117.21 c).

-
10. Instrumental forms of nouns in - *ena* are protracted in the 8th place 24 times. cp. Arnold's Vedic Metre § 163. iv.
 11. In all these cases, the syllable in question forms 8th place in the Triṣṭubh verse.

- ¹² *martyénā* - *martyéna* (1.164. 30 d).
¹³ *vīryénā* - *vīryéna* (4.18. 5b).
¹⁴ *sūryenā* - *sūryeṇa* (6.32. 2a).
¹⁵ *enā* - *ena* (5.2. 11d; 10.108. 3c) (8 Tr.) (9.96. 2d) (4 Tr).
¹⁶ *yénā* - *yéna*¹⁷ (1.50. 6; 62. 2; 80. 2; 4.51. 4; 5. 54. 15 etc.) (2D, 2 Tr. & 2j).
¹⁸ *ténā* - *téna* (1.49. 2; 7. 55. 7; 8.20. 26; 9. 61. 19 etc.) (2 D).
¹⁹ *svénā* - *svéna* (7.91. 6c) (2 Tr).
²⁰ *ācchā* - *āccha* (1. 2. 2; 6. 6; 38. 13 etc.) (2 D, 4 D)
ādha - *ādha*²¹ (1. 42. 6a; 5. 85. 8; 7. 56. 1 etc.) (2D, 2 Tr. 8j)
5.52. 3c (6); 2. 31. 4d (10) etc.
²² *yādi* - *yādi* (1.11. 3c) (2D); 5. 74. 5c (4); 10. 143. 1C (6) etc.

12. It forms 8 (Tr.) only when we read as '*amartio martienā sayoniḥ*' for the extant '*amartyo martyenā sayoniḥ*' (of 9 syllables).
13. Similarly, it must be read as *vīrienā* or *vīriyeṇā*.
14. '*sūrienā* in recitation.
15. But once '*enā*' at 1. 173. 9a (11 Tr).
There is another word '*enā*' with accent in RV., which has, however, no shortening in the PP. It occurs more frequently. Sāyana has not distinguished one from the other.
16. See R. Pr. vii. 46 for more instances.
17. But in a few places SP. shows the short vowel e. g.
2D—8. 3. 9d; 9. 4; 9. 108. 4 b & d.
2T—10. 121. 5 a & b; 9T-10. 121. 5b. etc.
18. cp. VM. §163 (vi). The pronominal instrumentals *yéna*, *kéna*, *téna* occur in position of protraction 37 times.
19. It occurs in 9 other places in positions of 2 D, 2 Tr, 4 Tr. 4 j. 5D, 6Tr. & 9j, but never a long vowel. Here we can modify '*svénā hi* to '*svéna hi*' which is quite possible, and might say that it shows lengthening nowhere.
20. It is usually long, except in a few cases, e. g. at 1. 31. 17 (2j); 9. 96. 2d (11 Tr.) and 106. 1 (4D).
21. In many cases a long vowel has been replaced by a short one before conjuncts in SP. eg. *adha* at 4. 31. 6c (2D) *yāccha* at 5. 27. 2d (4 Tr).
22. But *yādi* is also quite frequent, (See 7, 104. 14a (2T); 8. 13. 21 a (2D); 1. 56. 4a (4 D) etc.)

- ²³*adyá* - *adyá*²⁴ (1. 13. 6; 10. 55. 5; 3. 36. 3d) (2D, 2T & 8T) etc.
²⁵*yātrā* - *yātra* (1. 22. 4; 89. 9). etc. (2 D & 2 T).
²⁶*tātrā* - *tātra* (1. 105. 9; 6. 16. 17; 75. 8) (2 D & 2 T).
evā - *evā* (1. 8. 8a-10a; 5. 6. 10a) (2D).
āpā - *āpa* (1. 7. 6b (6D) (2. 2. 7b) (10j) but āpa (2. 41. 10b)
 (5 D).
abhi - *abhi* (1. 140. 13; 2. 41. 10b) (2 Tr. and 2 D) etc.
āvā - *āva* (1. 129. 4) (2D).
²⁷*sū* - *sū* (1. 10. 11c; 3. 36. 2c; 1. 129. 5a) (6, 8 & 2T respectively).
²⁸*tū* - *tū* (1. 10. 11a; 29. 1a; 4. 32. 1a; 3. 36. 9) (2D & 2T).
²⁹*nū* - *nū* (1. 10. 9; 96. 7; 120. 2;) (1D). 1. 17. 8a (6D); 3. 58. 6d;
 4. 19. 21 a (8), 1. 59. 6a; 64. 13a etc. (2T); 1. 56. 2c
 (10) etc.
³⁰*ū* - *ūmīti* (1. 179. 1d; 4. 51. 2; 2. 35. 3) (2Tr); (8. 63. 5; 9. 45.
 4a) (2D); 1. 138. 4; 10. 88. 6c; (3Tr. & 3j) 4. 6. 11. (10Tr).

23. But *adyá* at 5. 1. 11a; 10. 54. 2d (2T); 1. 25. 19b (4) etc. It occurs 33 times at the end of verses.
24. VM. §161. The short & long vowels appear (in these three case.) side by side in the text, which closely follows the guidance of the metre. AV. has almost always *ādhā*, but *adyá* & *yādi*.
25. It is usually long in the position of 2D & 2T, but not without exceptions. We find *yātra* at 5. 5. 10a; 6. 75. 17a; 9. 113. 6-8 & 10a (2D); 1. 135. 7b (2T) etc.
26. With long vowel only in three occurrences in 2D & 2T, out of 13. In other positions, *tātra* is more common.
27. It is usually long *sū* in the positions of 2T, 2D, 4T, & 4D; but *sū* is not rare. See 1. 139. 8a (2T); 1. 138. 4a (4A); 8. 24. 1c (4B); 2. 20. 1a (10) etc. cp RPr. viii. 4-5.
28. But in a few places *tū* e. g. 69. 4c; 6. 29. 5b (2T); 10. 88. 6c (4A); 1. 177. 4c (6A) etc.
29. It is usually long when it forms 1D, 2T, 4T, 8T, or 10T, but short in the position of 3T, 3D e. g. 1. 72. 8d; 1. 80. 15a; 8. 40. 10-11c etc.
30. PP. never treats it a case of lengthening. On the other hand it recognizes its original long character & recommends its preservation by nasalization, and appends 'iti'. SP. shows its long character in the positions of 2Tr.; 2D (in the iambic rhythm), 3T & 3D (in trochaic rhythm) & 10Tr. In other places its short form is not unusual, especially in 7 T (cp. RPr. viii. 1-3) which may be considered a metrical shortening.

³¹*ghā* - *gha* (1. 5. 3a; 18. 4a; 27. 2a) (2D); 10. 43. 2 (2j) 4. 15. 5; 5. 61. 8; 85. 8 (3Tr); 1. 109. 2b; 3. 36. 3a (8T) etc. 1. 37. 11a; 3. 28. 2b; 8. 46. 4 (4D); 1. 61. 8d (4T) etc.

³²*makṣū* - *makṣū* (8. 31. 15) (2D).

³³*mīthū* - *mīthu* (1. 162. 20d) (10Tr.)

³⁴*purū* - *purū* (3.51. 5b) (2tr); 1. 81. 7c (6D); 10. 10. 1; 8. 2. 32 (4T) 5. 73. 1; 9. 15. 2 (4D) etc.

³⁵*dyāvā cabhūmā* - *bhūma* (1. 61. 14) (5 Tr).

³⁶*kr̥nuhī* - *kr̥nuhī* (6. 25. 3) (7/8).

³⁷*dīdihī* - *dīdihī* (3. 54. 22) (10 Tr).

³⁸*īahi* - *jahī* (3. 30. 16b) (2Tr); 6. 51. 14 (2D); 8. 45. 40; 9. 61. 26 (6D); 6. 44. 17d (10Tr).

³⁹*ṣṛ̥nuhī* - *ṣṛ̥nuhī* (1. 82. 1) (6D).

hinuhī - *hinuhī* (6. 45. 14c) (6D).

aṣnuhī - *aṣnuhī* (8. 45. 22c) (6D).

⁴⁰*kr̥dhi* - *kr̥dhi* (1. 10. 11d; 36. 14c; 3. 15. 3d; 8. 97. 8) etc. (2D & 2T)

31. In most of the occurrences it is long & forms 2D, 2T (iambic) 3T (trochaic) 4T, 4D & 8 T. There it has been shown with short vowel e g. at 1. 30. 14a (2D). 1. 189. 6a (2T) etc., it is usually followed by a conjunct and naturally forms a long syllable in recitation.
32. cp. VM. & §160 (i) always long.
33. '*purū*' is found regularly in '*purū cit*', and as an adverb at 1. 191. 9b (2D); 7. 62. 1b; 97. 7d (2T) etc. besides the cases cited above.
34. It should not have been considered a case of lengthening by the Padakāra, as both the words are in dual, forming 'devatādvandva' compound. The two members have however, been separated by the particle 'ca'. Sāy. takes '*dyāvā bhūmā ca dyāvāpṛthivyāu*'.
35. In other occurrences it is short, even in the position of 8 Tr. e. g. 6. 44. 9; 7. 25. 2c which may be considered as irregular. At 1. 31. 8, 165. 9 & 4. 22. 9 etc. (8B), it is followed by conjunct, hence LP.
36. In other occurrences it is short, especially at the end of a verse, e. g. 1. 79. 5; 140. 10; 5. 21. 4 etc.
37. But *jahī* at 3. 30. 16d; 3. 30. 6 (2T) (LP); 6. 44. 17a & 8. 53. 4a (7B) etc.
38. It is short in other occurrences even at 8 e. g. 4. 22. 10 & 9. 82. 4 in writing, though LP. in recitation. 'The quantity of forms in-*uhī* is uncertain'. Arnold probably could not notice these cases, when he said '*ṣṛ̥nudhī*/*ṣṛ̥nuhī*/*ṣṛudhī* have regularly long final vowels'. VM. § 162.
39. But short at 6. 47. 10d & 8. 96. 8c etc. (6Tr) & *kr̥dhi* at the end of a verse. e. g. 1. 14. 7; 55. 7; 94. 9 etc.

- ⁴⁰ *śrudhī* - *śrudhī* (1. 2. 1c; 1. 10. 9a (6D); 1. 25. 19a (8 D)).
⁴¹ *īlīṣvā* - *īlīṣva* (8. 23. 1) (3D) (0. 0.)
⁴² *dadhiṣvā* - *dadhiṣvā* (3. 40. 5) (3D). (0. 0.)
⁴³ *vāhasvā* - *vāhasva* (8. 26. 23) (3D).
⁴⁴ *vidmā* - *vidmā* (1. 10. 10; 170. 3; 8. 81. 2; 10. 47. 1) etc. (2D & 2T).
⁴⁵ *cakṛmā* - *cakṛmā* (1. 31. 18 b) (8 Tr); 1. 179. 5c; 1. 185. 8a (7T) etc.
cakṛmā - *cakṛma* (1. 171. 4d; 101. 8d & 9b) (7Tr); 1. 76. 3d; 162. 7 d (8Tr) etc.
⁴⁶ *riṣāmā* - *riṣāma* (1. 94. 1-14) (8j).
⁴⁷ *ruhemā* - *ruhema* (10. 63. 10; 14;) (8j).
⁴⁸ *vanuyāmā* - *vanuyāma* (1. 73. 9) (8Tr).
⁴⁹ *védā* - *vēda* (1. 25. 7a, 8-9c).
prṇatā - *prṇata* (2. 14. 10b; 6. 23. 9b) (7 Tr); 2. 14. 11c (8Tr).

40. 'It has regularly long final vowel' but note 8. 66. 12d (5D), where text shows short vowel. Perhaps the verse requires re-arrangement as '*śaviṣṭha me śrudhī hāvam*' for the extant '*śaviṣṭha śrudhī me hāvam*' cp. VM. §162 (i).
41. In other occurrences it is short e. g. 6. 60. 10; 8. 19. 2; 43. 22. (4D).
42. Such imperatives are long 9 times in the 8th place, cp. VM §163 (iii). With short final '*dadhiṣva*' is quite regular in 4D, 5D & 5 Tr.
43. '*vāhasva*' with short final is met with side by side i. e. in the same mantra and position.
44. But '*vidma*' usually at the end of a verse, and in few cases in 4 Tr. & 5 Tr. cp. 6. 21. 6 & 10. 14. 13.
45. cp. R. Pr. viii. 15, 19. It is generally short in (7 j) e. g. 10. 100. 7; 37. 12; 8. 61. 8c etc.
46. But short at the end of a verse e. g. 4. 12. 6; 6. 44. 11; 10. 178. 2 3. 8. 11; 8. 42. 3; 10. 178. 2 (Tr).
47. But short in other positions like 40D, 9 j etc. once even in 8 Tr. at 5. 3. 6a, before conjunct '*tvotā*', which must be recited *tuotā*, to get the required number of syllables.
48. Forms with short & long final vowels were used side by side in the same mantra & position.

¹⁹ *siñcatā - siñcata* (2. 14. 1) (7Tr); 10. 101. 7d (8Tr); 9. 107. 1a (6D); 10. 32. 5d (10j)

²⁰ *nayathā - nayatha* (10. 137. 1) (6D).

kṛṇuthā - kṛṇutha (8. 27. 18) (8Tr).

²¹ *ṣṭhā - ṣṭha* (5. 61.1) (2D); 10. 94. 11 (8Tr).

(ii) Lengthening in the initial syllable—

²² *nākirādeva - nākiḥ/ādevaḥ* (8. 59. 2) (7j).

²³ *ārupitam - ārupitam** (4. 5. 7) (5 Tr) (occurs only once)

*āvṛṇi - avṛṇi** (10. 33. 4) (6D) (o. o. o.)

²⁴ *hāntyāsad - hānti/āsāt* (7. 104. 13c) (7 Tr) & (12 d) (10 Tr)

²⁵ *āsatā - āsatā* (4. 5. 14 d) (6 Tr.) (occurs only once)

²⁶ *āsato - āsataḥ* (5. 12. 4d) (2T) (7. 104. 8d) (5T)

āyukṣātām - āyukṣātām (1 157. 1; 10. 35. 6) (1 T).

*āvṛṇan - avṛṇak** (5. 29. 10; 32. 8) (5T).

²⁸ *āraik - araik* (1. 113. 1d; 124. 8a; 3. 31. 2a) (10 Tr). (1. 113. 2b); 16 (1T).

49. But short at the end of a verse e. g. 8. 24. 13a; 9. 63. 10c & 19b; 20g. 7a (8D); once in 6D at 8. 72. 13a (LP)

50. In other positions '*nayatha*'

51. In other positions short '*ṣṭha*'

52. In other places *adevaḥ*.

53. Lengthening here seems irregular & the verse might have been originally '*āgre rūpāḥ ārupitam jabāru*' instead of the extant *āgre rūpā ārupitam*' etc.

54. In other occurrences either it is *āsāt* or of uncertain length, because of the sandhi with the preceding word.

55. Lengthening might be considered here irregular. '*Anāyudhāsaḥ āsatā sacantām*' would be a better reading for the present '*anāyudhāsa āsatā*' etc., which is an instance of 'iambic rhythm throughout in Tr.

56. Here the reading should be '*kṛ āsato*' etc. instead of '*kā āstato*' cp. Preceding verses. In remaining two places it has short vowel 10. 72. 2-3 (1 D).

57. The original reading might have been '*nī duryoṇā avṛṇan mṛdhrāvācam*' instead of '*nī duryoṇā āvṛṇan*' etc.

58. It is regularly long in SP, but short in PP. Why ?

* cp. VM, §169 'The augment is occasionally long before v, as *āvar*, *āvidhat*, *āvidhyat* and (more rarely) before y & r as in *āyukta* (5.17.3b) (2T), *āyunak* (1. 163. 2b) (10 j), *āriṇak* (2. 13. 5b) (8 j), *āraik* (several times) besides the cases cited above.

NB. The same was the case in 1E.

<i>prāvaṇēbbhiḥ</i> - <i>pravaṇēbbhiḥ</i>	(3. 22. 4) (1D).
⁶⁹ <i>prūṣatvātā</i> - <i>purūṣatvātā</i>	(4. 54. 3b) (8j).
⁶⁰ <i>riṣataḥ</i> - <i>riṣataḥ</i>	(1. 36. 15; 7. 15. 13) (3D) (Trochaic rhythm).
⁶¹ <i>sādane</i> - <i>sādane</i>	(1. 84. 4; 9. 12. 1b) (6D).
⁶² <i>sādanyām</i> - <i>sadanyām</i>	(1. 91. 20c) (1 Tr).
<i>sānti</i> - <i>santi</i>	(8. 8. 23) (3D).
<i>jāṛṣāṇēna</i> - <i>jahṛṣāṇēna</i>	(1. 101. 2 a) (5 j).
⁶³ <i>tāṭṛṣāṇā</i> - <i>tatṛṣāṇāḥ</i>	(1. 31. 7c) (2j); 1. 173. 11c (6B) (6 Tr).
<i>dādṛhānām</i> - <i>dadṛhānām</i>	(1. 85. 10b) (1 j).
<i>dādṛṣīm</i> - <i>dādṛṣīm</i>	(4. 17. 8a) (5Tr.) (0. 0. 0.)
⁶⁴ <i>dādṛṣiḥ</i> - <i>dādṛṣiḥ</i>	(2. 86. 7) (10j) (0. 0. 0.)
⁶⁵ <i>nānāma</i> - <i>nanāma</i>	(1. 48. 8a) (5 j).
<i>māmahānām</i> - <i>mamahānām</i>	(1. 117. 17 a) (8 Tr).
<i>māmahe</i> - <i>mamahe</i>	(1. 165. 13) (8 Tr).
<i>rārandhī</i> - <i>rarandhī</i>	(1. 91. 13 a) (3D).
⁶⁶ <i>rārāṇat</i> - <i>rarāṇat</i>	(1. 10. 5 d; 91. 14b) (1D).
<i>ririṣo</i> - <i>ririṣaḥ</i>	(1. 104. 6c) (8Tr); 1. 114. 7d; 8b (10 j).
<i>ririṣata</i> - <i>risiṣata</i>	(1. 89. 9d) (5 Tr).
⁶⁷ <i>vāvasānā</i> - <i>vavasānāḥ</i>	(6. 11. 6) (8Tr) (0. 0. 0.)

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59. But *pūruṣaḥ* as well as *pūruṣaḥ* in (6 D) at 10. 90. 1a & 5b respectively.
60. *riṣato* in 4 D at 1. 12. 5.
61. But *sādane* (7. 24. 1a) (6 Tr) & *nṛṣādane* (5. 7. 2 b) (6D)
62. The verse runs as '*sādanyām vidathyām sabhēyam*' of 9 syllables, which must be read as '*sādanīam vidathīam sabheyam*.'
63. cp. VM § 169. (iii).
64. But *dādṛṣam* at 3. 42. 6 (4D) (0. 0. 0.)
65. cp. VM §169 (iii)
66. cp. VM §169 (ii)
67. cp. VM §161 (i). There are about a dozen words having a long vowel in the reduplicated syllable and occurring in the positions which are usually long, but the Padakāra, has, however, not recognised lengthening in them i. e. PP. makes no change e. g.

⁶⁸ *vāvāna* - *vayāna* (6. 23. 5a) (6 Tr). 10. 74. 6a (2Tr) (o. twice o).

vāvṛdhānā - *vāvṛdhānā* (1. 93. 6c; 117. 11c; 6. 69. 6a) (8 Tr); 8. 5. 11a (1 D)

sāsahīh - *sasahīh* (1. 100. 3c) (5 Tr.)

(iii) Lengthening in the medial syllable—

*adamāyo*⁶⁹ - *adamāyah* (6. 18. 3) (8 Tr.)

— ⁷⁰ *uśāsān* - *uśāsam* (1. 32. 4c) (10 Tr.); 4. 30. 9c (2D). 5. 5. 6 (4D) etc.

⁷¹ *uśāso* - *uśāsaḥ* (1. 92. 2c; 134. 4) (4j); 8. 96. 1; 10. 88. 18b (4 Tr.). 1. 124. 9 (10 Tr.).

kiyātyā - *kiyati/ā* (1. 113. 10a; 2. 30. 1d) (2 Tr) (Iambic)

⁷² *pavitāram* - *pavitāram* (9. 83. 2) (7J) (o. o. o.)

rathinām - *rathinām* (1. 11. 1) (6D).

viśāya - *viśaya* (10. 98. 1) (10 Tr.).

yācchuśrūyā - *yāt/śuśrūyāḥ* (8. 45. 18) (3D).

mācchrathāya - *māt/śrathaya* (2. 28. 5) (4 Tr.); 1. 24. 15b (10 Tr.)

jāgāra-jāgāra (5. 44. 14a-c) (2Tr). (15a-c) (3j)

dādhārā as well as *dādhāra* (1. 66. 2; 3. 59. 1) etc.

nānadat (1. 140. 5d) (10 j)

bābadhē (6. 29. 5b) (3 Tr)

vāvakre (7. 21. 3) (3 Tr).

vāvadat (6. 59. 6 c) (8 Tr) (0. 0. 0.)

vāvahih (9-9 6b) (6D) (0. 0. 0.)

vāvadtti (6. 47. 31 b) (8 Tr) (0. 0. 0.)

vāvaśūh (8. 3. 18a) (8 Tr) (o. twice o.) etc. (6. 51. 14b) (6 D).

68. Here lengthening seems irregular, as the rhythm becomes 123 — — —

— — etc. and the Tr. verse has 12 syllables. It runs as '*āsmāi vayām yād vāvāna tād viviśma(h)* 9. But it might have been read, originally, as *āsmāi vayām yād vavānā viviśmaḥ*' 8 9

69. It is to be read as — — — — instead of — — — —

70. cp. RPr. ix. 41-42.

71. cp. VM. 170 (ii) (a). 'In the declension of *uśās* the text usually gives *uśāsam* (7. 44. 1) (11j); *uśāsā* (6. 17. 5) (6 Tr.) *uśāsaḥ* etc. in accordance with the metre; but the forms *uśāsam*, *uśāsā*, *uśāsaḥ* are favoured by the metre, and usually appear in the text', for instance 7. 99. 4b (8); 10. 35. 2c (8 j); 1. 123. 12d (10) 3. 55. 1a (2T) etc. besides the cases noted above.

72. Lengthening seems irregular here, because the usual rhythm expects 1-2 3 4 5 — — —

B. LENGTHENING IN THE COMPOUND WORDS

(i) in the initial syllable of the former member—

<i>yāvayāddveṣaṣam</i> - <i>yavayāt-dveṣaṣam</i>	(4. 52. 5a (ID) (0. 0. 0.).
<i>yāvayāddveṣā</i> - <i>yavayāt-dveṣāḥ</i>	(1. 113. 12) (1 Tr) (0. 0. 0.)
⁷³ <i>yāvayatsakhāḥ</i> - <i>yavayāt-sakhāḥ</i>	(10. 26. 5d) (4 D) (0. 0. 0.).
⁷⁴ <i>śrāvayātpatim</i> - <i>śravayāt-patim</i>	(5. 25. 5c) (4D) (0. 0. 0.).
<i>śrāvayātsakhā</i> - <i>śravayāt-sakhā</i>	(8. 46. 12a) (4D) (0. 0. 0.).
⁷⁵ <i>sūyavasāt</i> - <i>suyavasa-āt</i>	(1. 164. 40a) (1 Tr) & 10. 106 10d (5Tr) (0. 0. T.).

(ii) in the medial syllable of the former member—

⁷⁶ <i>anānukṛtyā</i> - <i>anamu-kṛtyā</i>	(10. 112. 5b) (2 Tr) (0. 0. 0.)
<i>anānukṛtyām</i> - <i>ananu-kṛtyām</i>	(10. 68. 10c) (2 Tr) (0. 0. 0)
<i>anānudō</i> - <i>ananu-dāḥ</i>	(1. 53. 8d; 2. 21. 4a; 23. 11a) (2 j) (0. thrice only).
<i>ānānudiṣṭaḥ</i> - <i>ānamu-diṣṭaḥ</i>	(10. 160. 4d) (8 Tr.) (0. 0. 0)
⁷⁷ <i>ānānubhūtīr</i> - <i>ānamu-bhūtīḥ</i>	(6. 47. 17c) (2 Tr) (0. 0. 0)
⁷⁸ <i>āpūruṣagghno</i> - <i>āpuruṣa-ghnaḥ</i>	(1. 133. 63) (2 Tr.)
<i>gātūyāntīva</i> ⁷⁹ - <i>gātuyānti-iva</i>	(1. 169. 5) (6 Tr) (0. 0. 0.)
<i>rathīyāntīva</i> - <i>rathiyānti-iva</i>	(1. 166. 5) (2j) (0. 0. 0.)
<i>makṣūjavastamā</i> - <i>makṣūjavaḥ-tamā</i>	(6. 45. 14b) (2D).
<i>makṣūyūbhīr</i> - <i>makṣuyū-bhīḥ</i>	(7. 74. 4c) (2j).

73. These are the only words having 'yāvayāt' as the first member, and in each case the initial syllable shows a long vowel in the SP.

74. These are the only cases with 'śrāvayāt' as the first member in RV.

75. Here the rhythm is (— — — —, — — — —).

76. These are the only cases (occurring in RV.) beginning with *anu* preposition, being negated, and in each case the initial syllable after the negative particle *an* - shows lengthening in the SP., which has been shortened in the PP.

77. The following word 'avadhūnvānāḥ' is to be read 'avadhūmānāḥ'.

78. cp. *pūruṣagghnam* (1. 114. 10) (8 Tr.)

79. Lengthening does not seem preferable here. The whole verse runs as 'ye smā purā gātūyāntīva devāḥ' (— — — —) (— — — —) (— —) and it should be recited as *ya smā purā, gātuyāntīva devāḥ* (— — — —), (— — — —) (— — — —).

(iii) in the final syllable of the former member—

⁸⁰ <i>aghāyāti</i> - <i>agha-yāti</i> ⁸¹	(1. 131. 7) (6D).
⁸² <i>aghāyūr</i> - <i>agha-yūḥ</i>	(1. 147. 4a) (10 Tr.).
⁸³ <i>aṅkūyāntam</i> - <i>aṅku-yāntam</i>	(6. 15. 17c) (3D).
<i>ajirāyate</i> - <i>ajira-yate</i>	(8. 14. 10b) (6D).
⁸⁴ <i>adhvarīyatām</i> - <i>adhvari-yatām</i>	(1. 23. 16) (6D).
<i>adhvarīyasi</i> - <i>adhvarī-yasi</i>	(2. 1. 2c) (10j).
⁸⁵ <i>amitrāyūdho</i> - <i>amitra-yūdhaḥ</i>	(3. 29. 15a) (3j).
<i>aśvāyaté</i> - <i>aśva-yaté</i>	(6. 45. 26c) (4D) (0. 0. 0.).
⁸⁶ <i>aśvāyānto</i> - <i>aśva-yāntaḥ</i>	(4. 17. 16b; 10. 131. 3d; 160. 5a) (2 Tr) (7. 32. 23c) (2j) etc.
⁸⁷ <i>ṛjūyaté</i> - <i>ṛju-yaté</i>	(5. 12. 5d) (2. Tr).
<i>ṛtāyān</i> - <i>ṛta-yān</i>	(5. 41. 1).
⁸⁸ <i>damāyān</i> - <i>dama-yān</i>	(6. 47. 16) (10 Tr).

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80. cp. *aghāyóḥ* - *agha-yóḥ* (1. 27. 3b & 120. 7d) which is long even when in the position of 7D. Note *ṛtāyóḥ* - *ṛtayóḥ* (1. 169. 5).
81. Note also *valgūyāti* - *valgu-yāti* (4. 50. 7) (2 Tr.).
82. Also in *vandhurāyūr* - *vandhura-yūḥ* (4. 44. 1c) (10 Tr).
vasūyūr - *vasu-yūḥ* (1. 51. 14; 186. 11) (10 Tr),
vasūyūm (4. 44. 1d) (10 Tr) and
vrkāyūr - *vrka-yuḥ* (10. 133. 4b) (2D) etc.
 but, however, not in *yuvayūḥ* (4. 41. 8b) (7 Tr) *vrṣayūḥ* (9. 77. 5) (7j); *sumnayūḥ* (2. 30. 11) (9j); & *ṛtayūḥ* (8. 70. 10) (7D) etc.
83. Note *ṛjūyāntam* - *ṛju-yāntam* (1.136.5) (2D), *janīyānto* - *jani-yāntaḥ* (4. 17. 16c & 7. 96. 4) (2Tr & 2D) & *vysūyāntō* - *vasu-yāntaḥ* (4.16. 15) (6 Tr) etc.
84. Also *ṛjūyatām* - *ṛju-yatām* (1. 89. 2a) (10j); *chatrūyatām* - *śatru-yatām* (1. 33. 15); *sakhīyatām* - *sakhi-yatām* (4. 17. 18) etc.
85. cp. *yavīyūdha* - *yavi-yūdha* (8. 4. 6a) (10j) & *vrṣāyūdho* - *vrṣa-yūdhaḥ* (1. 33. 6c) (2Tr.) (0. 0. 0.).
86. But in '*aśvayūḥ*' the syllable is never long. cp. 1. 51. 14c (2Tr); 4. 31. 14c (4D); 8. 53. 8c (11j) and 9. 36. 6a (7D) etc.
87. cp. also *iṣūyaté* (1. 128. 4); *ṛtāyaté* (1. 90. 6a) *ducchunāyāte* - *ducchunā-yāte* (10. 37. 12c) (10j) and *sakhtyaté* - *sakhi-yate* (1. 128. 1) (6D); but *ānniyate* - *ānni-yate* (4. 2. 7a) (6 Tr) (0. 0. 0.). cp. Sāyaṇa on the word.
88. Other cases are - *rayīyān* - *rayi-yān* (3. 62. 2) (10 Tr); *sumnāyān* - *sumna-yān* (1. 114. 3c) (2j), *sakhtīyān* - *sakhi-yān* & *stabhūyan* - *stabhu-yān* (10. 46. 6) etc.

<i>prśanāyūvaḥ</i> - <i>prśana-yūvaḥ</i>	(1. 84. P1) (6D).
<i>mitrāyūvaḥ</i> - <i>mitra-yūvaḥ</i>	(1. 173. 10c) (2 Tr).
<i>vasūyāvo</i> - <i>vasu-yāvaḥ</i>	(1. 49. 4c & 62. 11b) (6d & 2 Tr).
<i>sumnāyāvaḥ</i> - <i>sumna-yāvaḥ</i>	(6. 1. 7) (2 Tr).
<i>kaviyāmāṇoḥ</i> - <i>kavi-yāmāṇaḥ</i>	(1. 164. 18) (2 Tr).
<i>vr̥ṣāyāmāṇa</i> - <i>vr̥ṣa-yāmāṇaḥ</i>	(3. 52. 5) (2 Tr).
⁸⁹ <i>sūyāvaso</i> - <i>su-yāvasaḥ</i>	(1. 190. 6a) (5 Tr).
⁹⁰ <i>sūyāvasam</i> - <i>su-yāvasam</i>	(6. 28. 7a) (5 Tr) & 1. 42. 8a (3D).
⁹¹ <i>āśvāvad</i> - <i>āśva-vat</i>	(5. 57. 7a) (4 Tr).
⁹² <i>rtvīyāvato</i> - <i>rtvīya-vataḥ</i>	(8. 8. 13c) (6d).
<i>viśvāvatā</i> - <i>viśu-vātā</i>	(1. 164. 43b) (2 Tr).
<i>āśvāvantam</i> - <i>āśva-vantam</i>	(4. 49. 4c) (2D).
⁹³ <i>śāktīvanto</i> - <i>śākti-vantaḥ</i>	(6. 75. 9b) (6A).
<i>śāptīvantā</i> - <i>śāpti-vantā</i>	(7. 94. 10c) (2D).
⁹⁴ <i>amatīvā</i> - <i>amati-vā</i>	(8. 19. 26c) (7j).
<i>ṛṇāvānam</i> - <i>ṛṇa-vānam</i>	(1. 169. 7d) (2 Tr.).

89. Preceding word 'suprāituh' is to be recited as 'supraetuh'

90. This & other forms usually occur in 5 Tr. except in three cases.

NB. In few cases, however, Padakāra did not treat the long vowel as the result of metrical lengthening, e. g.

ṛghāyath - *ṛghāyatay* (10. 113. 6b) (2j).

taviṣṭiyāsa - *taviṣṭi* - *yāse* (8. 6. 26a) (6D).

māhīyāte - *māhīyāte* (5. 56. 9).

māhīyūvaḥ (9. 65. 1).

sobharīyāvaḥ - *sobharī-yāvaḥ* (8. 20. 2d) (6D) etc. (0.0.0.).

91. cp. *pastyāvat* (2. 11. 16) & *vayūndvad* (4. 51. 1b) (8 Tr).

92. cp. *indrāvato* (4. 27. 4a) (6 Tr), *kr̥śanāvato* (1. 126. 4c) (7 Tr); *pastyāvataḥ* (4. 54. 5b) (10j) (which must be recited as *pastlavataḥ*); *vr̥ṣṇyāvato* (5. 83. 2c) (10 j), (in recitation *vr̥ṣṇiāvato*), *sutāvataḥ* (1. 3. 5b) (6D); *viśvādevyāvatā* - *viśvādevya-vatā*; (10.170.4d) (10j) (must be recited here as *viśvadeviāvatā*) (—) *āśvāvatir* - *āśva-vatīḥ* (1. 122. 8) and *pītryāvati* - *pītrya-vati* (9. 46. 2b) (6D) (must be *pītriāvatī*) etc.

93. But *indravantaḥ* (7 times) & *indravantā* (once).

94. Note *arātīvā* - *arati-vā* (1. 147. 4b) (3 Tr); *ṛtāvā* (2. 35. 8b) (2 Tr) and *sahāvā* (6. 14. 5c) (2D) etc.

⁹⁵ *dākṣiṇāvān* - *dākṣiṇa-vān* (3. 39. 6d & 6. 29. 3b) (10 Tr).

ṛṣi-vaḥ - *ṛṣi-vaḥ* (8. 2. 28c) (4D).

⁹⁶ *śāktivo* - *śākti-vaḥ* (5. 31. 6c) (2 Tr/j).

⁹⁷ *abhivartēna* - *abhi-vartēna* (10. 174. 1a) (2D).

⁹⁸ *ṛtāvarīva* - *ṛtāvarīḥ-iva* (4. 18. 6b) (2 Tr).

⁹⁹ *sumnāvāri* - *sumna-vāri* (1. 113. 12) (2 Tr).

¹⁰⁰ *ṛtāvaso* - ¹⁰¹ *ṛtāvaso ityṛta-vaso* (8. 101. 5b) (6 D).

ūpāvasum - *ūpa-vasum* (6. 56. 6b) (6 D).

purūvāsū - *puruvāsū iti puru-vāsū* (1. 47. 10) (10 j).

āpāvrtam - *āpa-vrtam* (1. 57. 1d) (10 j).

āpīvrtam - *āpi-vrtam* (2. 11. 5b) (2 Tr).

ṛdūvṛdhā - *rdu-vṛdhā* (8. 77. 11d) (6D) (0. 0. 0.)

*tuvīmagham*¹⁰² - *tuvī-magham*¹⁰³ (8. 81. 2d) (6D).

¹⁰⁴ *tvīṣimate* - *tvīṣi-mate* (1. 55. 5c) (10 j).

¹⁰⁵ *purūtāmaḥ* - *puru-tāman* (1. 5. 2a) (2D).

rathītamaḥ - *rathī-taman* (1. 11. 1c) (2D).

apījūvā - *api-jūvā* (2. 31. 5b) (10 j).

vasūjūvam - *vasu-jūvam* (8. 99. 8d) (6D) (0. 0. 0.)

parīndham - *pari-nāham* (1. 33. 8a) (6 Tr).

95. Also *devāvān* - *devā-vān* (4. 26. 6) (10 Tr.) (must be — — —); *māhināvān* (3. 39. 4c) (10 Tr.) *vr̥ṣṇyāvān* (6. 22. 1), *sahāvān* (1. 175. 2); *svādhitivān* (1. 88. 2c) (10 Tr) (0.0.0.) *hitāvān* (1.180.7); *ṛtāvānā* (1. 136. 4; 2. 24. 7a) (2D & 2j) & *dhītāvānam* (3. 27. 2c) (6D) etc.

96. Each of the remaining three verses of the mantra consists of 11 syllables, whereas it has 12 syllables To make it 11, 'rōdsi ubhé', may be read as 'rōdasibhé'.

97. But not in *abhivāyrtē* - *abhi-vayrtē* (10. 174. 1b) (5D).

98. The compound 'ṛtāvarīḥ' has not been analysed in the PP. because of the preferences for the following 'iva'.

99. But, however, not in *sumnāyāntā* (6. 49. 1) (9 Tr).

100. The preceding word 'sacathiyām' is to be read as 'sacathidām'.

101. Other cases for instance, are *prabhūvaso* (1. 57. 4b) (10j), *radāvaso* (7. 32. 18c) (10j) etc.

102. But, *tuvīmaghāsya* at 5. 33. 6d (6 Tr). See 1. 29. 1-7; 8. 92. 22a (6 D); 5. 57. 8 b (2Tr); 8. 61. 18a (10j) etc. for other occurrences.

103. For other instances of lengthening before - *magha*, see 7. 75. 5b (2 Tr); 8. 1. 5d; 34. 7b; 9. 62. 14a (6 D) & 8. 33. 5c (10j) 7. 71. 1c (2 Tr) 1. 48. 10d (4 D).

104. Other occurrences at 2. 22. 2a (4j); 3. 31. 12 (4 Tr) & 6. 66. 10.

105. Similarly *rathītāmā* (1. 182. 2b) (10j) & *rathītaro* (1. 84. 6a) (6D).

- ¹⁰⁶ *pariṇāśe* - *pari-nāśe* (1. 54. 1b) (10j).
¹⁰⁸ *a uruṇasāv* - *uru-nasāu* (10. 14. 12) (2j).
viśvāpūṣam - *viśva-pūṣam* (1. 162. 22b) (6 Tr).
¹⁰⁷ *viśvābhūve* - *viśva-bhūve* (10. 50. 1b) (10 j).
stanābhūjo - *stana-bhūjaḥ* (1. 120. 8c) (2 D).
kavāsakhāḥ - *kava-sakhāḥ* (5. 34. 3d) (10j).
¹⁰⁸ *sadanāsāde* - *sadana-sāde* (9. 98. 10d) (6D) (0. 0. 0.).

(iv) in the initial syllable of the latter member—

- ¹⁰⁹ *ukthaśāsam* - *uktha-śāsam* (20. 107. 6) (10 Tr).
udāvatā - *ut-āvatā* (6. 18. 9a) (2 Tr).
¹¹⁰ *ghṛtāvānti* - *ghṛtā-vanti* (9. 96. 13) (8 Tr).
¹¹¹ *paśumānti* - *paśu-mānti* (9. 92. 6a; 97. 1d) (8 Tr).
¹¹² *dūnāśam* - *duḥ-nāśam* (1. 176. 4b; 6. 45. 26) (2D).
dūnāśeyam - *duḥ-nāśā/iyam* (6. 27. 8) (2 Tr).
parirāpas - *pari-rāpaḥ* (2. 23. 3a) (7j).

(v) in the medial syllable of the latter member—

- prasavitā* - *pra-savitā* (4. 53. 6; 7. 63. 2) (7 Tr).
¹¹³ *nāktōṣāsā* - *nāktōṣāsā* (1. 13. 7; 96. 5a) (3D & 3 Tr).

106. But in *pārīnasah* (1. 56. 2; 133. 7); *pārīnasam* (3. 24. 5) & *parīnasā* (1. 129. 9) etc., the Pāṇinīya, has not recognized metrical lengthening, nor has analysed them in his PP.
- 106a. 'Triṣṭubh' has been recorded as the metre for the mantra by tradition anukramaṇī, but it seems to be 'Jagatī', consisting of not less than 46 syllables.
107. 'viśvābhūve' in recitation.
108. In few cases Pāṇinīya has rightly acknowledged the originally long syllables, and has neither shortened them nor analysed them (except in few cases) :—
ekādaśām, *ekādaśāḥ*, *viśvānarāḥ*, *viśvānarāya*,
anūrūt, *vadhūmato* - *vadhū-mataḥ* (6. 27. 8);
vadhū - *mantāḥ* (1. 126. 3) etc.
109. For other occurrences see 2. 39. 1c; 4. 2. 16c (10 Tr); 7. 19. 9b (8 Tr) & 10. 82. 7 (7 Tr) etc.
110. Syllable in question was already long by position.
111. cp. RPr. ix. 52 & Whitney 454c.
112. cp. RPr. ix. 36.
113. An instance of devatādvandva Comp., which have never been analysed in the PP. cp. *uṣāśānāktā* (10. 36. 1a) (2j).

(vi) in the final syllable of the latter member—

¹¹⁴ *akḥkhalīkrtyā - akḥkhalīkrtya* (7. 103. 3) (5 Tr) (0. 0. 0.)

¹¹⁵ *apītyā - api-itya* (2. 43. 2c) (12j) (0. 0. 0.) (— — —)

¹¹⁶ *āmūsyā - ā-mūsyā* (3. 48. 4d) (8. 4. 4c) (3 Tr. & 3j).

gātuyā - gātu-yā (8. 16. 12b) (7D) (Trochaic — — —)

¹¹⁷ *nicāyyā - ¹¹⁸ni-cāyya* (1. 105. 18c) (8 D).

praprūthyā - pra-prūthya (3. 32. 1c) (3 Tr).

supaptanī - su-paptanī (1. 182. 5d) (4j) (Iambic)

hāriyojanā - hāriyojana (1. 61. 16a) (8 Tr).

(vii) Lengthening in compound words having *saha*¹¹⁹ or *sahya* etc. as the latter member—

(a) Lengthening in the final syllable of the former member—

ṛtiśāham - ṛti-sāham (6. 14. 4; 8. 88. 1) (6D).

¹²⁰ *carṣaṇīśāham - carṣaṇi-sāham* (1. 119. 10) (10j).

¹²¹ *dhanvāsāhā - dhanva-sāhā* (1. 127. 3) (2/3D).

114. Two aspirates in succession is a rare thing in Skt.

115. Similarly in *abḥaūpyā* (2. 15. 9a) (5 Tr), *abhīguryā* (2. 37. 3) (10j) (in recitation *abhīgūrīā*) (*tuam*) & *avāsyā* (1. 140. 10c) (4 Tr) (*avāsiā*) etc.

116. Others are *āyāyā* (2. 37. 3c) (3j) (— — — —); *āvṛtyā* (1. 56. 1d) (5j); *āsādyā* (1. 109. 5c) (4 Tr) & 2. 36. 2c (3j). In the remaining three occurrences the last word forms sandhi with *asmin* (3 Tr. & 3j).

117. *nicāyā*.

118. Other instances are *parigatyā* (2. 15. 4a) (8 Tr); *pratigṛhyā* (1. 125. 1b) (8 Tr); *vimūcyā* (1. 104. 1c) (3 Tr.) & *saṃcdakṣyā* (1. 165. 12c) (4 Tr). (*saṃcdakṣiā*) etc.

N.B. Note *paridāya* (1. 105. 2d) (4D), where the final syllable has, however, not been lengthened (— — — —) (— — — —).

Śaunaka in RPr. vii. 9 has mentioned some cases which do not show lengthening in SP. as they do not take, except in few cases, particular positions in verses.

119. cp. VM. § 166 (vi).

120. cp. VM. 166 (vi) (c). 'The preceding vowel is regularly long' as in *virāśdh* (*virāśit* 1. 35. 6b) (10 Tr.) (0. 0. 0.), *yajñāsādh*, *carṣaṇīśādh*; but short in *nrāśdh*, *bhūrīśdh* (*bhūrīśāt* 9. 88. 2a) (7 Tr) (0. 0. 0.) & 2 few other words.

121. '*dhanuāsādhā*' in recitation.

prāsāhā - pra-sāhā (5. 23. 1b) (4D); 8. 46. 20 (1T).

¹²²*prāsāham - pra-sāham* (1. 129. 4) (4D).

vibhvasāham - vibhva-sāham (5. 10. 7c) (4D).

- (b) Lengthening in the initial syllable of the latter member—

¹²³*abhimātiśāham - abhimāti-sāham*¹²⁴ (10. 104. 7) (10 Tr).

¹²⁵*ntśāhyāya - nt-sāhyāya* (1. 33. 14) (6 Tr).

¹²⁶*prtānāśāhyāya - prtānā-sāhyāya* (3. 37. 1b) (4D).

¹²⁷*satrāsāham - satrā-sāham* (1. 79. 8b) (3D) (- - -)

satrāsāhe - satrā-sāhe (2. 21. 2) (3j).

- (c) Lengthening in both the syllables i. e. final syllable of the former member & initial syllable of the latter member :—

Although, in the following cases, the syllable in question forms 3D & 3 Tr. which are rarely long, SP. shows long vowels in them—

¹²⁸*rtiśāham - rti-sāham* (1. 64. 15b) (3Tr.). *dyumnāsāham - dyumna sāham* (1. 121. 8b) (3 Tr.). *viśvāsāham*. (3. 47. 5c; 8. 92. 1c.) *yajñāsāham* (10. 20. 7a). *śatrūśāham* (8. 60. 6d).

Besides the cases already referred to in the foot notes, there are few others having a long syllable in SP., favoured by the metrical schemes. where Samhitā forms have been preserved in PP., instead of the proper restoration of the original quantity; e. g.

¹²⁹*adhivāsām - adhvāsām* (1. 140. 9a; 162. 16 b). (2 j & 2 Tr) & 10. 5. 4c (2 Tr) (occurs thrice only).

122. cp. *prasāham* (6. 17. 4d) (9 Tr) & *prasahānō* (10. 99. 2c) (6 Tr), cases which do not show long vowel before *saha* - in the SP. For other instances, see next section (b).

123. cp. *abhimātiśāhye* (3. 37. 3c) (6D) which is to be read - *śāhie*.

124. cp. 10. 47. 3, where it forms (11j) in the written text, although the metre of the mantra is Triṣṭubh. It is irregular. Hence 'śrutārṣim' (occurring in the same verse) must be read as 'śrutārṣim'. Thus the syllable in question would be 10 Tr.

125. In recitation, 'ntśāhiāya', to avoid various irregularities. This can safely be noted here that - *śāhyāya*, - *śāhye* etc. in most of the occurrences are to be read as *śāhiāya* and *śāhie* etc. Otherwise there is no justification for the lengthening (long vowel) in the initial syllable which would already be long, being before conjunct. cp. 1. 100. 5 (2 Tr); 1. 112. 22a (10 j) etc.

126. But *prtānāśāham* (5. 23. 2a) (7 D).

127. The following 'várenyam' is to be read 'váreniam'.

128. cp. (v) (a) above.

129. The compound has not been analysed in the PP.

aṣṭāpadīm - *aṣṭā-padīm* (8. 76. 12a) (4 D).

¹³⁰*aṣṭāpadī* - ¹³¹*aṣṭā-padī* (1. 164. 41c) (2j).

divyāśvājanīva - *divi/śvājanī-iva* (5. 62. 7b) (8 Tr) (0. 0. 0.)

uccācakram - *uccā-cakram* (8. 72. 10 b) (2 D) (0. 0. 0.)

¹³²*uccābudhnam* - *uccā-budhnam* (1. 116. 9b) (2 Tr) (0. 0. 0.)

Padakāra has tried to preserve, on the other hand, the original long vowel of a syllable in a word, provided that its quantity does not depend upon its position in a verse e. g. in *ṣṭvāmītra*, *pūrū*¹³³, *dāśarājñā*¹³⁴, *tanūsubhram* (5. 34. 3), *tanūpām* (8. 71. 13), *ēvā*¹³⁵ - etc.

In few cases SP observes shortening due to metrical reasons, but the PP. restores the original long vowel which is grammatically correct in them; e. g.

130. cp. *aṣṭā-padībhiḥ* (2. 7. 5c) (2D); *aṣṭā-vandhuram* (10. 53. 7c) (2j) etc., but *aṣṭakarmyāḥ* - *aṣṭa-karm-ydḥ* (10. 62. 7c) (9j) which must be recited as '*aṣṭakarmīlāḥ*'.

131. As simple word, *aṣṭā* occurs only twice at 1. 121. 8 (2 Tr) & 8. 2. 41c (2D). In the former case PP., retains the long syllable whereas it shortens it in the latter case as *aṣṭā*. Why this difference? At 10. 27. 15b, its quantity is uncertain, because of the sandhi with the following word *uttarāttāt*. But here also PP. gives *aṣṭā*. In rest of the occurrences the word is unaccented and shows short vowel in the SP., which has been retained in the PP. cp. 7. 84. 5a; 85. 5a (9 Tr); 8. 70. 5 & 10. 126. 1b (5D). Thus we may conclude that SP reads *aṣṭā* only when favoured by the metre.

132. These two are the only examples of *uccā* - forming the first member of a compound, and in both the cases it is favoured by the metre. But the main difficulty here is that it never occurs as *uccā* in SP., but *uccā* always, even in the position of (11 Tr); 10. 106. 5c & 183. 2c (5 Tr). Other occurrences are in 2D, 2j, 2Tr, 4D, 4 Tr.

133. cp. *pūrūr* (5. 17. 1d & 4. 38. 3); *pūrūbhyas* (4. 38. 1b & 39. 2); *pūrūm* (7. 8. 4); *pūrūṣu* (1. 108. 4) & *pūrōḥ* (1. 129. 5) etc., These words are different from other series of *purū* - meaning abundant much, many etc.

134. Occurring only thrice, at 7. 33. 3c, 5b (5 Tr). & 83. 8a (1j). It is always associated with the king Sudās.

135. It is different from the emphatic particle *evā*. Other forms are *ēvān* (6. 51. 2) & *ēvāsaḥ* (1. 166. 4) etc.

- ¹³⁶ *āditya śāvasā - ādityā* (7. 85. 4b) (4 Tr).
*ādhisāno*¹³⁷ *avyāye-ādhi|śānau* (9. 86. 3c (9j); 9. 91. 1c; 92. 4c (9 Tr).
asura yā - asurā (1. 151. 4a) (7j).
indrāvaruṇa (rāyā) - indrāvaruṇā (1. 17. 3b) (5D).
mitrāvaruṇa (duḥābham) - mitrāvaruṇā (1. 15. 6b) (5D).
dev - devā (7. 60. 12a) (4 Tr); 5. 67. 1a (5D).
dṛtavrata - dṛta-vratā 1. 15. 6a) (8D) (— — —).
¹³⁸ *mītra vayān-mitrā* (5. 66. 6b) (2D).
¹³⁹ *varuṇa - varuṇā* (5. 64. 6a) (8D).

Examining the above data, one is easily led to conclude that Śaunaka, following the footprints of Śākalya, through this treatment of 'Sāmavasa sandhi', has helped us a great deal in understanding and appreciating the musical cadence of the Vedic mantras, its importance and working in the modulation of the quantities. The rhythm of the Vedic metres requires long quantity normally in the positions of 2D, 4D, 6D, 8D, : 2, 4, 8 T: 8 Tr. 10 Tr-, 8J, 10J, etc. But the long vowels are also met in the positions of 1D, 3D, 5 D; 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 & 7 Tr; 1, 2, 4, 5 & 7 j etc. not unfrequently. It was not easily comprehensible without the Padapāṭha. SP. avoids long vowel when it is already long by position. But exceptions to each of them may be noted in the footnotes above. It may also be noted, how various verses consisting of lesser or extra number of syllables than the prescribed one, were to be read and recited to suit the rhythm.

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136. Shortening is irregular here.
 137. Even this *śāno* is to be read (— —) instead of (— —) But in other positions it is written as *śānā* before a.c p. (5T) 10. 123. 2c; 3c; (3D) 9. 26. 5a; (11 T) 9. 95. 4a.

Abbreviations :

- AV.=Atharva Veda; B.=Bṛhatī-Pāda.
 D=Dimeter Iambi rhythm; J=Jagatī-Pāda.
 LP=Long by position; O. O. O.=occurs only once;
 O. O. T.=occurs only twice; PP.=Pada-pāṭha of the Ṛgveda;
 RPr.=Ṛk-Prātiśākhya; RV.=Ṛgveda;
 SP.=Saṃhitā-pāṭha; T.=Trochaic rhythm;
 Tr.=Triṣṭubh-Pāda;

A SEMANTIC NOTE ON THE DERIVATIVES OF TWO OIA WORDS

Siddheshwar Hota

OIA *ājñā* 'command' is found in Western Oriya as '*aigyā*' in the sense of 'the teacher or other superiors'. It has entered into the Dravidian speeches probably in the MIA stage. But they have attained a new meaning 'oath, vow' (Tam. *āṇai*, Mal. *aṇa*, Kan. *āṇe*, Tel. *āṇa*, Tuḷu *āṇae aṇa*).

OIA *vr̥ddhi* 'increase, increment' is found in Pali as *vaḍḍhi*, in the sense of 'increase' and 'interest on money' and in Prākṛt *vaḍḍhi* in the sense of 'profit'. In Oriya *baṭhī* denotes 'flood' and in Bengali *bāṛī* 'lending transaction of crops to be paid in crops', Bihari and Hindi *barhi* and Assamese *bari* denote 'interest', Panjabi *vaḍḍhi* 'bribe', Marāṭhi *vaḍhi* 'surplus', Singhalese *vāḍi* 'increase, Sindhi *uḍhi - khuṭi* 'profit and loss'.

NEAR-SYNONYM COMPOUNDS IN PALI

Madhusudan Mallik

I have collected a few specimens of compounds from the Pali literature, the components of which are near-synonyms. Prof S. K. Chatterjee collected many such examples under the title "Polyglottism or translation compounds-in Indo-Aryan" (Indo-Aryan & Hindi 2nd Edn. Appendix II)

In *bhava-uppatti* (M. iii, 147) 'coming into existence, the word *bhava* implies 'existence' and *uppatti* (Skt. *utpatti*) also denotes 'existence' and the joint product also gives rise to the same meaning; in *addhāna - magga* (Pat. 80) 'a road', *addhāna* corresponds to Skt. *adhvan* 'path' and *magga* to Skt. *mārga* 'way'; in *anaya - vyaṣana* (Vin. ii, 149) 'misfortune', *anaya* (Skt. *anaya*) is 'misfortune' and *vyaṣana* (Skt. *vyasana*) is also 'misfortune'; in *aṭṭhi - kaṅkālā* (M. i. 364) 'bone' *aṭṭhi* is Skt. *asthi* 'bone', *kaṅkālā* is Skt. *kaṅkāla* 'bone'; in *nivāsana - pārūpana* (J. 1.126) 'dress, covering' both the words denote the same; *duddha - khīra* (SnA, 27) 'milk' comprises *duddha* (Skt. *dugdha*) 'milk' and *khīra* (Skt. *kṣīra*) 'milk'; *raja - mala* (J. i, 24) 'dust' comprises *raja* (Skt. *rajaḥ*) 'dust' and *mala* 'impurities'; *hiraṇṇa - suvaṇṇa* (Vin. 1, 150) 'gold' has *hiraṇṇa* (Skt. *hiraṇya*) 'gold' and *suvaṇṇa* (Skt. *suvarṇa*) 'gold'; in *khaṇḍa-phuṭṭa* (Vin. ii, 160) 'broken', *khaṇḍa* and *phuṭṭa* denote the same.

THE COMPOUND TENSE IN ASSAMESE

Satyendra Narayan Goswami

The tenses of Assamese verb historically fall under three heads : (a) Radical i., e., present indefinite derived from the OĪA indicative present ; (b) Participial i.e., the simple past or past indefinite and future indefinite originated from the passive participle and the passive future participle of OĪA and MĪA ; and (c) Periphrastic or the Compound which are made up with the help of the substantive verb $\sqrt{āch-}$ and $\sqrt{thāk-}$ etc. employed as auxiliaries with forms of the root.

The Compound tense of Assamese verb can be arranged as follows taking notice of their origin :

Compound tense : (a) **Progressive** — (i) **Present**
(ii) **Past**

(b) **Conditional** — **Past**

Compared with the simple or other tenses, the progressive tenses give special emphasis particularly on the continuity of an action—present, past.

Present Progressive :

This tense lays emphasis on the continuity but incompleteness of an action in the present moment and thus it means the progress of work in this moment.

The following are the forms of present progressive (connected with Skt. 'laç') with -ch- originated from the auxiliary root $\sqrt{āch-}$ 'to be/is'

OAs. 1st pers. : -*icho*^ñ/*o*, -*lācho*, -*ichohō*^ñ, -*āchohō*^ñ

2nd pers. (inf.) : -*icha*, -*iāchā*, -*lācha*, -*iāchaha*

„ „ (hon.) : -*ichā*, -*iāchā*, -*iāchāhā*, -*ichāhā*

3rd pers. (inf. hon.) : -*iche*, -*ichi*, -*iāchay*/*i*

NAs. 1st pers. : -*ichō*^ñ/*o*, dialectally -*ichu*|-*ichuri*

2nd pers. (inf.) : -*ichā*, „ -*ichā*|-*ichāh*

„ „ (hon. jun.) : -*ichā*, „ -*icha*|-*ichahā*

„ „ (hon. sup.) -*iche*, „ -*ichi*

3rd pers. (inf. hon.) : -*iche*, „ -*ichi*|-*iche*

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Origin: In these forms all affixes are formed with-ich+personal affixes : - *ich*+ $\overset{\circ}{o}/\overset{\circ}{a}/\overset{\circ}{\bar{a}}/e$. The origin of - *i* - goes back to OIA - *itaḥ* : OIA - *itaḥ*> 1st MIA * - *ido*>2nd MIA - *ia*, - *io*>3rd MIA * - *io*, - *iu*>NIA - $\overset{\circ}{i}$, - *i*. The - *ch* - is connected with the NIA auxiliary verb root *āch*. Hence, the from - *ich* -/ -*lāch* - are compounded affixes or periphrasis, to which the personal affixes are added later on.

The other forms - *ichohō*, -*lāchohō*, - *lachaha*, - *lāchāhā*, - *ichāhā*, - *lāchay/i*, etc. are extended forms with - *ohō*, - *aha*, - *āhā*, etc. as in other tenses.

The dialectal forms for Second persons honorific and inferior are just reverse to the forms used in standard colloquial; dialectal form - *ichāh* -/ *ichahā* is extended form with - *āh* -/ *ahā*. Dialectal -*i* to - *ich* is of an obscure origin.

Past Progressive : This tense lays emphasis on the completion of an action after containing in the near or far past; thus it means the completion of a work remaining in progress before the moment of the simple past.

The following are the forms of past progressive compounded tense developed from to As. root verbal suffixes - *ich* + - *il*. These forms are rare in OAs. It is developed mainly from Middle Assamese onwards.

- 2nd pers. (inf.) : - *ichill*
 „ (hon. jun.) : - *ichilā*
 „ (hon. sup.) : - *ichil* -/ *ichile*
 3rd pers. (inf.) : - *ichile*
 „ (hon.) : - *ichil* -/ *ichile*

Origin : The form - *ichil* is developed from - *ich* (<As. $\sqrt{āch}$ -) + *il* (As. verbal affix for simple past i. e., present perfect) and after this compound affix personal terminations - $\overset{\circ}{o}$, - *a*, - *ā*, - *e*, etc. are added to it.

Past conditional : Assamese is the only language among the entire NIA to show the loss of habitual past. Dr. B. K. Kakati has discussed on the topic after Dr. S. K. Chatterji (ODBL, §646 & § 693 and AFD, §787). The past conditional tense in other NIA is expressed with the present participle or with some analogous formation to which some affixes are added, while Assamese convey this conditional past tense with the post positive of the absolute locative - *sante* -/ *hante* (in OAs.), *hāte* (in Mid.As.) and it is further extended to - *hēten* in Modern Assamese. This - *hēten* is added to the different personal terminations of the simple past with - *I* base. The following are the forms in NAs. :

1st pers. : * -ilōhēten> - ilōhēten

2nd pers. (inf.): -ilihēten

„ (hon. jun.): -ilāhēten

„ (hon. sup.): -ilehēten

3rd pers. (inf. & hon.): -ilehēten

Note : This nasalized -ē- in these forms is found only in the high standard writings.

FUNCTIONAL SYNCRETISM IN TELUGU

K. Mahadeva Sastri

Descriptive statements are given first based on the treatment in *Bālavākaraṇa* and *Praudha Vyākaraṇa*, the traditional grammars in Telugu, followed by comment in section 2.

1. Nominative for Accusative :

- in regard to inanimate nouns, e. g., *vāḍu pūvulu decce*, 'he brought flowers' (= *pūvulanu decce*),
- in regard to animate nouns—irrationals, examples are from the literary dialect. *anilajavanibuam baracunammada-nāgam-edirci* (Mahābhāratamu 7-ādi, 4) 'opposing that mad elephant running with the speed of wind' (= *a-m-mada-nāgamun-edirci*); *tana vāraṇ-ēndram-okkuru-kula-vīru mīdan-esakolpina* (Mbh. āra 6) 'as he provoked his great elephant (to go) against the warrior of the Kuru clan' (= *tana vāranendramunu*); *tat kratu hanyōttamam-okkeḍa gaṭṭābampucun* (Jaimini Bhāratamu, 5) 'directing the sacrificial horse to be tied up at one place' (= *kratu-hayōttamamunu*)

Nominative for instrumental :

- in regard to inanimates, e. g. *vāru sukham-unnāru*, 'they are living happily, (= *sukhamutōṇunnāru*) cf. Nannaya; *vigata-rōsūdavaḥ sukham-unḍum-inka* (Mbh. ādi, 7) 'live happily hereafter getting rid of your anger'.

Nominative for locative :

- in regard to inanimates, e. g. *janayitri cicc-urikina* (Jaimi. 8) 'as mother fell into the fire' (= *ciccunand-urikina*); *līla pērōlagamb-unna nīlavaṇṇu* (Uttara Hari, 4) 'He with the black complexion who was in the great court in all grace' (= *pērōlagambunan-unna*)

2. Accusative for instrumental :

- in regard to inanimates, e. g. *Rāmuḍu vālin-okka kōlan gūlan-ēse* 'Rama killed Vāli with one arrow' (= *kōlatō*) *Arjunūḍu śatrusēna-*

lanu bāṇambulanu rūpu māpe, 'Arjuna destroyed the armies of the enemy with his arrows' (= *bāṇambulatō*)

Accusative for Ablative :

—in regard to inanimates, e. g. *Maitruḍu gṛhamunu veḍalenu* 'Maitra went from his house' (= *gṛhamun-uṇḍi*); *vāḍu vāhanamunu digenu*, 'he alighted from the *vāhana*' (= *vāhanamun-uṇḍi*). An example from the literary dialect :—*viccēyum-aditi garbhamu. jeccera veluvaḍu mahātmā* (Bhāgavatamu, 8) 'come (out) from the womb of Aditi, come out quickly oh ! great one' (= *Aditi garbhamun-uṇḍi*)

Accusative for Locative :

—in regard to inanimates, e. g. *lankaṃ galakalamu putte*, 'there arose confusion in lamka' (= *lankayandu*); *mīnambu jalambulan-uṇḍu* 'fish lives in water' (= *jalaṃbulandu*)
 —in regard to animate nouns also, as found in some examples:
balimi gonina dhanamu padivēla yonṭelā beṛiki rāga vairi-bhīkaruḍu vacce Nakulūḍu (Mbh. Sabhā. 1.) 'Nakula, the terror of the enemy (kings) came, as the wealth which he got by his prowess came in bags put on ten thousand camels' (= *onṭelandu*); *manujula viprūḍu* (Mbh. Shanti. 1) 'the Brahmin among men' (= *manujula-y-andu viprūḍu*)

3. Instrumental for Ablative :

—in connection with certain verbs meaning 'to take' etc. instr. *cēta* is used for ablative *valana*. e. g. *Jarāsandhuḍu rājulacēta gappambu goniye* 'Jarasandha received tributes from kings' (= *rājulavalana*)
i-y-arthambunu nīcetan-erimḡiti 'I learnt this meaning from you' (= *nīvalana*); *i vṛttāntambu vāniceta viṇṭi* 'I heard this news from him' (= *vāni valana*)

4. The Genitive inflexion

—*kun* may be used for the accusative, the instrumental, the ablative or the locative.

Accusative :

veṭaku bōyiri 'they went out hunting' (= *vēṭanu gurci*); *cīramuga Brahmaku dapamu cēsi* (Mbh. ādi. 2) 'doing *tapas* for Brahma for a long time' (= *Brahmanu gūrce*)

Instrumental :

Maitrūḍu caitrunak-iḷ-aniye 'Maitra said to Caitra like this ;
Angapatik-edircen (Kala. 6) opposed the Lord of Anga (= *Anga-*
patitōn edircen)

Ablative :

viluvidyan-orulu nik-agglamuga-lēkuṇḍan 'having no one greater
 than you in archery' (= *nikaṇṭen agglamuga*)

Locative

kōmali nik-anurakta (Mbh. ara. 2) 'the tender girl is in love with
 you' (= *nīyand-anurakta*)

5. The locative inflexion *na(n)* may be used for the instrumental or
 for the ablative.

Instrumental: in regard to inanimates ; *Rāmūḍ-okka bāṇaṃbuna*
vālin gūlan-ēse 'Rama killed Vali with one arrow' (= *bāṇamucē*)

Ablative :

raktambu vadana gahvaramu varada vāra. (Bhag. 10) 'as the blood
 poured out from the mouth cavity' (= *vadana gahvaramuna-n-uṇḍi*)
'nūṭilo veluvaḍa kōmalin digice (Mbh. ādi) 'pulled the tender girl
 so as to come out from the well' (= *nūṭilon-uṇḍi*)

2

1. The nominative is used for the accusative in the case of inanimate
 nouns. And no confusion in meaning will arise because a neuter noun
 cannot act of itself; it is acted upon by others.

The use of the nom. for the acc. is found also with animate
 nouns—of the category of irrational beings. Examples are rare in the
 literary dialect and in the spoken language but nevertheless they do
 occur, e. *gurram kaṭṭ-ēy* 'tie the horse (as to a pole)' (= *gurraṇni kaṭṭ-ēy*).
 Here context helps out the meaning.

The example given under nom. for instr. may be construed as
 adverbial usage, *vāru sukhamugān-unnāru.*

The examples given under nom. for loc. can be regarded as
 idiomatically used verb-compounds *śabdapallavas* as they are
 called in Telugu, *cicc-uruku* and *pērolagam-uṇḍu*, cf. *kolu-uṇḍu.*

2. The acc. is used for the instr. the abl. and the loc.; it is to be noted,
 however, in all these only with regard to inanimate nouns.

The accusative inflection consists of a nasal -n, with its variants -nu(n) ni(n). The instrumental, ablative and locative cases also have an inflection consisting of the nasal -n and -an, with its variant -nan. The origin of the instr. -abl, -loc. -an is suggested from a form denoting place, namely -al. -an could easily develop the variants -n and -nan by the loss of the initial vowel in the one case and the addition of -an to -n as a double form in the other. The distribution of this suffix differs from that of the acc. -n, so that these suffixes must be regarded as different in origin. This is supported by the fact that there is a closeness of meaning between the instr. abl., and the loc. such as is not found between these and the acc.

3. The inflection -kun is ascribed to the genitive case by the Telugu grammarians but it is found to be used in all the other oblique cases -viz. acc., instr. dat., abl., and loc. It carries the heaviest burden of syntactical relationship among all the case signs in Telugu. Its primary use among the oblique cases is the dative, in *sampradānārtha*. What the traditional grammarians consider dative case signs proper consist of this inflection: *kora-kun*, the word *kora* means benefit, use) *k-ayi* (=ku+ayi, past participle of *agu* 'to become'). In fact the cognate forms of -kun viz. Tamil -ke and Kannada -ke, -ge are considered in these languages as the signs of the dative. Further, Tamil grammarians have also pointed out the use of this suffix -ku in the other oblique cases as in Telugu. This feature thus appears to be a Dravidian idiom.

Conclusion :

So in regard to the features of syncretism illustrated above it may be noted that some are native and natural to the language e. g. the use of the nominative for the accusative in regard to inanimate nouns, and the gen. -kun for the dat.; some are infrequent e. g. the use of the genitive for the locative, ablative, etc.; some are ascribable to phonetic changes resulting in phonetic identity of the suffixes; e. g. the accusative and the instrumental -ablative -locative.

THE UN-PĀNINIAN CAUSATIVE VERB-FORMS IN THE ĀDIPARVAN OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

Harendra Chandra Sii

The un-Pāṇinian causative verb-forms in the critical edition of the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata have the following features :—

- (a) Variation in vowel-length in root-syllable :
 - (i) short *a* for long *ā*;
 - (ii) long *ā* for short *a*;
- (b) Omission of -*ya*-;
- (c) Āpaya -for -aya-;
- (d) Augmentless imperfect;
- (e) Present participle with middle for active ending;
- (f) Present participle middle with -*āna* for -*ināna*;
- (g) Feminine present participle active without 'num' where required;
- (h) Gerund with exchanges of -*tvā* and -*ya*:
 - (i) with -*trā* for -*ya*;
 - (ii) with -*ya* for -*tvā*;
- (i) Finite verb with exchanges of active and middle endings:
 - (i) with active for middle ending;
 - (ii) with middle for active ending;
- (j) Miscellaneous : *bhṛṣitaḥ* for *bhāyitaḥ*.

(a) Variation in vowel-length in root-syllable : (i) short *a* for long *ā*

Only in one instance, the feminine of the causative present participle active form from *vap* with *ā*-, namely, *ā-vapayaṇtī* 1. 3. 162, has short *a* instead of long *ā* in the root-syllable. The form occurs in prose. The form has been made probably according to the analogy of the form from root *jan*. A denominative formation from 'vapa' (cited as 'B' in Whitney's 'Roots,' or from 'vapana' (cited as 'Av.+ ' in Whitney's 'Roots') ? The reading is not certain. All the three variants, which avoid the irregular form, possess regular feminine present participle active forms. Two of them are forms from the same root as *vap*, one primary and the other causative; and the remaining form is a causative-form from the root *klp*. Only

vāpayati etc. ('B.+') are cited in Whitney's 'Roots'. We cite our instance fully below :

upādhyāyānī ca snātā keśān āvapayanty upaviṣṭottan̄ko
nāgacchatīti śāpāyāsyā mano dadhe / (K1 ākalpayam̄ti; N̄ V/
B D [except Dn 2. n 3 D 1. 2] āvāpa°; B5 T M 1. 3. 5
ovapam̄ti) 1. 3. 162.

(ii) long ā for short a

The Ādiparvan possesses 13 instances of causative forms (present indicative, present imperative, present participle, imperfect, past passive participle, gerund, passive present imperative, and passive present participle) which have long ā instead of short a in the root-syllable. Roots are : kṣam, cal (twice without any prefix, and twice with the prefix vi-), jval (with pra-), nam (with ava-, and with vi-), bhram, and śam (with abhi-+pra-). One instance occurs in prose. Seven instances are metri causa. Some forms seem analogical. One form is probably denominative. Some variants have causative verb-forms with long ā instead of short a in the radical syllable, and that from the same roots as in the text. One instance is not certain. We cite our instances below :

tat kṣāmāye bhavantam 1 na bhaveyam andha iti 11 (prose;
K 1 B 1

√kṣam Dn D5 kṣama°; D1 śama°; g2. 3 kṣamāpa°) 1. 3. 129.
Perhaps analogical to -kāmāyate-etc. ('V.+') from root kam-. The
form 'kṣāmāye' occurs in the Mahābhārata only, and the regular
forms 'kṣamayati' etc. occur from Epic onward (cf. 'Roots', under
√kṣam, 'endure').

√cal cālayan vasudhām caiva balena caturaṅginābhy-ayāt
tampāñcālyo...../(S cālayam̄to dhṛtiṃ bhīmām [g 1 °mam; M 6-8
°mā].....) 1. 89. 33. Not metri causa.dānavasya śīro
mahat/cakreṇotkṛttam apatac cālayad vasudhā-talam // (T 2 cacāla.
T 1 tac cacāla vasuṃ-dharām) 1. 17. 7. Not metri causa.

√cal, vi sa.....samīpa-gān bhūmidharān vi-cālayan / (k 1
vy-acālayat) 1. 24. 11. For making the tenth syllable heavy for
'vamsasthaviḷam'.

sāham vi-cālyamānā vai prārthyamānā durātmabhiḥ / sthātum
pathi na śakṣyāmi... // (g 1. 2 °ham vicārya cātmānam) 1. 146. 13.
cf. cālyate 'E' in Whitney's 'Roots'.

In Classical Sanskrit the causative form *calayati* with short a



in the root syllable occurs to convey the sense of 'kampana'; while *cālayati* with long *ā* in the root-syllable occurs to convey the senses other than the sense of 'kampana'. As *calayati* occurs in Classical Sanskrit only (according to Whitney's 'Roots'), *cālayati* occurs in Epic to convey all the senses. *Cālayati* ('S.+') seems analogical to *cārayati* ('B.+') causative from root *car* of which root *cal*-is a later variation.

√jval, pra pra-jvālyatām hūyatām cāpi vahnir 1 (Ñ 2. 3 v1 B D [except D5] °lyatām agnira [Da °ma] mitrasāha) 1. 182. 7. The causative form 'pra-jvālayati' is probably the denominative form from 'prajvāla'.

√nam, ava manoharaiḥ puspitaiś ca phalabhārāva-nāmitaiḥ/ (Da G5. 6 °nāmibhiḥ; M6-8 phala-puspāva°) 1. 199. 41. For diiambic close.

√nam, vi ratham āruhya padbhyām vā vi-nāmayatu karmukam/(Ś1K [except ko] D2. 5 sa nāma°) 1. 127. 17. For avoiding a succession of 5 short syllables. *Nāmayati* is later than *namyati* (cf. *namayati* etc. 'V.+', *nāmayati* etc. 'U. S.+' in Whitney's Roots).

√bhram ...bhīmo bhīmasya rakṣasaḥ/utkṣipyābhrāmayad dehaṁ tūrṇaṁ guṇaśatādhikam // (B1 D2-4 T G M8 °pya bhrāmayat; KO. 2 D5 °pya bhrāmayāmāsa) 1. 142. 24. For the 1st type of spondaic opening, in preference to the 1st type of trochaic opening.

yaḥ śalyam modrarājānam utkṣipyābhrāmayad balī/ (K2 Ñ2. 3 V1 B D protkṣipyāpātayad balī [D5 samutkṣipyāhanad balī]; Ñ1 S utkṣipyā ny-ahanad balī [G5 °lam]) 1. 192. 3 For the same reason as stated above for the preceding instance. Reading not certain. uimukam bhrāmayams tūrṇan pāūdavaś carma cottamam/ vy-apovāha śarāms...// (D2 G3 M6-8 bhrāmayat tūrṇam) 1. 158. 23. For the 2nd type of spondaic opening, in preference to the 2nd type of trochaic opening.

tasmiṃś ca bhrāmyamāne 'drau samghṛṣyantah paraṣparam/ ny-apatan...mahādrumāḥ // (No v. l.) 1. 16. 21.

Bhrāmayati etc. are later and appear for the first time in Epic, while *bhramayati* etc. are earlier and appear for the first time in the sūtras (cf. Whitney, 'Roots').

There are some grammarians who introduce option into the Pāṇinian sūtra 'mitam hrasvaḥ' 6. 4. 92 from the preceding Pāṇinian sūtra 'vā citta-virāge' 6. 4. 91, and, thereby, attempt at the justification of the causative forms, with long *ā* instead of short *a* in

the root-syllable, from root *bhram*. *Bhrāmayati* etc. have, however, been formed from root *bhram* probably according to the analogy of *krāmayati* etc. ('B.+') from root *kram*.

√śam, abhi+pra tataḥ pracakre vapur anyad alpaṃ praveṣ(u-
kāmo 'gnim abhi-pra-śāmya (M 1.3 praṇāśya; M3 [inf. lin]. 5 praṇāśyam)
1. 28. 25. For 'upendravajrā' the form expected is °śamayya.

(b) Omission of -ya-

In two instances, we find two causative present indicative forms, minus-ya- of the causative sign -aya-, from roots tvar-, and sah- (with pra+ud). The form from root sah-, namely, *prot-sāhati* 1.55.3, occurs for the avoidance of hypermetric foot and for diiambic close. The form from root tvar-, namely, *tvaranti* 1. 87. 6, is probably due to the peculiar metrical scheme : Ja ta ta ga ga. Only one variant supports the text, while all other variants possess the corresponding regular (causative) f. rms.

Our forms, *tvaranti* and (*prot-*)*sāhati*, are probably the outcome of Middle Indic processes according to which the regular forms '*tvarayanti*' and —'*sāhayati*' are changed into '*tvarenti*' and —'*sāheti*', and there is the substitution of -ati by -eti forms without change of meaning (cf. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar, §38.3). Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit has many such forms; e.g., *tarpet=tarpayet*, *kāmasi=kāmayasi*, *saṃtāra=samtāraya*, *tādan=tāḍayan*, *darśisye=darśayisye*, aorist *darśi* 'displayed' (to *darśayati*), gerund *harṣitvā*, and many similar forms (cf. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit grammar, §§ 38. 27-33). Whitney, in his Roots, cites *sāhati* etc. 'RV. 'E', under the primary conjugation. We cite our instances below :

√tvar uktvāhaṃ vaḥ prapatīsyāmy anantaraṃ tvaranti mām.
brāhmaṇā lokapālāḥ / (N 2. 3 S [except G 2. 3] arayaṃti;
Cd as in text) 1. 87, 6.

√sah, pra+ud śrotaṃ pātraṃ ca rājāṃs tvam prāpyemām
mudā bhāratiṃ kathām / guror vaktuṃ parispaṇḍo protsāhatīva
mām //(B Da 2 D2-4 mud u-[D2 sam-u-, D3 mudo-; D4 sa
u]-t-sāhayatīva mām; Da 1 corrupt. Dev. has mut- and
protsāhayati) 1. 55. 3.

(c) -Āpaya- for -aya-

One imperfect form from the causative of root hve- with ā-, namely,

āhvāpayat 1. 155. 34, has -āpaya- instead of -aya- as the causative suffix; the Pāṇinian form will be ā-hvāy-aya-t. Our form is textually certain. It occurs only once, and that in verse. It is not metri causa. It has six variants. Two of the variants have irregular forms; while the remaining four variants have regular causative imperfect forms (including the corresponding regular one) from the same root as hve- and roots āp-, jñā-, and vah-.

In Classical Sanskrit the causative suffix -āpaya- is nearly limited to roots in final ā. In our form- the suffix -āpaya- has been added to root hve- which ends in a vowel other than a. The causative suffix -āpaya- has been extended from roots in ā to a root ending in a vowel other than a. This has probably been influenced by Middle Indicisms. In Pali the formative elements -āpaya-, -āpe- serve to form causatives out of all present-stems (cf. Geiger, Pali literature and language, §181); and "The element -ve- = Skt. -paya- is employed in Prakrit for formation of the causative also from the roots in vowels other than -a, -i, -ī, and in diphthongs and consonants" (cf. Pischel, Comparative grammar of the Prakrit languages, § 552). In Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, the suffix -āpaya- (or the like) is "freely productive". Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit has āhvāpayati cf. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar, §§38. 42 ff. Causative stem hvāyaya- only is cited in Whitney's 'Roots'. We cite our instance below :

yājas tu havanasyānte devīm āhvāpayat tadā/ (Ś1 Ko. 2 āhvāyayat; K1 āhvāhva⁰; N2 V1 B5 D ājñāpa⁰; T1 G1-3 āvāha⁰; M5 anvapa⁰; M6 āhvāva⁰) 1. 155. 34.

(d) Augmentless imperfect

We have four instances. Four causative imperfect forms from roots : kṛp- (with -upa-), jñā-, tṛ- (with sam+ava-), and bhās- (with vi+ava-), are found to occur without the augment. All the four instances are metri causa. Three instances are due to diiambic close; and the remaining instance is due to the avoidance of hyper-metric foot, and to the 2nd type of spondaic opening and diiambic close. Only some variants have augmentless imperfect forms, The majority of the variants have regular forms, imperfect, present active participle, and past passive participle, from the same or other roots (some imperfect forms being primary and the rest causative). It is to be noted that the causative form from root jñā, namely, jñāpayat 1.207. 16, is not textually certain. Instances are cited below :

√kṛp, upa tathety uktvā tu taṃ yājo yājyārtham upākālpayat /
 (Ś1 K4 yajñārthe sama⁰; Ko. 2. 3 yājyārthe sama⁰; Ñ1 ⁰rthe vi-
 -pra-kalpayan; B1. 3. 6 Da1 T1 ⁰kalpayan; T2 G [G3 om.] M3
 [orig.]. 6-8 putrakāmiyam ārabhat [T2 ⁰m āharat]; M3 [inf.
 lin.]. 5 yājñā[M 5 yāge]rthebhiprakalpitam) 1. 155. 30. For
 diiambic close.

√jñā abhigamya ca rājānaṃ jñāpayat svam prayo-
 janam / (Ś1 K Ñ1 D5 ācakhyau [K2 abravīt]; Ñ2Dn D4 avadat; Ñ3
 sam-jalpat; B ajalpat; B6m Da D1.2 vy-ajñāpat) 1. 207. 16. For the
 avoidance of hypermetric foot, and for the 2nd type of spondaic
 opening and diiambic close.

√tṛ, sam+ava kṛta-prasādo rājā taṃ tataḥ sam-ava-tārayat /
 (No v. l.) 1. 101. 19. For diiambic close.

√bhās, vi+ava āditya iva taṃ deśaṃ kṛtsnaṃ sa vy-av-a
 bhāsayat / (K1 samam abhā⁰; K2 viprocya bhā⁰; Ñ1 evāvabhā⁰;
 Ñ2. 3 Dn D4 sarvam vy-akāśayat; B 1. 3 sa hi vy-abhā⁰; B5 D
 1.2/sa vy-ati-akāśayat; B6 Da eva vy-akāśa⁰; D5 so vy-ava-bhā⁰;
 T g abhy-ava-bhāsayan [G1 tad vy-ava -bhāsayan]; M5 tad dhyava-bhā⁰;
 M6-8⁰yan) 1. 208. 17. For diiambic close.

(e) Present participle with middle for active ending.

Causatives of verbs meaning 'shaking or moving' take the
 active ending, even though the fruit of the action accrues to the
 agent (cf. 'nigarana-calanārthebhyaśca' Pāṇ. 1. 3. 87). But we
 come across one instance in which the causative of root kṣubh-
 (with vi-) takes the middle ending. The instance is metri causa.
 It occurs for the avoidance of catalectic foot and for 'pathyā' close.
 Two variants support the irregular form of the text; one variant
 has a causative augmentless imperfect form; and others possess
 regular causative present participle forms (including the corres-
 ponding regular one), active or passive. All the forms are made
 from the same root as kṣubh-. Causative forms *kṣobhayati-te* occur
 from epic onward. Our instance is cited below :

taṃ vi-kṣobhayamāṇaṃ tu saro bahujaṣākulam / kūrmaḥ
yuddhāyābhyeti vīryavān // (K4 tat tu vi-kṣobhyamā⁰; Ñ1. 2
 V1 Dn D 1. 3. 4. 6. 7 T1 vi-kṣobhayamṣ tato nāgaḥ; B 1. 4. 5 Da vi-

kṣobhayaṃtaṃ taṃ [Da °yat tato] nāgam; D5 M tad vi [M2 sup. lin. 4. 5 °d vat] kṣobhayamāṇas tu) 1. 25. 23.

(f) Present participle middle with -āna for -māna

The Ādiparvan presents two instances of a causative present participle middle form which is made out of root dṛś- with the addition of the athematic suffix -āna instead of the thematic suffix -māna. Both the instances are metri causa, one being due to 'śālinī' and the remaining one to 'vātermī'. Variants avoid the irregular form of the text. Whitney, in his Sanskrit Grammar, section 1043f, states that participle in -āna is decidedly more common, in the Epics and later, than that in -māna. We cite our instances below.

yadāśrauṣaṃ... / taṃ cātmānaṃ bahudhā darśayānam tadā nāśaṃse vijayāya saṃjaya // (K 1. 4 Dr [except Dr 2] G1-3 M darśayaṃtaṃ; g7 °nīyayam) 1. 1. 119. For 'vātermī'.

yadāśrauṣaṃ.../kṛṣṇam lokān darśayānam śarīre tadā nāśaṃse vijayāya saṃjaya (No v. l.) 1. 1. 124. For 'śālinī'.

(g) Feminine present participle active without 'num' where required.

Three instances exemplify the above phenomenon. The feminine of the causative present participle active is made with -antī; but our text presents three forms which have been made with -atī instead of -antī from three roots, namely, nad-, vah-, and sad- (with pra-). In the older language, we find namayatī (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, section 1043e). Our instances are all metri causa, two being due to diiambic close, and the third to 'pathyā' close in preference to the third 'vipulā'. Only one variant supports the text, while all others show the corresponding regular forms. It may be remarked that the causative form, from root sad- with pra-, is not certain. Our instances follow :

√nad ...vāg uvācāśarīṇī / mahāgambhīra-nirghoṣā nabho nādayatī tadā // (k 2. 4 °yatīva hi. K3 G2. 3 nādayaṃtī nabha [G2 diśa]ṣṭadā) 1. 114. 28. For diiambic close.

√vah śuśrūṣārtham pitur nāvaṃ tāṃ tu vāhayatīm jale /..... apaśyad vai parāśaraḥ // (N1. 2 V1 B D [except D5] vāhayaṃtīm jale ca tāṃ) 1. 57. 5. For diiambic close.

√sad, pra sā prasādayatī devam idaṃ bhūyo'bhy-abbhāṣata / (K 3. 4 prasādayaṃtī sā devam) 1. 189. 45. For 'pathyā' close, in preference to the 3rd 'vipulā'.

(There are similar forms belonging to the primary conjugation, and similar desiderative forms).

(h) Gerund with exchange of -tvā and -ya

(i) with -tvā for -ya

Compounded roots form gerund with the suffix -ya; but two instances are met with in the Ādiparvan, of gerund in -tvā instead of -ya from the causatives of compounded roots, pra+āp and sam+jiv. Such forms are not unknown elsewhere (e. g., praty-arpayitvā, sam-īrayitvā, vi-rocayitvā, ni-vedayitvā, etc., cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, 990a; the Rāmāyaṇa has prāpayitvā 4. 58. 35; paritoṣayitvā 4. 30. 57; pra-darśayitvā 3.32. 25; ni-pātayitvā 6.73. 64; etc.). Our gerund form prāpayitvā (√āp with pra) 1. 189. 25 occurs in verse, and seems due to the peculiar metrical scheme: ya bha ta ga ga. Gerund form sam-jīvayitvā (√jiv- with sam-) 1. 90. 92 occurs in prose; and the reading is not certain. All the variants avoid the irregular forms, and possess regular verb-forms, compounded gerund (primary) in -ya, or simple gerund (causative) in -tvā, from the same roots or changed pāda. We cite our instances:

√āp, pra tatra yūyaṃ karma kṛtvāvīṣahyam bahūn anyān
nidhanam prāpayitvā / (K2 V1 B [except B6] D2 prāpya caiva)
1. 189. 25.

√jiv, sam sam-jīvayitvā cainam uvāca/(K4 N̄ 1 B D [except Da]
om. sam-. S nāma tasyākarot subhadrā [for samjī⁰—⁰m uvāca])
1. 90. 92.

(ii) with -ya for -tvā

We come across three instances of gerund which are found to be formed with the suffix -ya instead of the suffix -tvā from the causatives of two simple roots, namely, tuṣ-, and vac-(thrice). Whitney, in his Sanskrit Grammar, section 990a, cites vācyā, yojyā, plāvyā. So far as our forms are concerned, toṣyā (√tuṣ) 1. 1.109 is probably due to the peculiar metrical scheme: ja ma ya ya; and vācyā (√vac) 1.176. 32; 1. 212. 6 occurs, in both the places of occurrence, for the avoidance of hypermetric foot and for diiambic close. Only vācyā 1. 176. 32 has got a variant, and that shows a regular causative present participle form from the same root as vac-. We cite our instances below:

√tuṣ yadāśrauṣam arjuno devadevaṃ kirāta-rūpaṃ tryambakam
toṣyā yuddhe/avāpa tat pāśupatam mahāstram... //(No v. l.) 1.1. 109.

√vac sa tarpayitvā jvalanam brāhmanān svasti vacya ca / vāra-
yām-asa sarvāṇi vāditrāṇi...// (ŚI K/ svasti vācayan) 1. 176. 32.
subhadrā tva atha śailendram abhy-arcya...1 daivatānī ca sarvāṇi
brāhmanān svasti vācya ca (No v. 1.) 1. 212. 6.

(i) **Finite verb with exchanges of active and middle endings**

(i) with active for middle ending

The active ending is not used after the causal of the root *ruc-*, 'to shine, to be agreeable' according to "na pā damy-ānpamān-yasa-parimuha-ruci-nṛti-vada-vacaḥ" Pāṇ. 1. 3. 89. But in five instances, the active ending has been used after the causal of the root *ruc-* in violation of the above rule of Pāṇini. One instance is not metri causa. The remaining four instances are metri causa (two instances occurring for diiambic close, and the other two instances occurring for the avoidance of hypermetric foot and for diiambic close). Three instances have got no variant. The remaining two instances have got three variants. One of them uses, instead, a regular imperfect form from root *cud-*; and the other two variants have causative forms, augmentless imperfect middle and present participle active, from the same root as *ruc-*. *Rocayati* etc. are earlier and occur from Vedic onward, while *rocayate* etc. are later and occur from the Brāhmanas onward. Our instances follow :

[arjunah] dṛṣṭvā nirvedam āpanno.. / dharmarājam samāsādyā
saṁnyāsam samarocayat // (No v. I.) 1. 2. 228. For the avoidance
of hypermetric foot and for diiambic close, vīhārāvastheṣv eva
vīrā vāsam arocayan / N̄3 vāsam acodayan) 1. 119. 31. For the
same reason as stated above for the preceding instance.

na hi dāpam apāpātmā rocayīṣyati pāṇḍavaḥ / (No v. I.) 1. 133. 8.
For diiambic close.

atha tatraiva vā teṣāṁ nivāsam rocayante te / (No v. 1.) 1. 193. 6.
For diiambic close.

nivāsam rocayanti sma sarva-bhāṣā-vidas tathā / (ŚI B Da D4
rocayaṁta [b °taḥ] sma) 1. 199. 37. No metri causa.

(ii) with middle for active ending.

In seven instances, the causatives of six roots, namely *kamp-* (twice), *jan-*, *tuṣ-*, *dru-* (with *vi-*), *yudh-*, and *sthā-* (with *ud-*), take the middle instead of the active ending in violation of the three sūtras

of Pāṇini, viz., (1) “buḍha-yudha-naśa-janeṇ-pru-dru-sru-bhyo neḥ” 1. 3. 86 (2) “nigaraṇa-calanārthebhyāś ca” 1. 3. 87; and (3) “aṇāv akarmakāc cittavat-kartṛkāt” 1. 3. 88. All the instances, except one, are metri causa. One instance occurs for ‘pathyā’ ‘close’ in preference to the 5th ‘vipulā; one instance occurs for diiambic close; two instances occur each for the avoidance of catalectic foot and for diiambic close; one instance occurs for the avoidance of hypermetric foot, and for the 3rd ‘vipulā’ close; and the remaining one occurs for the avoidance of hypermetric foot, and for the 2nd type of spondaic opening and diiambic close.

As regards the variants, causative forms *janayate* (root jan-) 1. 69. 31; *yodhayām-cakrire* (root yudh-) 1. 71. 7; and *utthāpayiṣye* (root sthā- with ud-) 1. 33. 17 have got no variant, causative forms *kampayate* (root kamp-) 1. 65. 23; 1. 119. 20; *toṣayiṣye* (root tuṣ-) 1. 49. 20; and *vy-adrāvayata* (root dru- with vi-) 1. 165. 32 have about a dozen variants.

Two variants have changed pādas; four variants have the corresponding regular forms, and regular causative finite forms from the same roots; four other variants have causative finite forms from the same roots with middle for active ending as in the text and the remaining variants have causative finite middle forms from other roots.

Three forms are later than the corresponding regular active forms. Two forms are contemporaneous with the corresponding regular active forms; and the remaining form (causative s-future middle) from root tuṣ- is not found in Whitney’s ‘Roots’. We cite our instance below :

√kamp asāy...viśvāmitro.../ tapyamānas tapo ghoram mama kampayate manaḥ // (TI G6 brahmacaryam ca samśri [G6 °sthī] taḥ) 1. 65. 23. For diiambic close.

tadā pāda-prahāreṇa bhīmaḥ kampayate drumam / (b 1. 3 Dn1 D 1. 2 kampayati) 1. 119. 20. Not metri causa. cf. kampayati etc. ‘b.+; kampayate etc. ‘U.+’ in Whitney’s ‘Roots’.

√jan jāyā janayate putram ātmano’ngam dvidhā kṛtam / (No v. 1.) 1. 69. 31. For the ‘pathyā’ in preference to the 5th ‘vipulā’. close. cf. janayati-te etc. ‘v.+’ in Whitney’s ‘Roots’.

√tuṣ tam vri nṛpa-varam gatvā.../ vāgbhir maṅgala-yuktābhis toṣayiṣye’dya mātul // (Ko. 2. 4 L2. 5 °yisyāmi mā°, K3 Ñ 1. 3 V1 b1 [m as in text]. 3-5 jñā [Ñ3 jā; b5 gā] payiṣyedyā [kṛ°tha]) 1. 49. 29. for the avoidance of hypermetric foot, and for the 2nd

type of spondaic opening and diiambic close. Only the active forms toṣayati etc. 'JB.+ ' are cited in Whitney's 'Roots'.

√dru visā gaur...../ viśvāmitrasya tat sainyam vy-adrāvayata sarvaśaḥ// (K4 vidrāvayati; D4 drāvayāmāsa; T1 G2. 3 prādrā⁰; G5 M -8 pradrā⁰) 1. 15. 32. For the avoidance of catalectic foot, and for diiambic close. cf. drāvayati etc. 'V.+ ', drāvayate etc. 'E ' in Whitney's 'Roots'.

√yudh tatas te punar utthāya yodhayām-cakrire surān / (No v.l.) 1. 71. 7. For the avoidance of catalectic foot, and for diiambic close. cf. yodhayati etc. 'V.+ ', yodhayate etc. 'E'. in Whitney's 'Roots'.

√sthā, ud utthāpayiṣye yady enaṁ dhruvaṁ kopam kariṣyati / dharmalopo bhaved asya sandhyātikramane dhruvam // (No v. l.) 1. 43. 17. For the avoidance of hypermetric foot, and for the 3rd 'vipulā' close. cf. sthāpayati etc. 'V.+ ', -te etc. 'V.+ ' in Whitney's 'Roots'.

(1) **Miscellaneous : bhīṣitaḥ for bhāyitaḥ**

We come across one instance of the inappropriate use of one causative past passive participle form for another from the same root.

The causative of root bhī- takes three different forms, viz., bhāpaya-, bhāyaya-, and bhīṣaya- (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit grammar, section 1042 l). In Classical Sanskrit there is a distinction in the use of bhīṣaya and bhāyaya-. The form 'bhīṣaya' is used when the fear is produced directly by the causative agent, while the form 'bhāyaya' is used when the fear is not the direct result caused by the agent. In the Ādiparvan we find one instance in which the past passive participle form 'bhīṣitaḥ' is used for 'bhāyitaḥ' even when the fear is not produced directly by the causative agent. The form is not metri causa. It has got no variant. It may be pointed out here that bhāyayati etc. occur in Classical Sanskrit only (cf. Whitney, 'Roots'). Now it seems to be the fact that the stem bhīṣaya-(forms from which occur in the Brāhmaṇas and the Epics onward, cf. Whitney, 'Roots') was used to denote both the direct and the indirect production of fear in the pre-classical stage. Our instance is cited below :

sa mayā krīḍatā bālye kṛtvā tārṇam athoragam / agnihotre prasaktaḥ san bhīṣitaḥ pra-mumoha vai // (No v. l.) 1. 11. 2.

Special Abbreviations & References :

B.=Brāhmaṇas; Dev.=Devadatta, the commentator; E.=Epic Sanskrit; JB.=Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa; Rā.=Rāmāyaṇa; S.=Sūtras; U.=Upaniṣads V.=Vedas; V. l.= variae lectiones; + indicates that the formation is found from the specified period onwards.

Of the N(orthen Recensions), Ś.=Śāradā (or kāśmīrī; K.=the Devanāgarī group allied to the Kāśmīrī version; N.=Nepālī; V.=Maitilī; B.=Bengali; D.=Devanāgarī versions other than K.; Da=Devanāgarī version of Arjunamiśra; Dn=the same of Nīlakaṇṭha; Dr=the same of Ratnagarbha; D1—14= the 14 manuscripts belonging to the Devanāgarī composite version; and of the S(outhern Recensions) T.=Telugu, G.=Grantha and M.=the Malayalam version. The number after the Version refers to the numerical order of the MSS. of the version.

SANTALĪ ELEMENTS IN MAGAHĪ

Suryadeo Pandey

According to available data, Magahī contains in it near about forty per cent of its words, directly or indirectly, related to Santali language. Some of these words have gone across the border of Magahī and have mixed themselves with Bhojapuri and Maithilī languages. Here, I am discussing some Santali words (cited first with their meanings) which are connected with words in Magahī.

aebaha—(adj)-*alvakahā* 'rout, stupid'.

Mag—*albakahā* (a fool, a man of very weak intellect, half-minded; 'ū *albakahe* -' 'He is half-minded'.

akhaji—(n. adj)-'disagreement, discord, quarrel' etc.

Mag-*akhaji*-enemy, *akkhaja*-enmity. *okarā se hamarā akkaja he* - 'I am in enmity with him'.

thili—(n.) 'a small earthen pot' (Santals use this type for teaching little girls to carry water and also for carrying water for field-workers).

Mag.—*thili*, *thiliyā*-also 'the pot for cooking rice'.

darmot—(adj.) 'strongly built, stalwart, sturdy'.

Mag-*darmuṭa*, *darmuṭha*, *dharmuṭh*, meaning the same as in Santali, 'u *baḍakā dharmut ādami laga hai*-'He seems to be a very sturdy man.

darrao—(v. a.) 'roll, grind, rub on a stone' (v. m.) 'slip, slide; stumble'

Mag-*darrā*, *darani*, *daranā* *Hama darrā khāhi*-'I am eating the cooked ground maize'.

dāgrin—(n) 'midwife'.

Mag-'an attending nurse when a child is born'. In Magahī usually the women from the family of shoe-makers are employed for this and they are called '*camain*', as well as *dāgrin*. It is very interesting to note here that most of the 'sohar-songs' (birth song) which are the jewels of Magahī folk-literature "*e Dāgrin, torālāgt Jhumakā gaḍhaibo, ki, motiyā cunaibo renā !*"

—O Dāgrin, I will present you the ornaments like Jhumakā and pearls (taken from a Magahī 'sohar').

ḍāmūl—(n. v. a. m.) 'one who has been sentenced to transportation (overseas)'

Mag-*ḍāmūl* (meaning the same as in Santali) often comes in combination with *phāsī*-as '*ḍāmūl phāsī*'.

okara ḍāmūl ho gele ha—'He has been sentenced to transportation'.

ḍohamat—(v. a. m.) 'accuse falsely, charge falsely with slander. cf. Mundāri-*dohamata*.

Mag-*dohamat* (*ḍohamata*), *tohamata*.

okarā dohamat lagā delkat—'He has been falsely charged with'.

ḍhadra—(adj.-v. m.) 'broken, worn out, in rags; break, be torn'.

Mag-*dādara*/*daradarānā*

u gāgaridādar he—'That jar is broken'.

ḍhiri—(n.) 'stormy place'. cf. Mundari-*diri*

Mag-*ḍirā*; *ḍiyarā*, *ḍherī*,

'*ḍirā par bāsā ki ? ban me upāsā ki ?*' °

'How to live in a stormy place ? What does a fast mean in the forest ?'

ḍhipau—(v. a. m.) 'to heat, make hot (mostly solid things, but also surface of water through the hot sun)';.

Mag-*dhippal*-(adj.) *dhipana*-(v.),

lohabā dhippal hai—'the iron is hot'.

ḍabra—(n.) 'A large low-lying rice field'.

Mag-*ḍābara*-(a large fertile field)

(*Hamarā baḍakā baḍakā ḍābara hi*—'I own some very big fertile field'.

ḍi—(n.) 'a village, part of a village', also-*ḍih*, *ḍihali*.

Mag-*ḍiha*—'a village', *ḍi*-as in compound with a village name-

Bagadi, *sakadi* etc., *dihari*—'a village', *diharā*—'a big notorious

village', *dihā*—a village priest specially engaged in looking after

the village deity called', *ḍihabāl*'. There are a number of folk °

songs addressed in praise of *Dihabāl* who protects a village,

but while angry, causes cholera and other diseases to punish

the villagers. A deity of the same nature is called '*Ḍāka*'. cf.

'*Ḍāka ḍihabalabā ḍagar bica ḍahakai, āba kabī, hamara duāra*'.

Magahī village-deities—*Ḍāka* and *Dihabāla* are calling with

a cry 'O poet get off the cities and come to us (to villages)'—

(From a Magahī poetry).

dili—(n.) 'A huge basket of bamboo used to store paddy and other grain in'-also '*ḍinki*'; cf. Mundāri-'*dimmi*' Mag-'basket of cane or bamboo used for carrying earth, from one place to another place'. The people used in this work are called Beladāra. During the marriage ceremony of one's sister, a brother performs the work of digging a well for a ritual called in Magahī 'daladhoi' Some very sweet songs have been composed for singing on this occasion which usually run as *kanhe par lehu bhaiyā, deli kudarbā is* 'Oh my dear brother, keep on one of your shoulders *ḍeli* (the basket) and on the other, *kudāra* (a spade) and come along with me.

dinḍi—(n.) the pod of the cotton plant.

Mag *ḍinḍi*,-(n.), *ḍiriyānā*. (v.)

dobhak—(n.) a water pool (in a river or low rice field).

Mag-*dobharā-dobharā* (meaning the same as in Santali) cf. Beng-dobā (small pond); *u dobharā me pānī nāhe*'—there is no water in that pool.

ḍhab—(n.) a very large rice field.

Mag-*dhāba*—*ojjā ego baḍakā ḍhāba hai*—'there is a very big field'.

ḍhandakao—(v.) To become destitute, wander about in search of food.

Mag-*ḍhanakanā*(v.), *ḍhanakala*, (adj.)

Tu dhana ka ke maramā—'you will die of wandering after food'.

ḍhera—(n. v.) 'a hand spindle, two pieces of wood joined together in the form of a cross with pin or spindle' Mag-*ḍera* (meaning the same as in Santali) *Bin ḍerā ke sutari kaise* 'How to spin thread without a *ḍerā* !

ḍhimba—(n.) 'a lump', cf. dhaombok dhombe.

Mag-*ḍhimakā*, *ḍhumaka* etc.

Laikā ḍhimaka se khela he 'the boy is playing with the lump'

ḍhukni—(n.) 'a girl who enters the house of a man of her choice and this compels him to marry her; cf. Mundāri-*ḍhukni*-Mag. *ḍhukani* (meaning the same as in Santali). *u bhagoḍi auḍhukani hai*—'She is chasing and entering with her lover'.

gendrak—(n.) a large torn cloth,

Mag-*gedarā*—'*kekarō gendro na, kekarō dosalā he* 'some one has got not even a torn cloth, and some one has a shawl.' That is also called '*gudari*,' *gudda*. It is a customary performance by Gorakha Sampradāya to collect torn clothes to make '*gedarā*'.

MORPHOLOGY OF THE UNDERWORLD LANGUAGE IN WEST BENGAL

Bhakti Prasad Mallik

This paper deals with some of the morphological features of the underworld language in West Bengal. The underworld speakers of this state include the Bengali and the Hindi speakers mainly. This is a mixed and an artificial speech. Its morphological aspects have been determined by comparing the forms with the similar colloquial standard Bengali or Hindi forms.

“Morphology is the study of the manner in which words are constructed”, said Carroll¹. It is also true of the usages of the underworld. But here, the construction is very peculiar because of the deliberate mutilation of the forms.

This language mainly consists of substantives and verbs. Though there are usages as adjectives but these people generally do not form them with any morphological concepts. Adjectives are often formed to qualify a woman's beauty as well as specific human traits.

The underworld language has the following parts of speech.

Independent forms :

noun	about	80%
verb	„	15%
adjective	„	5%
pronoun		a few
adverb		very rare
conjunction		nil
interjection		nil

Dependent forms !

nil

Their verbs have Bengali and Hindi as well as coined terminations and auxiliaries, viz. *leā*, *khāōā*, *karā*, *neā*, *ṭeniā* (*ṭene ānā*), *denā*, *leṭ(h)ā* etc.

Sentences are formed mostly by replacing ordinary nouns for slang nouns.

1. The Study of Language'. J. B. Carroll : Harvard University Press, 1959.

Slang sentence :	Ordinary sentence :
<i>chābi cāmar āriā de</i>	= <i>meye (ti) sundar, isārā kar</i> : the girl (is) beautiful, glance (at her).
<i>khocar caltāi ākheāe coleche</i>	= <i>pulis sandhāni dṛṣṭi niye coleche</i> : (the) police (with a) searching look is moving. (=the police is moving with a searching look).

Nouns are formed from :

1. Verb :

gedā : a hand-bomb < B. *gāḍā* : to press.

cusā : a police < B. *cuṣā* : to suck.

jhāri : a wink < B. *jhārā* : to strike.

dor : a movement from door to door.

cf. H. *dhūṛh* : to move.

gilli : a fountain pen cf. B. *gelā* : to devour.

daimuli : life transportation cf. Santali '*damul*' : to transport convict
(Campbell's Santali—Eng. Dictionary, 1958)

phul-tolon : an abortionist < *tolā* : to pluck.

nilu : a carrier of looted properties cf. B. *nila* < *neyā* : to take.

kāṭṭus : a dog < *kātā*.

okhrān : one who helps the chief operator for thieving in a goods train.

< *opṛāno, ogrāno* : to uproot.

II. Adverb :

āgli bāgli : a disturbance. cf. H.

āgal-bāgal : around, in the neighbourhood.

III. Adjective :

uṇḍā : an attractive young woman cf. Ar. *unda(h)* : good, noble.

barā : a man or woman in charge of a girl < B. *baro* : elder.

bājjiḥā : an ugly woman cf. B. *bāje* : useless.

sādā : 1. cigarette. 2. potassium. 3. silver.

4. a stolen purse. 5. moonlit night < white.

Noun :

nepālā : a knife used by the Nepalis.

aṇḍā : a wrist watch, cf. egg.

āñli : a pick-pocket.

Verbs are formed from :

Noun :

kaṭ : to lie, cf. H. *kāṭ* : deception, a fraud.

coṭ : to distribute, cf. a strike.

jamkāṭṭā : to loiter outside, cf. H. *jamghaṭ* (ṭā) : an assembly.

lātar : to break a lock < *tālā* : a lock.

Adjectives or adjectival concepts are formed from :

I. Adjective stem and Noun :

sādā-sāj : idiotic; 2. prisoners' dress, cf. white dress.

baro kuṭṭā : a prison warden; > 2. rough.

full-ran : a murder. cf. *ran* : colour. But here it stands for red colour; 2. dreadful.

II. Metathesis :

lokā : 1. black opium, cf. *kālo* : black.

nigu : clever, cf. *guni* : qualified.

Metathetic usages are quite common amongst the criminals but a metathetic form from adjective is very rare.

III. Metaphor :

bhāri : 1. wealthy. 2. a rich man; cf. *bhāri* : abundant.

IV. Noun :

cakmādāri : colourful. *bābā cakmādāri phōṭā nie jape boseche, celā melāe khānāri karche pākhir lege* : gang-leader simulating a yogic seat while his associate is hunting in the fair for kidnapping girls.

V. Verb :

koṭā : severe, forceful < to cut into pieces.

dhurer koṭā jhāñni cāi : the man requires severe punishment.

khice-neā : dead. *khice-neā pākhir khomāte' gajer naksā* : the dead girl's face has a scratch mark of knife injury.

Formation of Compound nouns :

I. Noun and Noun :

ābchā-megh : dark night cf. B. fleeting cloud.

kājli-chāi : a dark night, cf. *kajjal chādan* or *chāyā* : a dark cover.
kājli chātte kod gabbāe pile sagar kod karechilo : a burglar entered the house on a dark night and stole everything.

IV Noun :

kālī-billi : a taxi cab; especially a hired one used by the burglars during their thieving operations.
kālī stands for the dark colour of a cab and *billi* (=cat) for its motion.
toron kore saodā lie kālī billite phute jāo ;
 break open (and rob of) goods (and) escape in a taxi.
obhisār-āenā : seductive eyes. *jhillir obhisārāenār jhlik phekluke mohuā bānieche* ; glare of the seductive eyes of a girl has induced the boy to become a lover.
nalgiṭṭi : a bullet < *nal* for a gun and H. *giṭṭi* ; broken stone or brick pieces.

II. Adjective and Noun :

barokuttā : a prison warden.
full gaf : rupees hundred.

III. Noun and verb :

aeri-mārā : an impotent. cf. *āra* : testicles and *mārā* stands for 'dead'.
mākkicus : 1. an intercourse. 2. a maid-servant monger. Etymology heard from the underworld as *mākki* : bee and *cuṣ* < *cuṣ* < *coṣa* : to suck.
 3. a miser. *mohājon mākkicus āche* : the rich man is a miser.
māl nāmāno : an abortion.
bujjhāl : breast pocket < *bu(k) + jhāl* < *jholā* : to hang. *dhurkā nicchal me checki hai, aur bujjhāl me nambari hai, bharle* : the man has small coins in his lower pocket and hundred rupee notes in the breast pocket, pick up.
dhupni : *biṛī*, cigarette ; *dhūp* is connected with *dhūm* and *nī* = *neā* i. e. *pān* (=to drink, to smoke).

IV. Verb and Noun :

baskhāl : a chair < *basā* to sit + *khāl*.
khāl stands for a flat space.

V. Verb and Verb :

ṭeniā : a brothel house' servant who works at night. cf. *ṭene ānā* ;
one who procures. Often the servants engaged by the
prostitutes work as pimps.

VI. Hybrid compound :

ānlidār : a member, cf. a kidnapping gang who does the scouting
preliminaries before an actual snatch.

kamarbāj : a luggage-lifter or a pickpocket operating in a passenger
train.

ālubāj : enticement for a girl.

'signboard'-*olā* : a married woman. cf. *olā* is an agent affix.

Formation of Compound Verbs ;

I. Noun and Verb :

anna-melānā : 1. to be out for theft.

2. to arrest. 3. to surrender.

cākkā-mārā : to board up a tram or bus.

cākkā mere dhur phāsie phuṭe jā : board upon a
tram or bus, clear up the job and buzz off.

cirkolā : to be out for theft. < B. *cir karā* = *phāk karā* ; to steal.

II. Adjective and Verb :

āsāne kāṭā : to cut window rods silently. < Pers. *āsān* : easy,
convenient.

āsāne kāṭke bhaskānā cōi : must be cut silently and be
broken.

III. Verb and Verb :

ut্রে deā : to cheat < to get down.

ut্রে neā : to snatch.

karoṭi biṭ : to strike hard. cf. E. to cut and beat.

IV. Adverb and Verb :

agal-bagal karā : to look around before an attempt for a snatch
or any anti-social activities. cf. H. hither and
thither.

[B=Bengali, E=English, H=Hindi]

THE KERA BENGALI SPEECH WITH SPECIMENS

Pranabesh Sinha Ray

The speakers of the mixed dialect of Bengali which was discussed in a previous issue of the journal are mostly spread over some pockets in Orissa. They also naturally belong to particular vocational classes. Some of these are unmistakably giving up this jargon and gradually adopting Oriya, as for instance the “Baṅgālī Tāntī” (Bengali Tanti) i.e., the weaver caste community. The “Tamlis” or dealers in betel leaf, however, use or some what worn-out form of the dialect in which the Oriya element is discernably preponderant though Bengali forms are also active, particularly in the mouths of women speakers of the community. Another weaver caste people “Tarāk Tāntī”—Tarāk weavers claiming themselves to hail from Nandigram in Bengal who have, amongst other places, mostly settled in Baḍamba, Rogāḍi in Tigrīa state near Bāṅli and in Kaniarbandh are comparatively conservative in the speech, remaining faithful to their home idiom in a large measure. According to Sri Prabhat Kumar Mukherji who has first hand knowledge of this sect and to whom I am indebted for relevant informations, the percentage of words in the dialect of those betel leaf dealers who centre round Cuttack and Balasore is roughly in the ratio of Oriya 60%, Bengali 40%. Amongst other areas of strongholds of domiciled Bengalis in Orissa, may be mentioned Mahanga, Punang (Jagatsingpur) and Kuanpal and specimens of the hybrid idiom from the first and last are given below. The language of the weaver caste of Kisannagar in Cuttack district has become almost a dialect of Oriya probably because they are virtually out off from other speakers of the dialect on all sides. A very interesting case is that of the ‘Kalu’ caste people who are snake charmers and who have settled round about Barang near Cuttack in as much as their speech form a curious admixture with those of their Orissan counterpart.

Two jocular songs heard by the writer from a speaker from Kuanpal who was cajoled to condescend and open his mouth and a shopt in all probability concocted narrative prose piece also in lighter vein collected by Sri Mukherji are given below with interlinear word to word rendering in English :—

I

basechilo bandhu daṇḍapindāte
 was seated the friend on the veranda
khāechila bandhu kadalipāte
 took food The friend on plantain leaf
āmāre dekkhe hāsse kere
 me as he saw he smiled
gaḍel gela ai sidhāte
 tumbling went on straight
ṭāpur ṭupur bansi bāje
 the flute plays on
āre ei ta brindaban
 well this indeed (is) Vṛndaban
rādhār kī khaite man
 Radha what to take has in her mind
diner belā sukha poṛā
 at day time dried fish baked
rāttire baigan.
 at night brinjal

II

ānder haribābuke cinhibe nei eman lok
 our Hari babu will know not such person
ālāndute chila nei ekdin sakale uṭṭhe
 at Aland there was no one one morning getting up
dāṇḍapindāte basse kere gurāku die dānta
 on the verandah having sat with tobacco-paste teeth
ghaschilen, atkibelāte sukkhener māster
 rubbing at that time Sukhen's teacher
āsse kere kahila; "āigū sukkhen kichu
 having come said sir sukkhen anything
pahaṛche nāi" bāra bābā ḍākila—"ahe
 is reading not the elder father called out hey
sukkhene idike āli" sukkhen āla, bāra
 sukkhen hither come sukkhen come elder
bāpā jigsāla: "ki karchili?" si kahila
 father asked what were you doing he said
"āigū pahaṛchilū", bāra bāpā ḍāntitā:
 sir I was reading elder father roared
"pahaṛchili kinā penḍu gaṛācchili,
 you were reading or the ball you were kicking at
gāṇḍete ḍuiṭā nāth kasse ḍiba je cāglām
 at your buttock some two kicks I shall so that naughtiness

chāre jābe,
 rid of will go
ekdin sukhener piisi āsse kere
 one day Sukhen's paternal aunt having come
kahila : "dāāda sunchani ki ?" dādā
 said brother will you listen to me the brother
kahila : "ki kaha". piisi kahila
 said what tell me the paternal aunt said
"sukkhener ekṭā behā diba, bohu dekkhite
 Sukhen's just marriage I shall give bride to see
parā sādḥ jāiche. dādā kohilo : "akhan
 you know desire I am getting the brother said now
chāliar behā dele man nāṇḍabhāṇḍa
 the boy's marriage if given (his) mind at sixes & sevens
hay jābe.
 will become
haribābuta behā karechila nāhi, ua
 Haribabu himself marry did not he
ekdin nijer janna kania dekhite jaichila.
 once himself for bride to have a look had gone
kaniārār piisā jigsāla (jigāsla) : "ānder
 the bride's paternal uncle enquired our
campike manke pāla ?" ua kahila : "hāa
 campa your mind has caught he said well, yes
kaniā ta bhāala--- kintu halle ki habe
 the girl somehow is passable.....but even so
uār nākṭā je bata cepā ār cakḥ duṭa
 her nose is very flat and her eyes two
kin khāler bhitare sādḥieche." *hay ki*
 what a pit into have delved The thing is
kaniāti ukhāne bassechila, ua tā sunke
 the girl there was seated she that hearing
kahe phelāla : "tumār mukḥṭā ta
 spoke out your mouth (is) indeed
bhākkur mācher mata :, tumi pher ki
 (that) of a bigmouthed fish like you again what
ekṭa kahācha".
 thus do speak

(Running meaning of Specimen II)

There was not a single soul at Alandu who did not know our Hari Babu. One fine morning as he was rinsing his teeth with tobacco paste sitting in front of his house, the teacher of Sukhen came to him and said, "Well sir, Sukhen is not studying at all". The paternal uncle called out to Sukhen to come near him and Sukhen came. The paternal uncle asked him, "What were you doing?" He said, "Sir, I was reading". The paternal uncle reprimanded, "You were reading, eh? or indeed you have been playing the ball. Shall I give you a few kicks on the buttocks and that would cure your waywardness".

Sukhen's paternal aunt came one day and said "Brother, listen to me". The brother said "Well, what is it tell me". The paternal aunt said "Let us get Sukhen married, I have conceived a great desire to (see his bride) get a bride for him". The brother said "If we now get him married, his mind will get spoiled and upset".

Hari Babu did not get himself married. He had once been to see a bride for himself. When the paternal uncle of the girl asked him "Could our Campi captivate your heart". He replied, "Well in a way, the girl is good, but then everything has been spoiled as her nose is rather flattened out and as for her two eyes these have delved into an abysmal pit". The girl was seated nearby and she blurted out: "Your mouth can be likened unto the muzzle of a big mouthed fish, and you have the cheek to criticise others and speaking disparagingly".

A STUDY OF CITTA AND MANAS IN THREE DOHAS OF SARAHA

Yasuaki Nara

In 1957 Dr. Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana made a great contribution to the study of the Buddhist Sahajiyā literature by bringing out a new edition of the Dohākośa of Sarahapāda on the basis of the new manuscripts he himself found in Tibet. This is definitely a different version from that of P. C. Bagchi's and M. Shahidullah's, both of which, belonging to the same recension, are almost identical in the order and the number of the dohās. They contain 112 dohās whereas Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's edition, according to my count, 170 dohās, of which 72 are common to those in the old editions. Therefore 98 dohās are new. Some of them are rather difficult to interpret, or even to translate, in the convincing way. Neither Tibetan translation nor Sanskrit commentary on it does exist, and a comprehensive study of the materials so far available—philological and philosophical—is to be made for the sake of correct interpretation.

In this article are collected three new dohās, each of which contains the words *citta* and *manas* together. And the vagueness of their meanings is a factor of creating difficulties.

It is a well known fact that the Buddhists had been rather loose in using the words *citta*, *manas* and *viññāna*. As is expressly mentioned,¹ they were considered almost synonymous.

Of course some nuancial differences were there between them but a little effort seems to have been made to distinguish them with clear definition. It was probably first in the Vijñānavādins that they were intentionally discriminated each bearing separate philosophical ideas. In the Sahajayāna, an offshoot of the Vajrayāna which again imbibed much philosophical inspirations from the Mādhyamikas and the Vijñānavādins, the word *viññāna* seems to be out of use.² On the other

1 e. g. Samyutta Nikāya 11, p. 95.

2 So far as the texts mentioned below are concerned, the word is only once instanced in CGK 29 : *Lui bhaṇai, baḍha dulakkha viññā*.

hand, *citta* and *manas*, especially the former, form one of the central ideas of the saḥajiyā doctrine and are frequently met with. Our predecessors seem to have understood them almost unanimously in more or less the same meaning by giving both of them an English equivalent “mind”.³ I believe, however, *citta* and *manas* should never be promiscuously understood. As for the former, the Bodhicitta⁴ (with its two aspects; relative—*saṃvṛti* and absolute—*vivṛti*) and, in fewer cases, “thought” are at least to be discerned and the *manas* is used mainly in two senses, firstly being connected with the “faculty of intellect” and the second being a synonym of the *citta*.

The article intends firstly to make an interpretation of the three dohās with special reference to the meanings of *citta* and *manas* in each context. Secondly a trial is undertaken to find out the difference of the meanings as well as of the usages of the words on the basis of all and exhaustive collection of them available in the three Dohākoṣas and the Caryāgītikoṣa, the main literature of the Sahajiyās.

Following are the texts utilized in this article with their respective abbreviations.

CGK : Caryāgītikoṣa, edited by P. C. Bagchi and Ś. B. Śāstri, Santiniketan, 1956.

DSK : Dohākoṣa of Kāṇhapāda

(1) edited by M. Shahidullāh : Les Chants Mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha, Paris, 1925.

(2) edited by P. C. Bagchi : Dohakoṣa, Journal of the Dept. of Letters, Calcutta Univ., Vol. XXVIII, 1935.

(The numbers and the order of the two editions are the same. Unless it is felt necessary, I followed the reading of P. C. Bagchi's edition.)

DKS MS : Dohākoṣa of Sarahapāda, ed. by M. Shahidullah. op. cit.

DKS PB : —do— , ed. by P. C. Bagchi op. cit.

DKS RS : —do— , ed. by Rāhula Sāṃkr̥tyāyana, Patna, 1957.

(Concerning the first two editions, I followed Bagchi's reading.)

Other Abbreviations :

HT : D. L. Snellgrove, The Hevajra Tantra, London, 1959

TB : S. B. Dasgupta, A Introduction to Tāntric Buddhism, Calcutta, 1958

ORC : —do— , Obscure Religious Cult, Rev. ed., Calcutta, 1962

3 D. L. Snellgrove, however, gives “thought” and “mind” to *citta* and *manas* respectively. But his selection of the words seems, at least in the texts treated here, to be not always appropriate.

4 The word “Bodhicitta” seldom occurs in the texts. It is only once instanced in DKK3.

*cittahiṃ citta jai lakkhaṇa jāi,
cañcala maṇa paṇa thiro hoi |
citta thira jo ṇimmala bhāva,
tahiṃ ṇa paisai bhāvābhāva ||* DKS RS 120

(1) The first pāda will be translated “if *citta* is known as *citta*”. Two *cittas* here are used, as it will be clear below, in the non-terminological sense and may possibly be rendered as “thought”.

In order to clarify the implication of the pāda, DKS PB 99; MS 101 is to be cited, *cittahi citta ṇihālu vaḍha, saala vimucca kudiṭṭhi, (paramamahāsuhe sojja paru, tasu āattā siddhi.)* “O fool, see *citta* as *citta* ! Abandon all wrong views”. Yet, the meaning is not still clear enough. On this dohā the commentary says : *cittena cittaṃ tvaṃ vicārayasi, kiṃ tu cittaṃ acittaṃ cāsi*.

Then, what is the *acitta* ? All the instances of the word show that the *acitta* is in our texts used in two opposite contexts. It sometimes means the “non-cognizability” and is to be desired for. But in other places the *acitta* is said to be abandoned, meaning “a notion of non-cognizability”.

The comm. on DKS PB 57; MS 59 says : *citto jñāṇajñeyādi, acitto niḥsvabhāvādi*. Here the meaning of the *citta* is clear. Furthermore, the comm. on CGK 31 says : *tathā cittarājo 'pi yadā acittatāṃ gacchati prabhāsvaraṃ viṣati, tadā tasya vikalpāvali tatraiva līnā bhavati*. The *acitta* here is the state of *citta* where it is “clear” (*prabhāsvara*), freed from all *vikalpas* (thought- constructions), i. e. *avikalpa*.

In the following passage the meaning of *prabhāsvara* is more evidently shown as the vacuity. *sabbha dhamma je khasama karīhasi, khāsama sahāveṃ cā tthavihasi, so vi cā karīhasi, evahi so anuttara gamīhasi*. DKS RS 156. This dohā is very similar to DKS PB 77; MS 79, where *citta* is replaced by *manas*.⁵ *savva rūa tahiṃ khasama karijjai, khasama sahāveṃ maṇa vi dharijjai, so vi maṇu tahi amanu karijjai, sahaja-sahāveṃ so paru rajjai* the comm. explains that the *amanas* means the “*manas* in the nature of the vacuity” (*manas ca khasamasvabhāvena dhāryate, tathā so' pi khamasvarūpaṃ manaṃ tasmin kriyate*). Since the sense-organs do not work in the *sahaja* state of the nature of the vacuity⁶

5 see (1) below

6 There are ample references mentioning it. *citta khasama jahi samasuha paṭṭhai, inda-visa tahi mattha ṇa dīsa*. DKT 5 “when *citta* enters into the *samasukha* (of the nature of the vacuity), the sense-organs do not see the objects.”—*cittaha mūla ṇa lakkhian, sahajen tiṇṇa* (comm : *lakṣyalakṣaṇalakṣakam*) vitattha. etc.

the *acitta* can also mean “the state of *citta* where cognition perishes”. It is in fact said in this context. *alakkha-lakkha cā mahāsuhecā* CGK 34 “The *citta* in the *mahāsuhecā* is recognized to be uncognizable”. Now we can see that *acitta* implies “non-cognizability”.⁷

Therefore the passage cited above (*cittahi citta ñhālu etc.* Comm. *cittena cittañ tyañ vicāraya kiñtu cittaṃ acittaṃ cāsti*) can be interpreted, “see thought uncognizable”.

The *acitta*, however, should not be taken as a “notion” of the uncognizability. The *acitta* as a notion is to be rejected. In one *dohā* the poet laments that none understands the *acitta*, i. e. the truth of the *citta*. *Saraha bhaṇai jaga citteñ vāhā, so acitta ñau keṇa vi gāhā.* DKS PB 78; MS 80; RS 128 (*acinta ña kenavi gāhiu*). S. says the world is deceived by the thought. None grasps the *acitta* (i. e. that the thought can not be thought of). But the comm. rejects the notion of “*acitta*”. (“The world is deceived by fool scholars who teach to make *citta acitta* : *taccittaṃ tyajasi, acittarūpañ prāpsyasi*” but) *na hy etat bhavati. kutaḥ. sa acittalakṣaṇaṃ na kena cittavidhinā grahitaṃ bhavati, kasmāt tarhi kasmāt acittarūpasya kāṣṭhapāśānādiṣu kiñ svasaṃvedanaṃ bhavati. evaṃ acittarūpañ kiñ lakṣyate ? na lakṣyate iti yāvad.*

Therefore both *citta* and *acitta* are to be abandoned. *cittācitta vi vajjahu ñitta, sahaja sarūeñ karaaure thitta.* DKT 30 “Abandon always thought as well as non-thought”. Here the comm. quotes two verses expressedly from the Hevajra-Tantra : *sarvacittam* (but HT II. 2. 9 reads *sarvacintāṃ*) *parityalya-devatāmūrticetasā*. Snellgrove translates that “(Try it [sic. a meditation] one fortnight with zeal, making perfection of your goal,) abandoning all discursive thought, your mind set on the

7 *ñiscinta* in DKS RS 144 may also be taken in this sense. *pañcava-kāmaguṇa-bhoṇehiñ ñicinta ñhiyehiñ, elbveñ labbhāṇa paramapau, kiñbahu bolliā ehiñ.*

form of the divinity'. Here *citta* (or *cintā*)⁸ is clearly meant for "thought" in the ordinary sense of the term. cf. also : *cintācintā na kiau mai, nau pariāṇa kisa* DKS RS 124 "I have created neither any thought nor any non-thought". *cittācitta vi pariharahu, tima acchahi jima vālu*. DKS PB 57; RS 64 But in MS 59 it is emended to *cintācintā bi...bālu* from the proof of the Tibetan translation.⁹

Now back to the *dohā* in question, *cittahiṃ citta jai lakkhaṇa jāi* may be interpreted as follows : "If one recognizes thought as being beyond cognition".

(2) The second *pāda* is a sort of cliché in the *Sahajiyā* texts although the word *manas* sometimes stands for *citta* (see II 1 below), it is, as is expressly mentioned, after all that which itself moves like a horse¹⁰ (cf. *manaindriyāśva*. Comm. on CGK 40) and closely connected with the faculty of intellect.

We have fair number of descriptions showing that what is responsible for the faculty of intellect is *manas*. *ñijia sāso ñihanda-loaṇa saala viāra-vimukko maṇo* DKS RS 132 "when the breath is controlled and the eyes are fixed his *manas* is liberated from all thinking".—*amanasiāra ma dūsaha micche*-DKT 4. cf. comm. : *na manasi kriyate ity amanaskarah, nīrvikolpakam sahaajñānam tam mā dūṣaya sahaajasvabhāvābhiniवेशena—ñiccala ñivviappa ñivviāra uaa-atthamaṇa-rahia susāra, aiso so ñivvāna bhañijjai jahim maṇa māṇasa kimpī na kijjai*. DKK 20 "Such, it is said, is the *Nirvāṇa*, where *manas* does not construct any thought"—*bhañai kāṇha dullakkha duravavāha ko maṇe paribhāvai*. DKK 15. cf. comm, *paramam tattvaṃ duravagāhaṃ, ko manasi vyavalokayati—ata eva sāhaṃkāre manasi paramārthacittayodayas tava nāsti*. Comm. on CGK 39.

manas is often used with *-gocara* and *indriya*, whereas *citta* has no such case. *jo maṇa-gaareṃ pāvia paramattha na hontī* DKS RS 114; DKT 9 (*paññai* for *pāviai*) "whatever is related to the *manas* is not

8 In DKS RS, *citta* and *cintā* seems to be promiscuously used. I believe. *cintā* and *citta* in the sense of "thought" is almost synonymous.

9 He says (p 194) that the comm. reads *cintā* and *acinta* but the comm. printed in PB has *citta* and *acitta*. The *dohā*, however, is quoted in the comm, on CGK 30. where it is printed "*cintācintā*"

10 *citta* is also "moving" but what is moving is not the *citta* itself but the *vikalpa* attached to it. see I. (3) below.

the highest truth".—*kaṇhu kāhiṃ gai kariba nivāsa jo manogocarō sa uāsa*
 CGK 7 cf. comm. : *ye'pi yogino manogocarā manendriyabodhapradhānā bhavanti te'py asmin dharme udāsāḥ sudūratarā eva.*—*jo manogoara ālāilā āgamapothā iṣṭamālā* CGK 40 cf. comm. : *manaindriyāśvasya gocarō yaḥ sakalavikalpajālah—maṇa taru pañca indi tasu sāhā* CGK 45 "*manas* is a tree five branches of which are (five) sense organs". also cf. CGK 31.

According to S. B. Dasgupta,¹¹ it is probably *manas* that is connected with *pavana*,¹² which is the vehicle of the defiled *citta*. Perhaps the Pañcakrama was first that spoke of the vehicle with clear definition. It is mentioned that the impurities of nature (*prakṛtidoṣa*) function, day and night, in the flows of the vital wind (*vāyu*). It is the vehicle (*vāhana*) through which the *prakṛtidoṣas* function. When the *vāyu* is ceased to function the *prakṛtidoṣa* is also ceased.¹³ *Pavana* here is exactly meant for the *vāyu*. Therefore it is depicted to be constantly moving and, in order to get salvation, it must be made steady with *manas*.

... *jahi maṇa pavaṇaho na sañcarai, ravi sasi nāha pavesa, tahi vadha citta viśāma karu, saṇḍheṃ kahia niesa* DKS PB 25; MS 27 "where *manas* (the faculty of intellect) and *pavana* do not come, and the sun and the moon (i. e. dual principles) do not enter, there fix your *Bodhicitta*".
ehu maṇa mellaha pavaṇa turaṅga sucañcala, sahaja sahāve so vasai hoi niccala. DKS PB 45; MS 47—*māria sāsu*. CGK 11 cf. comm. : *svāsam pūrvoktamanahpavanam, tam adhikṛtya cakṣurindriyādivijñānavātām nānā-prakāram boddhavyam* cf. also DKS PB 30; DKK 23; DKS RS 161 etc.

Thus the *manas* in the second pāda of the dohā in question may better be translated as "mind" which functions in the sphere of intellect.

(3) In the third pāda, the "immobile (*thira*, Skt. *sthira*) *citta*" presupposes the unsteadiness of the *citta*. In fact we often come across the expression of "moving" *citta*, which, according to the

11 ORC p. 37

12 Only one exception of *pavana* used with *citta* is found in the comm. on CGK 21, where the restless (*samvṛti* Bodhi-) *citta* is compared to a fickle rat. The comm. says of it to be *cittapavana*.

13 ORC pp 80 ff; iIB pp 44 T.

commentaries, means the unsteadiness of the (*saṃvṛti* Bodhi-) *citta* under the influence of the thought construction (*vikalpa*) or the impure principle of the nature (*prakṛtidoṣa*).

cañcala cīe paiṭhā kāla CGK 1 “Into the unsteady *citta* enters the time (i. e. the spatio-temporal existence).¹⁴ cf. Comm. : *prakṛtyā-bhāsadoṣayaśāt cañcalatayā prākṛtasattvenācintyarūpo hi rāhuḥ sa eva kālaḥ...saṃvṛtibodhicittamṛgāṅkaṁ soṣaṁ nayati—jima jalehiṁ sasi disai cchāā, tima bhava-ñivvānā nīrantareṁ paiṭṭho*. DKS RS 130, “as the moon reflecting on water, so all existence are illusion, such can not be seen when one’s (*Bodhi*-) *citta* is unsteady. There is no difference between existence and extinction”.

Thus the *Bodhicitta* in its relative stage is always with *vikalpa* and the *vikalpa* is strongly advised to be destroyed. This is metaphorically expressed as the *citta* is to be “fixed”, “killed”, “purified”, “baten”, “restrained”.

*pahaṁ vahante nīa-maṇa*¹⁵ *vandhana klau jeṇa (tihuṇa saala vipḥārīa puṇu saṁhārīa teṇa)* DKK 17 cf. the comm. *syandarūpaṁ sthīrīkṛtaṁ—cia thira kari dharahu re nāl. āna upāye pāra ṇa jāi*. CGK 38 the comm : *pañcajñānātmakam vilakṣaṇasodhitasamvṛtibodhicittaṁ sthīrīkṛtya*.

māraha citta nīvāṇeṁ haṇiā, tihuṇa sunṇa nīraṇaṇa paliā DKT 3 cf. comm, *saṁkalpābhiniṣṭacittaṁ nīrvāṇeṇa śūnyatālakṣaṇeṇa hatvā māryatām*. see also the comm. on CGK 21.

duli duhi piṭṭā dharāṇa na jāa, rukhera tentali kumbhīre khāa. CGK 2 cf. comm. : *dvayākāraṁ yasmin linaṁgataṁ mahāsukhakamalam duli [iti]... bodhavyam....tasya dohanam samvṛtibodhicittam,...tasya bhakṣaṇam niḥsvabhāvikaraṇam [sādhakāḥ] kuṇṇanti* see also the comm. on CGK 35; DKS RS 119.¹⁶

14 ORC P. 39

15 The *manas* here is commented to be the *Bodhicitta*. See also III (1) below.

16 *citta deva je salahi sājjai, para-cittānta cāuli bhuñjai* the second pāda, being a *sandhā bhāṣa*, presents us difficulty in deciding the meaning of *cāuli* (rice). Although no positive proof is found, I suggest to take it as the *saṃvṛti bodhicitta*.

saṁvara citta-rā diḍḍha cāṅgo yāva ṇa daṁsaa visaa bhujāṅgo. DKS RS 122, “Restrain¹⁷ the (saṁvṛti Bodhi-) citta completely so that the snake¹⁸ may not bite the objects of the senses.”

When *vikalpas* are cast off the *bodhicitta* regains its own absolute stage (*vivṛti*); “the *Bodhicitta* is therefore pure by nature”.—*citta sahāve suddha* DKS PB 106; MS 108; DKT 13—*asamala citta ma jhānem kharaḍḍha* DKS PB 23; MS 25; RS 43 “Do not defile in meditation the *bodhicitta* which is pure by nature”.—*sahaje sūna sampannā* CGK 42 “the *Bodhicitta* is perfect in the *sahaja* state that is void”. Also cf DKS PB 104; MS 106 DKS RS 129 etc.

The *dohā*, then, is interpreted as follows : “If one realizes thought as being beyond cognition, the unsteady functioning of intellect and the vital wind (that carries *vikalpa*) cease. (Thus) where the *Bodhicitta* is fixed (i. e. the *Bodhicitta* gets rid of *vikalpas*), there appears the pure state where (no dualistic discrimination such as) existence or extinction enter”.

II *maṇa nimmaḷa sahaḍḍavatte sahaḍḍavatte gau*.

ariula nāhiṁ pavesa |

etthi cēhiṁ phuda sathāviu,

so jīṇa nāhiṁ viśesa || DKS RS 45

(1) The *manas* in the first pāda stands for the *Bodhicitta* *Manas* used in the sense of *citta* is sometimes found in our texts but the number of the cases is rather few. And the instances of the replacement of *citta* by *manas* seem to occur mainly in two kinds of the context.

17 cf. *savmara* in the Buddhist Hybrid Skt. Dict. of F. Edgerton.

18 *bhujāṅga* is in another place used in the sense of the *Bodhicitta*. CGK 28 : *savaro bhujāṅga nairāmani dāri pemha rāti pohāiṭi*, “(On the bed of the Mahāsukha) Savara, i. e. the serpent (of the *Bodhicitta*) and the goddess Nairātmā pass the night of love’. As to the Nairātmā, see II (1).

Firstly, this is most evidently seen in such passages as having something, explicitly or implicitly, to do with the doctrine of the union of the *Bodhicitta* with the female force. The *Bodhicitta* produced in the *Nirmāṇacakra* (near the navel) as the result of the union of semen and ovum, is considered to be male. This is then to march upward along the middle nerve called *Avadhūtīkā* through the *Dharmacakra* and the *Sambhogacakra*. It finally reaches the *Mahāsukhacakra* in which the *Bodhicitta* becomes motionless and is united with an internal female force of the nature of the vacuity (*śūnyatā*) or of essencelessness (*nairātmā*). This is the perfect stage and the *Bodhicitta* itself transforms into the *Mahāsukha*.¹⁹ In the vast majority of the cases the word *citta* is used to be united with *Nairātmā* or *Dombī* or other goddesses that represent the female force. But in much fewer cases it is replaced by *manas*, which the commentary unanimously takes as the *Bodhicitta*.

maṇaha bhaavā khasama bhavai, divarātti sahaje rāhiai. DKT 17 “The *manas*, i. e. *Bodhicitta*, is the *Bhagavān*, The vacuity is the *bhagavatī*. The former should be fixed in the *sahaja* day and night”. cf. comm : *mano bodhicittaṃ bhagavān.—hāwīṃ nirāśī khamūṇabhatāre, mohora bigoā kahaṇa na jāi.* CGK 20 comm : *ahaṃ bhagavatī Nairātmā nirāśīḥ āsaṅgarahita, khamañeti sarvaśūnyaṃ maṇaḥ svāmī.*

The upward march of the *bodhicitta* is processed by arresting two winds, i. e. the *prāṇa* (having always an upward motion) and the *apāṇa* (downward motion). These two winds must be made to flow together through the middle nerve along which the *bodhicitta* flows upward it reaches the *uṣṇīṣakamala*, the seat of the *Mahāsukhacakra*. In this sense the *bodhicitta* should be made steady by making the winds steady so that it may not go either to the left nerve or to the right nerve.

19 Concerning this theory, see the detailed account given in ORC pp. 92 ff. ITB pp. 162 ff.

paham vahante ña-maṇa vandhaṇa kiau jeṇa, tihuṇa saala vipphāriā punu saṃhāria teṇa. DKK 17 cf. comm : *syandarūpam bodhicittam sthirikṛtam.*—*aha ṇa gamaiūha ṇa jāi, veṇi-rahia tasu ñiccala tṭhāi, bhaṇai kāṇha, maṇa kahavi ṇa phuṭṭai, ṇilala pavaṇa ghariṇi ghare vatṭai.* DKK 13 cf. comm : *adho na gacchaty apānavāyor nirodhāt, ūrdhvaṃ na gacchati prānavāyor nirodhāt. dvābhyām ūrdhvādhaḥ prānāpānābhyām rahitaṃ parityaktaṃ tasya tathārūpena bodhicittam nirasya tiṣṭhatīti....bhanati kāṇha mana bodhicittam katham api na sphuṭati na rudhyati iti.*²⁰—*jahiṃ icchāi tahi jāu maṇa ahavā niccala tṭhāi addhugghāṭi loaneṃ diṭṭhiṃsāme koi.* DKS RS 31 this dohā of which the second line is dilapidated, may be the same dohā DKT 35 : *jahi icchāi tahi jāu maṇa etthu na kiṭṭai bhanti, adha ugghāḍiya loaneṃ jhāncṃ hoi re tṭhiti.* cf. comm : *adha sthitam nirmānacakram udbhūtam avadhūtīmārgam udghāṭya mukṭikṛtya ālokena caṇḍāgniñānolkayā dhyānena mahāsukhasya sthitiṃ bhavati.*²¹

Secondly *manas* often occurs for *citta* in such passages as “the Bodhicitta enters into *samarasa* or *mahāsukha* or *sahaja*”. In this context too the majority of the cases show the word *citta*, whereas the word *manas* (as is seen in the dohā now under discussion) is rather few. In this case *manas* is often compounded with *ratna*. Conversely speaking “*mano-ratna*” seems invariably mean the Bodhicitta. In the following are collected all the instances of this type.

jima jale pāṇiā ṭaliā bheu na jāa, tima maṇaraṇa samarase gaṇa samāa. CGK 43 “as water entered into water makes no difference, so the jewel of the *manas*. i. e. the *bodhicitta* enters into the *samarasa* of the nature of the vacuity”. cf. comm : *yathā bāhyaṇīrāntarapatanabhedo*

20 Also cf. DKK 22 (see III (1) below)

21 Concerning the idea to let the *citta* go wherever he likes, cf. DKS PB 100; MS 102 : *mukkau cittaṅgaṇa karu, ettha viappa ṇu pucchā.* comm : *yatheccayā saṃsāramadhyeṣu kriḍaṇaṃ kuru. asyed-āṇ vikalpaṇ na prechasi. kutaḥ yataḥ sarve bhāvās tattvātmakās tattvāśritāḥ tattveṣu nīlnāḥ bhavanti. kiṃtu prāṇātipātādi-kukarmaṇaṃ varijjasi.*

na jñāyate buddhaiḥ, iathā mano-bodhicitta cittaratnaṃ yogīndrasamarasī-
bhūtaṃ gaganeti prabhāsvare viṣati tatra tasya jñānopalaṃbho na syād
iti.²² *nia maṇa muṇahure niuṇṇeṃ joi, jima jala jalahi milante soi.*
DKS PB 32; MS 34 cf. comm : *nipunaṃ mano nirmalaṃ*
bhāvābhāvarahitaṃ prabhāsvaramayaṃ vā drakṣyasi.—*sahaje niccala*
jeṇa kiu samaraseṃ nīmaṇa-rāa, siddho so puṇa lakkhaṇe nau
jarāmarañaha bhāa. DKK 19 (MS 19 reads *maṇa-rāja*) cf. comm :
sahaje mahāsukhopāyena niṣcalam, askhalitarūpam kāyānandādyekarasi
bhāvena bodhicittaṃ jñānānandacaturthaṃ yena yoginā kṛtam . je kia
niccala maṇa-rayāṇa nia ghariṇi lai ettha. DKK 31 cf. comm : *yena*
kṛtaṃ pracandāli cālayitum asakyatvat niṣcalaṃ manoratnaṃ bodhicittaṃ
nijagrthini yam eva divyamudrā tatraiva evaṃkare mahāsukhasthāne sa eva
vajrī vajradharo nāthaḥ kāyavākcittaprabhuḥ—jo saṃveai maṇa praṇa
aharaha sahaja pharanta, (so paru jāṇai dhammagai...) DKK 16 cf. comm :
yaḥ saṃvetti manoratnaṃ kulīśābhjasamhyogāt acyutirūpaṃ bodhicittaṃ
aharṇiṣaṃ sahajasvabhāvaṃ pariṣphuṭaṃ (sa...)—*nihue nīa maṇa dea ulāla*
CGK. 30 cf. comm : *nibhṛtena nirvikalpākāreṇa nijamanaḥ bodhicittaṃ*
vajraguroḥ prasādāt sahajollāsaṃ dodātīti. The *manas* in the DKS RS 109
is to be understood in the same way. *jai maṇa sahaja nīrantareṃ pāvai,*
indī visaahi khaṇavi ṇa dhāval. “When the Bodhicitta enters into Sahaja
completely, the sense organs do not work over the objects even for a
moment”.²³

22 cf. similar passages of the *citta*:—*mātela cīa gaendā dhāvai, nīrantarā*
gaṇanta tuse gholai. CGK 16—*gaavara samarasa sāndhi gunīā.*
op cit. 17 etc.

23 Concerning this replacement of *citta* by *manas*, there seems to be
some looseness in the commentary of CGK. Apart from those
mentioned above, the instances in which the comm. takes *manas*
in the texts as *citta* are only found in three songs of CGK. In
all the cases, however, the *manas* seems to occur in the right
context because it is invariably connected with the faculty
of intellect (cf. III (2) below). Furthermore the comm. once
paraphrases the *manas* as *citta* but later again as *manas*: *moha*
vimukkā jai maṇā, tabeṃ tuḷai avanā-gamaṇā. CGK 46 comm :
svacittam mohāvimuktam karosi.....tadeva saṃsāramaṇa yaḍi moha-
vimuktam bhavati.....paramārthavittasya aṅkamadaṃ kuru—mana
taru pañca indī tasu sāhā. CGK 45. “the *manas* (comm. *citta*)
is a tree of which (five) branches are five sense organs”.—*suineṃ*
hattha bidāraa re nīa mana tohoreṃ dose CGK 39 “O, my *manas*,
drive away your *doṣas* even while you are in the dream”.

(2) In the second pāda, *arikula* remains difficult. In CGK 16 the word enemy (*vipakṣa*) once appears in such a context that when the *Bodhicitta*, having entered into *Nirvāṇa* after its upward march to the *uṣṇīṣakamala*, drinks the juice of the *Mahāsukha* and becomes the lord of the five objects (i. e. *vajarsattva*), no enemy is then to be found there. The commentary takes it as *kleśa*. The context of the dohā here in question is exactly the same as that of the CGK mentioned above. Then, may we take the *arikula* in the same meaning ?

Then the dohā may be interpreted as follows. "If the *Bodhicitta* enters into the pure state of *sahaja*, various sufferings (?) are found nowhere. . (Thus) the *Bodhicitta* places itself (in *sahaja*). Then there is no difference between he (i. e. the *yogin*) and *jina*".²⁴

III *jena na pasavai hiaa pajjora, tena kisevi ena | saguṇa palsai tiasa janu, bhāvau citta maṇena* || DKS RS 154.

(1) The verbal translation of the first line will be "what is the use of him who does not produce a lamp in his heart ?" The real sense underlying here seems to be almost impossible to find out with certainty. But I think this passage may have something to do with the ideas shown in the DKK 22 and DKS PB 97.

jai pavana-gamana-duāre didha tālā vi dijjai, jai tasu ghorāndhāreṃ maṇa divaho kijjai, (jina-raana uareṃ jai so varu amvaru chuppai, bhaṇai kāṇha, bhava bhuñjante nivvāno vi sijjai) DKK 22 cf. comm : *pavanasya gamanaṃ dvāram tatrārdham yadidam abheditam abhedyatālasamputi-karaṇam candraśūryayor mārganirodham diyate. yadi tasmin ghorāndha-*

24 The second line gives us no great difficulty. The *citta* in the third pāda definitely means, the *Bodhicitta* which is "to be by itself fixed (*svasthāpita*)". cf. supra. The idea that in the *sahaja* state any dualistic discrimination perishes and no differences between Brāhmaṇa and Sūdra, existence and extinction etc. can be found; it is too commonly expressed to be quoted in detail.



*kāre manor.vṛttibodhicittam*²⁵ *tadeva mahāsukhaprakāśakatoāt dīpaḥ kriyate.* Here *dīpa* (lamp) implies the illuminating nature of the *vivṛti-Bodhicitta* in the nature of the *Mahāsukha*. It is frequently mentioned elsewhere that the *Bodhicitta* in its ultimate state is illuminating and freed from all the darkness of ignorance.

Similarly the *Mahāsukha* is said to be shining like the moon in the darkness. *ghorāndhāreṇ candamāṇi jima ujjoa kareḥ, paramamahāsuha ekkukhaṇe duriāsesa harei.* DKS PB 97; MS 99 “as the moon shines forth in the dark, so the highest *mahāsukha* drives away in a moment all the defilements (comm : *samsāraduścariṭa*) completely”.

With the help of these, the first line of the dohā may be interpreted. “One who does not make a lamp of *sahaja* of the nature of the *Mahāsukha* is useless”.

(2) The difficulty of the fourth pāda consists in the relation between *citta* and *manas* which appear in the same sentence unit. In order to clarify it, two more passages are to be quoted.

haṃ puṇu jānāmi jeṇa maṇu cchādaḥ cintātātā. DKS RS 145 “Again, I know the *manas* that makes us abandon the truth of the (*Bodhi-*) *citta*”.²⁶ Here the *manas* means nothing but the faculty of intellect which always misconceives the truth that is to be intuited within. cf. *saasaṃveana tatthaphala, Tūlapāa bhaṇanti, jo maṇo-gocara paiṭṭhai so paramattha na honti.* DKT 9 cf comm. *svasaṃvedāṇ phalaṃ tattvaṃ, ye manogocaraprāptāḥ padārthās te paramārtho. na bhavanti.* Tillopādā bhaṇanti yas soayambhnyamānam nirvikalpam mahāsukham tad tattvaṃ nānyavikalpaviṣayābhāvā.

e maṇa mārahu lahu citte nimmūla, tahiṃ mahāmudda tihuanēṃ nimmala. DKT 33 *lahu citte* is an emendation of P. C. Bagchi from the Tibetan source (*yid ni gsod la sems ni rts ba med par gis* = *maṇaḥ māraya citte nirmālam*) and he translated the dohā as follows: “Kill this mind in the *citta* completely without delay”.

25 The *manas* here is the *Bodhicitta*. see II (1) above.

“Killing the *manas*” necessarily means the control of the *vikalpa*, cf. *vuddhi vināśai maṇa marai jahi tuṭṭai ahimāṇa* (so *māṇmaa paramakalu, tahiṁ kiṁvājḥai jhāṇa*) DKS PB 53; MS 55; RS 61 cf. comm : *·yat kiṁcit kalpitāṁ buddhiṁ vināśayati vismaraṇaṁ karoti vikalpamano mriyate.·· javveṁ maṇa atthamaṇa jāi taṇu tuṭṭai vandhaṇa. taṇvveṁ samarasa sahaje vajḥai, ṇau sudda ṇa vamaṇa* DKS PB 46; MS 48 cf. comm: *vikalpamaṇaḥ astamitaṁ bhavet tasmin sarvabandhanaṁ vinaśyati—javveṁ tahiṁ maṇa ṇiccala thakkai, tavveṁ bhavhsaṁsāraha mukikai.* DKS PB 59; MS 61; RS 66 cf. comm : *yadi tatra mano niścalatvena sthitam ātmātmyādikalpanāra-hityāt . .* cf. also CGK 19 with the comm., DKS RS 141 etc.

As we have seen before, *citta* is easily spoiled by the *vikalpa* and therefore to be “killed, fixed, devoured” and so on. And *manas* is here also said to be closely related to the *vikalpa*. It is, however, not easy to decide which is more directly responsible for the production of the *vikalpa*. Concerning this problem, a verse in the *Apratiṣṭhānaprakāśa* of Nāgārjunapāda, which is quoted in the commentaries on CGK 8, 9 and DKT 4, is significant. *yāvān kaścīd vikalpaḥ prabhavati manasi tyājyārūpo hi tāvān*. “As long as there is produced in *manas* any sort of *vikalpa* (thought construction), everything is to be let off”. Thus the *vikalpa* is produced through the function of *manas*, which may, as is understood in other schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism, be accompanied by and moving together with *citta*. The functioning of *citta* and *manas* is spontaneous. It may be a little arbitrary to conclude that this relation between *vikalpa*, *manas* and *citta* as discussed here was always consciousnessed by the Sahajiyās and unanimously taken for granted. Further investigation is necessary to reach the convincing assertion. Nevertheless I suppose that as for as the three *dohās* quoted above (i. e. DKS RS 154, 145; DKT 33) are concerned, the Siddhas composed them with this relation in their mind.

The *dohā* in question, then, may be interpreted as follows. “What is the use of him who does not make a lamp of *sahaja* in his heart? If he realizes that the Bodhicitta is always under the influence of the *vikalpa* for the production of which the faculty of intellect is responsible he can be well qualified to enter among the god’s folk”.

26 As to the confusion between *citta* and *cintā* in this text, see FN (8)

ETYMOLOGY OF HITTITE GAST-(KAST-) “HUNGER”

Satya Swarup Misra

The following forms of the word *gast*—‘hunger’ are attested in Hittite (vide E. H. Sturtevant, A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language; first edn. p. 188 and Rev. edn. p. 100) :—

Nom. sg. *gasts* (written ka—a—āš—za)

Acc. sg. *gastan* (written ka—āš—ta—an)
or ga—āš—ta—an)

Inst. sg. *gastet* (written ka—a—āš—ti—ta)

Dat. sg. *gasti* (written ka—a—āš—ti)

Gen. sg. *gastas* (written ga—āš—ta—āš)

The following additional forms of “*gestwant*”—‘hungry’ are attested also.

Dat. sg. *gestwanta* (written ki—iš—du—wa—an—da)

Nom. pl. *gestwantes* (written ki—iš—du—wa—an—te—es)

These two words are undoubtedly related with ablaut distinction of a : e (<IE o : e) and the second word is a Taddhita-extension of the first one with *-want-* suffix (cp. Skt *-vant-* <IE *-went-*/*-wont-*).

In Tocharian A and B we find cognates of this word as *kast* and *kest* respectively with identical meaning. Sturtevant quotes Tocharian *kast* as a cognate, but he does not mention the other dialectal form. Sturtevant aptly guesses the initial guttural to be an IE voiced aspirate *gh*. But he considers it to be IE palatal *gh*, on the basis of comparison of Hittite *gast* with Skt. $\sqrt{h\bar{a}}$ in *jahāti* ‘leaves’ and Av. *zazūiti* ‘smisses’ and Gk. *khēra* ‘widow’ etc.

But I prefer to compare Hittite *gast* ‘hunger’ with Skt. $\sqrt{ghas}$ ‘eat’. This root is undoubtedly of at least Indo-Iranian origin. as the corresponding Avestan root is $\sqrt{gah}$ —‘to eat’. The initial guttural was not of IE palatal series because Avestan shows *g*-(not *z*) and Skt. perfect shows *jaghāsa* instead of *jahāsa*. It is not also labio-velar as Hittite shows *g* and not *gw*. Thus the IE root must have been *ghes* : *ghos* with pure

velar. To derive Hittite *gast* and Tocharian *kast* the IE pleonastic suffix *-t* may be added to the root. This suffix *-t* is found in Skt. only after short vowels as in *sakrt*, *viśvajit* etc. But it seems that there was no such restriction, in the proto-speech as can be known on the basis of Hittite and Tocharian.

T. Burrow (Sanskrit Language, p. 291) compares Skt. *kṣudh-* with Hittite *gast* admitting two different suffixes i.e. suffixes *-udh* for Skt. and *-t* for Hittite and Tocharian. But it is phonologically preferable to accept *gast* to be connected with Skt $\sqrt{ghas}$ IE. <IE *ghos-t* as shown above. The *kṣ* of *kṣudh-* cannot be taken as weak grade of $\sqrt{ghas}$ as there is a phonological difficulty. Skt. *ghas* contains IE pure-velar where as Skt *kṣudh* has IE palatal as the initial sound, because Avestan cognate for Skt. *kṣudh-/kṣudhā-* is *suda* (<*ks-*) and not **xsuda* as would be expected from a velar *gs*. Therefore it is safer to assume *kṣudh-* to be another root, the history of which may be traced up to Indo-Iranian with the present evidence.

This paper was read and discussed in a meeting of the Calcutta Philological Society.

A STUDY ON THE SYSTEM OF EPENTHESIS IN RARHI

Sudhir K. Karan

It is popularly believed that more than two hundred years ago epenthetic words were largely in vogue even in the dialects of West Bengal, the consequent result being the system of umlaut or 'Abhiśruti'. It is also now an established fact that the Rārhi or the present standard colloquial Bengali dialect crossed through the epenthetic stage and has reached the final stage of umlaut through the process of phonetic change.

Dr. Sukumar Sen however has told us that epenthetic words were not found in Bengali (i. e. in Rārhi) before seventeenth century (vide *Bhāṣār Itibṛtta*, 8th edition, p. 245). If so, it is sure that the system of epenthesis died very quickly in the Rārhi as we do not get its proper relics even in the language of 18th and 19th century so far as the book-language written in those centuries is concerned. The Bangāl dialect of course, spoken in some parts of East Pakistan still preserves the epenthetic form true to its spirit.

We know that in epenthetic words the two vowel sounds 'i' and 'u' change their place and precedes the consonant which was actually in the preceding position. Thus we get the words like *kāirā* < *kariā*, *dhairā* < *dhariā*, *suinā* < *sunīā* and also *hāuṭṭā* < *hāṭṭā*, *jaullā* < *jaluā* etc. in the present day Bangāl dialect.

It may be well imagined that Rārhi had rapid phonetic change towards umlaut. But it seems doubtful whether epenthesis was a strong and clear characteristic of Rārhi dialect. It may be asked also whether epenthesis was a system of all the languages of the Eastern Māgadhī group or was it a prevalent factor only in the Bangāl dialect? According to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *apinihiti* "in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, does not seem to have occurred. It is found only to a very limited extent in Bihārī; and although it is quite a common characteristic of the Eastern Magadhan group, it cannot be said to have come into force in

the Magadha dialects or languages before the N. I. A. period. The O. B. remains in the Čaryās and in Saryānanda, as well as in the names in the inscriptions, do not give any traces of epenthesis". (ODBL, page 378). Dr. Chatterjee has also said that Maithilī, Magahi, Oriyā, all belonging to Eastern Magadhan group generally have no epenthesis though some times some traces may be found.

Thus it is clear that epenthesis was never a characteristic of the languages mentioned.

It may be possible that umlaut may come into existence without crossing the stream of epenthesis. The process of vowel harmony and vowel contraction may produce more or less the same result and the words like (*kore, dhore, bole, Jolo, meṭho, heṭo*) etc. simply may come through vowel harmony and vowel-contraction, of course varying in degree in pronunciation.

Certain dialects of West Bengal such as the South-western Bengali of the district of Midnapur and the Sīmānta-Rāṛhī dialect of the area mainly comprising Purulia, West Bankura, Dhalbhum (Singbhum in Bihar) and many other contiguous places may however throw some more light on the problem of epenthesis-umlaut.

In S. W. Bengali we simply get the contracted forms of *kariā, dhariā, baliā* pronounced as *karyā, dharyā, balyā* etc. and the words like *jalo, heṭo, meṭho* etc. do not change their original forms which are *jaluā, hāṭuā* and *māṭhuā* but pronounced in a contracted way so that a strong accent falls on the first syllable and the words are pronounced as something like *jalluā* (the final *a* being shortened naturally) and so on.

In Sīmānta Rāṛhī, generally we do not get any word based on umlaut and the words like *kariā, dhariā, baliā, ṣuniā, rākhiā* etc. are always pronounced as *karye, dharye, balye, ṣunye, rākhye* the accent being on the second syllable and the words like *jaluā, māṭhuā, hāṭuā* etc. are pronounced with a short *ā* finally.

Now we may think it reasonable that the -y- of the words *dharye* etc. may have been dropped in near future so that without any epenthesis and simply through the process of vowel-harmony we may get the words like *dhore, kore, bole* etc.

It is notable that the words like *rekhe, jege, mege* etc. are pronounced as *rekhyā, jegyā, megyā* in some parts of the S. W. Bengali speaking area. In the other parts of S. W. Bengali speaking area these are pronounced purely as *rākhyā, jāgyā* and *māgyā* and we do not get any epenthetic stage at all and we also hear them to pronounce $\tilde{e}riā < \tilde{ā}riā$ instead

of *āiṛā* and *geṛiā* < *gāiṛā* instead of *gāiṛā*. Thus completely leaving aside stage of epenthesis and only through vowel-harmony and vowel-contraction, we may get the words like *hēiṛā* < *hāiṛā*, *pekhyā* < *pākhiā* as in the name *terapekhyā*, a village in the the district of Midnapur.

In this way we have the village names like *mugberiā* < *mugbāriā*, *uluberiā* < *uluberiā*, *batgechyā* < *bagāchiā* etc. "A typical early 19th century MS. (dated 1804 : VSP., 700 ff) shows spelling like 'pēryāche' has brought down, 'esyāche' has come, 'enyā' having brought, 'ēsya' having come, 'thēkyā' having been, 'bērāilā' came out beside 'khātyē' to eat, 'bāyyā' having rowed, 'kāndyā' having wept. The spelling in ē (ēnyā etc.) are contemporary phonetic spellings while those in ā (bāyyā etc.) are archaic and conventional—the old ā having undoubtedly been altered to an [e] sound by the end of the 18th century". ODBL, p. 389.

We have already seen that only through vowel-harmony and vowel-contraction the words like *rākhiā*, *baliā* etc. may easily change the initial sound of -ā- to -e-. Thus in the words *rākhiā* etc. the vowel of the second syllable draws up the vowel of the first syllable to the place of 'e'

In Sīmānta Rāṛhī we do not get the harmony of these two vowels of the first two syllables but harmony is there with the second and third syllables. So instead of *rekhyā*, *jegyā*, *regyā*, *megyā*, as found in S. W. Bengali, we get *rākhye*, *jāgye*, *rāgye*, *māgye*. Sometimes the short *i* is dropped when it is simply pronounced as *rākhechill*, *māgechill* leaving no trace of any epenthetic sound.

We already know that an epenthetic -u- has been transformed into -'e'-and for which we get the standard Bengali words like *heṭo*, *meṭho*, *keṭho* and so on < *hāṭuā*, *māṭhuā*, *kāṭhuā* through *hāṭṭā*/*hāṭyā*, *māṭṭā*/*māṭhyā*, *kāṭṭā*/*kāṭṭhyā*. In S.W. Bengali and in Sīmānta Rāṛhī the original Bengali words of these contract themselves to produce the words like *hāṭṭua*', *māṭṭhua*' and *kāṭṭhua*' with a short *a* finally and some times these remain simply as *hāṭuā*, *māṭhuā* and *kāṭhuā*, perhaps it will not be improbable to suggest that only through vowel-harmony *heṭuā*, *meṭhuā*, *keṭhuā* may be transformed into *heṭuo*, *meṭhuo* and *keṭhuo* in order to reach the final stage (of *heṭo*, *meṭho*, *keṭho*). The words like *jolo*, *joro*, *jodo*, *modho* < *jaluā*, *jaruā*, *jaduā*, *madhuā* also may come through

similar way, and it is more probable that (*jaluā* < *jaluo* < *jolo*; *Jaduā* > *Jaduo* < *Jodo*) i e. *uā* > *uo* > *o*.

It is also possible that we may have the words like *sādh* < *sādhū* *māg* < *māgu*, *cār* < *cāri*, *gāṭh* < *gāṭhi* etc. only by dropping the vowels like -i and -u. Then what about the words like *sedh* as in '*sedher jhi*, *cer*, *geṭer kari*. But these words are very rarely used and may be peculiar to some particular place. Perhaps we do not get *sedh*, *cer*, *geṭ* unless they come through *sāidh*, *cāir* and *gāiṭ*. Singularly we do not get *sedh*, *cer* and *geṭ* but only when they are used in possessive case as to be found in *sedher jhi*, *cerer pāc* and *geṭer kari*. It is notable that in the words *sādher*, *cārcr* and *gāter* we have two vowels -ā- and -e- which easily can transform the initial -ā- to -e- according to the rule of vowel-harmony.

It is of course true that some arbitrary pronunciations which do not have any rigid rule sometimes prevail in the mouth of the village folk. Thus we may have here *berujje* instead of *bārujje*, *herie* instead of *hārie*, *esber* instead of *āsbār* etc. and all these words are found in a drama namely 'kulin-kula-sarvasva', written in the middle of the 19th century. In the district of Howrah and Hooghly we hear the common men to pronounce the words *pālie*, *tātie*, *garie*, *hārie* etc. as *pāile*, *tāire*, *gaire*, *hāire* etc. which originally come from *pālāiā* etc. and peculiarly enough when the verb-root is of one syllable this does not occur. Only when the verb-root is of two syllables like *pālā*, *tārā*, *garā*, *hārā* etc. we get this epenthetic '-e-' which is nothing but pure metathesis.

In *Simānta Rāṭhī*, there is an epenthetic tendency in pronunciation as to be found in the words *kāitte*, *dhaitte*, *haitte*, but strangely enough this tendency is not all found in the pronunciation of the conjunctives like *karye*, *dharye*, *balye*.

Michael Madhusudan Datta in his dramas kept these same words as pronounced in Jessore and Khulna. In S. W. Bengali the words like *karba*, *balba* etc. are pronounced not as *korbo*, *bolbo* and in *Simānta Rāṭhī* also the words are *kairba*, *bailba*, having a slight metathetical tend-

ency and without transforming -a- to -c-. In standard colloquial Bengali these are pronounced as *kotte*, *dhottē*, *bolte* etc. and it is not improbable that without passing through the epenthetic stage and only by dropping the -i- of *karite*, *dharite*, *balite* etc. we get the words mentioned above. In this way we get the words like *koccho*, *dhoccho*, *bolcho* (st. colloquial) and *kaccha*, *dhaccha*, *balcha* of S. W. Bengali by dropping the -i- from original Bengali words *karicha*, *dharicha* and *balicha*. In Sīmānta Rāṣhī however we may sometime have a slight epenthetic sound of *i* when these words are pronounced which are not really epenthetic.

In Sīmānta Rāṣhī we also get the -i- pronunciation of the words ending in -ya. Thus St. Bengali 'kābbo': Sīmānta Rāṣhī 'kābbia' and such is the case with *sattia*, *kanniā* etc. The words like *lakṣya*, *dakṣa* etc. are pronounced as *lokkhia*, *dokkhia*, and so on and it is due to the final sound 'khia'.

All these though seem to be epenthetic, probably are really not so. The S. W. Bengali and the Sīmānta Rāṣhī dialects are no doubt much conservative in this character. We get rarely any epenthetic word there and that also not at all found in the conjunctives. The original words are contracted only to produce the words in S. W. Bengali *māryā*, *dharyā*, *basyā* (*basiā*), *kayā* (*kahiā*), *jāyā* (*jāiā*), *hālyā* (*hāliā*), *dhāyā* (*dhāiā*) etc which are pronounced in Sīmānta Rāṣhī as *mārye*, *dharye*, *basye*, *kahye*, *jāye/jāe* and so on and only through vowel harmony, *mārye* may be pronounced as *merye*, and then *mere*, lessening the accent on the second syllable.

Perhaps a sound like 'āy' developed simultaneously with *ā* and so we always have the words like *cāyr*, *kāyṭ*, *āyj*, *kāyl* in the Sīmānta Rāṣhī dialect of Bengali which may be direct development of *cāri*, *kāṭi*, *āji*, *kāli* etc. through epenthetic words like *cāir*, *kāit*, *āij* and *kāil* but these may be treated as the examples of metathesis. In this connection it may be told that epenthetic -u- is not at all found in this dialect and the words like *māṭhuā*, *kāluā*, *jaluā* etc. do not show the slightest tendency for *māuṭhuā*, *kāuṭhuā*, *jauṭhuā* and so on.

It may be recalled again that no epenthetic words are found before 17th century. In Prakrit also there was no epenthesis and except Bangālī or Vanga dialect it is nowhere a prominent character and perhaps this was not at all a prominent characteristic in the dialects of West Bengal.

THE NASALS AND FRICATIVES IN CENTRAL NEPALI

Balkrishna Pokharel

Jumli is the central Nepali dialect spoken in Jumla, Tribhuvan, Mugu, Humla, Rasuwa, Eastern Bhajura, Eastern Achham and Bajura. It can also be called Khasani because these districts once constituted the parts of Khasa, i.e., a Khas kingdom. To the south-east it embraces its gorkhali sister (Eastern Nepali), whereas to the west it meets its another sister Dotyali (Western Nepali). It is also associated with some minor Tibeto-Burman dialects in the north as well as in its own area. Like Dotyali, Jumli was also used for literature before the time of Prithvinarayan Shah but, eventually, it also has come to be purely a spoken dialect.

I have heard of many sub-dialects of Jumli but have as yet found only four forms : Bajhāngi, Rasuwa, Asidarali and Tribhuvani. My knowledge of these is based on the following list of the materials which have been prepared for me by my friends on my request. These materials are not yet published and are lying with me :

- (1) Nāso (a short story by G. P. Mainali),
—translated by Dhan Bahadur into Rasuwa.
- (2) —Do—translated by Janak Bahadur Bista into Bajhāngi.
- (3) —Do—translated by Ramkrishna Mahatara into Tribhuvani.
- (4) —Do—translated by Harishchandra Mahat into Asidarali.
- (5) Basāi (a novel by Lilbahadur Chetri)—
translated by Harishchandra Mahat into Asidarali.

I have come to know that the standard Jumli is represented by Asidarali,—of the others, Tribhuvani is influenced by Eastern Nepali, Bajhāngi by Western Nepali, and Rasuwa is half way between Bajhāngi and Asidarali.

The Nasals

The dental *n* is very popular, e. g. *nyā*, here; *nāno*, smali; *nunna*, husband's younger sister etc. It assimilates a preceding *r* in a conjunct, cf. *hennu* (to see) beside *heryo* (he saw); but it is assimilated by a preceding *l*, with nasalization of the following vowel, e. g. *bol̃u* (cf. EN. *bolnu* to speak), *ḍhull̃u* (to sleep), *khell̃u* (cf. EN. *khehnu*, to play), *bollyā* (cf. EN. *bolnyā*, speaking one), *khellyā* (cf. EN. *khelnyā*, one who plays). The dropping of intervocalic *n* with the consequent nasalization is also seen, e. g. Bajhāngī *mā̃s* besides the regular *mā̃ṭha* (man); *pasiyā* (cf. EN. *pasinā*, sweat) is very popular throughout the whole Jumli area. It is aspirated as *nh* when followed by *h*, *nhānu* (cf. EN. *nuhānu*, to bathe) < Skt. *snāna*, Pkt. *nhāṇa*, bath. It is found as changed to *lh* in a single word, *lhuni* < Skt. *navantta*, butter.

The labial *m* is also a popular nasal, e. g. *mun* (EN. *man*, mind), *mālā* (garland), *mero* (my) etc. It assimilates the following *r*, e. g. *hāmmo* (EN. *hāmro*, ours), *rāmmo* (EN. *rāmro*, beautiful). It is dropped in some tadbhava words leaving trace of nasalization, e. g. *bhiā̃*, ground or floor (cf. Skt. *bhūmi*, land), *dā̃ulo* (string) Skt. *dama* + **illah*; *kãulo* < Skt. *komalāḥ*, soft. The *m* followed by *h* in the next syllable becomes *mh*, e. g. Skt. *mahājana* (merchant) > Jumli *mhājun* (EN. *mājaṇ*). But the word *mahiṣaḥ* (bullock) becomes *bhuĩso* (buffalo), cf. Hindi *bhaisā*, EN. *bhaisī* (fem.), WN. *bhaĩso* (masc.) The word for "rice" is *cā̃hal* (cf. Hindi *cāval*, EN. *cāmal*). This is the sole example of *m* changed into *ñ*.

The velar *ṇ* does not occur initially. Finally and also medially it is used in various ways. e. g. *aiār*, a kind of plant, *xaĩa* (with); *ũka* (figure). In the tadbhava words it is very commonly nasalized, e. g. Skt. **akṣakaḥ* (for *akṣi*, eye) < Pkt. *aikhāa* < CN. *ā̃kho*; CN. *jā̃gar*, (smartness), cf. Skt. *jaṅghā*, thigh. The word *ṣaikā*, (doubt), has given birth to the Jumli *sunko*, (trace i. e. an action which is often helped by doubt). Its counterpart in the Eastern Nepali is *sũko*. The change of *n* into *ñ* is not very frequent in CN.

The cerebral η is not found in Jumli proper. However, in Bajhang, perhaps due to the influence of WN., the old conjunct $\eta d d$, instead of becoming simplified leaving trace of raslization (as in EN.) is simply simplified as η , e. g. Skt. *bhāṇḍa* > Pkt. *phāṇḍā* > EN. and CN. *bhāṇḍo*, but WN. (including Bajhang) *bhāṇo* (utensil), Skt. *kaṇṭakah* > Pkt. *kaṇṭao* > EN. and CN. *kāṇḍo*, besides WN. *kāṇo* (thorn).

The palatal $\tilde{n}$ is the rarest nasal. It is only found in the nasalized condition in the tadbhava words, e. g. *bhāṇu* (to break), cf. Skt. *bhañ-jana* (act of breaking), *ujūli* < Skt. *añjali* (cavity formed by joining two palms).

Fricatives

Jumli can tolerate only the palatal sibilant $\tilde{s}$, in addition to the mere aspirate *h*. The $\tilde{s}$ is not always an original $\tilde{s}$, for already in the MIA. period all the sibilants, had been fused together. Therefore, the Jumli palatal $\tilde{s}$ is only partly historical e. g. Skt. *śirasthāna* < CN. *śirān*, (heading); Skt. *aṃśakah* > CN. *āso*, portion; Skt. *śvetaḥ* > CN. *seto*, white; Sometimes $\tilde{s}$ and *ch* are interchangeable, e. g. *śakal* or *chakal*, morning (cf. Bengali *śakāl*, morning). Further examples of dental $\tilde{s}$ (or the cerebral $\tilde{s}$) found as the palatal $\tilde{s}$ in Jumli are *diuṣu*, in mid-day (cf. Skt. *divasa*), *śāt* < Skt. *sapta*, seven; *tīṣ* < Skt. *tṛṣṭā*, thirst.

But the spirant $\tilde{x}$ (pronounced as the *ch* in the German word "loch") is a commonly expected Jumli sound for sibilants ($\tilde{s}$, $\tilde{ś}$, $\tilde{ṣ}$), e. g. *barxa* < Skt. *varṣa*, year; *xampai* < Skt. *sampatti*, wealth; *xurag*, sky, < Skt. *svarga*, heaven; *xāu* (cf. EN. *sāu*, a richman) < Skt. *sādhu*; *xā* (cf. EN. *sāga*, with); *byāxar* (cf. EN. *besār*), turmeric, < Skt. *vesavāra*. But there are a few instances where the palatal $\tilde{s}$ may also be used side by side with the spirant $\tilde{x}$, e. g. *śuṇa* : *xā* (with), *sātyā* : *xātyā* (friend), *śāt* : *xāt* (seven).

The Jumli $\tilde{s}$ (derived from any source) is treated according to the following manner.

(1) It is retained in some words as mentioned above.

(2) It is changed to *x* in major cases as mentioned above.

(3) *st > ith*, *ṣt > iṭh* and *sk > ikh*; but in Rāskotī and Bajhāngī the change is simply 'it', 'iṭ', and 'ik' respectively. Examples are given below.

EN.	CN.	CN.	WN.	English.
	(Asidarāli)	(Rāskotī)		
<i>usto</i>	<i>uiṭho</i>	<i>uito (uho)-</i>	<i>(uṣo)-</i>	like that
<i>yasto</i>	<i>yaiṭho</i>	<i>yaito (yaho)-</i>	<i>(yaṣo)-</i>	such
<i>kasto</i>	<i>kaiṭho</i>	<i>kalto (kaho)-</i>	<i>(kasa)</i>	like what ?
<i>kaṣṭinu</i>	<i>kaiṭhinu</i>	<i>kaṭṭimu</i>	<i>x</i>	to be in pain
<i>kaṣṭa</i>	<i>kaiṭha</i>	<i>- x</i>	<i>-x-</i>	pain
<i>bastu</i>	<i>baiṭh</i>	<i>bait</i>	<i>x</i>	thing
<i>asti</i>	<i>aṭhi</i>	<i>aiti</i>	<i>atthi</i>	day before yesterday
<i>usko</i>	<i>uiṭho</i>	<i>ulko</i>	<i>uiko</i>	his, her, its
<i>kasko</i>	<i>kaiṭho</i>	<i>kaiko</i>	<i>kalko</i>	whose ?

(4) The conjunct *sn* is treated according to the following manner.

EN	CN	WN	English
(<i>sn</i>)	<i>ṭ-(n)</i>	(<i>ss</i>)	—
<i>basnyā</i>	<i>baiṇyā</i>	<i>bassyā</i>	living one
<i>hāṣnu</i>	<i>hāṇnu</i>	<i>hassa</i>	to laugh
<i>māṣnu</i>	<i>māṇnu</i>	<i>māssa</i>	to spend
<i>bāṣnu</i>	<i>bāṇnu</i>	<i>bāssa</i>	to live
<i>kaṣnu</i>	<i>kaiṇnu</i>	<i>kassa</i>	to tighten

(5) The conjunct *sr* is changed to *rx* by metathesis, e. g. *khoxī* (EN. *khosrī*, having scratched), *parxī* (EN. *parṣī*, having crept), *dorxo* (EN. *dosro*, second). The conjunct *rs* also is treated likewise, e. g. *parxi* (EN., *parsi*, day after tomorrow).

(6) The words *kaṣo*, *tarṣo*, *yaṣo* (how, like that, like this) are found in Bajhāngī, whereas in the rest of Jumlī they become *kao* (*kaho-*) *tao* (*taho*), and *yao* (*yaho*) respectively. The expected forms would have been **kaxo*, **taxo*, and **yaxo*.

“h”

The mere aspirate *h* is a regular phoneme, e. g. *hunu* (to be), *hāt* (hand). But in the medial position either it is united with the preceding consonant or it is elided, e. g. *mhājun* (EN. *mājan*, merchant), *gha*, eyepit (cf. Skt. *gahvara*, hole, pit), *jhān* (EN. *jān* < Persian *jahān*, world), family; *dhunu* (EN. *duhnu*, to milk), *bhauti* (cf. Skt. *bahu*, Hindi *bahut*, many, or much,) (medial dropping) *sāeta* (Skt. *sahāyatā*, help), *palli* (EN. *paille*, cf. Hindi *pahale*, at first), *ḍillān* (EN. *di hāllān*, they will give), *kalimu* (cf. Hindi *kahalānā*, to be called).

A NOTE ON THE DEŚĪ PERSONAL NAMES FROM THE EARLY RECORDS OF BENGAL

Bhabataran Datta

More or less, eight hundred Hindu personal names can be had, including fiftyeight female names, from the available works and inscriptions of Bengal up to the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. From these personal names it can be analysed that there are two sources of the personal nomenclature of this period. One is *deśī* and the other is Indo-Aryan. Of the *deśī* class of personal names it must be mentioned that attempts were made duly to Sanskritize the names which prevailed in the pre-Aryan days. Accordingly, it can be said that there are two sub-classes of the said class of personal names. One sub-class is that which remained intact in their *deśī* forms. Following is the list of such and to trace the meaning and source of which, in some cases are impossible and in some hypothetical. The second and third components of all the following personal names are *tatsama*. *śrī* is used before the personal names as a mark of respect.

Itīta :

Kālasakha :

Kuṇḍalīpta :

Khodula-deva-śarmana :

Gurava-miśra : cf. *guru*

Cahala-deva-śarmana :

Cirāta-datta : possibly kirāta-datta*

Jajāva :

Jolāri : cf. *jola*, mixed caste and *ari*

Taṭṭana-devī (f) :

Tiṅga-deva :

Tyaṣṭana-devī (f) : A variant of Taṭṭana-devī (f) :

Dāmrāta-svāmī :

* Select Inscription by Dr. D. C. Sirkar.

- Durgata :
 Dedda-devī (f) : cf Diddā (f), name of a princss of Kāśmīra.
 Dhoyī :
 Pāi (f) :
 Picca-kunḍa :
 Bappa (Bapya)-svāmī : cf. *baptā*
 Bāra :
 Bhāmaha : cf. Bhāmaha, author of *Prākṛta-manoramā*.
 Bhāsaitya :
 Bhoyila :
 Maṅkha-gupta :
 Mahana (Mathana) :
 Mākri : cf. *makara*
 Māndī, śrī :
 Miko, śrī :
 Raṅka :
 Rannā-devī (f) : lull word. cf. *rājan*
 Rallā-devī (f) : lull word.
 Revajja-svāmī : cf. Pkt. *revajja*, obtained.
 Ledhu, śrī : cf, N.I.A. *ledā*, *cowdung* (in the sense of dull or fool)
 Vaja-deva :
 Vavvā-devī (f) : lull word.
 Śālāḍḍa-nāga :
 Saṭṭa-soma :
 Hampi-nāga :
 Harjara-varmā :

The second sub-class of the *deśi* class of nomenclature can be said to be hyper-sanskritized forms in which some pleonastic affixes are being added finally in order to give them a Sanskrit look. The pleonastic affixes are -aka, -ika, -ikā, -uka, -oka, -ka, kā and *svārthika* -ṭa. These pleonastic affixes were very commonly used in the thirteenth century and after, e. g., in the case of the names of the poets as mentioned in 'Saduktikarṇāmrta'. Following is the list of such and to trace the meaning and source of some are impossible, and some hypothetical. All other components other than the first are *tatsama*.

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| Abbokā (f) : | —kā |
| Āluka : | —ka. cf. Āluka, name of <i>keśa</i> , the chief of the Nāgas or serpent race. |
| Indoka : | —oka. |

Kalaka :	—ka. cf. <i>kalaka</i> , a kind of fish.
Khandabidurggarika :	—ika
Khāsaka (Khusaka) :	—ka
Gāṅgoka :	—oka
Goyika :	—ka. cf. <i>gopi</i>
Goṣṭhaka :	—ka. cf. <i>goṣṭha</i>
Citramatikā (f) :	—kā
Cheppāyikā (f) :	—kā
Jayika :	—ka. cf. <i>jayi</i>
Tuṅgoka :	—ka
Dāmuka :	—uka. cf. <i>dāma</i>
Divokka :	—okka. It might be a <i>deśi</i> form of <i>divya</i> , cf. <i>divyaka</i> , a kind of serpent.
Nāḍabhadaka :	—ka
Nāthoka :	—oka. cf. <i>nātha</i>
Nābhaka :	—ka. cf. <i>nābha</i>
Nibboka-śarmana, Bhaṭṭa :	—ka
Pavitraka :	—uka. cf. <i>pavitra</i>
Pāukā (f) :	—kā
Puṇḍroka :	—oka. cf. <i>puṇḍra</i>
Pobyoka (pobboka) :	—oka
Bāthoka :	—oka
Buduka :	—uka
Bhogika :	—ka. cf. <i>bhogi</i>
Rāmaka :	—ka. cf. <i>Rāma</i>
Rīyoka :	—oka
Rumaḥa :	—ka. cf. <i>Ruma</i> , name of a man RV.
Lalitoka :	—oka. cf. <i>lalita</i>
Varnāṭiyoka :	—oka cf. <i>Varnaṭa</i> , name of a person, 'Rājatarāṅginī
Vittoka :	—oka. cf. <i>vitta</i>
Vaidyoka :	—oka. cf. <i>vaidyaka</i> , a physician.
Śaṇḍaka :	—ka. cf. <i>ṣaṇḍa</i> .
Śatruka :	—ka. cf. <i>śatru</i> , an enemy, subhāshi-tābali.
Śūdraka :	—ka. cf. <i>śūdraka</i> a name in Rāmāyaṇa and Śūdraka, the author of Mṛcchakaṭika

Śyāmāyikā (f) :	—ikā. cf. <i>śyāmikā</i> (śyāma-ka-ā) (fm.), greenness.
Sabhrāyikā (f) :	—ikā
Sāṅgokā (f) :	—kā
Siddhoka :	—oka. cf. <i>siddha</i>
Sumkuka :	—ka
Sohnoka :	—oka. cf. <i>solloka</i> . and <i>soluka</i> , name of persons ?
Saukhyāyikā (f) :	—ikā
Svastiyoka :	—oka. cf. <i>svastika</i> , a kind of bard.
Hiṅgoka :	—oka. cf. <i>hiṅguka</i> , name of plant used as a medicine or for seasoning.

With reference to the hyper-Sanskritized forms with the pleonaastic affix -ṭa (*svārthika-ṭa*) the following list can be given. In one case, however, reference can be given to the ancient chronicles of Kāśmīra. In other cases the references are hypothetical.

Tātata :	cf. <i>tāta</i> or <i>tatva</i>
Durggata :	cf. <i>dūrḡa</i>
Devata :	cf. <i>deva</i>
Bhijjata :	
Bhogaṭa :	cf. <i>bhoga</i>
Vapyata :	cf. <i>baptā</i> or Vapyatadevī (f), name of a princess of Kāśmīra.
Subhaṭa :	cf. <i>subha</i>

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FLORA AND FAUNA IN THE PLACE NAMES OF BENGAL

Krishnapada Goswami

A large number of place-names are found to occur with the names of trees fruits, vegetables, flowers, birds, beasts, reptiles etc. Some of them are given below.

(a) Names after trees, plants and fruits :

Bisurigach < viṣahari [(Pab)na]	Nimtitā (Mur)
Bāblā [(Bur)dwān, (Mym)ensingh]	Kadamba (Bur)
Seorā [(Khu)lnā]	Cāltā [(Ban)kura]
Māndārī [(Noa)khali]	Gambhārīā (Mid)
Khāgrā [(Din)ajpur, (Mur)shidabad]	Karañji (Mid, Din)
Atāphalā (Mur)	Amṛā (Tip, Bur)
Bhubi (Mym)	Kāmrāṅgā (Tip)
Karamja [(Raj)shahi]	Phuṭi (Mym, 24 p.)
Tetaiā < tetul [(Tip)perah]	Jāmirā [(How)rah]
Dephal [(Bar)isal]	Amlā (Mym)
Baheṛā [(24 p)arganas]	Ākandi (Mid)
Helencā (Pab)	Dhutrā (Din)
Berelā [(Hug)ly]	Paltā (24 p, Bur, Mid)
Pitānāu < tikta alābu (Mid)	Nisindā (Mym, Bur)
Mandāran < mandāravana (Ban)	

(b) Names after vegetables :

Ciciṅgā (Mid).	Uste (Mur).
Dumur [(Rang)pur]	Karālā (How).
Jagaḍumbur (Pab).	Śūsunia (Ban).
Paṭal (Mym).	Kumri < kuṣmāṇḍikā [(Jes)sore]

Lāuphul (Mym),

Haldi (Mur, Bur, Ban)

(c) **Names after flowers :**

Beli (Hug)

Palāśi < Palāśikā (Bur, Mur).

(d) **Names after crops :**

Bhuṭṭā (Mym).

Maśuri (Mym).

Sariśā (24 p).

(e) **Names after reptiles :**

Sāpmārā < sarpa [(Dac)ca]

Takṣak (Mur).

Kumbhīrā < kumbhīra [(Mal)dah]

(f) **Names after birds :**

Kokil (Din, Mym).

Bagā < baka (Dac).

Dāuki < dāhukī (Dac).

Śākuni (Far).

Mayurā (Tip).

Maynā (Bur, Khu, Jes).

Bāyesā < vāyasa (Jes).

Bādurā (Mur, Bar).

(g) **Names after insects :**

Bhingrol < bhṛnga (Chi).

Bhīmrol (Dac, Bar).

Ārsulā (24 p).

(h) **Names after fish :**

Kākrā (Mid, Mym);

Rohita (Bar).

Singi (Bur).

Tapsī (Din).

Kailāṭi (Mym).

Śuṭpipul (Mid).

Śiuli < Śephālīkā (Bur, Mid).

Mouri (Bur).

Keorā (Mym).

Rasunā (Mym).

Gokhur [(Chi)ttagang]

Kānār < kāṇārā [(Bog)ura]

Dārāis kāṭhi [(Far)idpur]

Pāyrā (Mym).

Kuṛā (Mym).

Śālikhā (How).

Pecā (Mid).

Kāoyā < kāka (Mid).

Dahukā (Ban).

Kāktiyā < kāka + ṭiyā (Ban).

Bhomrā < bhramara (Far).

Uipokā (Bur).

Mākrā < mākaṛa (Jes, Bur).

Teṅgrā (Jes, Far, 24p, Dac).

Cingrā (Hug).

Kātlā (Mym).

Khayrā (How).

Śoulā (Far, Bar).

Māgurā (Jes, Hug).

Ichābācā (Bur).

(i) **Names after animals :**

Pāṭhāmārā (Khu).

Bheṛāmārā (Nad, Bir, Pab).

Khāsimārā (24 p).

Sāṛmārā (Mid, Bir, Mym).

Ghoṛāmārā (very common name)

Kumirmārā (Mid, Bar).

SOME PECULIAR WORDS FROM THE REGION AROUND GALIA

Aditya Kumar Chattejee

Galia is a village in the Bishnupur Subdivision of the district of Bankura in W. Bengal, (famous for its medicine for fever *geler pācan*). The words in the following list have been collected by the writer who is a native of this village. Some of the words may possibly be the same as in the other villages of Bankura and even in the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, but these are not found in the Standard Colloquial Bengali.

A. Nouns and Adjectives—

<i>alār</i>	unbalanced, unsteady.	<i>aśatā</i>	aversion, repugnance.
<i>āgule</i>	watchman.	<i>āckā</i>	unexpectedly.
<i>āṭupāṭu</i>	breathless impatience.	<i>ādār</i>	food of birds and reptiles.
<i>ādhanik</i>	upstart.	<i>ānsāṭṭe</i>	bully.
<i>ānkhā</i>	rash.	<i>ārāpāṭā</i>	preparaory atangement.
<i>ārāḍob</i>	a pit dug as a contrivance to trap fishes.	<i>ālājhālā</i>	sick of.
<i>ālāmārā</i>	exhausted.	<i>āṭhu</i>	knee.
<i>ārse</i>	sweetcake of powdered rice fried in oil.	<i>ærgā</i>	refractory.
<i>el</i>	shelf of ground round a corn field.	<i>ēṭhe</i>	hip.
<i>icle</i>	shrimp.	<i>osār</i>	width.
<i>ucko</i>	strange and unknown.	<i>uṭhno</i>	dealings on credit with shopkeepers.
<i>udmo</i>	rash, indiscretet.	<i>ūl</i>	proper order.
<i>kacā</i>	offspring of fishes.	<i>kalanā</i>	niche.

<i>kāchā</i>	fold tuck of dhuti.	<i>kāchār</i>	tumble.
<i>kāñui</i>	comb.	<i>kāṭākālsā</i>	clear (of payment).
<i>kāp</i>	affectation, pretension.	<i>kāth</i>	wall.
<i>kārā</i>	he-buffalo.	<i>kār</i>	arrow
<i>kār-sāp</i>	a kind of snake.	<i>kæd</i>	a kind of fruit.
<i>kele kōrā</i>	a kind of wild fruit offered to Manasā (goddess of snake).		
		<i>kæcā</i>	a variety of javelin.
<i>kēdeli</i>	outer portion of the basement of a wall.		
<i>keṛeli</i>	a kind of pulse, husked and split.		
<i>kēdai</i>	a kind of centipede.	<i>kāre</i>	trunk of palmyra tree.
<i>kuli</i>	narrow path.		
<i>kudri</i>	kind of fruit used as kitchen vegetable.		
<i>khanā</i>	borderless (with reference to cloth worn by widows).		
<i>khalā</i>	earthen pan.	<i>khāpri</i>	a kind of earthen vessel.
<i>khāl</i>	skin of animal.	<i>khāṭimuṭi</i>	stiff (ref. human body).
<i>khuli</i>	narrow path.	<i>khiye</i>	fishing net used by fishermen.
<i>gaccā</i>	cavity on cart track.	<i>gad</i>	kind of aquatic grass.
<i>gamdā</i>	grave (-face).	<i>gajā</i>	rubbish, refuse.
<i>gādal</i>	feeding spoon.		
<i>golui</i>	a narrow passage between two walls.		
<i>gādrā</i>	milk of a cow just after the birth of calf.		
<i>gābāl</i>	dry bed of pond or river.		
<i>gāṇdiei</i>	ridge of earth along the basement of a wall.		
<i>gār</i>	pit, hole.	<i>gīre</i>	knot.

- gere* pond. *gāj* kind of aquatic plant.
gārgere (-*piṭhe*) a variety of rice-cake roasted in steam.
ghaṇā empty match-box, √Persian *gung*.
ghāi angle at the base of a wall or *el* (see).
ghāt offence. *ghāṭghāti* a kind of fishing net.
ghuni fishing-trap made of split bamboo. *ghāṇā* perplexity.
cakā junction of two roads. *carḱā* thunder and lightning.
caṭā crust. *cābijāl* handy type of fishing net.
cāgrā slab. *cuṭcuṭe* sour fish-fry.
cuor a caste. *ceṭ* kick of animal.
cāṭā mat. *cāc* a kind of coarse mat.
cēye not amenable to reason. *cāḍkuro* a kind of fish.
celo kind of water-melon used as kitchen vegetable.
char skin of animal. *chiye* layer of mud-wall.
chædām one-fourth of a pice. *chæṭā* shameless.
chūto (*hāri*) unclean pot, abandoned and untouchable.
ḷolui nail, iron-spike. *jalbædā* eruption on the body.
jalpaṭāi water-snail. *jāt* village fair.
jābdā strong. *jumṭo* piece of burning wood
jāli a sappy fruit in the bud.
jāt a sanctified piece of wood planted at the central point in the bed
of a newly excavated pond.
jænilā unpolished stick, small branches of bamboo.
jhāl/jhāl sort of game. *jhāl*=jump.
jhāti small branches of Śal tree (fuel).
jhāpi parasol made of palm leaves. S. jāput 'rain'.
jhālkāni kind of vegetable soup.
jhā a disc made of bell-metal, used as musical instrument.

<i>jhāipotā</i>	charred.	<i>tui</i>	vertex of thatch.
<i>tābā</i>	plump lemon.	<i>tālā</i>	slap.
<i>tāp</i>	edge of cloth.	<i>thēk</i>	measure of faggot.
<i>thor</i>	instantaneously.	<i>ḍābu</i>	pit.
<i>deo</i>	kind of fruit.	<i>ḍārko</i>	iron anklet.
<i>ḍōb</i>	hole.	<i>ḍinle</i>	pumpkin.
<i>ḍākur</i>	spider.	<i>ḍhæmnā</i>	a characterless person.
<i>ḍhemni</i>	a wanton woman.	<i>ḍhin</i>	mound.
<i>toribat</i>	prepared perfectly. The word is of Arabic origin.		
<i>tarṭarā</i>	sprinkling.	<i>tālāi</i>	mat of palmyra leaves.
<i>togrār</i>	betting.	<i>thalkul</i>	limit.
<i>dojomi</i>	land yielding crops twice a year.	<i>niñre</i>	rickety (children).
<i>nuius</i>	kind of insect.	<i>nār</i>	widow.
<i>næcar</i>	tenacious, obstinate.	<i>nuo</i>	tears.
<i>pāṭkarunt</i>	maid-servant.		
<i>pālākāṭi</i>	long handy bamboo with sharp knife for cutting leaves (palmyra tree etc).		
<i>pālui</i>	hay stack.	<i>puol</i>	straw-heap.
<i>puon</i>	family, lineage.	<i>puo</i>	sappling.
<i>pæñā</i>	ill-tempered (child).	<i>pālānhurki</i>	unchaste woman who elopes.
<i>poṭkenni</i>	mania for cleanliness.	<i>pāti</i>	plots of land in a row.
<i>pāl</i>	measuring pot.	<i>pethe</i>	small basket. cf. S. phātia
<i>pāc</i>	sprout. cf. S. bak	<i>puṭi</i>	a little girl.
<i>pāb</i>	part of bamboo between two joints. <i>pæṭā</i> entrails. M. poṭa 'intestines'.		
<i>phore</i>	hinder legs of goat.	<i>pharā</i>	hollow.
<i>pher</i>	entanglement.	<i>phurkanā</i>	pimple.
<i>batkā</i>	noisome, rancid; particularly the smell of a he-goat.		
<i>badā</i>	insipid, savourless.	<i>bāgāl</i>	cow-boy.
<i>banā</i>	kind of bird (lit. wild).	<i>bāgrā</i>	leaves of palmyra tree.

- bākhul* house. *baṛ* straw-rope. cf. S. *baṛ*
bākhān evil speaking, abuse. <Skt. *vyākhyāna*, with semantic
 change.
bāri agricultural land. cf. *dhanbaṛi*=paddy field.
bāskanā kind of flower. =cal. coll. *bakphul*.
bedo illegitimate, bastard.
ben big earthenware in which fodder is given to cattle.
bēlag separate (a derivative with Persian prefix attached to Bengali word).
bej entanglement, embarrassment. *bicel* dry paddy-straw.
bærbære (-*ghā*) running sore.
bomā ball'-shaped cake of pulse-meal fried in oil.
bæmrā a bamboo rod for bolting doors etc.
bāddo perplexity, trouble. *boṭlu* a type of brazen pot.
bāki iron ring used as anklet.
bæncarkā lightning and thunder (lit. thunder that excites frog).
būṭhi kitchen knife, S. *binthi* 'knife'. *bæt* mouth.
bhaskā worthless fellow.
bhācā share of rice given to labourers as remuneration for husking.
bhāñāni riddle. *bhālko* species of bamboo.
bhæt seeds of water-lily.
māro place or shed where people assemble to worship a village god.
muduni wooden bar below the vertex of a thatch. cf. S. *mutni*.
mece stool made of bamboo. *mechol* expert angler.
rakā note, epistle. *rāmjhine* a vegetable, lady's finger.
ramākaldī a kind of grain; the same as 'barbaṭi' in Calcutt colloquial.
ras vanity, pride. *rātcārā* bat (lit. nocturnal rover).

rā hair.

rād fence. (from Portuguese)

ruibhār central bed of pond (lit. the pot for the rui fish).

lalā greed.

laskā long (arm).

larkā fishing rod.

lāṭā kind of fruit.

lāhe lāhe widely (ramble).

hḡ cart-track.

lige axle of bullock-cart. S. *niṅghā* 'axle'.

huye sacrificial he-goat meant for Dharma a village god).

lāḍā slanting (tree).

lādnā a heavy type of stick

lāḱā affected.

lāpsā attachment, connexion.

lāḱaṭ over-boiled semi-fluid (rice).

lālā muddy-headed, doltish.

loliloli thin, thread-like (arm),

ṣaṇ company, association.

solī a grain measure.

ṣalākocu an edible bulbous root.

ṣutli a long thread with fishing hook.

ṣānā the big horizontal wooden bar on which the roof of a cottage rests.

ṣārkuṭ refuse-pit.

siṇe boiled vegetables.

hāmā a cell, as granary.

harkā bān sudden spate in a river.

hētāl clod, pieces of stone.

hāpā snake gourd.

Verbs :

āgād- beat severely.

kapā- strike (with axe or digger)

khācā- plan, design.

khic- skin.

garāl- kick.

giṇur- show teeth in agony, grin.

ghit- swallow.

caṭā- strike with an axe or digger.

cāb- trap (fishes).

chāṭāl- trample.

jhur- smooth unpolished branches.

jānlā- strike with stick.

tur- speak vigorously.

phād- over-pass.

phir- put out sheaf from stack (hay).

phāṭā- throw.

bāj- ache, twinge.

bājā- wind (rope etc).

phik- throw.

bir- cross-examine.

mu- churn.

ṭālā- slap with the palm.

lākārā- utter, respond.

hāmlā- bleat, low.

hāṭāl- throw stone.

lādnā- strike with a stick.

[M.=Mundari; S.=Santali]



A NOTE ON LINGUISTIC CHANGES IN BHUMIJ AND JUANG

Dipankar Das Gupta

Bhumij and Juang are in contact with their neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages. The term 'linguistic changes', as it has been used in this paper, refers to the changes occurring in a language as a result of language contact.

Bhumij and Juang genealogically belong to the Munda Group of languages of the Austro-Asiatic sub-family of the Austric family of languages¹. Bhumij belongs to the Kherwari sub-group (or Eastern sub-group) of Munda languages and Juang belongs to the Non-Kherwari sub-Group (or Central sub-group) of Munda languages². Bhumij is mainly spoken in Ranchi district and Singhbhum district in Bihar, Purulia district in West Bengal, Mayurbhanj district and Balasore district in Orissa. Bhumij population, as per language Census 1951, is 101508. Juang is spoken in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal districts in Orissa. Juang population, as per language Census 1951, is little above 12000.

The salient features (or overall pattern) of Munda languages are given below with a view to ascertain the present position of Bhumij and Juang. As Mundari exhibits all the significant features of the Munda Group of languages, the examples are cited from (M)undari.

Phonological Level :

1. Checked consonants³ (') and 2. Glottal stop⁴(?).

Examples :

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1. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV and Vol. I Part I (1906 and 1927).
 2. Ibid.
 3. In Mundari, checked consonants are not so tense as they are in Santali; therefore the symbols b' and d' have been used instead of p' and t'. Vide, Mundari Grammar and Encyclopaedia Mundarica, by Hoffmann.
 4. From the historical point of view, glottal stop in the Munda languages can be traced back to checked consonants (with few exceptions); e. g. M. ? < *k' *c'.

- | | | | | | |
|----|----|-------|------------|--------|----------------------|
| 1. | M. | dub' | 'to sit', | silib' | 'deer' |
| | M. | med' | 'eye', | tasad' | 'grass' |
| 2. | M. | seta? | 'morning', | seta | 'dog' |
| | M. | uri? | 'cattle', | uri | 'to feel by finger'. |

Morphological Level :

1. Three grammatical numbers.

Examples :

- M. (Zero modification) 'sg',
 —kiñ 'dl',
 —ko 'pl'.

2. Inclusive and exclusive forms of 1st personal pronouns.

Examples :

M. alañ 'you (sg.) and I=we', aliñ 'he/she and I=we'.

M. abu 'you (pl.) and I=we', ale 'they and I=we'.

3. Grammatical distinction between animate and inanimate.

Examples :

M. seta hai jomitanæ 'dog is eating fish' (animate object),

M. seta mandī jomtanae 'dog is eating cooked rice' (inanimate object),

M. hoṛo gojo?tanae 'man (animate subject) is dying',

M. lalten jultana 'lantern (inanimate subject) burns'.

4. Pronominalization, i. e., incorporation of pronominal forms in the verbal constructions.

Examples :

M. (aiñ) seno?tanaiñ 'I am going',

M. (alañ) seno?tanalan 'We (incl. dl.) are going',

M. (aliñ) seno?tanalin 'We (excl. dl.) are going',

M. (abu) seno?tanabu 'We (incl. pl.) are going',

M. (ale) seno?tanale 'We (excl. pl.) are going',

M. (am) seno?tanam 'You (sg.) are going', and so on.

Pronoun is used separately (in addition to pronominal suffix) for emphasis, e. g., aiñ seno?tanaiñ 'I (not any other person) am going'.

5. Vigesimal counting system, i. e., counting on the basis of 20 's.

Examples :

M. mid' hisimiad' 'one-twenty-one (i. e. 21)',

M. barhisi 'two-twenty (i. e. 40)',

M. upunhisimiad' 'four-twenty-one (i. e. 81)'.

Syntactical Level :

Agglutinative type of sentences are found; i. e., roots, prefixes, infixes, suffixes are glued together and each element retains its entity.

Example :

jom + i + tan + a + e (eat + sg. animate object + present continuous aspect + verb-stem formative suffix + sg. animate subject) > jomitanae '(dog) is eating (fish)'.

In Manbhum (Singhbhum district and Purulia district) and Ranchi district a section of the Bhumij people speak in their own language which is a form of Mundari marked by the influence of neighbouring languages. In Ranchi district the language is marked by the influence of Tamarua or Panch Pargania¹ which is a sub-dialect of the Magahi dialect of Bihari. In Singhbhum and Purulia districts their language is marked by the influence of Bengali. The form of Mundari spoken by the Bhumij people in Manbhum is locally known as Bhumij Ṭhar. The term 'ṭhar' is used by the people to designate a tribal language or dialect. In Manbhum there are some other tribal dialects known as 'ṭhar', viz, Kharia Ṭhar, Kurmalī Ṭhar, etc. 'ṭhar' actually means a language or dialect which is understood by a particular group of persons and which is not intelligible to others. I had no opportunity to carry out field investigations among the Bhumij people in Orissa, but the speech-materials presented by Grierson² are from Nilgiri State of Orissa and these speech-materials do not basically differ from the Bhumij Ṭhar, which we collected from Singhbhum and Purulia districts. From the linguistic point of view, there is no doubt that the original language of the Bhumij was Mundari. The changes which have distinguished Bhumij Ṭhar from Mundari are undoubtedly due to the influence of neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages. The salient points of deviation may be pointed out :—

1. At the phonological level we find that the checked consonants and glottal stop have lost their phonological importance. Glottal stop is frequently found to be dropped, e. g.,

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1. For samples of Panch Pargania speech-materials, vide, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V. Part II (1903).
 2. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV (1906).

da? ~ da 'water',
 senoʔtanae ~ senotanae 'he is going'.

Checked consonants occur in free variation with their non-checked counterparts, e. g.,

med' ~ med 'eye',
 dub' ~ dub 'to sit'.

The neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages spoken by the bilingual Bhumij people do not have checked consonants and glottal stop.

2. At the morphological level we find,

- (i) Two numbers—singular and plural. Dual number occurs occasionally—but generally plural number occurs in the place of dual number, i. e., the significance of dual number from the grammatical point of view is in the process of decay.

It is to be noted that Modern Indo-Aryan languages, from the grammatical point of view, do not recognize dual number.

- (ii) Grammatical distinction between animate and inanimate is also in the process of decay. Expressions like : nere hoʔo mena : 'here is a man' occur more frequently than : nere hoʔo menaia : (/i/ in : menaia : indicates that the subject is animate).

Such grammatical distinction between animate and inanimate is absent in Indo-Aryan languages.

- (iii) Pronominalization occurs in Bhumij Thar—but it is also losing its functional importance. There is a tendency to use pronouns separately. Sentences like : aiñ senotana : 'I am going' occur generally in the place of : senotanaiñ :.

Indo-Aryan languages do not have 'pronominalization' and pronouns are used separately as the subject or object of the verb.

- (iv) Vigesimal counting system is present, but, Indo-Aryan cardinal numbers are used frequently side by side with Mundari cardinal numbers.

3. At the syntactical level changes are not so prominent excepting

the use of postpositions like : -e, -ko, or definite suffix -ta. e. g.,
haiko bilie jomtanæ 'cat is eating fish', (cf. *M. pusi hai jomitonæ*).

4. At the lexical level, the outright borrowings from Indo-Aryan languages are less restricted in comparison to Mundari.

The Bhumij people who retained their language, i. e., Bhumij Thar, are bilingual—in Ranchi district they speak in Panch Pargania with their neighbouring people, in Manbhum (i. e., Purulia and Singhbhum districts) they speak in Bengali with their neighbours and even among themselves. But majority of the Bhumij people in Manbhum, especially in the eastern and southern portions of Manbhum, are monolingual in Bengali—they cannot speak or understand Bhumij Thar. Among these Bhumij people we find a case of total language shift—they have switched over from Bhumij Thar, i. e., their form of Mundari, to Bengali (i. e., Manbhum dialect of Bengali) which is structurally a different language.

The Juang people in Orissa are all bilingual, besides their own language, they speak in Oriya. During my field-investigations in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal districts I did not come across any Juang who is monolingual either in Juang or in Oriya. Though the Juang people retain their own language, they speak in Oriya with their neighbours and occasionally among themselves. The Juang language is highly mixed up with Oriya—besides the naturalized loan words from Oriya, e. g., : *munusə* : 'man', : *gasə* : 'grass', *ñā* : 'name', : *dudə* : 'milk', : *kara* : 'sun', : *jərə* : 'fever' etc., they incorporate Oriya words freely in their language :— *arə betənke~arə doreke* : 'he fears (cf. Oriya : *dorə* 'fear').

Some of the features of the structure of Juang language, which appear to have developed due to the influence of Oriya¹ may be pointed out :—

1. At the phonological level we find that glottal stop is absent²

1. The writer is aware of the probability of the independent development of some of the features (i. e., change irrespective of Oriya influence) described herein.
2. Sporadic occurrence of glottal stop is sometimes observed in the fluent speech due to loss of a stop, especially /k/, e. g., : *grindaksər~* [*grindaʔsər*] 'sweat'. But this appears to be a sporadic phonetic feature and it does not appear to be related to the phonemic structure of the language.

and checked consonants have lost their phonological importance checked consonants occur but they occur in free variation with their non-checked counterparts, e. g., : ɖak'~ɖak 'water' :, ɭɭɔp'~ɭɭɔp 'hot' :.

Retroflex lateral (slightly flapped) sound [ɭ] occurs in Juang, especially in the Oriya loan words.

Oriya does not have checked consonants and glottal stop. Retroflex lateral [ɭ] is a characteristic phoneme in Oriya. Retroflex nasal (slightly flapped) [ɳ] which occurs in free variation with alveolar nasal [n] in Keonjhar-Juang¹ (especially in the Oriya loan words)—e. g., : ɔŋsɔm~ɔnsɔm 'jackfruit' (cf. Oriya : ɔŋsɔsɔ :), : tɔŋɔ ~ tɔnɔ 'cooked-rice'—appears to have entered into the phonemic structure of Dhenkanal-Juang² due to contact with Oriya. [ɭ] also appears to have entered into phonemic structure of Dhenkanal-Juang.

2. At the morphological level we find that
 - (i) Three grammatical numbers (i. e., sg., dl., pl.) are present, but dl. number is losing its functional importance because there are instances showing the occasional occurrence of pl. number in place of dl. number, e. g., : ramɔ hɔri ebɔɖɔŋɖiiki : 'Ram and Hari play' (pl. suffix : -ki: occurs here in the place of dl. suffix -kia; expressions like: ramɔ hɔri ebɔɖɔŋɖiikia 'Ram and Hari play': are in accordance with the grammatical structure of

1. The form of Juang spoken in Keonjhar district.

2. The form of Juang spoken in Dhenkanal district.

Juang).

Oriya, from the structural point of view, does not recognize dl. number.

- (ii) Pronominalization is present (pronominal prefixe are incorporated in the verbal constructions in Juang, e. g., : *nii mikibke* 'We (pl.) do' ;, : *am mikibke* 'you (sg.) do' : etc.) but it appears that the process of pronominalization has become less obligatory, because, verbal constructions without pronominal prefix (i. e., expressions like : *am kibke* 'you (sg.) do') are also occasionally met with.

System of pronominalization is absent in Oriya.

- (iii) Grammatical distinction between animate and inanimate and the exclusive and inclusive forms of the 1st personal pronouns are absent in Juang and in these respects Juang agrees with the structure of Oriya.
 - (iv) Numerals except first four (i. e. : *muinto* 'one' ; *baṭo* 'two' ; *ego'a* 'three' ; *gandami* 'four') are completely replaced by Oriya numerals. Even the numerals below four are frequently found to be replaced by Oriya numerals.
3. At the syntactical level, changes are not so much prominent, but the Oriya particles and postpositions are frequently used (: *ki* : 'interrogative particle', : *-ta* 'definitive suffix', : *tə* 'expletive particle', : *-sangəre* 'sociative postposition', : *-dwara* 'instrumental postposition', : *-thare* 'locative postposition', etc).
 4. At the lexical level, besides a large stock of naturalized Oriya words, outright borrowing of Oriya words are frequently observed.

A comparative study of the speeches of the Bhumij and Juang gives rise to an interesting problem. The speakers of both the languages are bilingual, i. e., in addition to their own language they are conversant with the principal languages of their neighbours, but in the case of the Bhumij we find that the majority of them have given up their own

language completely in favour of Bengali, while the Juang, on the other hand, have retained their own language which is getting more and more mixed up with Oriya day by day. In short it may be said that the language-shift among the majority of the Bhumij in Manbhum is total and the language-shift among the Juang in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal districts is partial¹. The motivation behind the total language-shift among the majority of the Bhumij in Manbhum do not appear to be linguistic, on the contrary they appear to be socio-cultural.

Note : This paper is based on the Bhumij and Mundari speech-materials collected jointly with Shri R. C. Nigam. Observations on the linguistic changes among the Bhumij people are based on their joint work.

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1. For 'partial' and 'total' language-shift, vide, Languages in contact by Uriel Weinreich (1953).
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SOME INFORMATIONS ABOUT “PĀNDU RĀJĀR DHIBI” Panchanan Mandal

Panduka village is said to be named after the king Pāṇḍu a local powerful chieftain who had his residence on this mound (*Pāṇḍu rājār Dīp*) also known as “*Rājār potā*” (the site of the royal palace).

Vārāhī Caṇḍī is said to be the family deity of the Rāja. The image of the deity which is found in a reclining position against a tree, is two confusing to be recognised.

A big tank (*Rasphallā*) on the north side of the stūpa and another bigger one on the south west (*kokphallā*) close to the village Dariāpur are said to be excavated by the same Rājā. It is believed that a dip in the tank may make a sterile woman fertile. She dives down and rises up with fists closed. If either of the fists holds an oyster the woman begets a female child and if a watersnail, a male one. But if the fist is empty or contains a dead oyster only she will have no child. It is said that about a century ago, close to one of the seven water inlets (*koṭāl mohānā*) of the tank there existed one stone image reclining against the trunk of a thick-shaded Aśvattha tree, which was of one of the seven sisters residing in the tank. But now neither the tree nor the stone is to be found there. There is another interesting story connected with this tank. A golden bull (Mahādeva's riding animal) once stayed in the tank, which would graze round the fields during the night and would come back to the water before the day dawned. One day a Sannyasin came upon the tank and saw the Bull. In order to make Mahādeva settle down there permanently and to convert the tank into a place of pilgrimage, he devised means to do away with the Bull. He bought a calf from the village and gave

it to a milkman with the instruction that it should be fed from the entire milk of a cow and not a drop should be milched for other purposes. But the milkman's wife was dishonest and she took a portion of it for sale. As the calf grew up into a stout bull, the Sannyāsin led him to the tank to give fight with the golden Bull of Mahādeva. The fight continued until three quarters of the night were passed and then the bull of the Sannyāsin was killed. At this unexpected happening the Sannyāsin got exasperated and he suspected dishonesty on the part of the milkman and wished destruction of all milkmen. Due to his curse there exists no milkman in the village.

Another belief among the people is that the tank once possessed the miraculous power of supplying pots for ceremonial uses. The people in need of pots used to present betel and betelnut to the deity of the tank along with an invitation to a dinner in their houses. On the day of the ceremony they would come and take away the pots invariably from a particular place. But the supply has been stopped since the Muslims washed beef there.

The palace of the Rājā, it is said, was on the bank of the river Ajaya now two miles off from the stūpa. The river's course being so near the stūpa is proved by the fact that a place is still there known as "Thākrun-Ghāt" and the ruins of a temple are still there.

It is further said that in another small stūpa close to the village Ramnagar, two miles away from this "ḍhibi" there was the *kāchāribārī* or *golābārī* of the same Rājā. This stūpa is known as "*Bārāsāt Dāngā*" also "*Mādhaver Dip*" (Mādhava might be another name of the king).*

* The author visited the site in 1947 and gave some information to the Archaeology Department of the Government of India regarding this "ḍhibi" and he suggested that the excavation of the mound might bring to light valuable and interesting relics, contributing to the reconstruction of the early history of Bengal. Researches of the Archaeologists have since been published in details. Hence it is not worthwhile to publish the author's archaeological notes any more. But his collection of local stories and beliefs regarding the site and its king may be interesting. *Ref.* Viśva Bharati News dated 8. 2. 63. The Statesman dated 31. 7. 63. Ananda Bazar Patrika dated 19. 2. 64. Damodar, (Burdwan) 9. 4. 65.

SOME PECULIAR WORDS FROM DIAMOND HARBOUR REGION

Ramola Mandal

Some peculiar vocables collected from the villages situated in the Diamond Harbour Sub-Division are given below :—

Nouns :

āgāli broken parched rice.

kāmri sārāshi a holding instrument.

kuni small pond.

khūci a very small cane basket.

gator body, health. e. g. *tār gator legeche* He has gained in health.;

ghuni a kind of instrument made of bamboo for catching little fishes.

ghog small hole letting out water,

jauro persistent crying (of a child) for some thing.

jhūjrobālā early morning, dawn.

jhok, jhul ækjhok/jhul dhān kōṭā. Harvesting at a stretch.

talā pore land where paddy-seedlings are grown.

tan attention, e. g. *se ekathāy tan karenī*—He did not pay attention to these words.

titikkāri bitter annoyance.

terki temper, anger.

thopnā jaw. *thopnār ki jor*—How untiringly he can talk. !

don canemade basket which can contain two and half seers.

nod extract. *pākā āmer nod; pākā tāler nod*—Juicy substance of a ripe mango or palm fruit.

neor dew.

bākul homestead.

bemon seedling.

bhāṭā : top.

makṣā . maize.

meclā : earthen manger.

meṭe : a big earthen pot.

Adjective :

khālā : low (land).

cāṭā : shallow (pond).

ṭṭekkharo : easily excitable.

pāṭālo : broad.

mukhkharo : sharp-tongued.

harjāoli : of various kinds (of fishes).

Adverbs :

kharo kharo : quickly. *kharokharo eso* : 'come quickly'.

khunokhuni : bitterly. *keḍe khunokhuni khācche* : is weeping bitterly.

nāgār - all along' *nāgar āse jāy* : comes all along.

bule bule : without doing anything.

Verbs :

ule āsā : to come down.

ele deoyā : to give up a thing as lost, to forego the title to thing.

phikke deoyā : to throw.

buṛiye deoyā : to overflow with water.

buṛiye ānā : *ḍābarṭā buṛiye āno* Merge the pitcher in the water and bring it full.

hāmlāno : e. g. *gāitā hāmlācche* The cow is lowing.

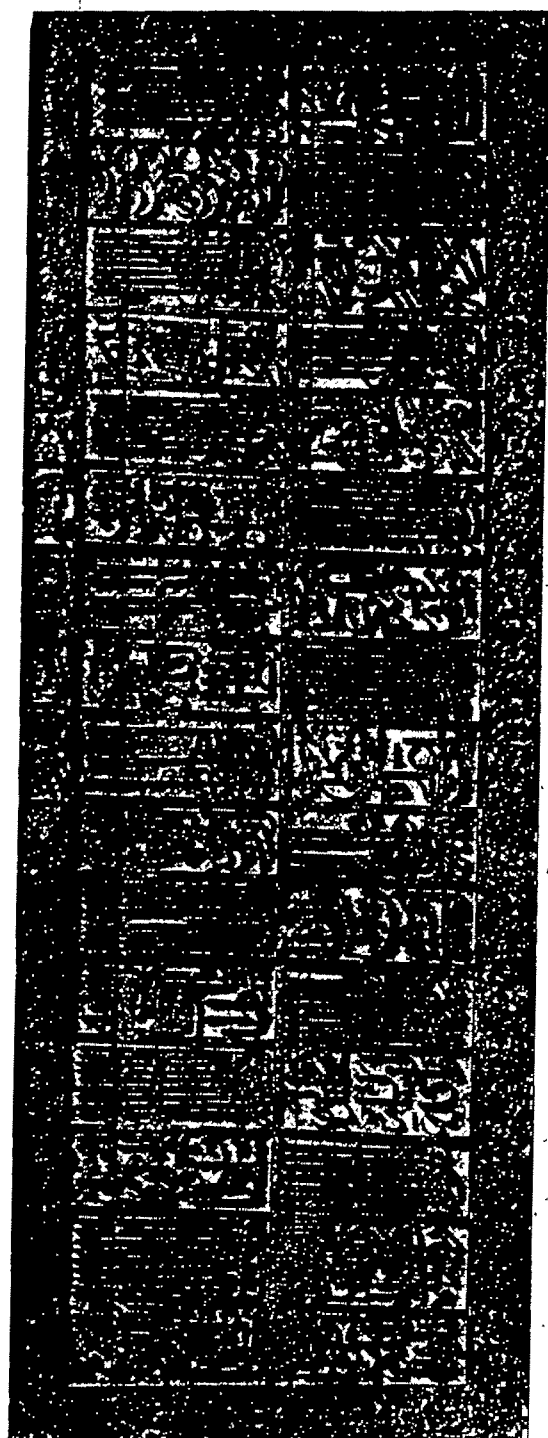


Plate No. 1.

(a) In the Zafar Khan's Mosque, Delhi.
Over the lintel of the southern niche.



Scale '2

(b) On the lintel of the southern niche, below (a)



Scale '142

(c) On the right post of the niche.



Scale '142

(d) On the left post of the niche.



THE VERSIFIED ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL

Chinmoy Dutt

Almost all the early inscriptions of Bengal are in Arabic and the first record in Persian is the inscription of Sikandar Shāh, son of Ilyās Shāh executed in the year 765 A. H./1363 A. D.¹

This fact, the paucity of Persian inscriptions at this period, leads us to believe that though Persian was introduced in this land as early as the sixth century A. H. / twelfth century A. D., Arabic was considered to be a more dignified language for mural writings and numismatic purposes than Persian, and when the Persian language was used, it was largely embellished with phrases of Arabic construction. For over four centuries, Arabic continued to maintain its premier position in the mural records of Bengal, during the supremacy of Imperial governors and Turko. Afghān Sultāns. But the 10th century A.H./16th century A. D. marks a turning point in the field of epigraphy when conquest of Bengal by the Mughals broke the traditional sanctity of Arabic which was replaced rapidly in the field of Epigraphy and Numismatics by Persian.

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1. The inscription is partly in Arabic and partly in Persian verse.

J. A. S. B., 1872, PP. 104-5

Cunningham—A. S. R. vol. xv, p. 98.

Epigraphia Indo-moslemica 1929-30, pp. 10-11

Shamsiddin Ahmad, Inscriptions of Bengal (Rajshahi, 1960), p. 34

A. H. Dānī, Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal, Appendix to the Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan, vol. II, P. 11 (Pakistan, Dacca, 1957).

The total number of inscriptions of the Muslim rulers of Bengal comes to about 200, of which 144 are in Arabic, 21 in Arabic mixed with Persian, 34 in Persian and 1 in Sanskrit. So far, only 2 Arabic inscriptions of Bengal rulers have been discovered in metrical verse; one of the two is in Zafar Khān's mosque at Tribeni, District Hughli, and the other one of Sultān Bārbak Shāh, now preserved in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, U. S. A.

In regard to the merit of the literary production, none of the two could reach the standard of perfection. The authors seem to have been prompted by the idea of producing something marvellous but their attempts were not successful. The style lacks the natural flow while the syntax and the choice of vocables are farfetched. The rhyme and metre are defective. It seems almost certain that the writers were non-Arab. Before the 11th century A. D., Arabic inscriptions in verse even in pure Arab countries are rare. It may be pointed out that the earlier Persian inscriptions are often composed in prose but later on verse becomes gradually common. But such versification was deemed derogatory in as much as the composer, in his eagerness to show off his skill in high-flown language, exaggerated the description of buildings or facts and thus divested the buildings of their true architectural merit and the inscriptions of their true historical value.

The inscriptions studied in this essay may also prove useful to the students of Indian architecture as fixing the date of several important structures viz. the Zafar Khān's tomb at Tribeni, Miyānadar Reservoir at Gaur etc. The greatest interest of the epigraphs, however, lies in their literary and calligraphic features. These versified Arabic inscriptions cannot be classed as brilliant compositions and they seem to have been the work of ordinary poets. The style of writing represented by the inscriptions is the highly stylish ornamental characters of mediaeval Bengal. The script of Bengal, on the other hand, has been characterised from the beginning by delicacy of form and subtlety of arrangement.

The intricate designs in the early forms of the fine Tughra writing of Bengal reached its climax a century and a half later during the reigns of the Habshī kings and the House of Husain Shāh.

1. Inscription of king Kaikā'ūs in Zafar Khān's mosque at Tribeni. Tribeni (Skt. tri=three, benī=braids) is an old place, so named from the fact that three streams branch out at this point, viz. the Bhāgīrathī flowing to the south, the Saraswatī to the west (right), and the Yamunā to the east (left).¹ The sanctity of the place was recognised from the very ancient days. It was an important town and a centre of Hindu learning. Tribeni is often called Tripānī, Tripānī Shāhpur or Fīrūzābād by the Muslim population of the place. The local Muslim community associates this place-name with Sultān Fīrūz Shāh of Delhi but Mr. Blochmann was right in connecting it with Sultān Shamsu'd-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh I of Bengal, whose name is commemorated in an inscription in Zafar Khān's tomb there.²

Zafar Khān's mosque, on which the present Arabic inscription is carved, is built out of the materials of old Hindu temples. The two historical names mentioned in the inscription are those of Kaikā'ūs and Zafar Khān. Ruknu'd-Dīn Kaikā'ūs (1291-1301 A.D.), the only surviving progeny of the Bengal branch of the House of Ghiyāthud-Dīn Balban claiming descent from Sultān Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Balban was raised to the throne of Lakhnauti (Lakṣmanāvatī) perhaps after the abdication of his father in 1291 A. D. The boy king Kaikā'ūs ruled over Bengal and Bihar and issued coins and inscriptions. Again, Governor Zafar Khān, whose origin and life the local tradition had treated as a myth, proved to have been a historical personage by epigraphs and his name,

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1. L. S. S. O' Malley & M. Chakravartty, Bengal District Gazetteers—
Hooghly, Calcutta 1912. p. 254
 2. J. A. S. B. vol XXXIX, P. 282.

race and the province under his government are now known.¹ This inscription and two other epigraphs at Tribeni prove that he was appointed governor of the districts of Dinajpur, Tribeni etc. from 697-713 A. H. and from the texts of these records he seems to have been fond of architecture, liberal, brave and a zealous Muslim, and a patron of learning. He was a Turk, a fact apparent from his name 'Aitigīn', a Turkish word, meaning 'beautiful moon'. The title 'Sikandar-i-thānī' used for Fīrūz Aitigīn in the Lakhisarai inscription has been used here for Bahrām Aitigīn.²

The inscription under notice commemorates the establishment of a school in the year 698 A.H./1298. A.D. at Tribeni in the District of Hughly in the reign of Ruknu'd-Dīn Kaikā'ūs. One Qāḍī al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who for strength of his argument was styled "Qāḍī, the tiger", spent a large sum of money on education. It starts with a tradition of the prophet calling upon the people to acquire knowledge as "its acquisition is verily submission, its search is devotion, its discussion is glorification". Education is compared to 'a shield that can avert such evils as cannot be avoided with the help of a shield-bearer'. The Qāḍī also spent a large sum in granting subsistence to men of learning for "the inculcation of the Muslim law", and "manifestation of the Divine faith among the haughty".

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1. D. Money, "Temples of Triveni near Hughli", J. A. S. B., vol. Xvi, pp. 395-96
 2. The History of Bengal, vol, II, Dacca, 1948, pp. 77-79

Though no direct evidence is available, it is apparent that this inscription was traced by Mr. Blochmann, who first noticed it, and was later on noticed by Dr. Yazdani.¹ The epigraph is found carved in 'alto-relievo' in black basalt around the principal niche, which is built in the 'pillar and lintel' style in the Zafar Khān's mosque. The inscription is a long Arabic poem, a Qaṣīda with a rhyme in 'sun' and it is the oldest record of its kind in India. The lines are composed in a purely Arabic meter, viz. Tawīlī-sālim. The epigraph consists of sixteen lines of which Mr. Blochmann was able to decipher only a few lines, while Dr. Yazdānī's attempt in interpreting the whole epigraph except the second line of the first slab, and the first hemistich of the lines 1, 5 and 9 and two words of the sixth line has been accepted. It is, however, written in fine 'Naskh' style, and excepting the portions where the stone delapidated, the writing is quite legible. The literary style of the inscription is somewhat heavy, but still there are no grammatical mistakes nor any orthographical inaccuracy. The chronogram at the end of the epigraph is important, being the earliest example in the Muslim epigraphy in India.

Zafar Khān's mosque contains several other inscriptions. "Its sanctity in history lies in the fact that it has become in course of time a museum of Muslim epigraphy on account of the preservation of many inscription slabs of different times built into different parts of this mausoleum".² The present one is divided into four parts viz. (a) the religious text, with which it begins, is engraved on a small stone tablet measuring $13\frac{1}{2}" \times 7\frac{1}{4}"$ and fixed above the lintel of the niche; (b) the first twelve verses on the lintel, the carved face measuring $6'8" \times 13"$; (c) verses 13-14 on the right jamb, the inscribed face measuring $5'5\frac{1}{4}" \times 5\frac{1}{4}"$ and (d) the last two verses i.e. 15 and 16 on the left jamb, the carved face measuring $5'5\frac{1}{4}" \times 5\frac{1}{4}"$.

1. J. A. S. B., vol. XXXIX (1870), pp. 285-86;

Epigraphia Indo-moslemica, 1917-18, pp. 13-15, pt. II.

It has recently been reproduced in S. Ahmad's op. cit., pp. 18-19.

2. The History of Bengal, vol. II. p. 78, Dacca University. 1948.

The following reading (Romanised) and translation of the inscription have been prepared on the basis of those of Blochmann, Yazdani and Shamsu'd-Dīn Ahmad.

(a) Over the lintel of the southern niche.

qāla 'alaihe as salāmu tā'allāmu al 'ilma fa inna ta'allamahu lillāhe
tā'atun wa ṭalabahu 'abādatun wa muzakaratahu tasbīhūn wa
albahāthā 'anhu hādīn wa ta'alīmahu limain lā ya'alamu ṣadaqatun
wa bazlahu liahlīhi tanzīhun.

(b) On the lintel of the southern niche below (a)

- (1) linaṣbi durūs wa ittekḥāz madārisi
- (2) salīl al quzzāt al Naṣīr Muḥammad yaḥqab bil burhān qāḍī'l ḥamāris
- (3) wa qad anfaq liamwāl fid durūs hasbat lā yardā bihe arraḥmān 'an
kul darisi
- (4) fayarzag ahl al faḍl man 'and mālihi litadrīs 'ilm al shara 'fauq al
ṭanāfisi
- (5) liazhār dīn allāhi baina al gḥatārisi
- (6) layaḥṣilahu tars min al dars yatqā bihe al shar mā lā yatqa bittārisi.
- (7) binaubat sultān al salātīn 'uhdahu ḥokeya 'an 'uhūd aljam kull
al majālisi
- (8) milāz al war'a rukn al duni kaikā'ūs tadaum lahu al dunyā dawām
al hawājisi
- (9) tabdī Zafar Khān hizbar al 'abāyasi
- (10) bifataḥ bilād al hiṇd fi kull rakḍata wa Shīd banā' al Khair bād al
dawārisi
- (11) wa qala'ulūj al kufr bi'l saif wa alqanā wa bazl kunūz al māl
fi kull bā'isi
- (12) wa hiya rubā'a al Shara 'min ba'd maitah bitalkhīṣ burhān al
'ulūm al faraisi

(c) On the right jamb of the niche.

- (13) Khairjan min al faqhā' bāniaḥ da'ūt liṭa thbīt īmān awān alḥanādisi
- (14) juz allāhi Khaira anhu maḥḍ raḥmat wa bar u āḥsān li ahl al qalānisi

- (d) On the left jamb of the niche.
- (15) wa ta'zīm 'ulāmā' al shari'at jamlāt lā 'alā' a'alām al'alām al
'amālisi
- (16) batārikh hā man sinīn wa šādhā wa khā hūrīf al wafaq ḥisbān qā'isi

Translation

- (a) He (Prophet Muḥammad), may peace be upon him, has said :
 Acquire knowledge because its learning for the sake of God is devotion, and its acquisition is worship and its discussion is praise (of god) and its search is guidance and its teaching to the person who does not know, is charity and its bestowing on the people is glorification.
- (b)
- (1)to institute lectures and to establish schools.
 - (2) The offspring of Qādīs, al-Naṣīr Muḥammad, who for (the strength of) his argument is styled Qādī, the tiger.
 - (3) And he has spent large sums of money on education for the sake of God; so that the merciful one (Allāh) māy be pleased (through his (Qādī's) munificence with every student.
 - (4) From his private money he grants subsistence to men of learning. for the teaching of the Muslim law, besides providing them with carpets.
 - (5)to manifest the Divine faith among the haughty.
 - (6) Through education that he may acquire a shield that can avert such evils as cannot be avoided with the help of a shield-bearer.
 - (7) In the reign of the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, whose government has revived the memory of all the assemblies of Jamshēd's time.
 - (8) The refuge of mankind; the prop of the world, Kaikā'ūs, may the world last for him as long as ideas occur in the mind.
 - (9)Zafar Khān, the lion of lions has appeared frowning.
 - (10) By conquering the towns of India in every expedition, and by restoring the decayed charitable institutions.
 - (11) And he has destroyed the obdurate among infidels with his sword and spear, and lavished the treasures of his wealth in (helping) the miserable.

- (12) And he has revived the institutions of the faith, after its destruction, by selecting arguments based on initiative knowledge.
- (13) The builder expects blessing from such as are learned in the law for the protection of his faith at the time of intense darkness (the darkness of the grave and of death).
- (14) May god reward him (the builder), for he is all mercy, and benevolence and bounty to the wearers of 'qalansūa (pious persons).¹
- (15) And (he has the utmost) respect for all the learned in the faith, in order to elevate the standards of stholars and the virtuous.
- (16) (The institution was built) in the year obtainable from the letters ḥā, ṣād and khā, the numerical value of which (8+90+600) tallies with the calcalation of the chronologist. (698 A. H.—1298 A. D).

II. Inscription of Ruknu'd-Dīn Bārbak Shāh (864-879 A. H./1459-1474 A. D.) found at Gaur, District Malda, West Bengal
 Bārbak Shāh¹ succeeded his fāther Sultan Nāsiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd in 864 A. H./1459 A. D. He was an excellent ruler. During his reign, his subjects and army both were in a happy and prosperous condition. Historians have described him as a "sagacious and law-abiding sovereign", in whose kingdom the soldiers and citizens alike enjoyed contentment and security. While a prince, Bārbak was appointed governor of South-Western Bengal i. e. Sātgaon and it is presumed that he was in charge of the Devikoṭ parganāḥ prior to his appointment in the Sātgaon province.

Bārbak showed great interest in Bengali literature. The poet Mālādhār Basu, who commenced his Śrīkṛṣṇa-vijaya in 1395 Śāka era/1473 A. D. records with gratitude the receipt of patronage from

1. Qalansūa, a close fitting cap(used by the companions of the Prophet.)
 1. cf Persian 'bōrbeg'. The word 'Bārbak' is the Turkish synonym of Amīr Hājib i. e. 'chief chamberlain'.

the Gauresvar who honoured him with the title, Guṇarāja Khān, on his son also, the poet tells us, the king conferred the title of Satyarāja Khān. The poet says :

guṇa nāhi adhama muṇi nāhi kona jñān.

gauresvar dilā nām guṇarāja khān.

satyarāja khān hay hr̥daya nandan.

tāre āśtrvād kara yata sādhujan.¹

The poet was a resident of 'kulīngrāma', District Burdwan, West Bengal, which was an integral part of the kingdom of Bārbak Shāh. Bārbak Shāh's dominion comprised the whole of East and West Bengal, parts of Bihar and Orissa and included Assam and Chittagong upto the borders of Arakan. He reigned successfully upto 879 A. H./1474 A.D.

The inscription tablet² was first found by Creighton close by the Chānd Gate, in the citadel of Gaur in the District of Malda, West Bengal. But Stapleton maintains that the record was traced at Goamālti by Francklin. It is possible that the inscription slab was first found by Creighton lying on the Gate and subsequently it was removed to Goamālti by some one as stated by Stapleton.

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1. Mālādhār Basu, Śrīkr̥ṣṇavijay ed. by K. N. Mitra, Calcutta University, Introduction, pp. 12 & 13.
 2. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Report, vol. XV, p. 53; Ravenshaw, Gaur its Ruins and Inscriptions, pp. 18-19; Abid Ali Khān, Memoirs of Gaur and Panduah, pp. 56-58, A. K. Maitra, The Ancient monuments of Varendra, p. 35; S. Ahmad, Inscriptions of Bengal, vol. IV, p. 85; N. A. Faris & G. C. Miles, Ars Islamica, vol. VII, pp. 141-146; Ahmad Hasan Dani, Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal, Appendix to the Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan vol. II, pp. 26-27, Dacca 1957.

The inscription commemorates the construction of a water course and Gateway during the reign of Sultān Ruknu'd-Dīn Bārbak Shāh in the year 871 A. H./1466 A. D. The epigraph is in Arabic verse and consists of fifteen couplets and a post-script of two lines in Persian prose. It was acquired by the University of Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia, U. S. A. by purchase from Mr. H. Kevorkian, an antiquarian and art dealer. The epigraph is carved in 'alto-relievo' on nine stone slabs of irregular size fitting together to make a rectangular panel measuring $8'1'' \times 2'11\frac{1}{4}''$. The stone is black tuff, resembling black basalt in appearance. A border of an undulating foliate pattern interspersed with rosettes surrounds the inscription and is interrupted midway at the top by a cartouche containing the 'basmala' in simple 'Thuluth' character. The inscription proper consists of two lines, each divided into 16 vertical rectangular frames, the character being an exceptionally graceful and elaborate variety of Tughra script. Instead of the customary unbroken repetition of elongated verticals so characteristic of the Indian Tughra character, the letters in every other frame or panel are inscribed in open Thuluth, and contrasted with the varying rhythm of the repeated verticals in the alternate frames. Furthermore, the alternation of compact and open script in the upper and lower lines is staggered—that is, the upper line commences with a panel of Tughra character, and the lower line begins with one of open 'Thuluth'. The inscription is characteristic example of the variety of ingenuity displayed in the use of Tughra character in this period. The effect is most striking, and the inscription as a whole is a masterpiece of Islamic epigraphy. Two circumstances have contributed to the difficulty of decipherment and identification. In the first place, the text is Arabic verse, and Arabic verse is never easy. Secondly, the panels containing Tughra character are for the most part exceedingly crowded and complex; several of them are very nearly undecipherable. The metre is Basī-i- muṣamman -i-sālīm with a rhyme in 'nun' but the scheme is defective. With the establishment of the Mughal rule in India, the characters commence to change, and

though Ṭughra letters are still in use; they gradually drift into 'nastā' liqh'.¹

The following reading and translation of the inscription have been reproduced after a careful comparison of the readings in Ravenshaw, Stapleton, Shamsuddin Ahmad & Ars Islamica. See plate.

Bismillah ar-rahmān ar-rahīm

- (1) alḥamdu lillāhī zi ālālā' wa almanani rabbun tanazzahu,' an nau-
min wa'an wasani
- (2) thumma at salāt 'ala al mukhtār-i-man mazar khairu'l anām al
nabī al sayyid al madani
- (3) muhammad khātim al rasal al karām wa man laulāhu sabal al huda
wa alhaq lam tabani
- (4) wa ālihi ma'dun al-tagwa wa sahbathu altā' 'iyi allāh fi sar wa fi
'alani
- (5) wa ba'd athna 'ala min jawād rahmathu izra bajūd al saḥāb al ḥāṭil
al batani
- (6) al shāh sultān rukn al dunyā w' al dīn ṣulṭānanā bārbak shāh alālā
al fatani
- (7) ibn auazi shā' fi al amsār bābahu sultān mahmūd Shāh al 'ādil al
hasani
- (8) hall fi al 'irāqain, sultān lahu karam kebārbak Shāh fi al Shām
wafial yamani
- (9) kallā wa mā fi bilād allāhi qatt lahu fialbazi mithl fahazā wāhid al
zamani
- (10) wa dārahu kāljannān rāi'q nazzahu we mujlib lilqhani wa mazhab
lil shājani
- (11) nahru jara tahtahā kālsalsabīl lahu ajnā' dar qultu bi'l fuqra wa
al mahni
- (12) wa bābhā rāhtun lilrūh raihānā lazi al habīb wa lā a'adā' kālsh-
a'ani
- (13) bāb 'ala' nashīt mashrah samahu 'miyānadar' wahiya dukhul khāṣ
labani

1. Ars Islamica vol. VII, pp. 141.

- (14) ahdā wa saba'unā wa althunlānmiyat sanān mabnāhu dāru'l 'aish
wa alāmāl wa al kanani
- (15) fallāhu asā'lahu takhlīd daulathu mā ghird al ṭayr fi raud' alā' al
fanani

Persian Portion :—

dar daur-i-saltanat-i- Shāh Jahān panāh Ruknu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn
abu'l muzaffar Bārbak shāh sulṭān Khallada allāhu mulkahu wa
sulṭānahu banā' miyānahdar sanate ahdā wa saba'una wa thumān
miyāt Shuda ast.

Translation

In the name of god, the Compassionate, the Merciful

1. Praise be to God, the lord of munificence and grace, the lord who neither slumbers nor sleeps.
2. Then, the peace be on the chosen one of (the tribe of) Muḍar, the most excellent of created beings, the prophet, the Medinese (the lord of Madina).
3. Muhammad, the last of the eminent and graceful prophets, without whom the paths of righteousness and truth would not have become known.
4. (Blessings also be) upon his family, who are the mines of piety, and upon his companions, who are obedient unto God in private and in public.
5. And afterwards I sing the praise of one whose generosity surpasses the beneficence of clouds heavily laden with moisture.
6. The Shah, the Sultan, the protector of the universe, the pillar of religion. Our Sultan Barbak shah, the sublime, the wise.
7. Son of the most renowned, whose fame has spread throughout the lands, Sultan Mahmud Shah, the just, the fair.
8. Is there in the two Iraj's a Sultan as generous as Barbak Shah in Syria and in Yemen?
9. No. There is not unto him in all God's land an equal in generosity, for he is unique, unparalleled in his time.

10. His abode resembles paradise, tranquil and pleasing, it gathers joy and dispels sorrow.
11. A water course flows beneath it, resembling 'salsabil' (a fountain in paradise) with pearl-like ripples, which do away with poverty and pain.
12. Its gate provides refuge (comfort), like fragrant 'basil' to the soul to friends while to foes it is forbidden and remote.
13. A gateway which is on the stream bearing his name, is the middle Gateway (Miyānādar) which has a special entrance for the milk.
14. (It is erected) in the year eight hundred and seventy one (871 A. H.) which is the abode of life and hope and favours.
15. So. I pray to God for the continuance of his sovereignty as long as birds sing on the branches of any garden.

* * *

In the reign of Shāh, asylum of the world, Ruknu'd-Dunya wa'd-Dīn Abu'l Muzaffar Barbak Shāh Sultān, may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, the middle Gate (Miyānādar) was constructed in the year eight hundred and seventy one (871 A.H./1466 A.D).

SOME PHONOLOGICAL DISTINCTIONS OF THE EASTERN PRAKRIT GRAMMARIANS

Satya Ranjan Banerjee

Prakrit grammarians can be divided into two schools : Eastern and Western. To the former belong Vararuci and his commentators, Kramadīśvara, Rāmaśarman, Mārkaṇḍeya, etc., to the latter belong Hemacandra, Trivikrama, Lakṣmīdhara, Siṃharāja, Appayadīkṣita and others.

Some phonological characteristics in which the two schools appear to differ are discussed here.

(i) On the quantity of vowels

As regards the change in the quantity of vowels¹ before consonant-conjuncts Hemacandra states : “a long vowel is shortened before a consonant-conjunct” (“*hrasvaḥ saṃyoge*”—Hc. I, 84) or, “wherever a *y*, *r*, *v*, *ś*, *ṣ*, or *s* is elided, which precedes or follows a *ś*, *ṣ*, or *s*, the preceding vowel is lengthened” (Hc. I, 43), or, the doubling previously done is forbidden after a long vowel or an anusvāra, (cf. Vara II, 56) whether these have been introduced by previous rules (*lākṣaṇika*), or are the original letters of the word (*alākṣaṇika*) (Hc. II, 92). Hemacandra is followed by Trivikrama (I, 2, 8) and others. But Vararuci is absolutely silent about it. Cowell informs us that the Ms. ‘W’ has a spurious sūtra, “*saṃyogapūrho hrasvaḥ*”, but this has not been recognised by Vasantarāja in his commentary, even in explaining such a change as that of of *āścarya* to *acchera*. Kramadīśvara simply remarks that *ā*, *i* and *ū*

1. Lassen,—*Institutiones* pp. 41-49; Cowell-Appendix D to his edition of *Prākṛta-prakāśa*, 1868; Pischel, *Gram, Pkt. Spr.* §§79-100

sometimes become short (I, 14) and also if the consonant is elided the *a*, *i* and *u* may be lengthened (“(dirghaḥ) ad-id-ul-lupta-vyañjane” II, 145). Later authors like Puruṣottama, Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍeya do not formulate any rule like Hemacandra that Prakrits do not allow any long vowel before a consonant-conjunct, but like Kramadīśvara they have also noticed that long vowels become short in some words classed as *ākṛti-gaṇa*, for example when *ā > a*, words are optionally classed under *yathādi-gaṇa* by Vararuci, (I, 10) Kramadīśvara (I, 9), Mārkaṇḍeya (I, 67) and Trivikrama (I, 2, 37) divide them into two groups—*avyaya* and *utkhātādi-gaṇa*, the words with *ī* shortening to *i* are grouped under *pāṇiyādi*-class by Vararuci (I, 18) and also by Hemacandra (I, 101) while Kramadīśvara mentions two groups: *pāṇiyādi*-group (I, 11) where shortening of *ī* is compulsory and *gabhitādi* - group where it is optional (I, 12). Mārkaṇḍeya follows Kramadīśvara but with a different terminology “*grhitādi*-class” The grammarians have not formulated any *gaṇa* for words with long *ū*. On the whole, the easterners do not categorically hold that long vowels before consonant conjunct are shortened. On the other hand, long vowels before consonant conjuncts are seen in the Mss. belonging to the Eastern region. Hemacandra also notes it in his Prakrit grammar : “*kēcid brāhmaṇapūrvāṇayor apicchan ti| bāmhaṇo bāmhaṇo| puvvāṇho puvvāṇho| davaggi dāv(ā)ggi|...*” (under *vāyayotkhātādāvadātāḥ* I, 67).

On this point Cowell¹ interrogates—“Are we therefore to interpret the silence of Vararuci as evidence that the principle in question grew up gradually in Prakrit and only became fully recognised in later times ?” Cowell’s statement is to a certain extent borne out by the Inscriptions of Aśoka² where we find that Hemacandra is followed in the Western region and perhaps, Vararuci in the Eastern portions.

1. loc cit, p. 186. 2. M. A. Mehendale, Aśokan Inscriptions in India, The University of Bombay, 1948; Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits, Poona, 1948.

(ii) **Treatment of ɾ**

With regard to the treatment of ɾ the grammarians do not mention anything specifically. But from a careful perusal of their texts, it could be surmised that there was a dialectal distinction in the treatment of ɾ. The grammarians consider the change of ɾ > a as usual, while that into *i* or *u* under gaṇas; and a statistical account will show that the change of ɾ > *i* or *ri*, is in a majority of cases in the non-western region. This has led the modern scholars like R. Pischel¹, J. Bloch², Suniti Kumar Chatterjee³ and Sukumar Sen⁴ to point out that the change of ɾ > a is predominant in the west and the south, and the development of ɾ > *i* is mostly noticed in other regions. "This distinction finds an exact reflection in the Aś. inscriptions in as much as the ɾ > a treatment is the principal one in the Western and the ɾ > *i* treatment in the non-Western regions⁵". When we come to Apabhraṃśa this distinction is also noticed. G. V. Tagare⁶ has shown statistically that "in the earlier Apabhraṃśa works, initial ɾ > *i* was the characteristic of Eastern Apabhraṃśa and it went on increasing in Western Apabhraṃśa. Initial ɾ > a was less in vogue in Eastern Apabhraṃśa than it was in Western Apabhraṃśa, although it was decreasing in both. Medial ɾ > *i* was the general rule in Western and Eastern Apabhraṃśa".

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1. Gram. Pkt. Spr. §§49-51.
 2. La Formation de la Langue Marathe, §31
 3. ODBL, §173 p. 354.
 4. A Comp. Gram. MIA. §40.
 5. Aśok, Insc. in India—M. A. Mehendale p. 54.
 6. Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa, (Poona) p. 24.

(iii) **Treatment of cerebral and dental nasals.**

In the matter of cerebral *ṇ* and dental *n*, these two schools also differ. So far as the principal Prakrit (i.e. Mahārāṣṭrī) is concerned, Hemacandra (I. 228-9) allows single *ṇ* medially; but he has made an option with regard to initial and conjunct. But according to Bharata and Vararuci (II. 42) the dental *n* of Sanskrit words will be changed into cerebral *ṇ*- be it initial, medial or conjunct. Rāmaśarman (I. 2. 14) and Mārkaṇḍeya (II. 41-3) allow cerebral *ṇ* everywhere, although Mārkaṇḍeya is aware of the option for the initial and for conjuncts. Kramadīśvara (2. 106) advocates that *ṇ* should be written everywhere, but in 2. 107. he states that initially dental *n* is also sometimes found. It is seen that Prakrit grammarians of the eastern school are almost unanimous with regard to the change of dental *n* into cerebral *ṇ*. But divergent view between Hemacandra and Trivikrama is noticed with regard to the cerebral *ṇ* in Deśi-words or roots. Hemacandra holds the view¹ that there cannot be dental *n*, either initial or medial in Deśi words and his rule *Vāḍau* (1. 229) only refers to such Prakrit words as are derived from Sanskrit and not to Deśi words. But Trivikrama, on the other hand, believes that initial dental *n* might occur in Deśi words: e. g. *nirappai* (2.4. 127) as a 'dhātvādeśa', but adds "*ṇatve nirappi*". They usually write *ṇam* for *nanu*, *ṇūṇam* for *nūnam* and also *ṇa* for *na*. But "the conventions of modern critical editors", says A. N. Upadhye², "are nearly settled., In Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī texts *n* is initially preserved (*ṇam* excepted), medially it is *ṇ*, and in a conjunct usually *nn* (and sometimes *ṇṇ*); in Jaina-Śaurasenī, Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī texts it is necessarily cerebral *ṇ* everywhere"; and to these we add Māgadhī, Paisācī and Apabhraṃśa, according to the conventions of the easterners. P. L. Vaidya³ also instructs us that if the text comes from a non-Jaina source, it should be moulded according to the rules given by Vararuci, (Kramadīśvara), Puruṣottama, Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa and Mārkaṇḍeya. This shows that a line of demarcation can be drawn between the two, so far as the treatment of dental *n* and cerebral *ṇ* is concerned.

1. Vide Deśināmamālā—nakārādayastu deśyām asaṃbhavina eveti na nibaddhāh. Yacca "Vāḍau" (1. 229) iti sūtritām asmābais tatsaṃskṛtabhava-prākṛta-śabdāpekṣayā na deśyāpekṣayeti sarvam avadātām. p. 208. BSS ed.
2. Intro. p. 9 to his edition of Līlāvai, 1949, cf. also Pischel, Gram. Pkt. Spr. §§224. 282.
3. Trivikrama's Pkt Gram. Intro. p. xxff.

(v) **Treatment of Labial b and semi-vowel v.**¹

According to the Western Prakrit grammarian, Hemacandra (1.237), (a) original initial *b* remains unchanged in Prakrit, as Skt. *balam* > Pkt. *balam*; while original intervocalic *b*, becomes *v* (*bo vah*. 1. 237.); as *alābu* > *alāvu* > *lāu*; *sabala* > *savala*, *sayala*; (b) initial *v* remains unchanged, while intervocalic (1. 177) *v* is generally elided; and (c) initial *p* remains unchanged while intervocalic *p* generally becomes *v* (*po vah* 1. 231), or in Apabhraṃśa *b* (*anādaṁ svarād asaṁyuktānāṁ ka-kha-ta-tha-pa-phāṁga-gha-da-dha-ba-bhāḥ*. 4. 396). The Prakrit intervocalic *v* in all these cases is itself frequently elided.

For the Eastern grammarians, the case is altogether different. In the modern Indo-Aryan languages of eastern India like Bengali and Oriyā *b* and *v* are not distinguished, both being pronounced as *b*. In the Mss. the same character *b* corresponds to the Nāgari *b* and *v*. Hence one faces an insurmountable difficulty in editing an Eastern text written in Bengali or Oriya character. In editing Vararuci's *Prākṛta-Prakāśa*, Cowell encountered the same sort of difficulty; but he somehow got rid of that by following the method of Hemacandra. In his edition of Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa*,² he says—"I have also throughout followed the Mss. in writing *v* as the Prakrit equivalent for the Sanskrit *p*; in the continental editions of the plays it has been usual to write *b*, but for this there is no authority, as the Mss. make no difference between the *v*=the Skt. *p*, and that=the Skt. *v*. The rules of Vararuci evidently show that there was no distinction whatever between *b* and *v*." He further adds³—"It is not so easy to determine which of the two sounds thus absorbed the other and whether in translation we should represent it by *b* or *v* universally; the analogy of the modern languages would incline us to the former, but a sūtra in Hemacandra seems to favour the latter, which I have therefore adopted through out". He, therefore, printed semi-vowel *v* and rejects *b* altogether in his edition of Vararuci.

1. vide Grierson's *JRAS* (1925), p. 231-34.

2. Cowell, Pkt. Pra. Intró. p. xiv. 2nd ed. 1868.

3. Ibid. p. xiv.

When we come to Kramadīśvara, we find that no such distinction between a labial *b* and a semi-vowel *v* is maintained from the point of view of the construction of the sūtras. He simply states “*po vaḥ*” (2 8); but *b* or *v* is not clear from the Mss. not from the other rules of the text. The twin sūtras of Hemacandra “*po vaḥ*” and “*bo vaḥ*” are not found in Kramadīśvara. So is the case with the other grammarians Purusottama, Ramaśarman and Markandeya. Markandeya’s text was written in Oriya character and hence we are to come across the same difficulty.

So far as the Eastern grammarians are concerned, Ramaśarman in his Prakṛta-Kalpataru (1. 5. 16) has thrown some lights on this point, and from him we come to know that the Eastern grammarians do not allow semi-vowel *v* in their texts. Rāmaśarman says—

namo'stu bindur hali no'pi ṇasya (Grierson, *krasya*)

vargottamā vā yayi sambhavādau

ॠ ॠ, ॡ ॡ *aiḥca ṇanau yavau ca* (Ghosh, *na-au*)

śaṣau visargaśca na santyamuvyam||¹

(cf. Vara. IV. 14, 17; Pu. IV. 2; Mk. IV. 23-24).

Here it should be noted that the word “amuvyam” in the last line is unintelligible; yet it does not affect our result. The general meaning is according to Grierson²:

(1) Anusvāra is substituted for *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *n* and *m*, when any of them is followed by a consonant; but when it is followed by a class consonant, (*pratyāhāra yay*) the corresponding class-nasal may optionally be substituted, as, in *sambhavādau* etc. 2) The sounds like ॠ, ॡ, ॢ, ॣ, *ai* and *au*, *ṇ* and *n*, *y* and *v*, *ś* and *ṣ*, and visarga do not occur in Pkt.

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1. I have taken this verse from Grierson’s article Prakritika pp. 215-236, published in JRAS, 1925. The edition prepared by M. Ghosh and published from the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1954 contains this verse with a different reading. In the footnote the name of Grierson has not however been mentioned.
 2. JRAS, 1925, p. 232.

ya-sruti is concerned. But Weber¹ and Alsdorf² consider it to be one of the exclusive characteristics of Jaina Prakrit. Pischel³ after much discussions has said that *ya* is the oldest characteristic of Ardhamagadhi, Jaina-Maharastri and Jaini-Sauraseni and wrongly the Jainas carry over this to other dialects also. A. N. Upadhye⁴ has critically discussed the subject and has retained it in his edited texts in many cases because of 'editorial discipline'. The development of Middle Indo-Aryan languages as well as the New Indo-Aryan vernaculars⁵ shows clearly that the phenomenon *ya-sruti* is natural but the process of writing varies from school to school and from locality to locality. This may be found in all sorts of Prakrit dialects and after any vowel. Such is also the view of the eastern school of Prakrit grammarians as represented by Vararuci, Kramadīśvara, Ramaśarman and Markandeya.

(vi) **Pronunciation of Magadhi Palatals.**

With regard to the pronunciation of Magadhi palatal sounds⁶ Prakrit grammarians are not always unanimous. Western Prakrit grammarians, like Hemacandra, Trivikrama and Siṃharāja do not mention anything on the subject in their Prakrit grammars. Only the Eastern grammarians have discussed something on the subject. On this point Vararuci mentions—

"cavargasya spaṣṭatā tathoccāraṇaḥ (XI. 5)

which Bhāmaha interprets as *"cavargo yuthā spaṣṭastathoccāraṇo bhavati"* meaning thereby, that c, ch, j, and ñ are so pronounced as to be clear. Lassen⁷ has emended the reading of Vararuci and says that instead of

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1. Über ein Fragments der Bhagavati, Berlin, 1865, p. 397ff.
 2. Der Kumarapala pratibodha, Hamburg, 1929, p. 52.
 3. Gram. Pkt. Spr. §187. Hemacandra's Gram. (1. 180).
 4. Intro. pp. 10-12 to his edition of Lilavati, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavana, Bombay, 1949.
 5. Grierson, Introduction to Maithili, Pt. I, §24. S. K. Chatterji, ODBL §170. Geiger, Pali Lang. & Lit. §36.
 6. Grierson-JRAS. 1913, pp. 391-96 (inverted portions are from him); Hoernle, Gd. gr. p. 8; Pischel, Gram. Pkt. Spr. §217.
 7. Lassen, Institutiones etc. p. 397.

spaṣṭatā we should read *aspaṣṭatā* 'not clear'. This sūtra of Vararuci is very unintelligible", says Cowell, "as it stands in the Mss. with *spaṣṭatā*, and Lassen's conjecture of *aspaṣṭatā* does not seem satisfactory". Cowell suggests *aspraṣṭatā* and translates the sūtra thus : "The palatal letters are pronounced with but a very slight contact of the tongue with the root of the mouth". "The *ābhyaantara prayatna* or internal effort in the utterance of the palatals", says Cowell, "is properly *spraṣṭa*, because the organs of utterance are in contact; but in that of the semi-vowels (of which *y* corresponds to the palatals) it is *ṣatspraṣṭa*, because here they but slightly touch", and in support of his statement he quotes "*yapacavargayuktā manāguccāryāḥ* from the Saṃkṣiptasāra.

Next comes Kramadīśvara, whose sūtra on this subject, (*yapacavargayuktā manāguccāryāḥ*) is extremely obscure. This reading of the text is very doubtful. The other reading "*ṣaṭcavargayukta* etc". is also obscure. Puruṣottama is of opinion that the pronunciation of *ca-varga* is perfectly palatal (*cuḥ spaṣṭa-tālavyaḥ*. XII. 13). Rāmaśarma states that "the semi-vowel *y*, and only that semi-vowel is prefixed to every letter of the *ca*-group, and also in the case of conjuncts (*cavargak-ānām upari prayojyo yuktesu cāntaḥsthayakāra eva*. II.2.18). Mārkaṇḍeya also says that *y* is prefixed to *c* and *j*, as in *yciram*, *ycia* etc. (*cajayor upari yaḥ syāt* XII. 21.). Again Mārkaṇḍeya says (*ciṭṭhasya tu ściṇṭaḥ*. XII. 32) that the Śābarī *ciṭṭhadī* (Skt. *tiṣṭhati*) becomes *ściṇṭadi* in Mg. which again (*scinto ycisa ityeke* XIII. 3) becomes *yclṣadi* in Śakārī, a variety of Māgadhī. Again in the Vrācaḍa Ap. spoken in Sindh (i. e. North-west) he tells us that *y* is prefixed to *c*, and *j*, as in *ycalai* (Sk. *calati*), *yjalat* (Sk. *jvalati*). Finally in Śauraseni Paisācīkī (XX. 4), which is a variety of the Kekaya-paisācīkī, of the extreme North-West, "*cavargasyo'pariṣṭād yaḥ*, i. e. *y* is prefixed to the letters of *ca-varga*, i. e. "only to *c*, *ch*, and *ñ*, as the language does not possess sonant mutes". Thus *ychale* for *chalam*, *paycche* for *paksam*.

(v) **Ya-sruti.**

Hemacandra, a grammarian belonging to the Western school, in his Prakrit grammar (1. 180) has prescribed *ya-sruti* after *a* and *ā*, but in his commentary under the same sūtra, he has further added that occasionally *ya-sruti* is noticed after *i* also. When the medial single consonants—*k, g, c, j, t, d, p, y* and *v* (1. 177) are dropped leaving behind the accompanying vowel, the remaining *a* or *ā*, if preceded by *a* or *ā*, is pronounced like a lightly articulated *ya* (*laghu-prayatnatara-yakāra srutir bhavati*). Thus

Skt. *nagara* > Pkt. *nayara* (<*naara*),

„ *kācamani* > Pkt. *kāyamani* (<*kāa mani*)

„ *Pātāla* > Pkt. *Pāyāla* (*pāāla*).

Hemacandra strictly observes that this *ya-sruti* is possible only after *a* or *ā*, although in the *vr̥tti* he mentions that it is also found after *i* (cf. *kvacid bhavati. piyai*). Whether this phenomenon will be observed after any other vowel, is not clear from Hemacandra's sūtra. Caṇḍa (III. 35) also admits it in between *a* and *ā*.

Vararuci of the Eastern school, does not recognise it, so also his commentator Bhāmaha (II. 2); but other commentators like Vasantarāja and Sadānanda recognise it by quoting—*īṣatspr̥ṣṭaḥ prayojyo yaḥ kvacid lupṭeṣu kādīṣu*. Kramadīśvara (3. 2) does not formulate any hard and fast rule on this point. In his opinion *ya-sruti* may optionally come after any vowel and in any dialect. Mārkaṇḍeya (II. 2) also does not make any provision for this, but he simply gives a quotation according to which the non-initial vowel *a* and *i* may sometimes be pronounced like *ya* : “*anādāv adītau varṇau paṭhitavyau yakāra-vad*” *iti Pāṭhaśikṣā*. (II. 2). Other grammarians of this school do not say anything on the subject. Practically speaking, grammarians belonging to this school do not advocate the rule of Hemacandra; they

follow a different method. In their opinion, the rules regarding the substitution of *ya* for *a* refer to pronunciation and not to writing. There are certain rules, though a few, which refer to the pronunciation of sounds. The rule relating to *ya-sruti* is one of them. It is, therefore, evident from the grammars of the Eastern school that the proper way is to write *a* in all cases and leave the reader to pronounce it according to his practice. A similar practice occurs with regard to the vowels *e* and *o*. It is admitted on all hands that the Prakrits possess these vowels in the short and long forms. They are to be pronounced short when followed by a conjunct consonant. But both the long and the short vowels are represented by the same character and the short vowels are only heard in pronunciation. In the same way, the vowel remaining after the elision of the consonants is always to be written as *a* but it has to be pronounced as *ya* when preceded by any long or short vowels. And that is why in the manuscripts of the Eastern school, we do not find any *ya-sruti*, at least, in writing. So according to the Eastern School, we could write *loassa* and *loyassa*; *dearo* and *deyaro*, but always as *loassa* and *dearo* according to the Westerners.

Linguistically *ya-sruti* is a natural phenomenon; and something like this is already noticed by Pāṇini (VIII. 3. 18-19) and by the earlier Sanskrit phoneticians.¹ "From an etymological point of view", says Jacobi, "it is more self-consistent that *ya-sruti* should be written after all vowels, because it is the remnants of a lost consonant".² He comes to this conclusion, corroborated by the Eastern grammarians, while he finds that the Jaina Mss. are not always uniform so far as the use of

1. V. Bhattacharya, Panini's Grammar and the influence of Prakrit on Sanskrit Grierson Commemoration Volume, Lahore 1933, pp. 157-59.

2. The Kalpasutra of Bhadrabahu, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 20-21,

Now in the Sutra “*ya bau*” what is meant, *b* or *v*? From the commentary on the third and fourth lines, it is clear that the author wants to represent *b* and not *v*. The commentary runs as follows : “*र-र-ल-ल-aiāṃ visargasya sarvatraprayogaḥ; śeṣāṇāṃ svātantryeṇa, saṃyogā-dau syād eva*” i. e. *ṛ*, *ḷ*, *ai*, *au*, and visarga are nowhere used. The remainder, *ṅ* and *n*, *y* and *v*, *ś* and *ṣ* are not used when standing alone. They are used only in conjuncts and the like.

Now, “it will be observed” says Grierson, “that the above consonants are all quoted in groups of two each. We have two nasals (*ṅ* and *n*) and two sibilants (*ś* and *ṣ*). It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that, in the same way, *y* and *v* form a group of two semi-vowels, and that letter therefore, represents *v*, not *b*”.¹ Now, from it we come to know that according to Ramaśarman the letter *v* when standing alone, does not occur in Prakrit and so when the letter occurs in Prakrit, it will generally mean only *b*. Similarly, according to him, when intervocalic Sanskrit *p* becomes *b* and not *v*.²

It may be surmised that the Eastern grammarians allow the existence of the conjunct *vv* in Prakrit as in the above case. But that is not true. Grierson³ is of opinion that the Sanskrit conjunct consonant (such as *dv*, *vy* or *rv*), whenever changed into Prakrit, passes through two stages. In the first place it becomes *vv*, and then stands by itself, and therefore cannot be *v*, and then comes to the second stage, saying that when one member of a conjunct has been elided, what remains is doubled. It is therefore, this *b* (and not *v*), which is doubled.

So, in conclusion, we can say that the Western Grammarians admit the existence of *b* and *v*, while the Easterners only admit *b*. This is perfectly in consonance with the development of modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars in the Western and Eastern region of India. Only this much we may add that the existence of semi-vowel *v* may

1. Grierson, JRAS, 1925, p. 233.

2. cf. Pischel, Gram. Pkt. Spr. §199.

3. JRAS. (1925) p. 234.

be expected only there where it is a case of samprasāraṇa (i. v. v becoming *m*), and that is not even shown in writing. It may be presumed that the original Sanskrit *v* may be retained when it has become a case of samprasāraṇa in Prakrit.

It will not be out of place here, if I mention the different readings in the Prakrit passages of the editions of *Sakuntala* as prepared by Monier-Williams and by Pischel, so far as this point is concerned. Monier-Williams has prepared the Text from the Mss. in Devanāgarī found in the upper Provinces of India, while Pischel collated the text from the Bengali Mss. Monier-Williams¹ also "consulted the Bengali Mss, but rarely admitted readings from them, unless supported by some one of the Devanagari". Pischel also consulted the Devanagari Mss but he did not attach so much importance to them in place of the Bengali Mss. Furthermore, regarding the three Indian editions (of which one is prepared by Prema Tarkavagisa) Pischel states that these are "based on Mss. of doubtful value and are altogether uncritical; and so he has hardly ever admitted a reading from them into it, unless it was supported by one of his Mss. or at least by Sankara". Pischel discarded the readings of Pandit Prem Tarkavagisa; but really speaking in the treatment of labial *b* and semi-vowel *v*, Prema Tarkavagisa followed the diction of the Eastern grammarians, i. e. he uniformly preserved the labial *b* in the Prakrit passages instead of semi-vowel *v*. Pischel unnecessarily rectifies the labial *b* into semi-vowel *v* and corrects the whole Prakrit passages against the evidence of the Mss., but following the rules of the Western grammarians particularly of Hemacandra. He says that the grammarians are not to be corrected with the help of the Mss but the Mss. are to be improved upon with the help of the grammarians. But it can be added here that the peculiar characteristics of an eastern Prakrit, supported by the Eastern grammarians, should not be rectified with the evidence of the Western grammar. So the Prakrit readings, in regard to labial *b*, cannot be summarily rejected. Now it should be noted that the readings given by Monier-Williams seem to be based on an outlook of the historical background answering to the reliability of one or the other reading of the different manuscripts, while it will appear as almost certain that the readings given by Pischel reveal a strong predilection for grammar.

1. Oxford, 1876.

From the above discussions, it is evident that Prakrit grammarians, belonging to the eastern school, are not even clear on this point, though they try to come to a conclusion. From Vararuci and Kramadīśvara (whatever may be the exact meaning of their sūtras), it is clear that the pronunciation of palatal sounds in Māgadhi (i. e. *ca-varga*) was quite different from that of Mahārāṣṭrī which is regarded as the standard Prakrit. Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍeya have clarified the point by employing *y* prefixed to it. They “considered that besides the standard Prakrit pronunciation of the palatal, these letters had another sound”, not only in Māgadhi, but also in the North-west and Midland dialects closely connected with it. He thus agreed with Vararuci and Kramadīśvara in this respect that in Prakrit the palatals had two sets of sounds, some dialects employing one and others the other. If that is true, that all the eastern Prakrit grammarians agree in accepting the two sets of palatal sounds, then what should be the true reading of the text of Vararuci and Kramadīśvara whose sūtras are shrouded in darkness. So far as Vararuci’s sūtra (*ca-vargasya spaṣṭatā tathoccāraṇaḥ*) is concerned, three alternatives have been suggested by different scholars—for Ms. *spaṣṭatā*-Lassen suggests *aspaṣṭatā* ‘unclear’, but Cowell suggests *asprṣṭatā*, “with a very slight contact of the tongue with the roof of the mouth” and he also suggests “*iṣatsprṣṭatā*” ‘slightly touching’. It seems to me probable that the Ms. reading ‘*spaṣṭatā*’ should be the correct reading of the text, as opposed to *aspaṣṭatā* which pronunciation we find in the standard Prakrit dialect.

“It appears to me, therefore”, says Grierson, that we can gather from the remarks of the Prakrit grammarians quoted that in the Standard Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit and in Śaurasenī (which in this respect followed Mahārāṣṭrī) the palatals were probably pronounced as dento-palatals as in Modern Mārāṭhī, but that in Māgadhi they were pronounced clearly as true palatals”.

But the opinion of Grierson has been modified to some extent by Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji. He says that according to Vararuci

the palatals in Māgadhī were pronounced distinctly and pronounced in full. "Apparently there was another pronunciation which could be characterised as "*aspaṣṭa*" or indistinct, and which evidently obtained Śaurasenī and Mahārṣṭrī and such as indistinct pronunciation could not mean a dental affricate one, as Grierson is inclined to think, but rather an elided pronunciation in Śaurasenī and Mahārāṣṭrī, as Basanta Kumar Chatterjee¹ has rightly contended."²

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1. Ca-vargīya varṇasamūher uccāran. VSPP. 1320 B. S. pp. 201-63.
 2. ODBL. §132, p. 246.
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THE USE OF SUBSTANTIVE VERBS

IN KHAMTI

Sukumar Biswas

1. In Khamti, there are three substantive verbs. They are /ū/, /yang/ and /chaū/. /ū/ may be used in a sentence singly, but the other two verbs are used conjointly with the former one except in negative sentences.

/ū/ of Khamti (also Shan /yū/¹ and Ahom /jū/¹) has also the sense of a full-verb 'to remain' or 'to reside', besides the suggestion of a link-verb. e, g.

khau hom ū ū—'they reside together'.
 1 2 3 1 3 2

/yang/ is used in Khamti to suggest an idea of 'existence' 'possession'. Except in negative sentences, /yang/ always takes /ū/ after it, but in Ahom, I am told², the use of /ū/ is dispensed with in an affirmative sentence also.

Kh—'He is in water'—man nam mai yang ū
 1 2 3 4 1 4 3 2

Ah.— „ „ —man nam mai jang
 1 4 3 2

Ah.—'There was no animal'— jang mī tū³

1. J. N. Cusing—"Grammar of the Shan Language", Art. 97. G. C. Barua—"Ahom Buranji" p. 3., Ex. 9.
2. The statement regarding Ahom language has been made after consultation with Mr. J. N. Phookan of the Dept. of History Gauhati university.
3. "Ahom Buranji" Ch. I., Ex. 1.

2. (a) /ū/ is used as a substantive verb in an impersonal statement,

lüt ū—'hot or heat is', i. e. 'it is hot'.

compare wan lüt—'hot day'

2 1 1 2

with wan lüt ū—'the day is hot'.

1 3 2 1 2 3

(b) It is used as a substantive verb when the quality or the attribute suggested by the predicate is co-existing with the subject.

lek hing ū—'Iron is hard'.

1 3 2 1 2 3

man nī ū—'He is good'.

1 3 2 1 2 3

When we say 'he is here', 'that is not a dog' etc. the substantive verb 'is' does not refer to any one attribute or quality of the subject, so /ū/ is not used here.

(c) /ū/ is used as an auxiliary in the present tense and always comes after the principal verb.

man kā ū—'he goes, he is going'.

kan kin ū—'I am eating'.¹

The use of /ū/ after /ū/ in the example of para 1 may be noted in this connection.

/ū/ as a link-verb is however dispensed with in some cases.

kau kun Tai long—I (am) a Tai man'.

1 4 3 1 2 3 4

mā ā nai phük—'This dog (is) blind'.

2 1 4 1 2 3 4

1. /ū/ meaning 'to remain' suggests a continuous idea or a definite present action in a Khamti as well as in Shan and Ahom. Vide J. N. Cusing—Art. 102. In Siamase also, man yang kin ū—'he is still eating. Siamese Grammar p. 123 (in possession of Dr. P. Gogoi; the author of this rare book is not known).

3. /chaü/ like /yang/ is used with /ü/ in affirmative sentences and suggests the idea of “existing” or “belonging”. It should be noted that /yang/ and /chaü/ are used when a sense of existence is intended but there is no qualifying attribute associated with the subject.

(a) kau luk hā yang ü—‘I have five sons’.

1	4	3	2	1	2	3	4
noi	mai	sü	yang	ü—	(There)	is	a tiger on the hill’.
4	3	2	1	1	2	3	4

(b) When the ‘be’-verb does not merely link but emphasise the sense of the predicate, we get /yang/ or /chaü/ instead of /ü/

kan hing ü—‘I am strong’,

but kau hing yang ü—‘I have strength’.

Similarly,

mā	ā	man	thau	ü—	That	dog	is	old’
2	1	4	3	1	2	3	4	

but, mā ā nan than chau ü—‘That is an old dog’.

4	1	3	2	1	2	3	4
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In all these sentences with a verb ‘to be’ plus /ü/, the latter is not grammatically associated with the subject, it is merely an auxiliary.

4. /mǎ/ and /ün/ (some times pronounced as /n’/) are two negative particles. The link verb is used in affirmative sentences but it is not used when the statement is negative.

(a) khau khai ü—‘they are ill’

1	3	2	1	2	3
khau	n’	khai—	‘they	(are)	not ill’
1	3	4	1	2	3 4

(b) ā nai lüt ū—'this is hot'
 1 3 2 1 2 3

ā nai n' lüt—'this (is) not hot'
 1 3 4 1 2 3 4

To convey the idea of "existing" or "possessing" the language makes use of /yang ū/ and /chaü ū/, but /ū/ is dropped when the sentence is negative.

(a) hau nam mai yang ū—'we are in water'.
 1 4 3 2 1 2 3 4

hau nam mai mā yang—'we are not in water'.
 1 5 4 3 2 1 2 3 4 5

(b) man nang sau yang ū—'he has (a) stster'¹
 1 3 2 1 2 3

man nang sau mā yang—'he has no sister'
 1 4 3 2 1 2 3 4

/n' chaü/ is ordinarily used in simple negation, i. e. 'is not'

ā nau hū in chaü—'that is not a boat'
 1 4 3 2 1 2 3 4

In-tra-sit kun mā ni chaü ū—'Indrajit is a bad man'

1. If one says—*nang sau man*, it means "sister of him"

so, nang sau kau yang u sister of me exists.
 1 2 3 1 2 3

Indrajit is a bad man i. e. not a good man. Here, in the negative statement with /n' chaü/ the auxiliary /ü/ has also been used in order to lay emphasis on the statement. It has however been found by J. F. Needham in his Outline Grammar of the Khamti language that /yang/ does not require /ü/ when used negatively, but /chaü/ takes /ü/ more often than not even in negative sentences.

5. The 'be' verb is not normally used when there is an interrogation. The sentence ends with an interrogative particle /ke/ and the verb 'to be' is dropped.

ā nai lak kha chaü u—'This is a child'.
 1 3 2 1 2 3

ā nai lak kha ke ?—'Is this a child ?'
 2 3 1 2 3

But if the interrogative sentence has an asking about existence or possession, the 'be'-verb /yang/ is placed before /ke/' along with its usual companion /ü/.

khan näü hün mai yang ü—'They are in the house'.
 1 3 4 3 2 1 2 3 4

khan näü hün mai yang ü ke ?

'Are they inside (or in) the house. i. e. do they exist ?'

maü nang yang ü ke ?—'Have you a brother ?'
 9 3 1 1 2 3

When a sentence becomes interrogative by force of an interrogative pronoun or adjective, the substantive verb in Khamti, unlike English is left out.

ā nan kā sang ?—'what is that ?'
 3 1 1 2 3

maü phaü mai wā tā ?—'whom you speak to ?'
 2 1 4 3 1 2 3 4

but

nü khā läü yang ü—how many deer are there ?
 2 1 3 1 2 3

Here /yang ū/ suggests the idea of 'existing' and the substantive verb has therefore been used. So we find that the substantive verb which is otherwise not used in an interrogative sentence is used in such sentence when the idea of existing, possessing or belonging is emphasised.

tai	nai	khäü	nam	nam	ngün	yang ū	ke ?
3	2		5		6	4	1
—do the Khamtis possess much wealth ?							
1	2	3		4		5	6

kun khäü kotama mā chäü ū ke ?

—are not the people Buddhists i. e. do they not belong to
(the faith of) Buddha ?

In the application of the substantive verbs in the interrogative sentences, Ahom language followed the same principle.

In potential sense, the idea of capability is expressed by "pen" meaning 'ability' or 'capacity', but /ū/ is always attached to it only in the affirmative sentence.

man	len	pen	ū	—he	can	run
but, 1	3	2		1	2	3
khau	hit	n'	pen	—they	can	not do
1	4	3	2	1	2	3 4

To denote a past time of action, Khamti, Shan and Ahom add a past indicatory suffix or word /kā/ after the principal verb, but when the past action is understood from the context, /kā/ is dropped and the link-verb /u/ is used instead.

kau	māngā	nü	kin	kā	=I	ate	meat	yesterday
1	4	3	2	1	2	3		4

Here /kin u/ may also be used. The following example as cited by Needham (pp. 46, 57) may be quoted to indicate the use of the auxiliary verb /ū/ in past and future tenses also.

1.	Lak	kh	ā	mai	po	kā	ye	hai	u	—if	you	beat	the	child	(it)	will	cry
	4				1	5		1	2		3			4			5

(/mai/ is accusative particle)

2. kau ing san hū ũ—I felt the earthquake

1	3	2	1	2		3
mü	man	po	maü	mai	nai	kau han ũ
1	2	3	3	4	5	6

—I saw him strike you (when he strike you I am seeing)

1	2	3	4	5	6
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In Ahom use of ũ in future and past tense is not uncommon.¹

Chaupha häü pō-ming u koi-to Chaupha (they) will offer blessings.

In conclusion, we may observe that the auxiliary verb ũ of Khamti has a very remarkable place in the structure of sentence. Sometimes it is simply a be-verb, serving as a substantive verb linking the subject with the predicate, sometimes it is merely a copula coming after other auxiliary verbs (*yang* and *chau*) and here it has nothing to do with the substantive sense. Moreover ũ is used as a tense-sign suggesting a definite action of the principal verb with which it is associated, and finally the language extends this auxiliary verb to denote a past and a future idea sometimes, which however becomes vague unless the context of or the reference to the action is not known.

1. Copper-grant of king Rajeswarsimha, in possession of Mr. J. N. Phookan of Gau. University.

The writer says that the treatment of the substantative verb in Khamti has not been thoroughly discussed in the "Grammar" by Needham. but he has given profuse examples, on the basis of which the present paper has been prepared, as there is no Khamti text-book. Besides, he has got the Khamti examples checked by the informant Sri Indrajit Namsun and Ahom ones by Sri J. N. Phookan, and Dr. P. Gogoi.

A NOTE ON THE USE OF THE ABLATIVE IN EARLY HINDI PROSE

Dayanand Srivastava

I. The ablative is generally termed as 'the case of separation', and thus it is just the opposite of the dative. Owing to the nature of the case it has also been termed as a 'from case' i. e. it indicates the spot out of which or from where the action originates or starts. Pānini defines the case as—'apādāne pañcamī', (2. 3.28) and 'apādāna', he defines thus—'dhruvam apāye' pādānam' if there be withdrawal, that which stays is apādāna (1. 4. 24). In Hindi the ablative is similarly defined.

In Hindi morphologically, the ablative and the instrumental are identical i. e. both the ablative as well as the instrumental employ a common post-positive—*se*. As regards its origin, Bhandārkar derives it from *sama*¹, Beames derives it as *samam* > *se*², Hoernle as *santo* > *sunto* > *se*³, Kellogg derives it from *sañge*. But none of the derivations is convincing and is based merely on fallacy. The possible source for this *-se* is *sam+ena*. Thus *sam+ena* > *sae* > *sai* > *se*; *se*. The origin of the Braj ablative post-positive *so*, *sū* is from *samam*. Thus *samam* > *so*. Besides the above post-positive, in the language of Braj prose (as well as poetry) and in the Eastern Hindi i. e. 'Padmāvatī' of Jāyāsī and the 'Rāmcarit Mānas' of Tulsīdāsa *te*—is employed as ablative (as well as the instrumental) post-positive. As regards its origin vide ODBL⁴ and

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1. Wilson Philological Lecture pp. 534.
 2. Comp. Gram. 274.
 3. Gaudian Gram. 376. 227.
 4. ODBL. 507. 763.

UVPI The above source for the post-positive *se* clearly indicates that the ablative with *-se* is really instrumental. The sense of the concomitance is well prevailing in the ablative in Hindi and the ablative in nature really conveys the sense of instrumental-ablative. This extension of the instrumental to the ablative in Hindi (as well as to other NIA.) is very interesting. It should be mentioned here that the OIA nominal-declensions were reduced in MIA and by the end of the first phase of the MIA the ablative was expressed in the following manner: (i) with adverb *tas*,¹ (ii) with the instrumental.² This tendency became a regular feature as the language advanced. By the time the Apabhramṣa entered the proto-NIA stage, i. e. Avahattha, it completely lost its organic character and of the various cases only the direct and the oblique remained. Therefore, the extension of the local cases became unavoidable and a regular phenomenon. Thus the instrumental and the locative were extended to function for the ablative.

2. The original ablative (OIA) was not inherited by NIA, for it disappeared from MIA, (even in OIA the ablative had a distinctive form only in the singular of a-declension, otherwise either it was identical with the genitive singular or with the dative plural or with the instrumental and dative dual.³ Even the ablative singular in the a declension distinctively belongs to the pronominal declension *tasmāt*, abl. sg. Thus even in OIA. the ablative did not possess a perfectly distinct identity, where its function was carried mostly by the instrumental and the genitive. Thus the ablative in Hindi (as well as in other NIA) emerged partly from the instrumental and partly from the locative. Of the two cases (i. e. the instrumental and the locative) the locative has contributed much to the ablative. Both the ablative and the locative, are local cases and when problem for an independent ablative for the NIA arose, it became quite natural for some of the idioms of the locative to be extended to express the -ablative sense. The extension of

1. UVp. HSMIA §62. 40.

2. Ibid §53. 35. and also Vide-Comp. Gram- of MIA. §30. pp. 51

3. HSMIA §53. 35.

the locative sense to function as the ablative in NIA, with special reference to Old and Middle Bengali has been (first of all) marked by Dr. S. Sen in 'Syntax of Early and Middle Bengali' as "the locative has contributed the greatest to the formation of MB. Both the cases are local cases par excellence. So some of the idioms of the former were easily extended to express the ablative sense. Thus *dura kara pāpate mati*—remove (your) heart (which is) in sin i. e. remove your heart from sin. KK. 54. *ghara te bāhira*—outside home, *nibāriyā pāpate mana*—restraining (your) heart from evil KK. 104."¹

In the light of the above discussion let us consider the nature of the ablative in Hindi. In *jaise tum janam maraṇa se chūṭ bhaw sāgar pār* how so that you may be free from (the bondage or cycle of) the birth and death and ferry the ocean of the world. PS. I.; the ablative *janam maraṇa se* really conveys the notion of 'free from within the birth and death. In *sab gopiyā ekā ekī wirah sāgr se nikālī*—all on a sudden all the gopies came out from the ocean of separation. PS. 70 the ablative idiom conveys the idea of 'coming out from within the ocean of separation. *ghar se bāhar pāwā nahī rakhatā*—(he) never sets his foot out of doors (i. e. he never sets his foot out from within his house) RKK. 3. Thus we find a close similarity between the ablative in Bengali and Hindi where the idea of 'being within' is predominant and both have emerged out of the locative sense.

Clear instances of the extension of the locative idea for the ablative is found in the periphrastic or the compound ablative in Hindi, which constitutes the locative post-positive *mē* or *par* and the ablative post-positive *se* or *te*, e. g. *tā pāche ghara mē te nikasa ke vicāra karana lagyau*—then setting his feet out from (i. e. from within) his house, he began to contemplate—CV. 109. *aur vīno mē se do puruṣ ati suandar nikal stuti karane lage*—and from them (from their within) two handsome

1. Syntax of Early and Middle Bengali (Mss) pp 125 § 127.

persons emerged and with folded palms began to worship—PS. 11. 24.; *mai jānati hu ki svarga Par se kisi devatā kā vah gur paḍā*—I believe that it belongs to some god and has fallen from the heaven (from upon the heaven) NKP. 8. In this respect the ablative in EHP is quite identical to the ablative in the Buddhistic Sanskrit, where it is expressed periphrastically, the only difference being that 'those verbs which were construed with the ablative in OIA are mostly construed in Buddhistic Sanskrit with the genitive plus the ablative adverb—*antikāt*'', and in Hindi such verbs in the ablative are construed with the locative post-positive *mē* and the ablative post-positive *se*.

3. The following are the typical uses of ablative in EHP—

A. Ablative (a) with verbs and verbal derivatives.

(b) with substantives (with adjectives and nouns).

B. Instrumental ablative.

C. Temporal ablative.

D. Objective ablative.

E. Comparative ablative.

F. Partitive ablative.

G. Adverbial ablative.

H. Ablative of direction.

I. Ablative governed by adverbs.

J. Ablative of distance.

K. Causal ablative.

L. Ablative indicating the upper limit.

M. Ablative of material.

N. Absolute ablative.

4. A. The ablative with verbs and the verbal derivatives.

1. An Outline Syntax of Buddhistic Sanskrit. 'The Ablative'. page 29. vide-JDL 1928. Also cf. "from the syntactical point it is doubly interesting as it retains much of the remanants of OIA idioms which were lost in Classical Sanskrit, as well as it contains the germ of many of the peculiarly NIA idioms". Ibid p. 2.

A close analysis and observation of the idioms illustrated below makes it clear that the ablative with verbs and verbal derivatives express Separation, physical, or mental, actual or supposed. This use of the ablative in EHP has a close affinity with the use of the ablative with verbs and verbal derivatives in OIA, and MIA cf. 'The ablative with verbs (and verbal derivatives) denoting separation, physical or mental, actual or supposed :=*eti ha eṣa yajñapathāt*—he wanders from the path of sacrifice;¹ *dhammā dhamṣenti yājakā*=the sacrificing priests fall away from 'dhamma (SN. 19. 29.)'²

Also cf. 'The ablative is used with all adjectives, verbs and other words expressing local or ideal separation'.³

The following are the examples :

- (1) Verbs meaning to fall from; to go away from, *giranā=taba śrīnath i ke kaṇṭha se phūla ki mālā giri*—then garland of flowers fell from the neck of Śrīnāthjī CV. 189.,=*aura kāi loga caritra se girate hai*=and several people fall from character. PP. 23. *jaise phūlī phalī laṭā peṭ se gir padē*=just as a full bloomed creeper falls from a tree. NKP. 10. Mss.
- (2) To be released from, *chūṭanā=māno gāya ke bachaḍe bandhana se chūṭe*=as if the calves are released from the rope (bondage) PP. 103, *itano lkha dcva jo brāhmaṇa ṛṇa te chūṭe*=be merciful to intimate that this Brāhmaṇa may be relieved from (of) his debt. CV.173. *jis se tum janam marana se chūṭ bhavasāgar pār ho*=so that you may be released from the bondage of the birth and death and ferry the worldly ocean. PS. 1. 1. *mujhe samajhāy ke kaho kis rīti se karma ke phande se chūṭūgā*=explain to me the manner through which I may be released from the human bondage. PS. 1. 5. *jisase saṃsār mē kebār bār āwāgaman ke dukh se chūṭe* so that I may be released from the cycle of coming and going of this world NKP. 45.,

1. UCVP. 3. 107.

2. HSMIA §54. 34.

3. Hindi Grammar. Kellogg. Syntax of ablative. 3. 408.

- (3) To flow from, to issue from—

nadī parvatani se nikasati—the river flows from the mountain
PP. 440. *dono mātā putranī ke sneha viśai tatpara jinake stan
se dugdha jharai*—both (of) the mothers are attached to the affec-
tion of (their) sons and milk flows from their breasts. PP. 761.

- (4) To proceed from—

taba ācāryajī mahāprabhūna aḍela se cale—then Ācāryajī Mahāpra-
bhūna proceeded from Aḍela. CV.114. *dwārikā purī se cal hastinapur
āye*—proceeding from Dwārika he came to Hastinapur. PS. LIX. 140.

- (5) To be generated from, to issue from—

strīni ke mukha se aisī dhwani nikasc such words came from the
mouh of the woman. PP. 761. *pitā ke vīrya mātā ke rudhira se
uphajā*—(he) generated from the sperm of father and blood of
mother. PP. 765. *aisā māgan huā ki muh se bol na āyā*—(he) was
overjoyed and not a single word came forth from (his) mouth
761. *usake muh se koī jabāb na nikalā*—no reply came forth from
her mouth. OL. 125.

- (6) To go away from :

jo is ke hāth se jitī jāūgī to phir gokul me kabhi na aūgī—I would
never come back to Gokul, if I go away alive from his hands. PS.
mitrō se mitrāī jāti rahi khāwindō se waphāi uth gayī—friendship has
departed from amongst friends, and sincerity has left masters. BP. 66.

- (7) To descend from :

ki rānī is samay ko dekh rath se utar kar calī—having seen
the lovely scene (time) the queen having descended from the
chariot proceeded further PS. 1. 6. *śrī kṛṣṇa rath se utar saba ko
samajhāy.....cale*—descending from the chariot Kṛṣṇa pacified
them all.....(and again) proceeded. PS. XL. 68.

- (8) To put down from—

*taba lakṣhmaṇa ne dono kumārō kā vṛttānta suna harṣita hoyā hātha se
hathiyāra dāra diyā*—having heard about both (of) the princes
Lakṣman was delighted and put down the arms from his hands.

PP. 868. *jab hari ne giri kar se utār dharā tis samay sab baḍe baḍe gop to is adbhut caritra ko dekh yō kah rahe the*—when Hari (Krishna) put down the mountain (Govardhana) from his hand, all the elder 'gops' having witnessed this amazing behaviour began to say thus. PS. 24. 45.

- (9) To obtain from.

jaise r̥cō se phal kī prāpta hat hai taise p̥rthvī so anna kī prāpta hot hai—as salvation is obtained from the R̥cās, likewise grains are obtained from the earth. NRTUB/MSS. *mujh se āstis le hajār varṣa tak jītā rahget*—a boon from me and live for a thousand years. SB. 51.

- (10) To be born from.

kahā hai kis kokh se yah kanyā paidā huī hai—and(he)said from whose womb this damsel is born. SB. 47. *śudrāṇī se jo beḷā huā nām dhanvantari*—the son born of (from) Śudrāṇī was known as Dhanavantari SB. 19,

- (11) To protect from,- to save from.

koī aisā hai ki merī ākar khabar le is pāp se mujhe bacāwe aur jī dān de—is there any one who would come and take care of me, and would protect me from the sin and bestow (me my) life. SB. 49. *suraj bhān ke hāth se āpane bacā liyā*—you have saved me from the hands of Surajabhān. RKK. 15.

- (12) To come out from, to emerge from.

sab gopiyā ekā ekī virah sāgar se nikalī—all of asudden all the 'gopies' came out from the ocean of 'virah' (separation). PS. *vah un darakhto se nikalā aur pās ākar kahane lagā*—he emerged from those trees (grooves) and having drawn near (he) began to say. SN. 42

- (13) To disappear from.

jab sūraj aur hiranī ākh se oḥhal ho gaye tab tā kūwar uḍayabhānu bhukhā pyāsā unīdā jabhātā āgādāiyā letā hakkā bakkā hoke lagā āsarā dhūḍhane—when the sun set and the deer disappeared from

his eyes, the Kunwar hungry, thirsty, yawning, gaping, distracted began to seek shelter. RKK. 4.

- (14) Separated from.

aura kauna artha akelī yutha se vichurī mṛgī samāna mahā ban mē rahe hai—and for what reason (you) dwell in (this) dense forest as a deer separated from (her) herd. PP. 115.

- (15) To snatch away from, to take away from.

yā bhāti kaha kara mitra ke hāth se khadga linā—having said thus, (he) snatched the sword from (his) friend's hand. PP. 203.

- (16) To bid adieu from.

ab nigoḍī laj se kūṭ karatī hū , tu merā sāth de--now I bid adieu from the modesty, and do thou accompany me. RKK. 20.

- (17) To be startled from.

us kā śabda sunate hī sāre braj bāsi kyā strī kyā puruṣ nīd se cauḱe—having heard his noise, all the inhabitants of Braj, either men or women, were startled from sleep. PS. 38.

- (18) To regain consciousness from.

kai eka mūrchā se sacata hoyu urasīhala kutatī bhūi—several (of them) regaining consciousness (becoming conscious from unconsciousness) began to strike against their bosoms. PP. 723.

- (19) To depart from.

aise kah kansa se vidā ho akrūr apane ghar āye—having said so, Akrur departed from Kansa and came to his abode. PS. 38. 63.

- (20) To take away from, remove away from.

gale se sāp nikāl kahane lagā—removing the snake from (his father's) neck he began to say. PS. 1. 4.

- B. The ablative with substantives,

rahit—aura saṁsāra ke ananta jīva samyaktā se rahit mithyā dṛṣṭi hai—and the innumerable souls of the universe are deprived from the proper judgement and conceive the wrong. PP. 27. jānma jarā

maraṇa se. rahit jo śiwapur hai—the place of Śiva, which is free from the birth, the oldage and the death. PP. 740. *so samsta wikāra se rahita hoya gaye*—he became free from all the evils PP. 769. *aur surya astā hone se logō ke netra dekhane se rahit bhaye*—the sun having set peoples' eyes became free from seeing. NRTB/MSS.

virakta :-ankea jīva dhṛma mē parvarte pāpa karma ke upārjana se virakta bhaye—many souls adopted the religion and became detached from accumulation of sinful acts. PP. 27.

nirlipta—*jaise sarovara me kamala jala se nirlipta rahe taise bhagawāna jagata kī māyā se alipta rahe*—like a lotus in a pond, which is detached from water, the god is detached from the illusion of the universe. PP. 20.

bhayabhita :-aise bacana suna kara kṣīra kadamba saṃsāra se atyanta bhayabhita bhayā—having heard this preaching Kṣīrakadamba became afraid from (of) this world. PP. 183.

nivṛtta—*māi saṃsāra ke mārṅga se nivṛtta huā*—I became free from the worldly bondage. PP. 203.

agocara—*tumase dwīpa mē koī sthān agocara nahī*—in the island none of the places are impereceptible from you. PP. 359.

nirbhaya—*maine unako bhaya se nirbhay kiyā*—I made them free from fear. PS. 148. With substantive (nouns); *aura devō se manuṣya hoyā siddha pad pāwe hai*—and being incarnated from gods to men they obtain salvation. PP. 251, *koī eka nirdhana se rājā hoyā jāya*—if some one becomes rich from poverty. PP. 751.

5 The Instrumental ablative.

In quite a good number of idioms the ablative appares as a kind of subjective instrumental. In such idioms, the agent is regarded as the source from where the action originates. This use of the ablative in EHP. bears close affinity with the use of the ablative as the subjective instrumental in

bhārata) cf. 'In Mahābhārata the ablative sometimes appears for the subjective instrumental or genitive. Here the agent is viewed as the source of the action. Thus—durātmano vadho yatra kīcakasya vṛko-darāt—where (there is) the killing of the foul hearted Kīcaka by Vṛko-dara. (I. 2. 131.), tvatsakāśācca rāmācca bhīmasenācca mādhaba arjunād va mahabāho hantum śakyo na vetivai—(he) cannot o great armed Mādhaba, be killed by you, or by Rāma, or by Bhīmasena or by Arjun (9. 15. 9.)¹

The following are the examples :—ara munī kī jo avajñā kare so sarva se dukha pāwe—and one who disrespects a saint, receives misery from (i. e. by) all. ĀP. 80. yah bacan nārī se sun satrajīt bolā—having heard this from (by) his wife Satrajīta spoke. PS. LVIII. 130. yogī se sunkar maibhī vahā gayā—having heard this from the saint I too went there. SB. 9. 46. padmāvatī gyārahavī putalī has kar bolī ai rājā pahale mujh se kathā sun pīche simhāsan par pāva de—Padmāvatī, the eleventh do laughing said. O king! first hear the anecdote from me and then ascend the throne SB. 11. 49. In the foollwing the instrumental of means can also be explained as the ablative idiom—aur apane phūl kī pañkhaḍī jaise hoṭhō se kis kis rūp ke phūll ugalatā hū—and what sort of flowers I disclose from the petals of my lips. Rkk.

The ablative of father-hood is an allied idiom (i. e. allied to the instrumental ablative). Thus—ara yaha pitā dhanya hai jisase isane janma pāyā—fortunate is that father from whom he got his birth PP. 107. goyā kāmadeva se paidāhuī hai—as if she is born of the cupid. SB. 10. 46. yākub se yusuph paidā huā sauhar mariyam kā ki jis ke peṭ se isā paidā huā ki jiskā nām masihā rakhā gayā—Jacob begot Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus who is Called Christ. N. T. 3. 10.

1. HSMIA. §§ 55. 37.

6. The Temporal ablative.

The temporal ablative denotes the time giving the meaning *from*, *since*, *after*. Thus the temporal ablative indicates the starting point of an action, i. e. the time indicating the starting of an action. The temporal ablative is expressed, mostly with the temporal adverbs as, 'jab', 'tab', 'jad', 'tad' 'āj' 'kal', 'tabhī' 'dīn', 'pahar' 'āge' etc and with some other words having the similar semantic value. The temporal ablative is a well established idiom in the Eastern and Western Hindi. e. g., sādho sahaja samādhi bhalī, guru pratāpa jā dinatē upajī dina dina adhika calī—O saints, 'sahaja samādhi' is superior to all, it is being deeply rooted in me from the day it sprung in me by the blessings of (my) guru. KK. 28. 179. mahā dukhita mere doū nain, jā dinatē hari calē madhupurī naiku na kabahū kīnhau sain—my eyes are much grieved, (and they) had not a wink of sleep from the day Hari went to Madhupuri SS. 1363. 3242. jaba te rāma vyāhi ghara āye, nita nava maṅgala moda badhāye—every day there were great merriments and rejoicings from the day Ram having married returned home. RC. 35.

7. The Objective ablative.

The use of the ablative for the indirect object is not an extensive idiom but it is a very interesting phenomenon in the syntax of the ablative in EHP. It should also be mentioned here that this is also the function of the objective instrumental. Apparently there appears no difference between the two (i. e. the objective instrumental and the objective ablative). But there is some fundamental and remarkable difference between the two; while functioning as indirect object, the instrumental always retains its identity intact i. e. the germ of the sociative idea (the fundamental feature of the instrumental) is well predominant, and while functioning as indirect object, the ablative always retains its original value of the 'from case'. The following are the examples :—*tab garga muni ne nanda jī se dono kī janma tithi pūchi*—then the sage Garg inquired the date of birth of the two (sons) from Nandjī. PS. 9.20. *aur lenā usī bhabhūt kā jo gurūjī de gaye the ākha micauwal ke bahāne*

apanī mā rām kāmlatā se—and (Rānī Ketakī's) begging of the ash, which the teacher gave, to play at blindman's buff from her mother, the queen Kāmlatā RKK. 18. *dekhā ki ek dew us strī se rati māgatā hai*—he saw (found) that a demon was asking from that woman the bed (i. e. the sharing of the bed.). SB. 49. *mujhase āīs le hajār varṣa tak jītā rah*—have blessings from me and live for a thousand years. SB. 51. (This idiom is also explained as instrumental ablative).

8. The Ablative of comparison.

The ablative is employed to express comparison between two persons, objects or things. The nature and the function of the comparative ablative may be illustrated thus, 'The comparative use of the ablative is directly deducible from the primary function of the ablative—'He is taller than me' is conceived (in the original parent language) as he is taller from me. The smaller of the two things compared is the standard of the comparison and accordingly takes the ablative'¹

It is also to be noted that the comparison is expressed in the following manner (a) The comparison expressing similarity or dissimilarity (b) Comparison expressing inferiority, (c) comparison expressing superiority.

The following adjectives and words having the value of an adjective are employed in the comparison (a) for superiority :—*uttam- sab dharmō se uttam dharma kaun hai*—which is the best of all the religions, PS. 1. 5. *baḍha kar- ve mujh se baḍhakar hai*—he is greater from me PS. 180. *adhik- mujhse adhik kaun hai*—who is superior from me SB. 40. *baḍā-mujh se baḍā jag me aur kaun hai*—who else in the world is greater than me PS. 30. *mahāna—ākāśa se koī mahān nahī*—no one is higher than (from) the sky. PP. 59. (b) For inferiority :—*choṭā-jñān me suk se choṭe hai*—in knowledge (he) is inferior to (from) Śuk. PS. 1. 5. *hīn—mujh se hīn jag me kaun hogā*—who else would be inferior to (from) me in this universe RC/ Mss. *laghu—tujha se laghu is sṛṣṭi me koī nahī*—none is inferior to

1. UCVP. 118.

(from) you in this Creation. *alpa-paramāṇ use ara kou alpa nām̃*=none is smaller than the atom. PP. 59.

When the comparative ablative is employed to explain the difference, the substantives in question stand in reciprocal relation to each other. This idiom is alternatively expressed by the reciprocal locative. This idiom of the ablative can broadly be classified as (a) the comparative ablative with substantive as, *samskr̥ta se ara bhāṣā se bhinnatā hai*—there is difference between Sanskrit and Bhāṣā PP. 107. (b) The comparative ablative with verbal derivatives—*kahane se aur karane se antar hai*—there is difference between saying and doing. SB. 107.

The partitive comparative ablative is very interesting idiom in the syntax of the ablative, and deserves our special attention. The chief feature to be noted in this idiom is that it is positive in form, but semantically it has the comparative value; examples=*to dekhatā hai jo cāḥis pacās ranḍiyā ek se ek joban me agali jhūlā dāle paḍi jhūl rahī hai*= what a sight he saw ! forty or fifty damsels in their youth, one more beautiful than another were playing at swings. RKK. 4. The following are some of the other important idioms—‘*sundar se sundar*’ ‘*acchā se acchā*’ ‘*laghu se laghu*’, ‘*bhārī se bhārī*’, *thoḍe se thoḍā*’ ‘*uttam se uttam*’, ‘*aur se aur*’.

Kellogg, in ‘Grammar of the Hindi Language’ has marked this idiom of the ablative as, ‘The ablative is used with all the words denoting or implying comparison. Thus it is used (a) with adjectives=*mujha se baḍā*=greater than I; *aise pūt hone se wah apūt kyō na huā*=why was he not sonless rather than have such a son, *wah sab se pahale jā milī*=she went and met him first of all; (b) with verbs=*koī mujh se na jite*=no one may conquer me; *bāl hatyā se baḍha kar koī pāp hī nahī*—there is no sin as a greater than homicide—(c) before some adverbs=*as-in inse āge*=before this, *ghar se bāhar*—outside of the house’.¹

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1. *Grammar of the Hindi Language*—Syntax of Ablative 591. 7. 409. 410. also vide. *Pincoth-Hinai Manual*. Page. 99, *Platts-Hindustani Grammar*—The ablative case—9. 279.

The examples marked as 1, 2, 3, require a revision of judgement. The idiom marked as I, is absolute ablative, while in the 2nd, and 3rd. the ablatives are governed by adverbs, and they indicate no symptom of comparison.

The use of the comparative ablative in EHP is quite identical to the use of the comparative ablative in OIA and MIA. The use of comparative Ablative may be compared with—*rājā kahai gāuab saū, hāi re idarsivlok.* koisari mōsāu pāvai, kāsau karaū baroka—the king says with pride I am the Indra of Śiva-lok, who can be a match to me and with whom should I marry PM. 83. *aur sakala aṅganate. ūdhava ākhiyā adhikh dukhārī* of all the limbs the eyes have grater grief SS. 160. 3577.

9. Partitive ablative.

The partitive ablative in EHP, is periphrastically expressed. The periphrasis consists of the locative post-positive *mē* and the ablative post positive *se* or *te*. The partitive ablative indicates the many from which an individual is spoken of. (This is also the function of the partitive locative.) The partitive ablative in EHP, has a similar function as that of the ablative idiom in the following:—*krauñca mithunādekamavadhih*—you have killed. one out of the couple of plovers CP. *Kathās.* 13, 144; 24, 176.¹

The nature of the partitive ablative in EHP, is similar to that of the Partitive ablative in OIA. This statement is attested by the following, 'It is very common, especially in simple prose, to periphrase the partitive cases by *madhye* (=gen. or loc) and *madhyāt* (=abl).² The following are the examples *tab rofi mete eka ūka mela lete*—then he would consume a part from the bread. CV. 101. *yah sun vin mese ek bol*—having heard this one from them spoke. PS. 88. 55.

1. Skt. Synt. §116. Rem 1. 86.

2. *ibid.* §116 Rem. 2. 86. and also §191. 137.

mahārāj jagat parakās aur mahārānī kāmālatā rāj pāt us viyog me choḍ chāḍ ek pahāḍ kī coti par jā baiṭhe aur kisī ko apāne logō me se rāj thāmane ko choḍ gaye—King Jagat Prakāsh and the queen Kāmālatā quitting on account of this desertion, their kingdom all else, retired to the summit of a mountain, having left one from their subjects in charge of the Government. RKK. 88. *in me se ek bolā kī mujh mē yah vidyā hai kī kapaḍā banākar māī pāc lāl ko bēcatā hū*—one from them spoke I possess the science that I make a cloth and sell it for five reubies. BP. 8. 76. *farrukhasiyar ke sidaiyo mē se mūle khā. fidāi khā ke bete ne ek laḍāī māri*—Mulekhān, from the courtiers of Farrukhasiar and son of Fidāi Khan won a battee. SN. 20.

12. The ablative governed by adverbs.

The ablative when governed by some adverb implies a relation in space or time, Thus—*vahā jāne ke bandobasta se pahale ek brāhman kā laḍakā..... kahī se phiratā huā āyā*—before the arrangements (made for her) of departure a son of Brahmin.....had come wandering about. BP. 15. *ṭū āj rāt murga ke bāḡ dene se pahale tīn bār merā inakār karegā*—this night before the cock crow thou shalt refuse me thrice. NT. 26. 34. *lekin jab vah yahā se bāhar nikalā to vah us ke pīche se ek sundarī nāyakā ā us se pūchane lagī*—when he came out from (that place) thence a beautiful damsel having followed him began to enquire. BP. 8. 80.

13. The ablative of distance.

The ablative also indicates the point from which some distance is calculated. Examples—*so vaha mālā dūrate śrī thākura jī keūpara vāne dārī*—then he threw that garland upon ‘thākurji’ from a distance. CV. 120. *so svayambudha mantrī dūr te giri rāj kū dekhātā bhayā*—hence the minister Svayambudha saw the great mountain from a distance. ĀP. 83. *tin̄hō ne rath dūr se panth me āte dekhā*—from a distance they saw the chariot coming in the way. PS. *dūr se use dekh sab gwāl āpas me khane lage*—having seen him from a distance, all the cow-boys began to say. PS. *sāmāne se usakī strī ne dekhā ki merā sauhar ātā hai*—from the front his wife saw that her husband comes. BP. 56. It should be noted that the ablative, in the idioms illustrated above, is construed with spatial adverbs.

14. The causal ablative.

The ablative expresses the cause or reason and in this case it is accepted as the starting point from where some consequence has proceeded.¹ The causal ablative is construed both with substantive and with verbal noun or infinitive. The following are examples—*putrī ke wichuḍe se śoka sahita apāne deśa ko gayā*—with the grief from the separation of (his) daughter (he) went to his country BP. 132. *sūrya asta hone se logō ke netra dekhane se hīna bhaye*—from the setting of the sun people’s eyes were deprived from seeing. P. 27. This idiom can also be explained as causal instrumental—*is bhaya se māi bhāgati hū*. I flee from this fear. P. S. *isī ke āne se māi bhāgā jātā hū*—I run away from (the fear of) his coming. P. S. 3. *indra ke māna ne se kucha nahī hotā*—nothing is achieved from obeying Indra. P. S. *tū kis pāpa se ajagar huā*—from what sin did you become a serpent P. S. *udhar jāne se merā jī daratā hai*—my heart fears from going there. S.B 66. c. f. *madā hi pāpāni karoti bālā*—out of intoxication the stupid commits sin. (S.N. 26. 24) *pāpāni kammāni karoti mohā*—They commit sinful acts out of ignorance². The following features deserve our discussion.

1. See Skt. Synt. 102. 75. Ablative of causality.

2. HSMIA §58.39.

(a) Some of the idioms of causal ablative may also be explained as causal instrumental.

(b) The cause is sometimes confused with the purpose hence the ablative under the circumstance appears for the final dative.¹

But the original difference between the instrumental and the ablative is always preserved there. The causal instrumental explains the cause as the means while the causal ablative explains the cause as the source.

15. The idiom of the ablative also is employed to express the idea of upper limit. The sense of the upper limit may be (a) with regard to space, (b) with regard to person. The ablative in this case is construed mostly with the verbal forms 'leke' or 'le kara' or, 'lagā'. The following are the examples.

(a) *dharatī se lekara ākāśa taka samsta wānara vaṃṣī bikhara gaye-*
the vānara vaṃṣī scattered from earth to sky-PP. 760.—*sira se lagā pāwa taka jitane rōṅ ate hāi jo sab ke sab bol uthe* - if as many hairs as there are from head to foot were all to speak RKK. 1.

(b) *rājā raghu ne candrāvati ko ladakīā se āja taka suggā sa paḍhāyā*
the king Raghu taught Candrāvati from (her) childhood by now like a parrot. NKP. 10.

(c) *tinake nāma suna ramjī se leke daśaratha paryanta kṛtāratha bhaye*—having heard his name from Ram to Daśarath (all) were obliged. BYB. 29.

16. The idiom of the ablative in the following is idiomatically used, which is historically instrumental—thus *us ke sāth ek dāi ai sī kar dī kī ākho se andhī kāno se baharī mūh se gūṅt* and (he) engaged a maid servant (for her) who was blind from eyes, deaf from ears, and dumb from mouth. S. B. 95.

1. In this respect it is identical to the causal ablative in MIA, see HSMIA §§ 58-59.

17. The ablative of material

The ablative of material denotes the former state or shape out of which some other state proceeds or is produced. Examples.—*tab hanumān ne svarna se banī mudrikā dārī-* ‘then Hanumān dropped down the ring made from gold’. Rc/Mss. *phūl se banī māl hīe baiṭhi thi* (She) was sitting there with a garland of flowers (made from flowers). Ibid.

Abbreviations

- Com Gram=Comparative Grammar
 ODBL=Origin and Development of Bengali Language
 UVP=Ukti Vyakti Prakaraṇa
 HSMIA=Historical Syntax of Middle Indo Aryan
 MIA=Middle Indo Aryan
 JDL=Journal of the Department of Letters
 UCVP=Use of the Cases in Vedic Prose
 Skt Syn=Sanskrit Syntax
 OSBS=An Outline Syntax of Buddhistic Sanskrit
 EHP=Early Hindi Prose
 CV=Caurāṣī Vārtā
 BYB=Bhāṣāyog Bāsiṣṭha
 PP=Padma Purāṇa
 AP=Ādipurāṇa.
 OL=Oriental Linguist
 SB=Siṅghāsan Battisī
 BP=Baital Pachisī
 SN=Śakuntala Nāṭak
 PS=Prem Sāgar
 NKP=Nasiketopākhyān
 NT=New Testament
 RKK=Rānī Ketaki Kī Kahānī
 RC=Ram Carita Mānaṣa
 NrTUB=Nṛsingha Tāpani Upaniṣad Bhāṣā
 SS=Sūra Sāgara
 KK=Kabīra

ON THE INFINITIVES IN BENGALI

Dwijendranath Basu

S. K. Chatterji (ODBL, §747) opines that the Infinitive in Bengali is derived from the old Verbal Noun in *-i* put in the Locative and this is different from the Present Participle (Ibid, §§732-3). S. Sen (BhI, p. 203) on the other hand, suggests that it owes its origin to the Present Participle with the Instrumental/Locative-case affix. In BhPBV (Note, 3/09/10) again, S. K. Chatterji observes that it is difficult to trace with certainty the origin of the Gerundial Infinitive suffix *-ite* and to distinguish its use with that of the Verbal Adjective or Participle, and that a merging of the meanings of the two has also taken place.

Here are some varied uses of the *-ite* forms as the Infinitive and as its homomorph, the Present Participle (or better, the Imperfect Participle) in Modern Bengali :

- A. (1) *gān śunite tahār bhālo lāge*—‘To hear songs is to his liking’.
(2) *gān śunite se bhālo bāse*—‘He likes to hear songs’.
(3) *gān śunite man ānande pūrṇa haila*—‘The heart was full of joy by hearing the song’.
(4) *ei gān śunite āmi anek kaṣṭa kariyāchi*—‘I have taken a lot of trouble to hear this song’.
(5) *gān śunite ei bipad ghaṭila*—‘This accident occurred from hearing song’.
(6) *gān śunite tahār klānti nāi*—‘He has no fatigue in hearing song’.
- B. Imperfect Participle—
(1) *āmār gān śunite keha nāi*—‘There is nobody to hear my song’.
(Adjective to the substantive—Nominative)

- (2) *āmi tāhāke gān sūnite dekhiyāchi*—‘I have seen him hearing songs’ (Adjective to the substantive—Accusative).
- (3) *tāhār gān sūnite bhālo kintu tāhār antaḥsār kichu nāi*—‘His song is pleasant to hear but it has nothing substantial in it’.
(Adverb to the adjective) A similar expression—*thākurdā chele khepāte ek khāni*—‘Grandpa is unique to flare up boys’
- (4) *se gān sūnite sūnite khāy*—‘He eats while he hears the song’
(Adverb to verb-concurrent—continuous).
- (5) *se gān sūnite sūnite āmi āsiyā pariḥa*—‘I shall come up during the time he will be hearing the songs’ (Adverb-absolute).
- (6) *megh nā cāhite jal*—‘(Rain)-water came down while even the cloud was not prayed for (Adverb absolute—subjunctive)
- (7) *āmi jāite se āsila*—‘He came after I had gone’ (Adverb—absolute—conditional)
- (8) *ghar thākite bābui bhije*—‘The weaving bird is wet (in the rain) although it has its nest’ (Adverb-Absolute “Infinitive nexus (Philgr 117. ff-Jespersen).

C. Imperfect participle in Compound Tense and Compound -verb.

- (1) *se gān sūnite-ehe*—‘He is hearing songs’
se gān sūnite-chila—‘He was hearing songs’
- (2) *se gān sūnite-thākibe*—‘He will continue to hear the songs’
se gān sūnite-lagila—‘He went on hearing the songs’
se gān sūnite pāre nā—‘He can not hear songs’
se gān sūnite pāy nā—‘He does not get the chance to hear songs’
tāhāke gān sūnite dāo—‘Let him hear songs’ etc. etc.

In A. above the Infinitives are Noun-Infinitives in different cases, (1) in Nominative, (2) in Accusative, (3) in Instrumental, (4) in Dative, (5) in Ablative, (6) in Locative. All case-forms other than Nominative and Accusative are adverbial and it is useless to make a category of the Gerundial or Dative Infinitive. All the examples in A may be equated with the verbal nouns in different cases but they have interesting nuancial differences. S. Sen (loc. cit, p. 203) suggests that OB-*ante* forms, MB.

-ite forms from which the Mod Bg. -ite forms occur, functioned as Imperfect Participle and those ending in -(i)ba functioned as Infinitive in OB and MB. Hence a close study of the OB & MB instances is necessary.

In the Caryās, all the forms in -anta are found in the oblique case. In *jibante maile* (*maale*) *nāhi biśesa* (*biśeso*) (22/6, 49/10) —‘There is no difference between a living one and a dead one’ *jibante* is an adjective substantivised in the Instrumental case denoting Reciprocity in connection with *biśeso*. The same word as an adjective substantivised is also found in *jibante bhelā bihani maela naali*—‘you have brought a dead one which is without having been alive’ (according to S. Sen, CGP, also agreeing in general with the suggestion of Chatterji, ODBL p. 1013) such adjectival -anta form is preserved in a few words in Modern Bengali (*ghumanta purī*, *paranta rod*, *chuḷanta ghoṛā* etc.)

In *dudhamājhe lara cchante na dekhai* (42/8) ‘One can not see the cream existing in milk’ *cchante* is not merely an adjunct of *lara*, but it has also a nexal connection with *lara*. Jespersen has named such a phenomenon as “Infinitival nexus” (PhGr p. 117). In criticising Sonnenschein he has pointed out that in the sentence ‘I like boys to be quiet’—“boy” and “quiet” are not functioning as the two objects of the verb “like”. Similarly *lara* and *chante* can not be called the two objects of *dekhai*. The oblique case-affix gives it a special function to perform. The cream remains (= *acchati*) in milk, but no body sees that cream in the state of existing. There are two other instances of *ācchante* in the Caryās. In one, *amiyā ācchante bīsa gilesi re* (39/7) ‘you take poison while there is nectar’ *ācchante* is Imperfect participle in the Locative case to denote the sense of “disregarding” used absolutely (*anādare*). Unlike Sanskrit there is no congruence of it with *amiyā*, used as Nominative, as in all such cases there is a syntactic contamination’ :—‘the nectar exists (= *acchati*)’ and ‘(*tad anādārya*) disregarding that you take poison’ are mixed up. In the other, viz *mūrhā acchante loa na pekhai* (42/7)—‘While remaining stupid, a man cannot see’ the locative case affix of the present participle is due

to the temporal sense in the absolute use" :—"So long as one remains stupid' p. 58.

Similar instances of the imperfect participle in the locative case used absolutely are found in a few more instances in the Caryās.

jāsu guṇante tuṭṭai indiāla (30/5)—'While one remains in expectation of which, the net of senses is torn'. Here the imperfect has the sense of "continuative". The imperfect has also the sense of "iterative", as in *mai ethu burante kimpī na diṭṭhā* (16/10)—'While dips are being taken by me (repeatedly, one after another) in this place nothing is seen'. *nāri biārante seba bāyurā (bāpurā)* (20/6)—'While the umbilical cord is seen through and through, it is lost in the air (he, the poor fellow, is no more)'.

There are two *-ante* forms of $\sqrt{jā}$ 'to go' occurring in two subsequent lines. *bhānti na bāsasi jānte* (15/7) and *ethā aṭa mahāsiddhi sijhae ujubāta jāante* (15/8) the former signifies 'entertain no doubt in going forward' and the latter 'The eight Great Occult Powers are achieved here by keeping on the straight path' (S. Sen, OBT, CGP). S.K. Chatterji understands *jānte* in the former example as 'at the time of going', but it may not have the sense of Imperfect Absolute, it may simply denote a verbal noun in the locative case signifying a subject-matter'. The latter has the sense of 'instrumental' which is not normal for the Imperfect Absolute.

The instrumental sense is found in the *-ante* forms repeated. Thus *cāhante cāhante suṇa biāra* (31/8)—'By searches going on and on the consideration is Void'. But in *āṇa cāhante āna biāthā* (44/6)—'While one remains to be searched on and on, the other is lost'.

The word *paisante* occurs twice in the Caryās. In *nalint bana paisante hohisi ekumṇā* (23/2)—'While getting into the lotus-bed, be singleminded' (S. Sen. OBT), *paisante* is Imperfect Absolute in the sense of 'continuative'. But in *giribara-sithara-sandhi paisante sabaro loriba kaise*—'Getting into the crevice of the peak of the high hill, how can Śabara be traced'

(S. Sen, OBT), *paisante* has the function of a subjunctive (How can Śabara be traced if he goes on entering into the.....).

The subjunctive use is also found in another *-ante* form in the Caryās. It is the word *jāgante* in *gaanata gaanata.....kanthe narāmaṇi bāli jāgante sughāri* (50/1-2)—‘The void, the second Void, and the third Void the fenced plot are there, the axe in the heart, the girl Nairāmaṇi close to the neck, if one remains awakened, it is well’.

Another peculiar use is found of an *-ante* form. *pāñca keruḷa parante māṅge piṭata kācchī bāndhi| gaana-dukhole, siñcahu pāni na paisai sāndhi ||* (14/5-6)—‘Five oars plying aft, the rope is fixed on the platform, Bail out water with the bucket of the Sky, water may not leak in through the joints’—S. Sen, OBT) Here the relation of *parante* with the finite verb is not clear. Rather, by anacoluthon the absolute sense is lost. It may be the precursor of the Imperfect Compound Tense form, the Substantive verb being absent here, like the copula not generally expressed in Bengali.

Similar use of the Imperfect Absolute without any connection with the Finite verb, functioning as the Imperfect Compound Tense is found in the Dohākosa of Saraha (from CGK)

khāante [pibante suha ramante nitta puṇu puṇu cakka bi bharante] āisa dhamme sijjai paraloaha nāha pāe dali]- ūbhaa loaha||, and

na maṇa munahu re nūṇe joi

jima jale jalahi milante soi| (Alt rdg. in BGD *milantei*).

In Saraha’s Dohakoṣa (BGD) an instance of reduplicated Imperfect Participle oblique denoting Instrumental is found. *cāhante cāhante diṭṭhi niruddho*—‘The sight is dazed by looking on and on’.

A quotation of Nārāpāda from Śānti contains an Imperfect Participle-oblique. *cintā cintante pohāi gela rāti* (OBT, 67)—‘Thinking and thinking the night was over.

Thus the *-ante* forms of the Caryas and Dohas mostly function as Imperfect Absolute and only occasionally as Subjunctive in the Locative

case to indicate generally” the time during which an act is going on or being done. “The reduplicated forms have generally the function of the Instrumental to indicate “by the process of the action being performed or going on”.

As instances of Infinitives from the Caryās, *bāhaba* and *bolabā* in the sentence *bāhaba ke pāraa* (8/8) and *kaise sahaja bolabā jāya* (40/3) respectively have been mentioned (BhI, pp 203-4, CGP, p. 45). But they might as well be called Verbal nouns (Mod Bg *dekhi nāi kabhu.. . eman tarañi bāowā*, and OB. *kahana na jāi* may be compared). The other instances mentioned have *-ka* and *-re* affixes after the *-ibā* suffix from Sekasubhodayā and Śrīkṣṇakīrtana. Infinitives were formed by adding *-ka/-ku* or *-re/-rē* with the nomina actionis base in *-aba/-iba* form. If in Caryā 8/8, *bāhabake* reading is not ensured, *sināibāka* of Sekasubhodayā and the ŚKK forms in *-ibāka*, *ibārē* etc. are the oldest Bengali forms of the Infinitive.

In ŚKK however, a merging of the Imperfect Absolute (in locative) with the Infinitive or the Verbal noun in the oblique case has taken place and there is practically no functional difference between the two. Thus *bharā diā dadhira pasārā jāite cāha jamunāra pāra*—‘Arranging the selling basket full of curds and yoghouts you like to go over the other side of the Jumna’ on the one hand, and *bale dharibāka cāha more*—‘You wish to get hold of me by force’ and *cumbana dibāre cāhe badanakamale*—‘he likes to kiss me on my face’ on the other. Also *sādha nāhi pāra hayite hena bhāṅgā nāe*—‘I have no wish to cross over the river by such a broken boat’, on the one hand and *mathurā jāibāka rādhā ki tora. āse*—‘(if) you have the desire, O Rādhā, to go to Mathurā’ on the other. Then, *bujhite nārō mo tohmāra mane*—‘I can not understand your mind’ and *parāna dibāka pāra tohmāra bacane*—‘I can offer my life at your word’.

Possibly at the close of the OB period, there came a tendency by which Bengali changed *-aba/-abā* (verbal noun base) to *-iba/-ibā*, e. g. *sināibāka* etc., (already this change occurred in Future *-itavya>iba*

(ODBL, §697) in OB) and *-ante* (the Imperfect Absolute ending) to **-inte/ -ite/ -ite*. This was done (in the words of Prof. Chatterji, ODBL §733) in "the native line of development in the language represented in the Past Conditional or Habitual (not found in the Caryās) formed with *-it-* affix is also found in early MB, which might have come through the process of *-ayant > -enta* side by side with *-ant > -anta*. But the analogy of *-ila < -illa :-ala* (Bihari), *-iba < -itavya :-aba* (Bihari) was also there, and above all, there was the strong influence of the Perfect Absolute form in *-ile* which was in use in OB. That the Infinitive in *-ite* is developed from the Verbal Noun in *-i* put in the Locative is apparently unnecessary, because OB Imperfect Absolute ending *-ante* became *-ite* in MB and it is found simultaneously used and confused with *-ibāku/ -ibāre*, both being used without any perceptible distinction. Gradually the former has almost ousted the latter from the field, except *-ibāre*, as the Dative Infinitive ending used in Mod Bg. Poetry-language and *-ibar* with Genitive ending *-r* occurring side by side with the Genitive of the Verbal Noun) and the Adverbial form with *-mātra* (e.g. *ṣunibā-mātra*)

7. The development of the *-ite* form from the Imperfect participle/ Absolute to Dative Infinitive and then to the other cases of the Noun Infinitive without any difference in form (which with their nuancing differences with the different cases of the Verbal Noun is rather recent) is unique in Bengali, and is quite distinct from the other New Indo-Aryan languages which have separate forms for the Infinitive and the Imperfect Participle

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- PhGr—"Philosophy of Grammar"—O. Jespersen (London), 1948
-

// ŚRĪH //

BHĀSĀ-SĀHITYAYŌS TATTVA-GUṆA-VIKARANĒ

SARVADĀ YASYA NIṢṬHĀ/

VIŚVĒ PRŌDBHĀSITAIR YASYA MANANA-KIRANAIR

VARDHITĀ BHĀRATA-ŚRĪH/

RĀJANTAM TADGURŌR MĀRGAM ANUJIGAMISŌH

PRĀRTHANM MĒ SABHAKTI/

SVĀSTHYĀDHYAM DĪRGHAM ĀYUR NIVIDASUKHA MAYAM

DĪYATĀM DĒVADEVAIH//

Bulletin of the
Philological Society of Calcutta

Ācārya Sukumar Sen Felicitation Volume

GURU-PUJĀÑJALI

to

Ācārya Sukumar Sen

By his Students

With BLESSINGS from

Ācārya Suniti Kumar Chatterji

Bulletin of the Philological Society of Calcutta

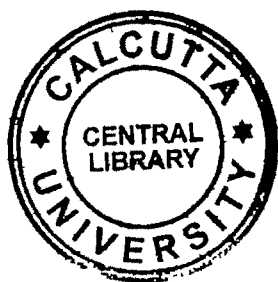
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SUBHĀSAMSANAM

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āvīr āvīr ma ēdhi

mānavikīṣu bhāratasya

jātiya ācāryaḥ

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

National Professor of India

in Humanities

sat-sāhitya-vicāra-niṣṭhita-manā-
vaidagdhya-dhīras sadā,
vāk-tattvē paṭutvaṃ bhuvi praviditaṃ,
śraddhā ca vidvaj-jaṇē /
jñānāt pūtataṃ na vētti viṣayaṃ
lokēṣu pathyaṃ śubhaṃ,
śiṣyō mē Sukumāra-sēna iti yaḥ
syāl labdha-nāiḥśrēyaśaḥ //

Sarasvatī-Pūja-vāsare,

Bhārata-Prajātantra-pratiṣṭhā-divase

ca (26 January 1966)

Kāśyapa-Śrī-Sunīti-Śarmaṇaḥ



Ācārya Sukumar Sen

LIFE AND ACADEMIC DISTINCTIONS

- 1900 Born at 27 Goabagan Lane, Calcutta.
- 1917 Matriculated in the First Division from Burdwan Municipal School. Awarded a Second Grade Government Scholarship and the Mohinimohan Mitra medal.
- 1919 Passed I. A. in the First Division from Burdwan Raj College. Awarded Burdwan Raj Scholarship.
- 1920 Passed Higher Sanskrit Examination in Sanskrit College, Calcutta with a Government Scholarship.
- 1921 Passed B. A. from Sanskrit Collage, Calcutta with Honours in Sanskrit. Placed—First Class Second with a Government Scholarship and the P. K. Sarbadhikari Gold Medal.
- 1923 Passed M. A. in Comparative Philology (with a thesis in lieu of two papers). Placed First Class First with the University Gold Medal and Prize.
- 1924 Awarded Premchand Roychand Studentship thesis submitted and approved—
 (i) Noun—Syntax in the Brāhmaṇas
 (ii) Syntax of Budhistic Sanskrit
 (iii) Syntax of Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit)
 (iv) Syntax of Pali
Awarded Mouat Medal on completion of the Premchand Roychand Studentship.
- 1925 Awarded Griffith Memorial Prize : Thesis on “Women’s language in Indo-Aryan.”
- 1926 Awarded Asutosh Mookerjee Medal : Thesis on “Philological and Literary Study of Aśvaghoṣa”.
- 1928 Awarded Griffith Memorial Prize : Thesis on “Brajabuli—A Linguistic and Literary Study of an Artificial language”
- 1929 Awarded Ramendrasundar Trivedi Prize of the Vangiya Sahitya Parisad : Thesis on ‘The Stories and Anecdotes of the Brahmanas’

- 1930 Awarded Asutosh Mookerjee Medal : Thesis on "A Grammar of Brajabuli Dialect"
- 1931 Awarded Griffith Memorial Prize : Thesis on "Syntax of Early Bengali"
- 1924-25...Studied Prakrit Dhammapada and Old Khotanese as in Central Asian Buddhist documents with Professor Sten Konow in Viśva bharati, Santiniketan
- 1924-26...Honorary Lecturer in the Department of Comparative Philology, Calcutta University. Appointed papersetter and examiner.
- 1926-27...First Postgraduate Research Scholar in Comparative Philology and Research Assistant to the Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics.
- 1928-29.. Khaira Research Scholar.
- 1930 Appointed Lecturer in the Dept. of Comparative Philology, Calcutta University.
- 1937 Awarded Ph. D. degree of the Calcutta University. Awarded Sarojini Medal for the year.
- 1939 Made the Honorary Secretary, Linguistic Society of India.
- 1946 President, Indian Linguistics Section : All-India Oriental Conference at Nagpur.
- 1952-64 Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics, University of Calcutta.
- Fellow of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
- Member of the Executive Board of Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi.
- Teaching in the Summer and Winter School of Linguistics, Poona from the inception.
- Member of the Linguistic Society of America.
- Justice of peace.

Some of the distinguished Lectures delivered

- Taraprasad Khaitan Lecture (Calcutta University).
- Lila Lecture. „
- Sarat Chatterjee Lecture. „
- Mysore University Extension Lecture (on two occasions)
- Wilson Philological Lecture.
- Baroda University Extension Lecture.
- First Nehru Memorial Lecture (Bharati Sangham).

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

(a) **Books :**

- The Use of Cases in Vedic Prose (Reprinted from the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Vol VIII-X (1926-29) in 1929 Bāṃlā sāhityer Gadya (in Bengali) Calcutta, 1341 B. S.
- A History of Brajabuli Literature (University of Calcutta), 1935.
- Bāṅgālā sāhiyer Kathā (in Bengali) (University of Calcutta), 1939
- Bhāsār Itivṛtta (in Bengali) (Sāhitya Sabha, Burdwan) 1939.
- Old Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenian Emperors (University of Calcutta), 1939.
- Bāṅgālā Sāhityer Itihās (in Bengali) 1st Edition, 1940—Revised Edition. in 4 vols, Burdwan 1350 B.S.—1365 B. S.
- Prācīn Bāṃlā o Bāṅgālī (in Bengali) (Viśvavidyā saṃgraha) 1350 B. S.
- Rūparāmer Dharmamaṅgal (in Bengali) in collab. with Panchanan Mandal, 1351 B. S.
- Madhyayuger Bāṃlā o Bāṅgālī (in Bengali) (Viśvavidyāsaṃgraha) 1352 B.S.
- Vidyāpati-gosthī o Gīti-triṃśatika (in Bengali) Burdwan, 1354 B. S.
- Bhadrārjuna nātaka (in Bengali) in collab. with Sri Kalipada Sinha, 1949.
- Islāmī Bāṃlā Sāhitya (in Bengali), Burdwan, 1358 B. S.
- Vicitra Sāhitya part I (in Bengali) Calcutta, 1955.
- Caryāgīti padāvalī (in Bengali) Burdwan, 1956.
- A Middle Indo-Aryan Reader in 2 vols (Texts & Notes) (University of Calcutta) 2nd Revised Edn. in collaboration with Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, 1957.
- Vipradāsa's Manasā-Vijaya (Asiatic Society, in the Bibliotheca Indica Series) 1957
- Vaiṣṇava Padāvalī (Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi) 1957.
- Gaurāṅga Vijaya of Cudāmanidasa—an early Biography of Śrīcaitanya-deva written in Middle Bengali (Asiatic Society in the Bibliotheca Indica Series) 1957.

Vicitra Sahitya part II (in Bengali) Calcutta 1363 B. S.

History and Prehistory of Sanskrit (Mysore, 1958).

Kāñci-kāverī (original in Oriya, a Bengali Translation by Rangalal Vandyopadhyay (University of Calcutta) in collaboration with Sm. Sunanda Sen, 1958

Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan (Linguistic Society of India, Poona), 1960

History of Bengali Literature (Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi) 1960.

Parijan-paribēśe Rabīndra-vikāś (In Bengali) (Lila Lecture; Calcutta University) 1962.

Bhāratīya Sāhityer Itihās (in Bengali) (Grantha-prakāś, Calcutta) 1368 B. S.

Rabīndra-racanā-bhūnirdeśikā (in Bengali) Burdwan, 1368 B. S.

Sekasubhodayā (Revised Second Edition) (Asiatic Society, Calcutta) 1963.

Rasakalpavallī (in Bengali) Calcutta 1963.

Caitanyacaritāmṛta (in Bengali) (Sāhitya Akademi, New Delhi) 1963.

(b) Printed in Journals :

Notes on the Use of the Cases in the Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā (JASB, NS.XXI, 1925).

The Ubhayābhisārikā of Vararuci (Calcutta Review, 1926).

On the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghōṣa (Indian Historical Quarterly, vol II), 1926.

Women's Speech (in Bengali), VSPP, 1333 B. S.

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On the title Panchatantra (Nalini Kanta Bhattachāli Commemoration volume, A. . M. Habibullah, Dacca Museum, 1966.)

SĀMAVASA SANDHI IN THE R̥GVEDA

Moti Lal Rastogi

The term 'Sāmavasa sandhi' occurring in the R̥k Prātiśākhya, stands in opposition¹ to the usual rules of Sandhi. It is an exception to the 'Anuloma', 'Anvaṣara' sandhis². It means lengthening of a short vowel³ before the following consonant⁴, which is also known as 'pluti'⁵. Its main purpose⁶ is to make up the metrical deficiencies in the Vedic mantras, where the orthographic quantity is different from the metrical (i. e. phonetic) quantity. But, fortunately, the Saṃhitā Text of the RV., as it has come down to us, shows usually the uniformity in the two, that helps us in ascertaining the psychological mood⁷ of the composers of the mantras i. e. where they wanted long or short quantity⁸. Under these circumstances one is led to think that there is no scope for the consideration of the present Sāmavasa sandhi. The task of deciphering the metrical lengthening from the natural quantities would have been most difficult but for Śākalya's Padapāṭha and Śaunaka's R̥k Prātiśākhya. Their stand helps us a great deal in this work. They never considered the texts in their Saṃhitā forms, as handed down to them, as original. They believed that the texts in their Pada-form⁹ were nearer to the original texts.

-
1. R Pr. I. 60.
 2. R Pr. II 8-9
 3. Excepting ṛ because there is no such instance in the RV., where a short final ṛ of Padapāṭha shows a long form in the Saṃhitāpāṭha. cp. R Pr. VII. 1.
 4. In Saṃhitā text (by implication).
 5. R Pr. VII. 2. Although the two terms are not identical in meaning or even in application.
 6. R Pr. I. 60 Uvaṇa's commentary on it.
 7. cp. Dr. Siddheshwar Varma's "The Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians" ch. IV p. 91-2.
 8. Readers can frequently observe the reverse state of affairs while reading the Kāvya in Classical Sanskrit, Buddhist Sanskrit & Prākṛtas.
 9. R Pr. II. 1

The Samhitā text of RV. in its present orthographical form does not represent the musical form correctly, as was expected of it. We know that the Vedic mantras were composed to propitiate various gods and powers of Nature. The melody was indispensable for the poets and the singers to bring the desired effect. Musical quantities and the grammatical quantities of syllables do not go hand in hand, as the purposes of the two are totally different. Melody moves in prosodical channels. It is regulated by musical measures of accent, raising and lowering of voice and short and long syllables. Whenever the orthographic quantities in words are not in conformity with the musical requirements, singers have to modify them accordingly and none questions the purity and correctness of the words. The singers of RV. have to modify the written text to suit their melody and rhythm. We, on the other hand, also notice that the words in Samhitā form do not always correspond to actual usage. This diversity in it, along with many others, had urged Śākalya to give his Padapāṭha, where he works according to some general principles and conventions.

Now, so far the present Sāmavasa sandhi is concerned, Śākalya, as a rule simply shortens the length of a vowel in all such cases, positions where it shows metrical length according to him, without adding a single letter. Śaunaka, while studying the Padapāṭha has collected and examined all such cases and described them elaborately and exhaustively in three chapters viz. VII. I-IX. 52 of his Ṛk Prātiśākhya, without of course, explaining the positions.

For the sake of convenience and systematic study we shall divide the the cases as Lengthening in (A) simple words and (B) compound words, giving further sub-headings as Lengthening (i) in the final syllable, (ii) in the initial syllable, (iii) in the medial syllable.

A. LENGTHENING IN SIMPLE WORDS.

(i) Lengthening in the final syllable.

One can hardly help noting that the greatest number of such cases appear when a long vowel is seen in the final syllable in the SP.—

¹⁰ *vr̥ṣabhēṇā*¹¹ - *vr̥ṣabhēṇa* (1.33.13. b). *kūliṣenā* - *kūliṣena* (1.32. 5c).
bākureṇā - *bākureṇa* (1.117.21 c).

10. Instrumental forms of nouns in - *ena* are protracted in the 8th place 24 times. cp. Arnold's Vedic Metre § 163. iv.

11. In all these cases, the syllable in question forms 8th place in the Triṣṭubh verse.

- ¹² *martyénā* - *martyéna* (1.164. 30 d).
¹³ *vīryénā* - *vīryéna* (4.18. 5b).
¹⁴ *sūryeṇā* - *sūryeṇa* (6.32. 2a).
¹⁵ *enā* - *ena* (5.2. 11d; 10.108. 3c) (8 Tr). (9.96. 2d) (4 Tr).
¹⁶ *yénā* - *yéna*¹⁷ (1.50. 6; 62. 2; 80. 2; 4.51. 4; 5. 54. 15 etc.) (2D, 2 Tr. & 2j).
¹⁸ *ténā* - *téna* (1.49. 2; 7. 55. 7; 8.20. 26; 9. 61. 19 etc.) (2 D).
¹⁹ *svénā* - *svéna* (7.91. 6c) (2 Tr).
²⁰ *ācchā* - *āccha* (1. 2. 2; 6. 6; 38. 13 etc.) (2 D, 4 D)
ādha - *ādha*²¹ (1. 42. 6a; 5. 85. 8; 7. 56. 1 etc.) (2D, 2 Tr. 8j)
5.52. 3c (6); 2. 31. 4d (10) etc.
²² *yādī* - *yādi* (1.11. 3c) (2D); 5. 74. 5c (4); 10. 143. 1C (6) etc.

-
12. It forms 8 (Tr.) only when we read as '*amartio martienā sayoniḥ*' for the extant '*amartyo martyenā sayoniḥ*' (of 9 syllables).
13. Similarly, it must be read as *vīrienā* or *vīriyeṇā*.
14. '*sūrienā*' in recitation.
15. But once '*enā*' at 1. 173. 9a (11 Tr).
There is another word '*enā*' with accent in RV., which has, however, no shortening in the PP. It occurs more frequently. Sāyaṇa has not distinguished one from the other.
16. See R. Pr. vii. 46 for more instances.
17. But in a few places SP. shows the short vowel e. g.
2D—8. 3. 9d; 9. 4; 9. 108. 4 b & d.
2T—10. 121. 5 a & b; 9T-10. 121. 5b. etc.
18. cp. VM. §163 (vi). The pronominal instrumentals *yéna*, *kéna*, *téna* occur in position of protraction 37 times.
19. It occurs in 9 other places in positions of 2 D, 2 Tr, 4 Tr. 4 j. 5D, 6Tr. & 9j, but never a long vowel. Here we can modify '*svénā hi*' to '*svéna hi*' which is quite possible, and might say that it shows lengthening nowhere.
20. It is usually long, except in a few cases, e. g. at 1. 31. 17 (2j); 9. 96. 2d (11 Tr.) and 106. 1 (4D).
21. In many cases a long vowel has been replaced by a short one before conjuncts in SP. eg. *ādha* at 4. 31. 6c (2D) *yāccha* at 5. 27. 2d (4 Tr).
22. But *yādī* is also quite frequent, (See 7, 104. 14a (2T); 8. 13. 21 a (2D); 1. 56. 4a (4 D) etc.)

- ²³*adyá* - *adyá*²⁴ (1. 13. 6; 10. 55. 5; 3. 36. 3d) (2D, 2T & 8T) etc.
²⁵*yátrā* - *yátra* (1. 22. 4; 89. 9). etc. (2 D & 2 T).
²⁶*tátrā* - *tátra* (1. 105. 9; 6. 16. 17; 75. 8) (2 D & 2 T).
evā - *evā* (1. 8. 8a-10a; 5. 6. 10a) (2D).
ápā - *apa* (1. 7. 6b (6D) (2. 2. 7b) (10j) but *àpa* (2. 41. 10b)
 (5 D).
abhi - *abhi* (1. 140. 13; 2. 41. 10b) (2 Tr. and 2 D) etc.
²⁷*vā* - *āva* (1. 129. 4) (2D).
²⁸*sū* - *sū* (1. 10. 11c; 3. 36. 2c; 1. 129. 5a) (6, 8 & 2T respectively).
²⁹*tū* - *tū* (1. 10. 11a; 29. 1a; 4. 32. 1a; 3. 36. 9) (2D & 2T).
³⁰*nū* - *nū* (1. 10. 9; 96. 7; 120. 2;) (1D). 1. 17. 8a (6D); 3. 58. 6d;
 4. 19. 21 a (8), 1. 59. 6a, 64. 13a etc. (2T), 1. 56. 2c
 (10) etc.
³¹*ū* - *ūmīti* (1. 179. 1d; 4. 51. 2; 2. 35. 3) (2Tr); (8. 63. 5; 9. 45.
 4a) (2D); 1. 138. 4; 10. 88. 6c; (3Tr. & 3j) 4. 6. 11. (10Tr).

23. But *adyá* at 5. 1. 11a, 10. 54. 2d (2T); 1. 25. 19b (4) etc. It occurs 33 times at the end of verses.
24. VM. §161. The short & long vowels appear (in these three case-) side by side in the text, which closely follows the guidance of the metre. AV. has almost always *ādhā*, but *adyá* & *yádi*.
25. It is usually long in the position of 2D & 2T, but not without exceptions; We find *yátra* at 5. 5. 10a; 6. 75. 17a, 9. 113. 6-8 & 10a (2D); 1. 135. 7b (2T) etc.
26. With long vowel only in three occurrences in 2D & 2T, out of 13. In other positions, *tátra* is more common.
27. It is usually long *sū* in the positions of 2T, 2D, 4T, & 4D; but *sū* is not rare. See 1. 139. 8a (2T); 1. 138. 4a (4A); 8. 24. 1c (4B); 2. 20. 1a (10) etc. cp RPr. viii. 4-5.
28. But in a few places *tū* e. g. 69. 4c; 6. 29. 5b (2T); 10. 88. 6c (4A); 1. 177. 4c (6A) etc.
29. It is usually long when it forms 1D, 2T, 4T, 8T, or 10T, but short in the position of 3T, 3D e. g. 1. 72. 8d; 1. 80. 15a; 8. 40. 10-11c etc.
30. PP. never treats it a case of lengthening. On the other hand it recognizes its original long character & recommends its preservation by nasalization, and appends 'iti'. SP. shows its long character in the positions of 2Tr.; 2D (in the iambic rhythm), 3T & 3D (in trochaic rhythm) & 10Tr. In other places its short form is not unusual, especially in 7 T (cp. RPr. viii. 1-3) which may be considered a metrical shortening.

- ³¹ *ghā* - *gha* (1. 5. 3a; 18. 4a; 27. 2a) (2D); 10. 43. 2 (2j) 4. 15. 5; 5. 61. 8; 85. 8 (3Tr); 1. 109. 2b; 3. 36. 3a (8T) etc. 1. 37. 11a; 3. 28. 2b; 8. 46. 4 (4D); 1. 61. 8d (4T) etc.
- ³² *makṣū* - *makṣū* (8. 31. 15) (2D).
- ³³ *mīthū* - *mīthu* (1. 162. 20d) (10Tr.)
- ³⁴ *purū* - *purū* (3. 51. 5b) (2tr); 1. 81. 7c (6D); 10. 10. 1; 8. 2. 32 (4T) 5. 73. 1; 9. 15. 2 (4D) etc.
- ³⁵ *dyāvā cabhūmā* - *bhūma* (1. 61. 14) (5 Tr).
- ³⁶ *kr̥nuhī* - *kr̥nuhī* (6. 25. 3) (7/8).
- ³⁷ *ḍiḍihī* - *ḍiḍihī* (3. 54. 22) (10 Tr).
- ³⁸ *iahi* - *jahi* (3. 30. 16b) (2Tr); 6. 51. 14 (2D); 8. 45. 40; 9. 61. 26 (6D); 6. 44. 17d (10Tr).
- ³⁹ *ṣṛnuhī* - *ṣṛnuhī* (1. 82. 1) (6D).
- hinuhī* - *hinuhī* (6. 45. 14c) (6D).
- aṣnuhī* - *aṣnuhī* (8. 45. 22c) (6D).
- ⁴⁰ *kr̥dhi* - *kr̥dhi* (1. 10. 11d; 36. 14c; 3. 15. 3d; 8. 97. 8) etc. (2D & 2T)
-
31. In most of the occurrences it is long & forms 2D, 2T (iambic) 3T (trochaic) 4T, 4D & 8 T. There it has been shown with short vowel e g. at 1. 30. 14a (2D). 1. 189. 6a (2T) etc., it is usually followed by a conjunct and naturally forms a long syllable in recitation.
32. cp. VM. & §160 (i) always long.
33. '*purū*' is found regularly in '*purū cit*', and as an adverb at 1. 191. 9b (2D); 7. 62. 1b; 97. 7d (2T) etc. besides the cases cited above.
34. It should not have been considered a case of lengthening by the Padakāra, as both the words are in dual, forming 'devatādvandva' compound. The two members have however, been separated by the particle 'ca'. Sāy. takes '*dyāvā bhūmā ca dyāvāpṛthivyāu*'.
35. In other occurrences it is short, even in the position of 8 Tr. e. g. 6. 44. 9; 7. 25. 2c which may be considered as irregular. At 1. 31. 8; 165. 9 & 4. 22. 9 etc. (8B), it is followed by conjunct, hence LP.
36. In other occurrences it is short, especially at the end of a verse, e. g. 1. 79. 5; 140. 10; 5. 21. 4. etc.
37. But *jahi* at 3. 30. 16d; 3. 30. 6 (2T) (LP); 6. 44. 17a & 8. 53. 4a (7B) etc.
38. It is short in other occurrences even at 8 e. g. 4. 22. 10 & 9. 82. 4 in writing, though LP. in recitation. 'The quantity of forms in-*uhī* is uncertain'. Arnold probably could not notice these cases, when he said '*ṣṛnudhī/ṣṛnuhī/ṣṛudhī*' have regularly long final vowels'. VM. § 162.
39. But short at 6. 47. 10d & 8. 96. 8c etc. (6Tr) & *kr̥dhi* at the end of a verse. e. g. 1. 14. 7; 55. 7; 94. 9 etc.

- ⁴⁰ *śrudhī* - *śrudhī* (1. 2. 1c; 1. 10. 9a (6D); 1. 25. 19a (8 D).
⁴¹ *līṣvā* - *līṣva* (8. 23. 1) (3D) (0. 0.)
⁴² *dadhiṣvā* - *dadhiṣvā* (3. 40. 5) (3D). (0. 0.)
⁴³ *vāhasvā* - *vāhasva* (8. 26. 23) (3D).
⁴⁴ *vidmā* - *vidmā* (1. 10. 10; 170. 3; 8. 81. 2; 10. 47. 1) etc. (2D & 2T).
⁴⁵ *cakṛmā* - *cakṛmā* (1. 31. 18 b) (8 Tr); 1. 179. 5c; 1. 185. 8a (7T) etc.
cakṛmā - *cakṛma* (1. 171. 4d; 101. 8d & 9b) (7Tr); 1. 76. 3d; 162. 7 d (8Tr) etc.
⁴⁶ *riṣāmā* - *riṣāma* (1. 94. 1-14) (8j).
⁴⁶ *ruhemā* - *ruhema* (10. 63. 10; 14;) (8j).
⁴⁷ *vanuyāmā* - *vanuyāma* (1. 73. 9) (8Tr).
⁴⁸ *védā* - *vēda* (1. 25. 7a, 8-9c).
prṇatā - *prṇata* (2. 14. 10b; 6. 23. 9b) (7 Tr); 2. 14. 11c (8Tr).

40. 'It has regularly long final vowel' but note 8. 66. 12d (5D), where text shows short vowel. Perhaps the verse requires re-arrangement as 'śaviṣṭha me śrudhī hāvam' for the extant 'śaviṣṭha śrudhī me hāvam' cp. VM. §162 (i).
41. In other occurrences it is short e. g. 6. 60. 10; 8. 19. 2; 43. 22. (4D).
42. Such imperatives are long 9 times in the 8th place, cp. VM §163 (iii). With short final 'dadhiṣva' is quite regular in 4D, 5D & 5 Tr.
43. 'vāhasva' with short final is met with side by side i. e. in the same mantra and position.
44. But 'vidma' usually at the end of a verse, and in few cases in 4 Tr. & 5 Tr. cp. 6. 21. 6 & 10. 14. 13.
45. cp. R. Pr. viii. 15, 19. It is generally short in (7 j) e. g. 10. 100. 7; 37. 12; 8. 61. 8c etc.
46. But short at the end of a verse e. g. 4. 12. 6; 6. 44. 11; 10. 178. 2 3. 8. 11; 8. 42. 3; 10. 178. 2 (Tr).
47. But short in other positions like 40D, 9 j etc. once even in 8 Tr. at 5. 3. 6a, before conjunct 'tvotā', which must be recited *tuotā*, to get the required number of syllables.
48. Forms with short & long final vowels were used side by side in the same mantra & position.

¹⁹ *siñcatā* - *siñcata* (2. 14. 1) (7Tr); 10. 101. 7d (8Tr); 9. 107. 1a (6D); 10. 32. 5d (10j)

⁵⁰ *nayathā* - *nayatha* (10. 137. 1) (6D).

kṛṇuthā - *kṛṇutha* (8. 27. 18) (8Tr).

⁵¹ *ṣṭhā* - *ṣṭha* (5. 61.1) (2D); 10. 94. 11 (8Tr).

(ii) Lengthening in the initial syllable—

⁵² *nākirādeva* - *nākih/ādevaḥ* (8. 59. 2) (7j).

⁵³ *ārupitam* - *ārupitam** (4. 5. 7) (5 Tr) (occurs only once)

āvṛṇi - *avṛṇi** (10. 33. 4) (6D) (o. o. o.)

⁵⁴ *hāntyāsad* - *hānti/āsat* (7. 104. 13c) (7 Tr) & (12 d) (10 Tr)

⁵⁵ *āsata* - *āsata* (4. 5. 14 d) (6 Tr.) (occurs only once)

⁵⁶ *āsato* - *āsataḥ* (5. 12. 4d) (2T) (7. 104. 8d) (5T)

āyukṣātām - *āyukṣātām* (1. 157. 1; 10. 35. 6) (1 T).

āvṛṇan - *avṛṇak*⁵⁷ (5. 29. 10; 32. 8) (5T).

⁵⁸ *āraik* - *araik* (1. 113. 1d; 124. 8a; 3. 31. 2a) (10 Tr). (1. 113. 2b); 16 (1T).

49. But short at the end of a verse e. g. 8. 24. 13a; 9. 63. 10c & 19b; 20g. 7a (8D); once in 6D at 8. 72. 13a (LP)

50. In other positions '*nayatha*'

51. In other positions short '*ṣṭha*'

52. In other places *adevaḥ*.

53. Lengthening here seems irregular & the verse might have been originally '*āgre rūpāḥ ārupitam jabāru*' instead of the extant *āgre rūpā ārupitam* etc.

54. In other occurrences either it is *āsat* or of uncertain length, because of the sandhi with the preceding word.

55. Lengthening might be considered here irregular. '*Anāyudhāsaḥ āsatā sacantām*' would be a better reading for the present '*anāyudhāsa āsatā*' etc., which is an instance of iambic rhythm throughout in Tr.

56. Here the reading should be '*ké āsato*' etc. instead of '*kā āstato*' cp. Preceding verses. In remaining two places it has short vowel 10. 72. 2-3 (1 D).

57. The original reading might have been '*ni duryoné avṛṇan mṛdhrāvācam*' instead of '*ni duryonā avṛṇan*' etc.

58. It is regularly long in SP, but short in PP. Why ?

* cp. VM, §169 'The augment is occasionally long before v, as *āvar*, *āvidhat*, *āvidhyat* and (more rarely) before y & r as in *āyukta* (5.17.3b) (2T), *āyunak* (1. 163. 2b) (10 j), *āriṇak* (2. 13. 5b) (8 j), *āraik* (several times) besides the cases cited above.

NB. The same was the case in 1E.

<i>prāvaṇḍbhiḥ</i> - <i>pravaṇḍbhiḥ</i>	(3. 22. 4) (1D).
⁶⁹ <i>prūṣatvātā</i> - <i>puruṣatvātā</i>	(4. 54. 3b) (8j).
⁶⁰ <i>riṣataḥ</i> - <i>riṣataḥ</i>	(1. 36. 15; 7. 15. 13) (3D) (Trochaic rhythm).
⁶¹ <i>sādane</i> - <i>sādane</i>	(1. 84. 4; 9. 12. 1b) (6D).
⁶² <i>sādanyām</i> - <i>sadanyām</i>	(1. 91. 20c) (1 Tr).
<i>sānti</i> - <i>santi</i>	(8. 8. 23) (3D).
<i>jāhṛṣāṇēna</i> - <i>jahṛṣāṇēna</i>	(1. 101. 2 a) (5 j).
⁶³ <i>tātṛṣāṇā</i> - <i>tatṛṣāṇāḥ</i>	(1. 31. 7c) (2j); 1. 173. 11c (6B) (6 Tr).
<i>dādṛhāṇām</i> - <i>dadṛhāṇām</i>	(1. 85. 10b) (1 j).
<i>dādṛṣim</i> - <i>dādṛṣim</i>	(4. 17. 8a) (5Tr.) (0. 0. 0.)
⁶⁴ <i>dādṛṣiḥ</i> - <i>dādṛṣiḥ</i>	(2. 86. 7) (10j) (0. 0. 0.)
⁶⁵ <i>nānāma</i> - <i>nanāma</i>	(1. 48. 8a) (5 j).
<i>māmahānām</i> - <i>mamahānām</i>	(1. 117. 17 a) (8 Tr).
<i>māmahe</i> - <i>mamahe</i>	(1. 165. 13) (8 Tr).
<i>rārandhī</i> - <i>rarandhī</i>	(1. 91. 13 a) (3D).
⁶⁶ <i>rārānat</i> - <i>rarānat</i>	(1. 10. 5 d; 91. 14b) (1D).
<i>rriṣo</i> - <i>ririṣaḥ</i>	(1. 104. 6c) (8Tr); 1. 114. 7d; 8b (10 j).
<i>rriṣata</i> - <i>riṣata</i>	(1. 89. 9d) (5 Tr).
⁶⁷ <i>vāvasānā</i> - <i>vavasānāḥ</i>	(6. 11. 6) (8Tr) (0. 0. 0.)

59. But *pūruṣaḥ* as well as *pūruṣaḥ* in (6 D) at 10. 90. 1a & 5b respectively.
60. *riṣato* in 4 D at 1. 12. 5.
61. But *sādane* (7. 24. 1a) (6 Tr) & *riṣādane* (5. 7. 2 b) (6D)
62. The verse runs as '*sādanyām vidathyām sabhēyam*' of 9 syllables, which must be read as '*sādaniam vidathiam sabheyam*.'
63. cp. VM § 169. (iii).
64. But *dādṛṣam* at 3. 42. 6 (4D) (0. 0. 0.)
65. cp. VM §169 (iii)
66. cp. VM §169 (ii)
67. cp. VM §161 (i). There are about a dozen words having a long vowel in the reduplicated syllable and occurring in the positions which are usually long, but the Padakāra, has, however, not recognised lengthening in them i. e. PP. makes no change e. g.

⁶⁸ *vāvāna* - *vavāna* (6. 23. 5a) (6 Tr). 10. 74. 6a (2Tr) (o. twice o).
vāvṛdhānā - *vavṛdhānā* (1. 93. 6c; 117. 11c; 6. 69. 6a) (8 Tr); 8. 5.
 11a (1 D)

sāsahīḥ - *sasahīḥ* (1. 100. 3c) (5 Tr.)

(iii) Lengthening in the medial syllable—

*adamāyo*⁶⁹ - *adamayaḥ* (6. 18. 3) (8 Tr.)

⁷⁰ *uśāsam* - *uśāsam* (1. 32. 4c) (10 Tr.); 4. 30. 9c (2D). 5. 5. 6 (4D)
 etc.

⁷¹ *uśāso* - *uśasaḥ* (1. 92. 2c; 134. 4) (4j); 8. 96. 1; 10. 88. 18b
 (4 Tr.). 1. 124. 9 (10 Tr.).

kiyātyā - *kiyati/ā* (1. 113. 10a; 2. 30. 1d) (2 Tr) (Iambic)

⁷² *pavitāram* - *pavitāram* (9. 83. 2) (7J) (o. o. o.)

rathīnām - *rathīnām* (1. 11. 1) (6D).

vṛṣāya - *vṛṣaya* (10. 98. 1) (10 Tr.).

yācchuśrūyā - *yāt/śuśrūyāḥ* (8. 45. 18) (3D).

mācchrathāya - *māt/śrathaya* (2. 28. 5) (4 Tr.); 1. 24. 15b (10 Tr.)

jāgāra-jāgāra (5. 44. 14a-c) (2Tr). (15a-c) (3j)

dādhārā as well as *dādhāra* (1. 66. 2; 3. 59. 1) etc.

nānadat (1. 140. 5d) (10 j)

bābadhe (6. 29. 5b) (3 Tr)

vāvakre (7. 21. 3) (3 Tr).

vāvadat (6. 59. 6 c) (8 Tr) (0. 0. 0.)

vāvahih (9-9 6b) (6D) (0. 0. 0.)

vāvadīti (6. 47. 31 b) (8 Tr) (0. 0. 0.)

vāvaśūḥ (8. 3. 18a) (8 Tr) (o. twice o.) etc. (6. 51. 14b)
 (6 D).

68. Here lengthening seems irregular, as the rythm becomes 123 — — —
 — — — etc. and the Tr. verse has 12 syllables. It runs as '*āsmāi vayāṃ
 yād vāvāna tād viviṣma(h)* 9. But it might have been read, originally,
 as *āsmāi vayāṃ yād vavānā viviṣmah*' 8 9

69. It is to be read as — — — — instead of — — — —

70. cp. RPr. ix. 41-42.

71. cp. VM. 170 (ii) (a). 'In the declension of *uśās* the text usually
 gives *uśāsam* (7. 44. 1) (11j); *uśāsā* (6. 17. 5) (6 Tr.) *uśasaḥ* etc. in
 accordance with the metre; but the forms *uśāsam*, *uśāsā*, *uśasaḥ* are
 favoured by the metre, and usually appear in the text', for instance
 7. 99. 4b (8); 10. 35. 2c (8 j); 1. 123. 12d (10) 3. 55. 1a (2T) etc.
 besides the cases noted above.

72. Lengthening seems irregular here, because the usual rhythm expects
 1 2 3 4 5 — — —

B. LENGTHENING IN THE COMPOUND WORDS

(i) in the initial syllable of the former member—

<i>yāvayāddveṣasam</i> - <i>yavayāt-dveṣasam</i>	(4. 52. 5a (ID) (0. 0. 0.).
<i>yāvayāddveṣā</i> - <i>yavayāt-dveṣāḥ</i>	(1. 113. 12) (1 Tr) (0. 0. 0.)
⁷³ <i>yāvayatsakhāḥ</i> - <i>yavayat-sakhāḥ</i>	(10. 26. 5d) (4 D) (0. 0. 0.).
⁷⁴ <i>śrāvāyātpatim</i> - <i>śravayāt-patim</i>	(5. 25. 5c) (4D) (0. 0. 0.).
<i>śrāvayātsakhā</i> - <i>śravayāt-sakhā</i>	(8. 46. 12a) (4D) (0. 0. 0.).
⁷⁵ <i>sūyavasāt</i> - <i>suyavasa-āt</i>	(1. 164. 40a) (1 Tr) & 10. 106 10d (5Tr) (0. 0. T.).

(ii) in the medial syllable of the former member—

⁷⁶ <i>anānukṛtyā</i> - <i>anamu-kṛtyā</i>	(10. 112. 5b) (2 Tr) (0. 0. 0.)
<i>anānukṛtyām</i> - <i>ananu-kṛtyām</i>	(10. 68. 10c) (2 Tr) (0. 0. 0)
<i>anānudō</i> - <i>anamu-dāḥ</i>	(1. 53. 8d; 2. 21. 4a; 23. 11a) (2 j) (0. thrice only).
<i>ānānudiṣṭaḥ</i> - <i>ānanu-diṣṭaḥ</i>	(10. 160. 4d) (8 Tr.) (0. 0. 0)
⁷⁷ <i>ānānubhūtir</i> - <i>ānamu-bhūtiḥ</i>	(6. 47. 17c) (2 Tr) (0. 0. 0)
⁷⁸ <i>āpūruṣaghno</i> - <i>āpuruṣa-ghnaḥ</i>	(1. 133. 63) (2 Tr.)
<i>gātūyāntīva</i> ⁷⁹ - <i>gātuyānti-iva</i>	(1. 169. 5) (6 Tr) (0. 0. 0.)
<i>rathīyāntīva</i> - <i>rathiyānti-iva</i>	(1. 166. 5) (2j) (0. 0. 0.)
<i>makṣūjavastamā</i> - <i>makṣūjavaḥ-tamā</i>	(6. 45. 14b) (2D).
<i>makṣūyūbhīr</i> - <i>makṣuyū-bhiḥ</i>	(7. 74. 4c) (2j).

73. These are the only words having 'yāvayat' as the first member, and in each case the initial syllable shows a long vowel in the SP.
74. These are the only cases with 'śrāvayat' as the first member in RV.
75. Here the rhythm is (— — — —, — — — —).
76. These are the only cases (occurring in RV.) beginning with *anu* preposition, being negatived, and in each case the initial syllable after the negative particle *an* - shows lengthening in the SP., which has been shortened in the PP.
77. The following word 'avadhūnvānāḥ' is to be read 'avadhūnuānāḥ'.
78. cp. *pūruṣaghnām* (1. 114. 10) (8 Tr.)
79. Lengthening does not seem preferable here. The whole verse runs as 'ye smā purā gātūyāntīva devāḥ' (— — — —) (— — — —) (— —) and it should be recited as *ya smā purā, gātuyāntīva devāḥ* (— — — —), (— — — —) (— — — —).

(iii) in the final syllable of the former member—

⁸⁰ <i>aghāyāti - agha-yāti</i> ⁸¹	(1. 131. 7) (6D).
⁸² <i>aghāyūr - agha-yūh</i>	(1. 147. 4a) (10 Tr.).
⁸³ <i>aṅkūyāntam - aṅku-yāntam</i>	(6. 15. 17c) (3D).
<i>ajirāyate - ajira-yate</i>	(8. 14. 10b) (6D).
⁸⁴ <i>adhvari-yatām - adhvari-yatām</i>	(1. 23. 16) (6D).
<i>adhvari-yasi - adhvari-yasi</i>	(2. 1. 2c) (10j).
⁸⁵ <i>amitrāyūdho - amitra-yūdhaḥ</i>	(3. 29. 15a) (3j).
<i>aśvāyaté - aśva-yaté</i>	(6. 45. 26c) (4D) (0. 0. 0.)
⁸⁶ <i>aśvāyānto - aśva-yāntaḥ</i>	(4. 17. 16b; 10. 131. 3d; 160. 5a) (2 Tr) (7. 32. 23c) (2j) etc.
⁸⁷ <i>ṛjūyaté - ṛju-yaté</i>	(5. 12. 5d) (2. Tr).
<i>ṛtāyān - ṛta-yān</i>	(5. 41. 1).
⁸⁸ <i>damāyān - dama-yān</i>	(6. 47. 16) (10 Tr).

80. cp. *aghāyóh - agha-yóh* (1. 27. 3b & 120. 7d) which is long even when in the position of 7D. Note *ṛtāyóh - ṛtayóh* (1. 169. 5).

81. Note also *valgūyāti - vālgū-yāti* (4. 50. 7) (2 Tr.)

82. Also in *vandhurāyūr - vandhura-yūh* (4. 44. 1c) (10 Tr).

vasūyūr - vasu-yūh (1. 51. 14; 186. 11) (10 Tr),

vasūyūm (4. 44. 1d) (10 Tr) and

ṛkāyūr - ṛka-yuḥ (10. 133. 4b) (2D) etc.

but, however, not in *yuvayūh* (4. 41. 8b) (7 Tr) *ṛṣayūh* (9. 77. 5) (7j); *sumnayūh* (2. 30. 11) (9j); & *ṛtayūh* (8. 70. 10) (7D) etc.

83. Note *ṛjūyāntam - ṛju-yāntam* (1.136.5) (2D), *janiyānto - jani-yāntaḥ* (4. 17. 16c & 7. 96. 4) (2Tr & 2D) & *vysūyāntō - vasu-yāntaḥ* (4.16. 15) (6 Tr) etc.

84. Also *ṛjūyatām - ṛju-yatām* (1. 89. 2a) (10j); *chatrūyatām - śatru-yatām* (1. 33. 15); *sakhīyatām - sakhi-yatām* (4. 17. 18) etc.

85. cp. *yavīyūdā - yavi-yūdā* (8. 4. 6a) (10j) & *ṛṣāyūdho - ṛṣa - yūdhaḥ* (1. 33. 6c) (2Tr.) (0. 0. 0.).

86. But in '*aśvayūh*' the syllable is never long. cp. 1. 51. 14c (2Tr); 4. 31. 14c (4D); 8. 53. 8c (11j) and 9. 36. 6a (7D) etc.

87. cp. also *ṛtūyaté* (1. 128. 4); *ṛtāyaté* (1. 90. 6a) *ducchunāyāte - ducchuna-yāte* (10. 37. 12c) (10j) and *sakhtiyaté - sakhi-yate* (1. 128. 1) (6D); but *ānniyate - ānni-yate* (4. 2. 7a) (6 Tr) (0. 0. 0.). cp. Sāyaṇa on the word.

88. Other cases are - *rayīyān - rayi-yān* (3. 62. 2) (10 Tr); *sumnāyān - sumna-yān* (1. 114. 3c) (2j), *sakhtiyān - sakhi-yān* & *stabhūyan - stabhu-yān* (10. 46. 6) etc.

<i>prśanāyūvaḥ</i> - <i>prśana-yūvaḥ</i>	(1. 84. P1) (6D).
<i>mitrāyūvaḥ</i> - <i>mitra-yūvaḥ</i>	(1. 173. 10c) (2 Tr).
<i>vasūyāvo</i> - <i>vasu-yāvaḥ</i>	(1. 49. 4c & 62. 11b) (6d & 2 Tr).
<i>sumnāyāvaḥ</i> - <i>sumna-yāvaḥ</i>	(6. 1. 7) (2 Tr).
<i>kavīyāmāṇoḥ</i> - <i>kavi-yāmāṇaḥ</i>	(1. 164. 18) (2 Tr).
<i>vr̥ṣāyāmāṇa</i> - <i>vr̥ṣa-yāmāṇaḥ</i>	(3. 52. 5) (2 Tr).
⁸⁹ <i>sūyāvaso</i> - <i>su-yāvasaḥ</i>	(1. 190. 6a) (5 Tr.)
⁹⁰ <i>sūyāvasam</i> - <i>su-yāvasam</i>	(6. 28. 7a) (5 Tr) & 1. 42. 8a (3D).
⁹¹ <i>āśvāvad</i> - <i>āśva-vat</i>	(5. 57. 7a) (4 Tr).
⁹² <i>rtvīyāvato</i> - <i>rtvīya-vataḥ</i>	(8. 8. 13c) (6d).
<i>viśvāvatā</i> - <i>viśu-vātā</i>	(1. 164. 43b) (2 Tr.)
<i>āśvāvantam</i> - <i>āśva-vantam</i>	(4. 49. 4c) (2D).
⁹³ <i>śāktīvanto</i> - <i>śākti-vantaḥ</i>	(6. 75. 9b) (6A).
<i>śāptīvantā</i> - <i>sāpti-vantā</i>	(7. 94. 10c) (2D).
⁹⁴ <i>amātvā</i> - <i>amati-vā</i>	(8. 19. 26c) (7j).
<i>ṛṇāvānam</i> - <i>ṛṇa-vānam</i>	(1. 169. 7d) (2 Tr.).

89. Preceding word 'suprāituh' is to be recited as 'supraetuh'

90. This & other forms usually occur in 5 Tr. except in three cases.

NB. In few cases, however, Padakāra did not treat the long vowel as the result of metrical lengthening, e. g.

ṛghāyath - *ṛghāyatay* (10. 113. 6b) (2j).

taviṣṭyāsa - *taviṣi* - *yāse* (8. 6. 26a) (6D).

mahīyāte - *mahīyāte* (5. 56. 9).

mahīyūvaḥ (9. 65. 1).

sobhariyāvaḥ - *sobhari-yāvaḥ* (8. 20. 2d) (6D) etc. (0.0.0.).

91. cp. *pastyāvat* (2. 11. 16) & *vayūnāvad* (4. 51. 1b) (8 Tr).

92. cp. *indrāvato* (4. 27. 4a) (6 Tr), *kṛśānāvato* (1. 126. 4c) (7 Tr); *pastyāvataḥ* (4. 54. 5b) (10j) (which must be recited as *pastiavataḥ*); *vr̥ṣṇyāvato* (5. 83. 2c) (10 j), (in recitation *vr̥ṣṇiāvato*), *sutāvataḥ* (1. 3. 5b) (6D); *viśvādevyāvatā* - *viśvādevya-vatā*; (10.170.4d) (10j) (must be recited here as *viśvadeviāvatā*) (—) *āśvāvatīr* - *āśva-vatīḥ* (1. 122. 8) and *pītryāvati* - *pītrya-vati* (9. 46. 2b) (6D) (must be *pītriāvatī*) etc.

93. But *indravantaḥ* (7 times) & *indravantā* (once).

94. Note *arātvā* - *arāti-vā* (1. 147. 4b) (3 Tr); *rtāvā* (2. 35. 8b) (2 Tr) and *sahāvā* (6. 14. 5c) (2D) etc.

⁹⁵ *ddkṣiṇāvān* - *dākṣiṇa-vān* (3. 39. 6d & 6. 29. 3b) (10 Tr.).

ṛṣi-vaḥ - *ṛṣi-vaḥ* (8. 2. 28c) (4D).

⁹⁶ *śāktīvo* - *śākti-vaḥ* (5. 31. 6c) (2 Tr/j).

⁹⁷ *abhivartēna* - *abhi-vartēna* (10. 174. 1a) (2D).

⁹⁸ *ṛtāvarīva* - *ṛtāvarī-iva* (4. 18. 6b) (2 Tr).

⁹⁹ *sumnāvāri* - *sumna-vāri* (1. 113. 12) (2 Tr.)

¹⁰⁰ *ṛtāvaso* - ¹⁰¹ *ṛtavaso* *ityrta-vaso* (8. 101. 5b) (6 D).

ūpāvasum - *ūpa-vasum* (6. 56. 6b) (6 D).

purūvāsū - *puruvāsū* *iti puru-vāsū* (1. 47. 10) (10 j).

āpāvrtam - *āpa-vrtam* (1. 57. 1d) (10 j).

āpivrtam - *āpi-vrtam* 2. 11. 5b) (2 Tr).

ṛdūvrdhā - *rdu-vrdhā* (8. 77. 11d) (6D) (0. 0. 0.)

*tuviṁmagham*¹⁰² - *tuvi-magham*¹⁰³ (8. 81. 2d) (6D).

¹⁰⁴ *tvīṣimate* - *tvīṣi-mate* (1. 55. 5c) (10 j).

¹⁰⁵ *purūtāmaṁ* - *puru-tāman* (1. 5. 2a) (2D).

rathitamaṁ - *rathī-taman* (1. 11. 1c) (2D).

apījūvā - *api-jūvā* (2. 31. 5b) (10 j).

vasūjūvam - *vasu-jūvam* (8. 99. 8d) (6D) (0. 0. 0.)

pariṇādhamaṁ - *pari-nāham* (1. 33. 8a) (6 Tr).

95. Also *devāvān* - *devā-vān* (4. 26. 6) (10 Tr.) (must be — — —); *māhināvān* (3. 39. 4c) (10 Tr.) *ṛṣṇyāvān* (6. 22. 1), *sahāvām* (1. 175. 2); *svādhitivān* (1. 88. 2c) (10 Tr) (0.0.0.) *hitāvān* (1.180.7); *ṛtāvānā* (1. 136. 4; 2. 24. 7a) (2D & 2j) & *dhītāvānam* (3. 27. 2c) (6D) etc.

96. Each of the remaining three verses of the mantra consists of 11 syllables, whereas it has 12 syllables To make it 11, 'rōdsi ubhé', may be read as 'rōdasibhé'.

97. But not in *abhivāvrtē* - *abhi-vavrtē* (10. 174. 1b) (5D).

98. The compound 'ṛtāvarīḥ' has not been analysed in the PP. because of the preferences for the following 'iva'.

99. But, however, not in *sumnayāntā* (6. 49. 1) (9 Tr).

100. The preceding word 'sacathyaṁ' is to be read as 'sacathīaṁ'.

101. Other cases for instance, are *prabhūvaso* (1. 57. 4b) (10j), *radāvaso* (7. 32. 18c) (10j) etc.

102. But, *tuviṁmaghāsyā* at 5. 33. 6d (6 Tr). See 1. 29. 1-7; 8. 92. 22a (6 D); 5. 57. 8 b (2Tr); 8. 61. 18a (10j) etc. for other occurrences.

103. For other instances of lengthening before - *magha*, see 7. 75. 5b (2 Tr); 8. 1. 5d; 34. 7b; 9. 62. 14a (6 D) & 8. 33. 5c (10j) 7. 71. 1c (2 Tr) 1. 48. 10d (4 D).

104. Other occurrences at 2. 22. 2a (4j); 3. 31. 12 (4 Tr) & 6. 66. 10.

105. Similarly *rathitāmā* (1. 182. 2b) (10j) & *rathītaro* (1. 84. 6a) (6D).

- ¹⁰⁶ *pariṇāṣe* - *pari-nāṣe* (1. 54. 1b) (10j).
¹⁰⁶ *a uruṇasāy* - *uru-nasāu* (10. 14. 12) (2j).
viśvāpūṣam - *viśva-pūṣam* (1. 162. 22b) (6 Tr).
¹⁰⁷ *viśvābhūve* - *viśva-bhūve* (10. 50. 1b) (10 j).
stanābhūjo - *stana-bhūjaḥ* (1. 120. 8c) (2 D).
kavāsakhāḥ - *kava-sakhāḥ* (5. 34. 3d) (10j).
¹⁰⁸ *sadanāsāde* - *sadana-sāde* (9. 98. 10d) (6D) (0. 0. 0.).

(iv) in the initial syllable of the latter member—

- ¹⁰⁹ *ukthaśāsam* - *uktha-śāsam* (20. 107. 6) (10 Tr).
udāvatā - *ut-āvatā* (6. 18. 9a) (2 Tr).
¹¹⁰ *ghṛtāvānti* - *ghṛtā-vanti* (9. 96. 13) (8 Tr).
¹¹¹ *paśumānti* - *paśu-mānti* (9. 92. 6a; 97. 1d) (8 Tr).
¹¹² *dūnāśam* - *duḥ-nāśam* (1. 176. 4b; 6. 45. 26) (2D).
dūnāśeyam - *duḥ-nāśā|iyam* (6. 27. 8) (2 Tr).
parirāpas - *pari-rāpaḥ* (2. 23. 3a) (7j).

(v) in the medial syllable of the latter member—

- prasavitā* - *pra-savitā* (4. 53. 6; 7. 63. 2) (7 Tr).
¹¹³ *nāktośāsā* - *nāktośāsā* (1. 13. 7; 96. 5a) (3D & 3 Tr).

106. But in *pārtnasah* (1. 56. 2; 133. 7); *pārtnasam* (3. 24. 5) & *partnasā* (1. 129. 9) etc., the Padakāra, has not recognized metrical lengthening, nor has analysed them in his PP.
- 106a. 'Triṣṭubh' has been recorded as the metre for the mantra by tradition anukramaṇī, but it seems to be 'Jagati', consisting of not less than 46 syllables.
107. 'viśvābhūve' in recitation.
108. In few cases Padakāra has rightly acknowledged the originally long syllables, and has neither shortened them nor analysed them (except in few cases) :—
ekādaśām, *ekādaśāḥ*, *viśvānaraḥ*, *viśvānarāya*,
anūrūt, *vadhūmato* - *vadhū-mataḥ* (6. 27. 8);
vadhū - *mantāḥ* (1. 126. 3) etc.
109. For other occurrences see 2. 39. 1c; 4. 2. 16c (10 Tr); 7. 19. 9b (8 Tr) & 10. 82. 7 (7 Tr) etc.
110. Syllable in question was already long by position.
111. cp. RPr. ix. 52 & Whitney 454c.
112. cp. RPr. ix. 36.
113. An instance of *devatādvandva* Comp., which have never been analysed in the PP. cp. *uśāsāndktā* (10. 36. 1a) (2j).

(vi) in the final syllable of the latter member—

¹¹⁴*akhhkhalikṛtyā - akhhkhalikṛtya* (7. 103. 3) (5 Tr) (0. 0. 0.)

¹¹⁵*apītyā - api-itya* (2. 43. 2c) (12j) (0. 0. .) (— — —)

¹¹⁶*āmūsyā - ā-mūsyā* (3. 48. 4d) (8. 4. 4c) (3 Tr. & 3j).

gātuyā - gātu-yā (8. 16. 12b) (7D) (Trochaic — — —)

¹¹⁷*nicāyyā - ¹¹⁸ni-cāyya* (1. 105. 18c) (8 D).

praprūthyā - pra-prūthya (3. 32. 1c) (3 Tr).

supaptanī - su-paptanī (1. 182. 5d) (4j) (Iambic)

hāriyojanā - hāriyojana (1. 61. 16a) (8 Tr).

(vii) Lengthening in compound words having *saha*¹¹⁹ or *sahya* etc. as the latter member—

(a) Lengthening in the final syllable of the former member—

ṛtīśāham - ṛtī-sāham (6. 14. 4; 8. 88. 1) (6D).

¹²⁰*carṣaṇīśāham - carṣaṇī-sāham* (1. 119. 10) (10j).

¹²¹*dhanvāsāhā - dhanva-sāhā* (1. 127. 3) (2/3D).

114. Two aspirates in succession is a rare thing in Skt.

115. Similarly in *abhaūpyā* (2. 15. 9a) (5 Tr), *abhiguryā* (2. 37. 3) (10j) (in recitation *abhigūriā*) (*tuam*) & *avāsyā* (1. 140. 10c) (4 Tr) (*avāsiā*) etc.

116. Others are *āyūyā* (2. 37. 3c) (3j) (— — — —); *āvṛtyā* (1. 56. 1d) (5j); *āśādyā* (1. 109. 5c) (4 Tr) & 2. 36. 2c (3j). In the remaining three occurrences the last word forms sandhi with *asmīn* (3 Tr. & 3j).

117. *nicāyā*.

118. Other instances are *parigatyā* (2. 15. 4a) (8 Tr); *pratigṛhyā* (1. 125. 1b) (8 Tr); *yimūcyā* (1. 104. 1c) (3 Tr.) & *saṃcāksyā* (1. 165. 12c) (4 Tr). (*saṃcāksīā*) etc.

N.B. Note *paridāya* (1. 105. 2d) (4D), where the final syllable has, however, not been lengthened (— — — —) (— — — —).

Śaunaka in RPr. vii. 9 has mentioned some cases which do not show lengthening in SP. as they do not take, except in few cases, particular positions in verses.

119. cp. VM. § 166 (vi).

120. cp. VM. 166 (vi) (c). 'The preceding vowel is regularly long' as in *virāśāḥ* (*virāśī* 1. 35. 6b) (10 Tr.) (0. 0. 0.), *yajñāsāḥ*, *carṣaṇāsāḥ*: but short in *nrāśāḥ*, *bhūrīśāḥ* (*bhūrīśā* 9. 88. 2a) (7 Tr) (0. 0. 0.) & 2 few other words.

121. '*dhanuāsāhā*' in recitation.

prāsāhā - *pra-sāhā* (5. 23. 1b) (4D); 8. 46. 20 (1T).

¹²²*prāsāham* - *pra-sāham* (1. 129. 4) (4D).

vibhvasāham - *vibhva-sāham* (5. 10. 7c) (4D).

- (b) Lengthening in the initial syllable of the latter member—

¹²³*abhimātiśāham* - *abhimāti-sāham*¹²⁴ (10. 104. 7) (10 Tr).

¹²⁵*nrśāhyāya* - *nr-sāhyāya* (1. 33. 14) (6 Tr).

¹²⁶*prtānāśāhyāya* - *prtānā-sāhyāya* (3. 37. 1b) (4D).

¹²⁷*satrāsāham* - *satrā-sāham* (1. 79. 8b) (3D) (- - -)

satrāsāhe - *satrā-sāhe* (2. 21. 2) (3j).

- (c) Lengthening in both the syllables i. e. final syllable of the former member & initial syllable of the latter member :—

Although, in the following cases, the syllable in question forms 3D & 3 Tr. which are rarely long, SP. shows long vowels in them—

¹²⁸*ṛtiśāham* - *ṛti-sāham* (1. 64. 15b) (3Tr.). *dyumnāsāham* - *dyumna-sāham* (1. 121. 8b) (3 Tr.). *viśvāsāham*. (3. 47. 5c; 8. 92. 1c.) *yajñāsāham* (10. 20. 7a). *śatrūśāhaḥ* (8. 60. 6d).

Besides the cases already referred to in the foot notes, there are few others having a long syllable in SP., favoured by the metrical schemes. where Saṃhitā forms have been preserved in PP., instead of the proper restoration of the original quantity; e. g.

¹²⁹*adhivāsām* - *adhivāsam* (1. 140. 9a; 162. 16 b). (2 j & 2 Tr) & 10. 5. 4c (2 Tr) (occurs thrice only).

122. cp. *prasāham* (6. 17. 4d) (9 Tr) & *prasahānō* (10. 99. 2c) (6 Tr), cases which do not show long vowel before *saha* - in the SP. For other instances, see next section (b).

123. cp. *abhimātiśāhye* (3. 37. 3c) (6D) which is to be read - *śāhie*.

124. cp. 10. 47. 3, where it forms (11j) in the written text, although the metre of the mantra is Triṣṭubh. It is irregular. Hence 'śrutārṣim' (occurring in the same verse) must be read as 'śrutārṣim'. Thus the syllable in question would be 10 Tr.

125. In recitation, 'nrśāhiāya', to avoid various irregularities, This can safely be noted here that - *śāhyāya*, - *śāhye* etc. in most of the occurrences are to be read as *śāhiāya* and *śāhie* etc. Otherwise there is no justification for the lengthening (long vowel) in the initial syllable which would already be long, being before conjunct. cp. 1. 100. 5 (2 Tr); 1. 112. 22a (10 j) etc.

126. But *prtānāśāham* (5. 23. 2a) (7 D).

127. The following 'vāreṇyam' is to be read 'vāreṇiam'.

128. cp. (v) (a) above.

129. The compound has not been analysed in the PP.

aṣṭāpadīm - *aṣṭā-padīm* (8. 76. 12a) (4 D);

¹³⁰*aṣṭāpadī* - ¹³¹*aṣṭā-paḍī* (1. 164. 41c) (2j).

divyāśvājanīva - *divi|aśvājanī-tya* (5. 62. 7b) (8 Tr) (0. 0. 0.)

uccācakram - *uccā-cakram* (8. 72. 10 b) (2 D) (0. 0. 0.)

¹³²*uccābudhnam* - *uccā-budhnam* (1. 116. 9b) (2 Tr) (0. 0. 0.)

Padakāra has tried to preserve, on the other hand, the original long vowel of a syllable in a word, provided that its quantity does not depend upon its position in a verse e. g. in *viśvāmitra*, *pūrū*¹³³, *dāśarājñe*¹³⁴, *tanūsubhram* (5. 34. 3), *tanūpām* (8. 71. 13), *evā*¹³⁵ - etc.

In few cases SP observes shortening due to metrical reasons, but the PP. restores the original long vowel which is grammatically correct in them; e. g.

-
130. cp. *aṣṭā-padībhiḥ* (2. 7. 5c) (2D); *aṣṭā-vandhuram* (10. 53. 7c) (2j) etc., but *aṣṭakarnyāḥ* - *aṣṭa-karṇ-yāḥ* (10. 62. 7c) (9j) which must be recited as 'aṣṭakarṇiaḥ'.
131. As simple word, *aṣṭā* occurs only twice at 1. 121. 8 (2 Tr) & 8. 2. 41c (2D). In the former case PP., retains the long syllable whereas it shortens it in the latter case as *aṣṭā*. Why this difference? At 10. 27. 15b, its quantity is uncertain, because of the sandhi with the following word *uttarāṁtāt*. But here also PP. gives *aṣṭā*. In rest of the occurrences the word is unaccented and shows short vowel in the SP., which has been retained in the PP. cp. 7. 84. 5a; 85. 5a (9 Tr); 8. 70. 5 & 10. 126. 1b (5D). Thus we may conclude that SP reads *aṣṭā* only when favoured by the metre.
132. These two are the only examples of *uccā* - forming the first member of a compound, and in both the cases it is favoured by the metre. But the main difficulty here is that it never occurs as *uccā* in SP., but *uccā* always, even in the position of (11 Tr); 10. 106. 5c & 183. 2c (5 Tr). Other occurrences are in 2D, 2j, 2Tr, 4D, 4 Tr.
133. cp. *pūrūr* (5. 17. 1d & 4. 38. 3); *pūrūbhyas* (4. 38. 1b & 39. 2); *pūrūm* (7. 8. 4); *pūrūṣu* (1. 108. 4) & *pūrōḥ* (1. 129. 5) etc., These words are different from other series of *purū* - meaning abundant much, many etc.
134. Occurring only thrice, at 7. 33. 3c, 5b (5 Tr). & 83. 8a (1j). It is always associated with the king Sudās.
135. It is different from the emphatic particle *evā*. Other forms are *evān* (6. 51. 2) & *evāsaḥ* (1. 166. 4) etc.

- ¹³⁶ *āditya śāvasā - ādityā* (7. 85. 4b) (4 Tr).
*ādhisāno*¹³⁷ *avyāye-ādhi/sānau* (9. 86. 3c (9j); 9. 91. 1c; 92. 4c (9 Tr).
asura yā - asurā (1. 151. 4a) (7j).
indrāvaruṇa (rāyā) - indrāvaruṇā (1. 17. 3b) (5D).
mītrāvaruṇa (duḥābham) - mītrāvaruṇā (1. 15. 6b) (5D).
devv - devā (7. 60. 12a) (4 Tr); 5. 67. 1a (5D).
dṛttavrata - dṛtta-vratā 1. 15. 6a) (8D) (— — —).
¹³⁸ *mītra vāyām-mitrā* (5. 66. 6b) (2D).
¹³⁹ *varuṇa - varuṇā* (5. 64. 6a) (8D).

Examining the above data, one is easily led to conclude that Śaunaka, following the footprints of Śākalya, through this treatment of 'Sāmavasa sandhi', has helped us a great deal in understanding and appreciating the musical cadence of the Vedic mantras, its importance and working in the modulation of the quantities. The rhythm of the Vedic metres requires long quantity normally in the positions of 2D, 4D, 6D, 8D, : 2, 4, 8 T: 8 Tr. 10 Tr-, 8J, 10J, etc. But the long vowels are also met in the positions of 1D, 3D, 5 D; 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 & 7 Tr; 1, 2, 4, 5 & 7 j etc. not unfrequently. It was not easily comprehensible without the Pada-pāṭha. SP. avoids long vowel when it is already long by position. But exceptions to each of them may be noted in the footnotes above. It may also be noted, how various verses consisting of lesser or extra number of syllables than the prescribed one, were to be read and recited to suit the rhythm.

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136. Shortening is irregular here.
 137. Even this *sāno* is to be read (— —) instead of (— —) But in other positions it is written as *sānāv* before a.c p. (5T) 10. 123. 2c; 3c; (3D) 9. 26. 5a; (11 T) 9. 95. 4a.

Abbreviations :

- AV.=Atharva Veda; B.=Bṛhatī-Pāda.
 D=Dimeter Iambi rhythm; J=Jagatī-Pāda.
 LP=Long by position; O. O. O.=occurs only once;
 O. O. T.=occurs only twice; PP.=Pada-pāṭha of the Ṛgveda;
 RPr.=Ṛk-Prātiśākhya; RV.=Ṛgveda;
 SP.=Saṃhitā-pāṭha; T.=Trochaic rhythm;
 Tr.=Triṣṭubh-Pāda;
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A SEMANTIC NOTE ON THE DERIVATIVES OF TWO OIA WORDS

Siddheshwar Hota

OIA *ājñā* 'command' is found in Western Oriya as '*aijyā*' in the sense of 'the teacher or other superiors'. It has entered into the Dravidian speeches probably in the MIA stage. But they have attained a new meaning 'oath, vow' (Tam. *āṇai*, Mal. *aṇa*, Kan. *āṇe*, Tel. *āṇa*, Tuḷu *āṇae aja*).

OIA *vṛddhi* 'increase, increment' is found in Pali as *vaḍḍhi*, in the sense of 'increase' and 'interest on money' and in Prākṛt *vaḍḍhi* in the sense of 'profit'. In Oriya *barhi* denotes 'flood' and in Bengali *bāri* 'lending transaction of crops to be paid in crops', Bihari and Hindi *barhi* and Assamese *bari* denote 'interest', Panjabi *vaḍḍhi* 'bribe', Marāṭhi *vaḍhi* 'surplus', Singhalese *vāḍi* 'increase, Sindhi *uḍhi* - *khutī* 'profit and loss'.

NEAR-SYNONYM COMPOUNDS IN PALI

Madhusudan Mallik

I have collected a few specimens of compounds from the Pali literature, the components of which are near-synonyms. Prof S. K. Chatterjee collected many such examples under the title "Polyglottism or translation compounds-in Indo-Aryan" (Indo-Aryan & Hindi 2nd Edn. Appendix II)

In *bhava-uppatti* (M. iii, 147) 'coming into existence, the word *bhava* implies 'existence' and *uppatti* (Skt. *utpatti*) also denotes 'existence' and the joint product also gives rise to the same meaning; in *addhāna - magga* (Pat. 80) 'a road', *addhāna* corresponds to Skt. *adhvan* 'path' and *maggā* to Skt. *mārga* 'way'; in *anaya - vyasana* (Vin. ii, 149) 'misfortune', *anaya* (Skt. *ānaya*) is 'misfortune' and *vyasana* (Skt. *vyasāna*) is also 'misfortune'; in *aṭṭhi - kaṅkālā* (M. i. 364) 'bone' *aṭṭhi* is Skt. *asthi* 'bone', *kaṅkālā* is Skt. *kaṅkāla* 'bone'; in *nivāsana - pārupanā* (J. 1.126) 'dress, covering' both the words denote the same; *duddha - khīra* (SnA, 27) 'milk' comprises *duddha* (Skt. *dugdha*) 'milk' and *khīra* (Skt. *kṣīra*) 'milk'; *raja - mala* (J. i, 24) 'dust' comprises *raja* (Skt. *rajaḥ*) 'dust' and *mala* 'impurities'; *hiraṇṇa - suvaṇṇa* (Vin. 1, 150) 'gold' has *hiraṇṇa* (Skt. *hiranya*) 'gold' and *suvaṇṇa* (Skt. *suvarṇa*) 'gold'; in *khaṇḍa-phuṭṭa* (Vin. ii, 160) 'broken', *khaṇḍa* and *phuṭṭa* denote the same.

THE COMPOUND TENSE IN ASSAMESE

Satyendra Narayan Goswami

The tenses of Assamese verb historically fall under three heads : (a) Radical i., e., present indefinite derived from the OIA indicative present ; (b) Participial i.e., the simple past or past indefinite and future indefinite originated from the passive participle and the passive future participle of OIA and MIA ; and (c) Periphrastic or the Compound which are made up with the help of the substantive verb $\sqrt{āch-}$ and $\sqrt{thāh-}$ etc. employed as auxiliaries with forms of the root.

The Compound tense of Assamese verb can be arranged as follows taking notice of their origin :

Compound tense : (a) *Progressive* — (i) *Present*
(ii) *Past*

(b) *Conditional* — *Past*

Compared with the simple or other tenses, the progressive tenses give special emphasis particularly on the continuity of an action—present, past.

Present Progressive :

This tense lays emphasis on the continuity but incompleteness of an action in the present moment and thus it means the progress of work in this moment.

The following are the forms of present progressive (connected with Skt. 'laṣ') with -ch- originated from the auxiliary root $\sqrt{āch-}$ 'to be/is'

OAs. 1st pers. : $-icho/\overset{\circ}{o}$, $-iācho$, $-ichoh\overset{\circ}{o}$, $-āchoh\overset{\circ}{o}$

2nd pers. (inf.) : $-icha$, $-iāchā$, $-iācha$, $-iāchaha$

„ „ (hon.) : $-ichā$, $-iāchā$, $-iāchāhā$, $-ichāhā$

3rd pers. (inf. hon.) : $-iche$, $-ichi$, $-iāchay/i$

NAs. 1st pers. : $-ich\overset{\circ}{o}/o$, dialectally $-ichu/-ichu\overset{\circ}{u}$

2nd pers. (inf.) : $-icha$, „ $-ichā/-ichāh$

„ „ (hon.jun.) : $-ichā$, „ $-icha/-ichahā$

„ „ (hon.sup.) $-iche$, „ $-ichi$

3rd pers. (inf.hon.) : $-iche$, „ $-ichi/-iche$

Origin: In these forms all affixes are formed with *-ich* + personal affixes :
-ich + $\overset{\circ}{o}/a/\bar{a}/e$. The origin of *-i* goes back to OIA - *itah* : OIA - *itah* >
 1st MIA * - *ido* > 2nd MIA - *ia*, - *io* > 3rd MIA * - *io*, - *iu* > NIA - *i*, - *i*.
 The *-ch* is connected with the NIA auxiliary verb root *āch*. Hence, the
 from *-ich* - *-iāch* - are compounded affixes or periphrasis, to which the
 personal affixes are added later on.

The other forms - *ichohō*, - *iāchohō*, - *iachaha*, - *iāchāhā*, - *īchāhā*, -
iāchay/i, etc. are extended forms with - *ohō*, - *aha*, - *āhā*, etc. as in other
 tenses.

The dialectal forms for Second persons honorific and inferior are just
 reverse to the forms used in standard colloquial; dialectal form - *ichāh*/
ichahā is extended form with - *āh*/*-ahā*. Dialectal *-i* to *-ich* is of an
 obscure origin.

Past Progressive : This tense lays emphasis on the completion of an
 action after containing in the near or far past; thus it means the comple-
 tion of a work remaining in progress before the moment of the simple
 past.

The following are the forms of past progressive compounded tense
 developed from to As. root verbal suffixes - *ich* + - *il*. These forms are
 rare in OAs. It is developed mainly from Middle Assamese onwards.

- 2nd pers. (inf.) : - *ichili*
 „ (hon. jun.) : - *ichilā*
 „ (hon. sup.) : - *ichil/-ichile*
 3rd pers. (inf.) : - *ichile*
 „ (hon.) : - *ichil/-ichile*

Origin : The form - *ichil* is developed from - *ich* (<As. $\sqrt{āch}$) + *il*
 (As. verbal affix for simple past i. e., present perfect) and after this
 compound affix personal terminations - $\overset{\circ}{o}$, - *a*, - *ā*, - *e*, etc. are added
 to it.

Past conditional : Assamese is the only language among the entire
 NIA to show the loss of habitual past. Dr. B. K. Kakati has discussed
 on the topic after Dr. S. K. Chatterji (ODBL, §646 & § 693 and AFD,
 §787). The past conditional tense in other NIA is expressed with the
 present participle or with some analogous formation to which some
 affixes are added, while Assamese convey this conditional past tense
 with the post positive of the absolute locative - *sante/-hante* (in OAs.),
hāte (in Mid.As.) and it is further extended to - *hēten* in Modern Assa-
 mese. This - *hēten* is added to the different personal terminations of
 the simple past with - I base. The following are the forms in NAs. :

1st pers. : * -il^heh^heten > - il^hoheten

2nd pers. (inf.): -il^hiheten

„ (hon. jun.): -il^hāh^heten

„ (hon. sup.): -il^heh^heten

3rd pers. (inf. & hon.): -il^heheten

Note : This nasalized -ē- in these forms is found only in the high standard writings.

G-142114

FUNCTIONAL SYNCRETISM IN TELUGU

K. Mahadeva Sastry

Descriptive statements are given first based on the treatment in Bālavākaraṇa and Praudha Vyākaraṇa, the traditional grammars in Telugu, followed by comment in section 2.

1. Nominative for Accusative :

- in regard to inanimate nouns, e. g., *vāḍu pūvulu decce*, 'he brought flowers' (= *pūvulanu decce*),
- in regard to animate nouns—irrationals, examples are from the literary dialect. *anilajavanibuaṁ baracunammada-nāgam-edirci* (Mahābhāratamu ādi, 4) 'opposing that mad elephant running with the speed of wind' (= *a-m-mada-nāgamun-edirci*); *tana vāraṇ-ēndram-okkuru-kula-vīru mīdan-esakolpina* (Mbh. āra 6) 'as he provoked his great elephant (to go) against the warrior of the Kuru clan' (= *tana vāranendramunu*); *tat kratu hanyōttamam-okkeda gaṭṭābampucun* (Jaimini Bhāratamu, 5) 'directing the sacrificial horse to be tied up at one place' (= *kratu-hayōttamamunu*)

Nominative for instrumental :

- in regard to inanimates, e. g. *vāru sukham-unnāru*, 'they are living happily, (= *sukhamutōṇunnāru*) cf. Nannaya; *vigata-rōsūḍavai sukham-unḍum-inḱa* (Mbh. ādi, 7) 'live happily hereafter getting rid of your anger'.

Nominative for locative :

- in regard to inanimates, e. g. *janayitri cicc-urikina* (Jaimi. 8) 'as mother fell into the fire' (= *ciccunand-urikina*); *līla pērōlagamb-unna nīlavārṇu* (Uttara Hari, 4) 'He with the black complexion who was in the great court in all grace' (= *pērōlagambunan-unna*)

2. Accusative for instrumental :

- in regard to inanimates, e. g. *Rāmuḍu vālin-okka kōlan gūlan-ēse* 'Rama killed Vāli with one arrow' (= *kōlatō*) *Arjunūḍu śatrusēna-*

lanu bāṇambulanu rūpu māpe, 'Arjuna destroyed the armies of the enemy with his arrows' (= *bāṇambulatō*)

Accusative for Ablative :

—in regard to inanimates, e. g. *Maitruḍu gṛhamunu veḍalenu* 'Maitra went from his house' (= *gṛhamun-uṇḍi*); *vāḍu vāhanamunu digenu*, 'he alighted from the *vāhana*' (= *vāhanamun-uṇḍi*). An example from the literary dialect :—*viccēyum-aditi garbhamu. jeccera veluvaḍu mahātmā* (Bhāgavatamu, 8) 'come (out) from the womb of Aditi, come out quickly oh ! great one' (= *Aditi garbhamun-uṇḍi*)

Accusative for Locative :

—in regard to inanimates, e. g. *lankam galakalamu putte*, 'there arose confusion in lamka' (= *lankayandu*); *mīnambu jalambulan-uṇḍu* 'fish lives in water' (= *jalambulandu*)

—in regard to animate nouns also, as found in some examples: *balimi gonina dhanamu padivēla yonṭelā beṭiki rāga vairi-bhikaruḍu vacce Nakulūḍu* (Mbh. Sabhā. 1.) 'Nakula, the terror of the enemy (kings) came, as the wealth which he got by his prowess came in bags put on ten thousand camels' (= *yonṭelandu*); *manujula viprūḍu* (Mbh. Shanti. 1) 'the Brahmin among men' (= *manujula-y-andu viprūḍu*)

3. Instrumental for Ablative :

—in connection with certain verbs meaning 'to take' etc. instr. *cēta* is used for ablative *valana*. e. g. *Jarāsandhuḍu rājulacēta gappambu goniye* 'Jarasandha received tributes from kings' (= *rājulavalana*)
i-y-arthambunu nīcetan-erimḡiti 'I learnt this meaning from you' (= *nīvalana*); *i vṛttāntambu vāniceta viṇṭi* 'I heard this news from him' (= *vāni valana*)

4. The Genitive inflexion

—*kun* may be used for the accusative, the instrumental, the ablative or the locative.

Accusative :

veḷaku bōyiri 'they went out hunting' (= *vēlanu gurci*); *ciramuga Brahmakū dapamu cēsi* (Mbh. ādi. 2) 'doing *tapas* for Brahma for a long time' (= *Brahmanu gurci*)

Instrumental :

Ma'itrūḍu caitrunak-iḷ-aniye 'Maitra said to Caitra like this ;
Angapatik-edircen (Kala. 6) opposed the Lord of Anga (= *Anga-*
patitōn edircen)

Ablative :

viluvidyan-orulu nīk-agglamuga-lēkunḍan 'having no one : greater
 than you in archery' (= *nīkaṇṭen agglamuga*)

Locative

kōmali nīk-anurakta (Mbh. ara. 2) 'the tender girl is in love with
 you' (= *nīyand-anurakta*)

5. The locative inflexion *na(n)* may be used for the instrumental or
 for the ablative.

Instrumental: in regard to inanimates ; *Rāmūḍ-okka bāṇambuna*
vālin gūlan-ēse 'Rama killed Vali with one arrow' (= *bāṇamucē*)

Ablative :

raktambu vadana gahvaramu varada vāra. (Bhag. 10) 'as the blood
 poured out from the mouth cavity' (= *vadana gahvaramuna-n-unḍi*)
'nūtilo veluwaḍa kōmalin digice (Mbh. ādi) 'pulled the tender girl
 so as to come out from the well' (*nutilon-unḍi*)

2

1. The nominative is used for the accusative in the case of inanimate
 nouns. And no confusion in meaning will arise because a neuter noun
 cannot act of itself; it is acted upon by others.

The use of the nom. for the acc. is found also with animate
 nouns—of the category of irrational beings. Examples are rare in the
 literary dialect and in the spoken language but nevertheless they do
 occur, e. *gurram kaṭṭ-ēy* 'tie the horse (as to a pole)' (= *gurrānni kaṭṭ-ēy*).
 Here context helps out the meaning.

The example given under nom. for instr. may be construed as
 adverbial usage, *vāru sukhamugān-unnāru*.

The examples given under nom. for loc. can be regarded as
 idiomatically used verb-compounds *śabdapallavas* as they are
 called in Telugu, *cicc-uruku* and *pērolagam-unḍu*, cf. *koluv-unḍu*.

2. The acc. is used for the instr. the abl. and the loc.; it is to be noted,
 however, in all these only with regard to inanimate nouns.

The accusative inflection consists of a nasal -n, with its variants -nu(n) ni(n). The instrumental, ablative and locative cases also have an inflection consisting of the nasal -n and -an, with its variant -nan. The origin of the instr. -abl, -loc. -an is suggested from a form denoting place, namely -al. -an could easily develop the variants -n and -nan by the loss of the initial vowel in the one case and the addition of -an to -n as a double form in the other. The distribution of this suffix differs from that of the acc. -n, so that these suffixes must be regarded as different in origin. This is supported by the fact that there is a closeness of meaning between the instr. abl., and the loc. such as is not found between these and the acc.

3. The inflection -kun is ascribed to the genitive case by the Telugu grammarians but it is found to be used in all the other oblique cases -viz. acc., instr. dat., abl., and loc. It carries the heaviest burden of syntactical relationship among all the case signs in Telugu. Its primary use among the oblique cases is the dative, in *sampradānārtha*. What the traditional grammarians consider dative case signs proper consist of this inflection: *kora-kun*, the word *kora* means benefit, use) *k-ayi* (= *ku+ayi*, past participle of *agu* 'to become'). In fact the cognate forms of -kun viz. Tamil -ke and Kannada -ke, -ge are considered in these languages as the signs of the dative. Further, Tamil grammarians have also pointed out the use of this suffix -ku in the other oblique cases as in Telugu. This feature thus appears to be a Dravidian idiom.

Conclusion :

So in regard to the features of syncretism illustrated above it may be noted that some are native and natural to the language e. g. the use of the nominative for the accusative in regard to inanimate nouns, and the gen. -kun for the dat.; some are infrequent e. g. the use of the genitive for the locative, ablative, etc.; some are ascribable to phonetic changes resulting in phonetic identity of the suffixes; e. g. the accusative and the instrumental -ablative -locative.

THE UN-PĀNINIAN CAUSATIVE VERB-FORMS IN THE ĀDIPARVAN OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

Harendra Chandra Sii

The un-Pāṇinian causative verb-forms in the critical edition of the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata have the following features :—

- (a) Variation in vowel-length in root-syllable :
 - (i) short a for long ā;
 - (ii) long ā for short a;
- (b) Omission of -ya-;
- (c) Āpaya -for -aya-;
- (d) Augmentless imperfect;
- (e) Present participle with middle for active ending;
- (f) Present participle middle with -āna for -māna;
- (g) Feminine present participle active without 'num' where required;
- (h) Gerund with exchanges of -tvā and -ya:
 - (i) with -trā for -ya;
 - (ii) with -ya for -tvā;
- (i) Finite verb with exchanges of active and middle endings:
 - (i) with active for middle ending;
 - (ii) with middle for active ending;
- (j) Miscellaneous : *bhṛṣitaḥ* for *bhāyitaḥ*.

(a) Variation in vowel-length in root-syllable : (i) short a for long ā

Only in one instance, the feminine of the causative present participle active form from *vap* with ā-, namely, *ā-vapayanti* 1. 3. 162, has short a instead of long ā in the root-syllable. The form occurs in prose. The form has been made probably according to the analogy of the form from root *jan*. A denominative formation from 'vapa' (cited as 'B' in Whitney's 'Roots,' or from 'vapana' (cited as 'Av.+ ' in Whitney's 'Roots')? The reading is not certain. All the three variants, which avoid the irregular form, possess regular feminine present participle active forms. Two of them are forms from the same root as *vap*, one primary and the other causative; and the remaining form is a causative form from the root *klp*. Only

vāpayati etc. ('B.+') are cited in Whitney's 'Roots'. We cite our instance fully below :

upādhyāyānī ca snātā keśān āvāpayanty upaviṣṭottan̄ko
nāgacchatīti śāpāyāsyā mano dadhe / (K1 ākalpayam̄ti; N, V/
B D [except Dn. 2. n 3 D 1. 2] āvāpa°; B5 T M 1. 3. 5
ovapam̄ti) 1. 3. 162.

(ii) long ā for short a

The Ādiparvan possesses 13 instances of causative forms (present indicative, present imperative, present participle, imperfect, past passive participle, gerund, passive present imperative, and passive present participle) which have long ā instead of short a in the root-syllable. Roots are : kṣam, cal (twice without any prefix, and twice with the prefix vi-), jval (with pra-), nam (with ava-, and with vi-), bhram, and śam (with abhi-+pra-). One instance occurs in prose. Seven instances are metri causa. Some forms seem analogical. One form is probably denominative. Some variants have causative verb-forms with long ā instead of short a in the radical syllable, and that from the same roots as in the text. One instance is not certain. We cite our instances below :

tat kṣāmaye bhāvantam 1 na bhāveyam andha iti 11 (prose;
K 1 B 1

√kṣam Dn D5 kṣama°; D1 śama°; g2. 3 kṣamāpa°) 1. 3. 129.
Perhaps analogical to -kṣamayate-etc. ('V.+') from root kam-. The
form 'kṣāmaye' occurs in the Mahābhārata only, and the regular
forms 'kṣamayati' etc. occur from Epic onward (cf. 'Roots', under
√kṣam, 'endure').

√cal cālayan vaṣudhām, caiva balena caturaṅgināhabhy-ayāt
tampāñcālyo..... / (Ś cālayam̄to dhṛtim bhīmām [g 1 °mam; M 6-8
°mā].....) 1. 89. 33. Not metri causa.dānavasya śīro
mahat/cakreṇotkṛttam. apatac cālayad vasudhā-talam // (T 2 cacāla.
T 1 tac cacāla vasuṃ-dharām) 1. 17. 7. Not metri causa.

√cal, vi sa.....samīpa-gān bhūmidharān vi-cālayan / (k 1
vy-acālayat) 1. 24. 11. For making the tenth syllable heavy for
'vaṃśasthaviḷam'.

sāham vi-cālyamānā vai prārthyamānā durātmabhiḥ / sthātum
pathi na śakṣyāmi... // (g 1. 2 °ham vicārya cātmānam) 1. 146. 13.
cf. cālyate 'E' in Whitney's 'Roots'.

In Classical Sanskrit the causative form *calayati* with short a



in the root syllable occurs to convey the sense of 'kampana'; while *cālayati* with long *ā* in the root-syllable occurs to convey the senses other than the sense of 'kampana'. As *calayati* occurs in Classical Sanskrit only (according to Whitney's 'Roots'), *cālayati* occurs in Epic to convey all the senses. *Cālayati* ('S.+') seems analogical to *cārayati* ('B.+') causative from root *car* of which root *cal*-is a later variation.

√jval, pra pra-jvālyatām hūyatām cāpi vahnir 1 (Ñ 2. 3 v1 B D [except D5] °lyatām agnira [Da °ma] mitrasāha) 1. 182. 7. The causative form 'pra-jvālayati' is probably the denominative form from 'prajvāla'.

√nam, ava manoharaiḥ puṣpitaḥ ca phalabhārāva-nāmitaiḥ/ (Da G5. 6 °nāmibhiḥ; M6-8 phala-puspāva°) 1. 199. 41. For diiambic close.

√nam, vi ratham āruhya padbhyām vā vi-nāmayatu karmukam/ (Ś1K [except ko] D2. 5 sa nāma°) 1. 127. 17. For avoiding a succession of 5 short syllables. *Nāmayati* is later than *namyati* (cf. *namayati* etc. 'V.+', *nāmayati* etc. 'U. S.+' in Whitney's Roots).

√bhram ...bhīmo bhīmasya rakṣasaḥ/utkṣipyābhrāmayad dehaṁ tūrṇaṁ guṇaśatādhikam // (B1 D2-4 T G M8 °pya bhrāmayat; KO. 2 D5 °pya bhrāmayāmāsa) 1. 142. 24. For the 1st type of spondaic opening, in preference to the 1st type of trochaic opening.

yaḥ śalyam modrarājānam utkṣipyābhrāmayad balī/ (K2 Ñ2. 3 V1 B D protkṣipyāpātayad balī [D5 samutkṣipyāhanad balī]; Ñ1 S utkṣipyā ny-ahanad balī [G5 °lam]) 1. 192. 3 For the same reason as stated above for the preceding instance. Reading not certain. vimukam bhrāmayams tūrṇan pāūdavaś carma cottamam/ vy-apovāha śārāms...// (D2 G3 M6-8 bhrāmayat tūrṇam) 1. 158. 23. For the 2nd type of spondaic opening, in preference to the 2nd type of trochaic opening.

tasmiṃś ca bhrāmyamāṇe 'drau samghṛṣyantah paraṣparam/ ny-apatan...mahādrumāḥ // (No v. l.) 1. 16. 21.

Bhrāmayati etc. are later and appear for the first time in Epic, while *bhramayati* etc. are earlier and appear for the first time in the sūtras (cf. Whitney, 'Roots').

There are some grammarians who introduce option into the Pāṇinian sūtra 'mitām hrasvaḥ' 6. 4. 92 from the preceding Pāṇinian sūtra 'vā citta-virāge' 6. 4. 91, and, thereby, attempt at the justification of the causative forms, with long *ā* instead of short *a* in

the root-syllable, from root *bhram*. *Bhrāmayati* etc. have, however, been formed from root *bhram* probably according to the analogy of *krāmayati* etc. ('B.+') from root *kram*.

√śam, abhi+pra tataḥ pracakre vapur anyad alpaṃ praveṣṭu-
kāmo 'gnim abhi-pra-śāmya (M 1.3 praṇāśya; M3 [inf. lin]. 5 praṇāśyaṃ)
1. 28. 25. For 'upendravajrā' the form expected is ⁰śamayya.

(b) Omission of -ya-

In two instances, we find two causative present indicative forms, minus-ya- of the causative sign -aya-, from roots tvar-, and sah- (with pra+ud). The form from root sah-, namely, *prot-sāhati* 1.55.3, occurs for the avoidance of hypermetric foot and for diiambic close. The form from root tvar-, namely, *tvaranti* 1. 87. 6, is probably due to the peculiar metrical scheme: Ja ta ta ga ga. Only one variant supports the text, while all other variants possess the corresponding regular (causative) forms.

Our forms, *tvaranti* and (*prot-*)*sāhati*, are probably the outcome of Middle Indic processes according to which the regular forms '*tvarayanti*' and '*sāhayati*' are changed into '*twarenti*' and '*sāheti*', and there is the substitution of -ati by -eti forms without change of meaning (cf. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar, §38.3). Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit has many such forms; e.g., *tarpet=tarpayet*, *kāmasi=kāmayasi*, *saṃtāra=samtāraya*, *tādan=tādāyan*, *darśisye=darśayisye*, aorist *darśi* 'displayed' (to *darśayati*), gerund *harṣitvā*, and many similar forms (cf. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit grammar, §§ 38. 27-33). Whitney, in his Roots, cites *sāhati* etc. 'RV. 'E', under the primary conjugation. We cite our instances below :

√tvar uktvāhaṃ vaḥ prapatisyāmy anantaram tvaranti mām.
brāhmaṇā lokapālāḥ / (N 2. 3 S [except G 2. 3] arayaṃti;
Cd as in text) 1. 87, 6.

√sah, pra+ud śrotuṃ pātraṃ ca rājāṃs tvaṃ prāpyemām
mudā bhārātūṃ kathām / guror vaktuṃ parispanḍo protsāhativa
mām // (B Da 2 D2-4 mud u-[D2 sam-u, D3 mudo-; D4 sa
u]-t-sāhayatīva mām; Da 1 corrupt. Dev. has mut- and
protsāhayati) 1. 55. 3.

(c) -Āpaya- for -aya-

One imperfect form from the causative of root hve- with ā-, namely,

āhvāpayat 1. 155. 34, has -āpaya- instead of -aya- as the causative suffix; the Pāṇinian form will be *ā-hvāy-aya-t*. Our form is textually certain. It occurs only once, and that in verse. It is not metri causa. It has six variants. Two of the variants have irregular forms; while the remaining four variants have regular causative imperfect forms (including the corresponding regular one) from the same root as *hve*- and roots *āp*-, *jñā*-, and *vah*-.

In Classical Sanskrit the causative suffix -āpaya- is nearly limited to roots in final ā. In our form the suffix -āpaya- has been added to root *hve*- which ends in a vowel other than a. The causative suffix -āpaya- has been extended from roots in ā to a root ending in a vowel other than a. This has probably been influenced by Middle Indicisms. In Pali the formantic elements -āpaya-, -āpe- serve to form causatives out of all present-stems (cf. Geiger, Pali literature and language, §181); and "The element -ve- = Skt. -paya- is employed in Prakṛit for formation of the causative also from the roots in vowels other than -a, -i, -ī, and in diphthongs and consonants" (cf. Pischel, Comparative grammar of the Prakṛit languages, § 552). In Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, the suffix -āpaya- (or the like) is "freely productive". Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit has *āhvāpayati* cf. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar, §§38. 42 ff. Causative stem *hvāyaya*- only is cited in Whitney's 'Roots'. We cite our instance below :

yājas tu havanasyānte devīm āhvāpayat tadā/ (Ś1 Ko. 2
āhvāyayat; K1 āhvāhva⁰; N2 V1 B5 D ājñāpa⁰; T1 G1-3 āvāha⁰;
M5 anvapa⁰; M6 āhvāva⁰) 1. 155. 34.

(d) Augmentless imperfect

We have four instances. Four causative imperfect forms from roots : *krp*- (with -upa-), *jñā*-, *tṛ*- (with *sa*+*ava*-), and *bhās*-(with *vi*+*ava*-), are found to occur without the augment. All the four instances are metri causa. Three instances are due to diiambic close; and the remaining instance is due to the avoidance of hyper-metric foot, and to the 2nd type of spondaic opening and diiambic close. Only some variants have augmentless imperfect forms, The majority of the variants have regular forms, imperfect, present active participle, and past passive participle, from the same or other roots (some imperfect forms being primary and the rest causative). It is to be noted that the causative form from root *jñā*, namely, *jñāpayat* 1.207. 16, is not textually certain. Instances are cited below :

√kṛp, upa tathety uktvā tu taṃ yājo yājyārtham upakalpayat /
 (Ś1 K4 yajñārthe sama⁰; Ko. 2. 3 yājyārthe sama⁰; Ñ1 ⁰rthe vi-
 -pra-kalpayan; B1. 3. 6 Da1 T1 ⁰kalpayan; T2 G [G3 om.] M3
 [orig.]. 6-8 putrakāmiyam ārabhat [T2 ⁰m āharat]; M3 [inf.
 lin.]. 5 yājñā[M 5 yāge]rthebhiprakalpitam) 1. 155. 30. For
 diiambic close.

√jñā abhigamya ca rājānaṃ jñāpayat svam prayo-
 janam / (Ś1 K Ñ1 D5 ācakhyau [K2 abravīt]; Ñ2Dn D4 avadat; Ñ3
 sam-jalpat; B ajalpat; B6m Da D1.2 vy-ajñapat) 1. 207. 16. For the
 avoidance of hypermetric foot, and for the 2nd type of spondaic
 opening and diiambic close.

√tr̥, sam+ava kṛta-prasādo rājā taṃ tataḥ sam-ava-tārayat /
 (No v. l.) 1. 101. 19. For diiambic close.

√bhās; vi+ava āditya iva taṃ deśaṃ kṛtsnaṃ sa vy-av-a
 bhāsayat / (K1 samam abhā⁰; K2 viprocya bhā⁰; Ñ1 evāvabhā⁰;
 Ñ2. 3 Dn D4 sarvam vy-akāśayat; B 1. 3 sa hi vy-abhā⁰; B5 D
 1. 2/sa vy-ati-akāśayat; B6 Da eva vy-akāśa⁰; D5 so vy-ava-bhā⁰;
 T g abhy-ava-bhāsayan [G1 tad vy-ava -bhāsayan]; M5 tad dhyava-bhā⁰;
 M6-8⁰yan) 1. 208. 17. For diiambic close.

(e) Present participle with middle for active ending.

Causatives of verbs meaning 'shaking or moving' take the
 active ending, even though the fruit of the action accrues to the
 agent (cf. 'nigarāṇa-calanārthebhyaśca' Pāṇ. 1. 3. 87). But we
 come across one instance in which the causative of root kṣubh-
 (with vi-) takes the middle ending. The instance is metri causa.
 It occurs for the avoidance of catalectic foot and for 'pathyā' close.
 Two variants support the irregular form of the text; one variant
 has a causative augmentless imperfect form; and others possess
 regular causative present participle forms (including the corres-
 ponding regular one), active or passive. All the forms are made
 from the same root as kṣubh-. Causative forms *kṣobhayati-te* occur
 from epic onward. Our instance is cited below :

taṃ vi-kṣobhayamāṇaṃ tu saro bahujaṣākulam / kūrmaḥ
yuddhāyābhyeti vīryavān // (K4 tat tu vi-kṣobhayamā⁰; Ñ1. 2
 V1 Dn D 1. 3. 4. 6. 7 T1 vi-kṣobhayamṣ tato nāgaḥ; B 1. 4. 5 Da vi-

kṣobhayam̐tam̐ tam̐ [Da °yat tato] nāgam; D5 M tad vi [M2 sup. lin. 4. 5 °d vat] kṣobhayamānas tu) 1. 25. 23.

(f) Present participle middle with -āna for -māna

The Ādiparvan presents two instances of a causative present participle middle form which is made out of root dr̥ś- with the addition of the athematic suffix -āna instead of the thematic suffix -māna. Both the instances are metri causa, one being due to 'śālinī' and the remaining one to 'vātormī'. Variants avoid the irregular form of the text. Whitney, in his Sanskrit Grammar, section 1043f, states that participle in -āna is decidedly more common, in the Epics and later, than that in -māna. We cite our instances below.

yadāśrauṣam... / tam̐ cātmānam̐ bahudhā darśayānam̐ tadā nāśam̐se vijayāya sam̐jaya // (K 1. 4 Dr [except Dr 2] G1-3 M darśayam̐tam̐; g7 °nīyyam̐) 1. 1. 119. For 'vātormī'.

yadāśrauṣam.../kr̥ṣṇam̐ lokān darśayānam̐ śarīre tadā nāśam̐se vijayāya sam̐jaya (No v. l.) 1. 1. 124. For 'śālinī'.

(g) Feminine present participle active without 'num' where required.

Three instances exemplify the above phenomenon. The feminine of the causative present participle active is made with -antī; but our text presents three forms which have been made with -atī instead of -antī from three roots, namely, nad-, vah-, and sad- (with pra-). In the older language, we find namayatī (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, section 1043e). Our instances are all metri causa, two being due to diiambic close, and the third to 'pathyā' close in preference to the third 'vipulā'. Only one variant supports the text, while all others show the corresponding regular forms. It may be remarked that the causative form, from root sad- with pra-, is not certain. Our instances follow :

√nad ...vāg uvācāśarīriṇī / mahāgambhīra-nirghoṣā nabho nādayatī tadā // (k 2. 4 °yatīva hi. K3 G2. 3 nādayam̐tī nabha [G2 diśa]stadā) 1. 114. 28. For diiambic close.

√vah śuśrūṣārtham̐ pitur nāvam̐ tām̐ tu vāhayatīm̐ jale /..... apaśyad vai parāśaraḥ // (N1. 2 V1 B D [except D5] vāhayam̐tīm̐ jale ca tām̐) 1. 57. 5. For diiambic close.

√sad, pra sā prasādayatī devam̐ idam̐ bhūyo'bhy-abhāṣata / (K 3. 4 prasādayam̐tī sā devam̐) 1. 189. 45. For 'pathyā' close, in preference to the 3rd 'vipulā'.

(There are similar forms belonging to the primary conjugation, and similar desiderative forms).

(h) Gerund with exchange of -tvā and -ya

(i) with -tvā for -ya

Compounded roots form gerund with the suffix -ya; but two instances are met with in the Ādiparvan, of gerund in -tvā instead of -ya from the causatives of compounded roots, pra+āp and sam+jiv. Such forms are not unknown elsewhere (e. g., praty-arpayitvā, sam-īrayitvā, vi-rocayitvā, ni-vedayitvā, etc., cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, 990a; the Rāmāyana has prāpayitvā 4. 58. 35; paritoṣayitvā 4. 30. 57; pra-darśayitvā 3.32. 25; ni-pātayitvā 6.73. 64; etc.). Our gerund form prāpayitvā (√āp with pra) 1. 189. 25 occurs in verse, and seems due to the peculiar metrical scheme: ya bha ta ga ga. Gerund form sam-jīvayitvā (√jiv- with sam-) 1. 90. 92 occurs in prose; and the reading is not certain. All the variants avoid the irregular forms, and possess regular verb-forms, compounded gerund (primary) in -ya, or simple gerund (causative) in -tvā, from the same roots or changed pāda. We cite our instances:

√āp, pra tatra yūyaṃ karma kṛtvāvīṣahyam bahūn anyān
nidhanam prāpayitvā / (K2 V1 B [except B6] D2 prāpya caiva)
1. 189. 25.

√jiv, sam sam-jīvayitvā cainam uvāca/(K4 Ñ 1 B D [except Da]
om. sam-. S nāma tasyākarot subhadra [for samjī⁰—⁰m uvāca])
1. 90. 92.

(ii) with -ya for -tvā

We come across three instances of gerund which are found to be formed with the suffix -ya instead of the suffix -tvā from the causatives of two simple roots, namely, tuṣ-, and vac-(thrice). Whitney, in his Sanskrit Grammar, section 990a, cites vācya, yojya, plāvya. So far as our forms are concerned, toṣya (√tuṣ) 1. 1.109 is probably due to the peculiar metrical scheme: ja ma ya ya; and vācya (√vac) 1.176. 32; 1. 212. 6 occurs, in both the places of occurrence, for the avoidance of hypermetric foot and for diiambic close. Only vācya 1. 176. 32 has got a variant, and that shows a regular causative present participle form from the same root as vac-. We cite our instances below:

√tuṣ yadāśrauṣam arjuno devadevaṃ kirāta-rūpaṃ tryambakam
toṣya yuddhe/avāpa tat pāśupatam mahāstram... //(No v. l.) 1.1. 109.

√vac sa tarpayitvā jvalanam brāhmanān svasti vacya ca / vāra-
yām-asa sarvāni vāditrāṇi...// (Ś1 K/ svasti vācayan) 1. 176. 32.
subhadra tva atha śailendram abhy-arcya...1 daivatāni ca sarvāni
brāhmanān svasti vācya ca (No v. 1.) 1. 212. 6.

(i) **Finite verb with exchanges of active and middle endings**

(i) with active for middle ending

The active ending is not used after the causal of the root *ruc-*, 'to shine, to be agreeable' according to "na pā damy-ānpamān-yasa-parimuha-ruci-nṛti-vada-vacaḥ" Pāṇ. 1. 3. 89. But in five instances, the active ending has been used after the causal of the root *ruc-* in violation of the above rule of Pāṇini. One instance is not metri causa. The remaining four instances are metri causa (two instances occurring for diiambic close, and the other two instances occurring for the avoidance of hypermetric foot and for diiambic close). Three instances have got no variant. The remaining two instances have got three variants. One of them uses, instead, a regular imperfect form from root *rud-*; and the other two variants have causative forms, augmentless imperfect middle and present participle active, from the same root as *ruc-*. *Rocayati* etc. are earlier and occur from Vedic onward, while *rocayate* etc. are later and occur from the Brāhmaṇas onward. Our instances follow :

[arjunah] dr̥ṣṭvā nirvedam āpanno.. / dharmarājam samāsādya
samnyāsam samarocayat // (No v. I.) 1. 2. 228. For the avoidance
of hypermetric foot and for diiambic close, vīhārāvastheṣv eva
vīrā vāsam arocayan / N3 vāsam acodayan) 1. 119. 31. For the
same reason as stated above for the preceding instance.

na hi dāpam apāpātmā rocayīṣyati pāṇḍavaḥ / (No v. I.) 1. 133. 8.
For diiambic close.

atha tatraiva vā teṣām nivāsam rocayante te / (No v. 1.) 1. 193. 6.
For diiambic close.

nivāsam rocayanti sma sarva-bhāṣā-vidas tathā / (Ś1 B Da D4
rocayanta [b 9taḥ] sma) 1. 199. 37, No metri causa.

(ii) with middle for active ending.

In seven instances, the causatives of six roots, namely *kamp-* (twice), *jan-*, *tuṣ-*, *dr̥-* (with *vi-*), *yudh-*, and *sthā-* (with *ud-*), take the middle instead of the active ending in violation of the three sūtras

of Pāṇini, viz., (1) “budha-yudha-naśa-janeṇ-pru-dru-sru-bhyo ṇeḥ” 1. 3. 86 (2) “nigaraṇa-calanārthebhyas ca” 1. 3. 87; and (3) “anāv akarmakāc cittavat-kartṛkāt” 1. 3. 88. All the instances, except one, are metri causa. One instance occurs for ‘pathyā’ ‘close’ in preference to the 5th ‘vipulā’; one instance occurs for diiambic close; two instances occur each for the avoidance of catalectic foot and for diiambic close; one instance occurs for the avoidance of hypermetric foot, and for the 3rd ‘vipulā’ close; and the remaining one occurs for the avoidance of hypermetric foot, and for the 2nd type of spondaic opening and diiambic close.

As regards the variants, causative forms *janayate* (root jan-) 1. 69. 31; *yodhayām-cakrire* (root yudh-) 1. 71. 7; and *utthāpayiṣye* (root sthā- with ud-) 1. 33. 17 have got no variant, causative forms *kampayate* (root kamp-) 1. 65. 23; 1. 119. 20; *toṣayiṣye* (root tuṣ-) 1. 49. 20; and *vy-adrāvayata* (root dru- with vi-) 1. 165. 32 have about a dozen variants.

Two variants have changed pādas; four variants have the corresponding regular forms, and regular causative finite forms from the same roots; four other variants have causative finite forms from the same roots with middle for active ending as in the text and the remaining variants have causative finite middle forms from other roots.

Three forms are later than the corresponding regular active forms. Two forms are contemporaneous with the corresponding regular active forms; and the remaining form (causative s-future middle) from root tuṣ- is not found in Whitney’s ‘Roots’. We cite our instance below :

√kamp asāy...viśvāmitro .. / tapyamānas tapo ghoram mama kampayate manaḥ // (TI G6 brahmacaryam ca samśri [G6 °sthi] taḥ) 1. 65. 23. For diiambic close.

tadā pāda-prahāreṇa bhīmaḥ kampayate drumam / (b 1. 3 Dn1 D 1. 2 kampayati) 1. 119. 20. Not metri causa. cf. kampayati etc. ‘b.+; kampayate etc. ‘U.+’ in Whitney’s ‘Roots’.

√jan jāyā janayate putram ātmano’ṅgam dvidhā kṛtam / (No v. 1.) 1. 69. 31. For the ‘pathyā’ in preference to the 5th ‘vipulā’. close. cf. jānayati-ṭe etc. ‘v.+’ in Whitney’s ‘Roots’.

√tuṣ tam vri nṛpa-varam gatvā... / vāgbhir maṅgala-yuktābhis toṣayiṣye’dya mātul // (Ko. 2. 4 L2. 5 °yisyāmi mā°, K3 Ñ 1. 3 V1 b1 [m as in text]. 3-5 jñā [Ñ3 jā; b5 gā] payiṣyedia [k3 °tha]) 1. 49. 29. for the avoidance of hypermetric foot, and for the 2nd

type of spondaic opening and diiambic close. Only the active forms *toṣayati* etc. 'JB.+ ' are cited in Whitney's 'Roots'.

√*dru* vi*sā gaur*...../ *viśvāmitrasya tat sainyaṃ vy-adrāvayata sarvaśaḥ*// (K4 *vidrāvayati*; D4 *drāvayāmāsa*; T1 G2. 3 *prādrā*⁰; G5 M -8 *prādrā*⁰) 1. 15. 32. For the avoidance of catalectic foot, and for diiambic close. cf. *drāvayati* etc. 'V.+ ', *drāvayate* etc. 'E ' in Whitney's 'Roots'.

√*yudh* *tatas te punar utthāya yodhayāṃ-cakrire surān* / (No v.1.) 1. 71. 7. For the avoidance of catalectic foot, and for diiambic close. cf. *yodhayati* etc. 'V.+ ', *yodhayate* etc. 'E'. in Whitney's 'Roots'.

√*sthā*, ud *utthāpayiṣye yady enaṃ dhruvaṃ kopam kariṣyati* / *dharmalopo bhaved asya sandhyātikramaṇe dhruvam* // (No v. 1.) 1. 43. 17. For the avoidance of hypermetric foot, and for the 3rd 'vipulā' close. cf. *sthāpayati* etc. 'V.+ ', -te etc. 'V.+ ' in Whitney's 'Roots'.

(i) **Miscellaneous : bhīṣitaḥ for bhāyitaḥ**

We come across one instance of the inappropriate use of one causative past passive participle form for another from the same root.

The causative of root *bhī-* takes three different forms, viz., *bhāpayā-*, *bhāyaya-*, and *bhīṣaya-* (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit grammar, section 1042 l). In Classical Sanskrit there is a distinction in the use of *bhīṣaya* and *bhāyaya-*. The form '*bhīṣaya*' is used when the fear is produced directly by the causative agent, while the form '*bhāyaya*' is used when the fear is not the direct result caused by the agent. In the *Ādiparvan* we find one instance in which the past passive participle form '*bhīṣitaḥ*' is used for '*bhāyitaḥ*' even when the fear is not produced directly by the causative agent. The form is not metri causa. It has got no variant. It may be pointed out here that *bhāyayati* etc. occur in Classical Sanskrit only (cf. Whitney, 'Roots'). Now it seems to be the fact that the stem *bhīṣaya-* (forms from which occur in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Epics* onward, cf. Whitney, 'Roots') was used to denote both the direct and the indirect production of fear in the pre-classical stage. Our instance is cited below :

sa mayā kṛīḍatā bālye kṛtvā tāṇam athoragam / agnihotre prasaktaḥ san bhīṣitaḥ pra-mumoha vai // (No v. l.) 1. 11. 2.

Special Abbreviations & References :

B.=Brāhmaṇas; Dev.=Devadatta, the commentator; E.=Epic Sanskrit; JB.=Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa; Rā.=Rāmāyana; S.=Sūtras; U.=Upaniṣads V.=Vedas; V. l.= variae lectiones; + indicates that the formation is found from the specified period onwards.

Of the N(orthern Recensions), Ś.=Śāradā (or kāśmīrī; K.=the Devanāgarī group allied to the Kāśmīrī version; N.=Nepālī; V.=Māithilī; B.=Bengalī; D.=Devanāgarī versions other than K.; Da=Devanāgarī version of Arjunamiśra; Dn=the same of Nīlakaṇṭha; Dr=the same of Ratnagarbha; D1—14= the 14 manuscripts belonging to the Devanāgarī composite version; and of the S(outhern Recensions) T.=Telugu, G.=Grantha and M.=the Malayalam version. The number after the Version refers to the numerical order of the MSS. of the version.

SANTALĪ ELEMENTS IN MAGAHĪ

Suryadeo Pandey

According to available data, Magahī contains in it near about forty per cent of its words, directly or indirectly, related to Santalī language. Some of these words have gone across the border of Magahī and have mixed themselves with Bhojapurī and Maithilī languages. Here, I am discussing some Santalī words (cited first with their meanings) which are connected with words in Magahī.

aebaha—(adj)-*alvakahā* 'rout, stupid'.

Mag—*albakahā* (a fool, a man of very weak intellect, half-minded; '*ū albakahe* -' 'He is half-minded'.

akhaji—(n. adj)-'disagreement, discord, quarrel' etc.

Mag-*akhaji*-enemy, *akkhaja*-enmity. *okarā se hamarā akkaja he* - 'I am in enmity with him'.

ihili—(n.) 'a small earthen pot' (Santals use this type for teaching little girls to carry water and also for carrying water for field-workers).

Mag.—*ihili*, *ihiliyā*-also 'the pot for cooking rice'.

ḍarmot—(adj.) 'strongly built, stalwart, sturdy'.

Mag-*darmuṭa*, *darmuṭha*, *dharmuṭh*, meaning the same as in Santalī, '*u badakā dharmut ādami laga hai*'-He seems to be a very sturdy man.

ḍarrao—(v. a.) 'roll, grind, rub on a stone' (v. m.) 'slip, slide; stumble'

Mag-*darrā*, *daranī*, *daranā* *Hama darrā khāhi*-I am eating the cooked ground maize'.

ḍagrin—(n) 'midwife'.

Mag-'an attending nurse when a child is born'. In Magahī usually the women from the family of shoe-makers are employed for this and they are called '*camain*', as well as *ḍagrin*. It is very interesting to note here that most of the 'sohar-songs' (birth song) which are the jewels of Magahī folk-literature "*e Ḍagrin, torālāgī Jhumakā gaḍhaibo, ki, motiyā cunaibo renā !*"

—O *Ḍagrin*, I will present you the ornaments like *Jhumakā* and pearls (taken from a Magahī 'sohar').

ḍāmul—(n. v. a. m.) 'one who has been sentenced to transportation (overseas)'

Mag-*ḍāmul* (meaning the same as in Santali) often comes in combination with *phāsī*-as '*ḍāmul phāsī*'.

okara ḍāmul ho gele ha—'He has been sentenced to transportation'.

dohamat—(v. a. m.) 'accuse falsely, charge falsely with slander. cf. Mundāri-*dohamata*.

Mag-*dohamat* (*dohamata*), *tohamata*.

okarā dohamat lagā delkai—'He has been falsely charged with'.

ḍhadra—(adj.-v. m.) 'broken, worn out, in rags; break, be torn'.

Mag-*dādara*/*daradarānā*

u gāgaridādar he—'That jar is broken'.

ḍhiri—(n.) 'stormy place'. cf. Mundari-*diri*

Mag-*ḍirā*; *ḍiyarā*, *ḍheri*,

'*ḍirā par bāsā ki ? ban me upāsā ki ?*

'How to live in a stormy place? What does a fast mean in the forest?'

ḍhipau—(v. a. m.) 'to heat, make hot (mostly solid things, but also surface of water through the hot sun)';.

Mag-*dhippal*-(adj.) *dhipana*-(v.),

lohabā dhippal hai—'the iron is hot'.

ḍabra—(n.) 'A large low-lying rice field'.

Mag-*dābara*-(a large fertile field)

(*Hamārā baḍakā baḍakā ḍābara hi*—'I own some very big fertile field'.

ḍi—(n.) 'a village, part of a village', also-*ḍih*, *ḍihali*.

Mag-*ḍiha*-'a village', *ḍi*-as in compound with a village name-*Bagadī*, *sakadī* etc., *dihari*-'a village', *diharā*-'a big notorious village', *dihā*-a village priest specially engaged in looking after the village deity called', *ḍihabāl*'. There are a number of folk songs addressed in praise of *Dihabāl* who protects a village,

but while angry, causes cholera and other diseases to punish the villagers. A deity of the same nature is called '*Dāka*'. cf.

'*Dāka ḍihabalabā ḍagar bica ḍahakai, āba kabī, hamara duāra*'.

Magahī village-deities—*Dāka* and *Dihabāla* are calling with a cry 'O poet get off the cities and come to us (to villages)'—(From a Magahī poetry).

ḍili—(n.) 'A huge basket of bamboo used to store paddy and other grain in'-also '*ḍinki*'; cf. Muṇḍāri-'*dimmi*' Mag-'basket of cane or bamboo used for carrying earth, from one place to another place'. The people used in this work are called Beladāra. During the marriage ceremony of one's sister, a brother performs the work of digging a well for a ritual called in Magahī 'daladhoi' Some very sweet songs have been composed for singing on this occasion which usually run as *kanhe par lehu bhaiyā, deli kudarbā is* 'Oh my dear brother, keep on one of your shoulders *ḍeli* (the basket) and on the other, *kudāra* (a spade) and come along with me.

ḍinḍi—(n.) the pod of the cotton plant.

Mag *ḍinḍi*—(n.), *ḍiṇiyanā*. (v.)

ḍobhak—(n.) a water pool (in a river or low rice field).

Mag-*ḍobharā-dobharā* (meaning the same as in Santali) cf. Beng-*dobā* (small pond); *u dobharā me pāni nāhe*—there is no water in that pool.

ḍhab—(n.) a very large rice field.

Mag-*dhāba*—'*ojjā ego baḍakā dhāba hai*—there is a very big field'.

ḍhanḍakao—(v.) To become destitute, wander about in search of food.

Mag-*ḍhanakanā*(v.), *ḍhanakala*, (adj.)

Tu dhana ka ke maramā—'you will die of wandering after food'.

ḍhera—(n. v.) 'a hand spindle, two pieces of wood joined together in the form of a cross with pin or spindle' Mag-*ḍera* (meaning the same as in Santali) *Bin ḍerā ke sutari kaise* 'How to spin thread without a *ḍerā* !

ḍhimba—(n.) 'a lump', cf. dhaombok dhombe.

Mag-*ḍhimakā, ḍhumaka* etc.

Laikā ḍhimaka se khela he 'the boy is playing with the lump'

ḍhukni—(n.) 'a girl who enters the house of a man of her choice and this compels him to marry her; cf. Muṇḍāri-*ḍhukni*-Mag. *ḍhukani* (meaning the same as in Santali). *u bhagoḍi auḍhukani hai*—'She is chasing and entering with her lover'.

gendrak—(n.) a large torn cloth,

Mag-*gedarā*—'*kekaro gendro na, kekaro ḍosalā he* 'some one has got not even a torn cloth, and some one has a shawl.' That is also called '*gudarī, gudda*. It is a customary performance by Gorakha Sampradāya to collect torn clothes to make '*gedarā*'.

MORPHOLOGY OF THE UNDERWORLD LANGUAGE IN WEST BENGAL

Bhakti Prasad Mallik

This paper deals with some of the morphological features of the underworld language in West Bengal. The underworld speakers of this state include the Bengali and the Hindi speakers mainly. This is a mixed and an artificial speech. Its morphological aspects have been determined by comparing the forms with the similar colloquial standard Bengali or Hindi forms.

"Morphology is the study of the manner in which words are constructed", said Carroll¹. It is also true of the usages of the underworld. But here, the construction is very peculiar because of the deliberate mutilation of the forms.

This language mainly consists of substantives and verbs. Though there are usages as adjectives but these people generally do not form them with any morphological concepts. Adjectives are often formed to qualify a woman's beauty as well as specific human traits.

The underworld language has the following parts of speech.

Independent forms :

noun	about	80%
verb	„	15%
adjective	„	5%
pronoun	a few	
adverb	very rare	
conjunction	nil	
interjection	nil	

Dependent forms !

nil

Their verbs have Bengali and Hindi as well as coined terminations and auxiliaries, viz. *leā*, *khāoā*, *karā*, *neā*, *ṭeniā* (*ṭene ānā*), *denā*, *le(h)ā* etc.

Sentences are formed mostly by replacing ordinary nouns for slang nouns.

1. The Study of Language'. J. B. Carroll : Harvard University Press, 1959.

Slang sentence :*chābi cāmar āriā de**khocar caltāi ākheāe coleche***Ordinary sentence :***=meye (ti) sundar, isārā kar : the girl (is) beautiful, glance (at her).**=pulis sandhānī dṛṣṭi niye coleche : (the) police (with a) searching look is moving. (=the police is moving with a searching look).*

Nouns are formed from :

I. Verb :*gedā* : a hand-bomb < B. *gādā* : to press.*cusā* : a police < B. *cuṣā* : to suck.*jhāri* : a wink < B. *jhārā* : to strike.*dor* : a movement from door to door.cf. H. *dhūrḥ* : to move.*gilli* : a fountain pen cf. B. *gelā* : to devour.*daimuli* : life transportation cf. Santali 'damul' : to transport convict
(Campbell's Santali—Eng. Dictionary, 1958)*phul-tolon* : an abortionist < *tolā* : to pluck.*nilu* : a carrier of looted properties cf. B. *nila* < *neyā* : to take.*kāṭṭus* : a dog < *kāṭā*.*okhrān* : one who helps the chief operator for thieving in a goods train.< *oprāno, ogrāno* : to uproot.**II. Adverb :***āgli bāgli* : a disturbance. cf. H.*āgal-bāgal* : around, in the neighbourhood.**III. Adjective :***uṇḍā* : an attractive young woman cf. Ar. *unda(h)* : good, noble.*barā* : a man or woman in charge of a girl < B. *baro* : elder.*bājjhā* : an ugly woman cf. B. *bāje* : useless.*sādā* : 1. cigarette. 2. potassium. 3. silver.

4. a stolen purse. 5. moonlit night < white.

Noun :

nepālā : a knife used by the Nepalis.

aṇḍā : a wrist watch, cf. egg.

āñli : a pick-pocket.

Verbs are formed from :

Noun :

kaṭ : to lie, cf. H. *kāṭ* : deception, a fraud.

coṭ : to distribute, cf. a strike.

jamkāṭṭā : to loiter outside, cf. H. *jamghaṭ* (ṭā) : an assembly.

lātar : to break a lock < *tālā* : a lock.

Adjectives or adjectival concepts are formed from :

I. Adjective stem and Noun :

sādā-sāj : idiotic; 2. prisoners' dress, cf. white dress.

baṛo kuṭṭā : a prison warden; > 2. rough.

full-ran : a murderer. cf. *rañ* : colour. But here it stands for red colour; 2. dreadful.

II. Metathesis :

lokā : 1. black opium, cf. *kālo* : black.

nigu : clever, cf. *guni* : qualified.

Metathetic usages are quite common amongst the criminals but a metathetic form from adjective is very rare.

III. Metaphor :

bhāri : 1. wealthy. 2. a rich man; cf. *bhāri* : abundant.

IV. Noun :

cakmādāri : colourful. *bābā cakmādāri phōṭā nie jape boseche, celā melāe khāñāri karche pākhīr lege* : gang-leader simulating a yogic seat while his associate is hunting in the fair for kidnapping girls.

V. Verb :

koṭā : severe, forceful < to cut into pieces.

dhurer koṭā jhāñni cāi : the man requires severe punishment.

khice-neā : dead. *khice-neā pākhīr khomāte gajer naksā* : the dead girl's face has a scratch mark of knife injury.

Formation of Compound nouns :

I. Noun and Noun :

ābchā-megh : dark night cf. B. *fleeting cloud*.

kājli-chāi : a dark night, cf. *kajjal chādan* or *chāyā* : a dark cover.
kājli chāite kod gabbāe pile sagar kodi karechilo : a burglar entered the house on a dark night and stole everything.

IV Noun :

kāli-billi : a taxi cab; especially a hired one used by the burglars during their thieving operations.

kāli stands for the dark colour of a cab and *billi* (=cat) for its motion.

toron kore saodā lie kāli billite phuṭe jāo ;

break open (and rob of) goods (and) escape in a taxi.

obhisār-āenā : seductive eyes. *jhillir obhisārāenār jhlik phekluke mohuā bānieche* ; glare of the seductive eyes of a girl has induced the boy to become a lover.

nalgiṭṭi : a bullet < *nal* for a gun and *H. giṭṭi* ; broken stone or brick pieces.

II. Adjective and Noun :

barokuttā : a prison warden.

full gaj : rupees hundred.

III. Noun and verb :

aeri-mārā : an impotent. cf. *āṛa* : testicles and *mārā* stands for 'dead'.

mākkicus : 1. an intercourse. 2. a maid-servant monger. Etymology heard from the underworld as *mākki* : bee and *cuṣ* < *cuṣ* < *coṣa* : to suck.

3. a miser. *mohājon mākkicus āche* : the rich man is a miser.

māl nāmāno : an abortion.

bujjhāl : breast pocket < *bu(k) + jhāl* < *jholā* : to hang. *dhurkā nicchal me checki hai, aur bujjhāl me nambari hai, bharle* : the man has small coins in his lower pocket and hundred rupee notes in the breast pocket, pick up.

dhupni : *bīri*, cigarette ; *dhūp* is connected with *dhūm* and *ni* = *neā* i. e. *pān* (=to drink, to smoke).

IV. Verb and Noun :

baskhāl : a chair < *basā* to sit + *khāl*.

khāl stands for a flat space.

V. Verb and Verb :

ṭeniā : a brothel house servant who works at night. cf. *ṭene ānā* ; one who procures. Often the servants engaged by the prostitutes work as pimps.

VI. Hybrid compound :

āñlidār : a member, cf. a kidnapping gang who does the scouting preliminaries before an actual snatch.

kamarbāj : a luggage-lifter or a pickpocket operating in a passenger train.

ālubāj : enticement for a girl.

'signboard'-*olā* : a married woman. cf. *olā* is an agent affix.

Formation of Compound Verbs ;

I. Noun and Verb :

anna-melānā : 1. to be out for theft.

2. to arrest. 3. to surrender.

cākkā-mārā : to board up a tram or bus.

cākkā mere dhur phāsie phuṭe jā : board upon a tram or bus, clear up the job and buzz off.

cirkolā : to be out for theft. < B. *cir karā* = *phāṅ karā* ; to steal.

II. Adjective and Verb :

āsāne kāṭā : to cut window rods silently. < Pers. *āsān* : easy. convenient.

āsāne kāṭke bhaskānā cāi : must be cut silently and be broken.

III. Verb and Verb :

utre deā : to cheat < to get down.

utre neā : to snatch.

karoti biṭ : to strike hard. cf. E. to cut and beat.

IV. Adverb and Verb :

agal-bagal karā : to look around before an attempt for a snatch or any anti-social activities. cf. H. hither and thither.

[B=Bengali, E=English, H=Hindi]

— — —

THE KERA BENGALI SPEECH WITH SPECIMENS

Pranabesh Sinha Ray

The speakers of the mixed dialect of Bengali which was discussed in a previous issue of the journal are mostly spread over some pockets in Orissa. They also naturally belong to particular vocational classes. Some of these are unmistakably giving up this jargon and gradually adopting Oriya, as for instance the “Baṅgālī Tāntī” (Bengali Tanti) i.e., the weaver caste community. The “Tamlis” or dealers in betel leaf, however, use or some what worn-out form of the dialect in which the Oriya element is discernably preponderant though Bengali forms are also active, particularly in the mouths of women speakers of the community. Another weaver caste people “Tarāk Tāntī”—Tarāk weavers claiming themselves to hail from Nandigram in Bengal who have, amongst other places, mostly settled in Baḍamba, Rogāḍi in Tigiria state near Bangli and in Kaniarbandh are comparatively conservative in the speech, remaining faithful to their home idiom in a large measure. According to Sri Prabhat Kumar Mukherji who has first hand knowledge of this sect and to whom I am indebted for relevant informations, the percentage of words in the dialect of those betel leaf dealers who centre round Cuttack and Balasore is roughly in the ratio of Oriya 60%, Bengali 40%. Amongst other areas of strongholds of domiciled Bengalis in Orissa, may be mentioned Mahanga, Punang (Jagatsingpur) and Kuanpal and specimens of the hybrid idiom from the first and last are given below. The language of the weaver caste of Kisannagar in Cuttack district has become almost a dialect of Oriya probably because they are virtually out off from other speakers of the dialect on all sides. A very interesting case is that of the ‘Kelu’ caste people who are snake charmers and who have settled round about Barang near Cuttack in as much as their speech form a curious admixture with those of their Orissan counterpart.

Two jocular songs heard by the writer from a speaker from Kuanpal who was cajoled to condescend and open his mouth and a shopt in all probability concocted narrative prose piece also in lighter vein collected by Sri Mukherji are given below with interlinear word to word rendering in English :—

I

bāsechilo bandhu daṇḍapindāte
 was seated the friend on the veranda
khāechila bandhu kadaliṇṇāte
 took food The friend on plantain leaf
āmāre dekkhe hāsse kere
 me as he saw he smiled
gaḍel gela ai sidhāte
 tumbling went on straight
ṭāpur ṭupur bansi bāje
 the flute plays on
āre ei ta brindaban
 well this indeed (is) Vṛndaban
rādhār kī khaite man
 Radha what to take has in her mind
dīner belī sukha porā
 at day time dried fish baked
rāttire baigan.
 at night brinjal

II

āmdar haribābuke cinhibe nei eman lok
 our Hari babu will know not such person
ālāndute chila nei ekaḍin sakale uṭṭhe
 at Aland there was no one one morning getting up
dāṇḍapindāte basse kere gurāku dīe dānta
 on the verandah having sat with tobacco-paste teeth
ghaschilen, atkibelāte sukkhener māster
 rubbing at that time Sukhen's teacher
āsse kere kahila ; "āigā sukkhen kichu
 having come said sir sukkhen anything
paharache nāi" bāra bābā ḍākila—"ahe
 is reading not the elder father called out hey
sukkhene idīke āli" sukkhen āla, bāra
 sukkhen hither come sukkhen come elder
bāpā jigsāla : "kī karchili ?" si kahila
 father asked what were you doing he said
"āigā paharichilū", bāra bāpā ḍāntitā :
 sir I was reading elder father roared
"paharichili kinā penḍu garācchili,
 you were reading or the ball you were kicking at
gāṇḍete duiṭā nāth kasse dība je cāglām
 at your buttock some two kicks I shall so that naughtiness

chāṛe jābe,
 rid of will go
ekdīn sukhener piisi āsse kere
 one day Sukhen's paternal aunt having come
kahila : "dāāda sunchani ki ?" dādā
 said brother will you listen to me the brother
kahila : "ki kaha". piisi kahila
 said what tell me the paternal aunt said
"sukkhener ekṭā behā diba, bohu dekkhite
 Sukhen's just marriage I shall give bride to see
parā sādḥ jāiche. dādā kohilo : "akhan
 you know desire I am getting the brother said now
chāliar behā dele man nāṇḍabhāṇḍa
 the boy's marriage if given (his) mind at sixes & sevens
hay jābe.
 will become
haribābuta behā karechila nāhi, ua
 Haribabu himself marry did not he
ekdīn nijer janna kania dekhite jachila.
 once himself for bride to have a look had gone
kaniārār piisā jigsāla (jigāsla) : "āmdar
 the bride's paternal uncle enquired our
campike manke pāla ?" ua kahila : "hāa
 campa your mind has caught he said well, yes
kaniā ta bhāala--- kintu halle ki habe
 the girl somehow is passable.....but even so
uār nākṭā je barā cepā ār cakḥ duṭa
 her nose is very flat and her eyes two
kin khāler bhitarē sādḥieche." hay ki
 what a pit into have delved The thing is
kaniāti ukhāne bassechila, ua tā sunke
 the girl there was seated she that hearing
kahe phelāla : "tumār mukḥṭā ta
 spoke out your mouth (is) indeed
bhākkur mācher mata :, tumi pher ki
 (that) of a bigmouthed fish like you again what
ekṭa kahacha".
 thus do speak

(Running meaning of Specimen II)

There was not a single soul at Alandu who did not know our Hari Babu. One fine morning as he was rinsing his teeth with tobacco paste sitting in front of his house, the teacher of Sukhen came to him and said, "Well sir, Sukhen is not studying at all". The paternal uncle called out to Sukhen to come near him and Sukhen came. The paternal uncle asked him, "What were you doing?" He said "Sir, I was reading". The paternal uncle reprimanded, "You were reading, eh? or indeed you have been playing the ball. Shall I give you a few kicks on the buttocks and that would cure your waywardness".

Sukhen's paternal aunt came one day and said "Brother, listen to me". The brother said "Well, what is it tell me". The paternal aunt said "Let us get Sukhen married, I have conceived a great desire to (see his bride) get a bride for him". The brother said "If we now get him married, his mind will get spoiled and upset".

Hari Babu did not get himself married. He had once been to see a bride for himself. When the paternal uncle of the girl asked him "Could our Campi captivate your heart". He replied, "Well in a way, the girl is good, but then everything has been spoiled as her nose is rather flattened out and as for her two eyes these have delved into an abysmal pit". The girl was seated nearby and she blurted out: "Your mouth can be likened unto the muzzle of a big mouthed fish, and you have the cheek to criticise others and speaking disparagingly".

A STUDY OF CITTA AND MANAS IN THREE DOHAS OF SARAHA

Yasuaki Nara

In 1957 Dr. Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana made a great contribution to the study of the Buddhist Sahajiyā literature by bringing out a new edition of the Dohākośa of Sarahapāda on the basis of the new manuscripts he himself found in Tibet. This is definitely a different version from that of P. C. Bagchi's and M. Shahidullah's, both of which, belonging to the same recension, are almost identical in the order and the number of the dohās. They contain 112 dohās whereas Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana's edition, according to my count, 170 dohās, of which 72 are common to those in the old editions. Therefore 98 dohās are new. Some of them are rather difficult to interpret, or even to translate, in the convincing way. Neither Tibetan translation nor Sanskrit commentary on it does exist, and a comprehensive study of the materials so far available—philological and philosophical—is to be made for the sake of correct interpretation.

In this article are collected three new dohās, each of which contains the words *citta* and *manas* together. And the vagueness of their meanings is a factor of creating difficulties.

It is a well known fact that the Buddhists had been rather loose in using the words *citta*, *manas* and *viññāna*. As is expressly mentioned,¹ they were considered almost synonymous.

Of course some nuancical differences were there between them but a little effort seems to have been made to distinguish them with clear definition. It was probably first in the Vijñānavādins that they were intentionally discriminated each bearing separate philosophical ideas. In the Sahajayāna, an offshoot of the Vajrayāna which again imbibed much philosophical inspirations from the Mādhyamikas and the Vijñānavādins, the word *viññāna* seems to be out of use.² On the other

1 e. g. Samyutta Nikāya 11, p. 95.

2 So far as the texts mentioned below are concerned, the word is only once instanced in CGK 29 : *Lui bhaṇai, baḍha dulaḥkha vināṇā*.

hand, *citta* and *manas*, especially the former, form one of the central ideas of the sahajiyā doctrine and are frequently met with. Our predecessors seem to have understood them almost unanimously in more or less the same meaning by giving both of them an English equivalent "mind".³ I believe, however, *citta* and *manas* should never be promiscuously understood. As for the former, the Bodhicitta⁴ (with its two aspects; relative—*saṃvṛti* and absolute—*virṛti*) and, in fewer cases, "thought" are at least to be discerned and the *manas* is used mainly in two senses, firstly being connected with the "faculty of intellect" and the second being a synonym of the *citta*.

The article intends firstly to make an interpretation of the three dohās with special reference to the meanings of *citta* and *manas* in each context. Secondly a trial is undertaken to find out the difference of the meanings as well as of the usages of the words on the basis of all and exhaustive collection of them available in the three Dohākośas and the Caryāgītikośa, the main literature of the Sahajiyās.

Following are the texts utilized in this article with their respective abbreviations.

CGK : Caryāgītikośa, edited by P. C. Bagchi and Ś. B. Śāstri, Santiniketan, 1956.

DSK : Dohākośa of Kāṇhapāda

(1) edited by M. Shahidullāh : Les Chants Mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha, Paris, 1925.

(2) edited by P. C. Bagchi : Dohakosa, Journal of the Dept. of Letters, Calcutta Univ., Vol. XXVIII, 1935.

(The numbers and the order of the two editions are the same. Unless it is felt necessary, I followed the reading of P. C. Bagchi's edition.)

DKS MS : Dohākośa of Sarahapāda, ed. by M. Shahidullah. op. cit.

DKS PB : —do— , ed. by P. C. Bagchi op. cit.

DKS RS : —do— , ed. by Rāhula Śāṃkṛtyāyana, Patna. 1957.

(Concerning the first two editions, I followed Bagchi's reading.)

Other Abbreviations :

HT : D. L. Snellgrove, The Hevajra Tantra, London, 1959

TB : S. B. Dasgupta, A Introduction to Tāntric Buddhism, Calcutta, 1958

ORC : —do— , Obscure Religious Cult, Rev. ed., Calcutta, 1962

3 D. L. Snellgrove, however, gives "thought" and "mind" to *citta* and *manas* respectively. But his selection of the words seems, at least in the texts treated here, to be not always appropriate.

4 The word "Bodhicitta" seldom occurs in the texts. It is only once instanced in DKK3.

*cittahiñ citta jai lakkhaṇa jāi,
cañcala maṇa paṇa thiro hoi |
citta thira jo ñimmala bhāva,
tahiñ ṇa paisai bhāvābhāva ||* DKS RS 120

(1) The first pāda will be translated “if *citta* is known as *citta*”. Two *cittas* here are used, as it will be clear below, in the non-terminological sense and may possibly be rendered as “thought”.

In order to clarify the implication of the pāda, DKS PB 99; MS 101 is to be cited, *cittahi citta ñihālu vaḍha, saala vimucca kuditṭhi*, (*paramamahāsuhe sojjha paru, tasu āattā siddhi*.) “O fool, see *citta* as *citta* ! Abandon all wrong views”. Yet, the meaning is not still clear enough. On this dohā the commentary says : *cittena cittañ tvañ vicārayasi, kiñ ñu cittañ acittañ cāsti*.

Then, what is the *acitta* ? All the instances of the word show that the *acitta* is in our texts used in two opposite contexts. It sometimes means the “non-cognizability” and is to be desired for. But in other places the *acitta* is said to be abandoned, meaning “a notion of non-cognizability”.

The comm. on DKS PB 57; MS 59 says : *citto jñāññeyādi, acitto ñiṣṣabhāyādi*. Here the meaning of the *citta* is clear. Furthermore, the comm. on CGK 31 says : *tathā cittarājo 'pi yadā acittatāñ gacchatī prabhāsvarañ viṣati, tadā tasya vikalpāvalī tatraiva līnā bhavati*. The *acitta* here is the state of *citta* where it is “clear” (*prabhāsvara*), freed from all *vikalpas* (thought- constructions), i. e. *avikalpa*.

In the following passage the meaning of *prabhāsvara* is more evidently shown as the vacuity. *sabbha dhamma je khasama karīhasi, khāsama sahāveñ cā tṭhavihasi, so vi cā karīhasi, evahi so anuttara gamīhasi*. DKS RS 156. This dohā is very similar to DKS PB 77; MS 79, where *citta* is replaced by *manas*.⁵ *sayva rūa tahiñ khasama karijjai, khasama sahāveñ maṇa vi dharijjai, so vi maṇu tahi amanu karijjai, sahaja-sahāveñ so paru rajjai* the comm. explains that the *amanas* means the “*manas* in the nature of the vacuity” (*manas ca khasamasvabhāvena dhāryate, tathā so' pi khamasvarūpañ manas tasmin kriyate*). Since the sense-organs do not work in the *sahaja* state of the nature of the vacuity⁶

5 see (1) below

6 There are ample references mentioning it. *citta khasama jahi samasuha paṭṭhāi, inda-visaā tahi mattha ṇa disai*. DKT 5 “when *citta* enters into the *samasukha* (of the nature of the vacuity), the sense-organs do not see the objects.”—*cittaha mūla ṇa lakkhian, sahajeñ tiṇṇa* (comm : *lakṣyalakṣaṇalakṣakam*) *vitattha*. etc.

the *acitta* can also mean “the state of *citta* where cognition perishes”. It is in fact said in this context. *alakkha-lakkha ciā mahāsuheṇ* CGK 3^d “The *citta* in the *mahāsukha* is recognized to be uncognizable”. Now we can see that *acitta* implies “non-cognizability”.⁷

Therefore the passage cited above (*cittahi citta ñihālu etc.* Comm. *cittena cittaṃ tvaṃ vicāraya kiṃtu cittaṃ acittaṃ cāsti*) can be interpreted, “see thought uncognizable”.

The *acitta*, however, should not be taken as a “notion” of the uncognizability. The *acitta* as a notion is to be rejected. In one *dohā* the poet laments that none understands the *acitta*, i. e. the truth of the *citta*. *Saraha bhaṇai jaga cittaṃ vāhīa, so acitta ñau keṇa vi gāhīa*. DKS PB 78; MS 80; RS 128 (*acinta ña kenavi gāhiu*). S. says the world is deceived by the thought. None grasps the *acitta* (i. e. that the thought can not be thought of). But the comm. rejects the notion of “*acitta*”. (“The world is deceived by fool scholars who teach to make *citta acitta* : *taccittaṃ tyajasi, acittarūpaṃ prāpsyasi*” but) *na hy etat bhavati, kutaṃ. sa acittalakṣaṇaṃ na kena cittavidhinā grahitaṃ bhavati, kasmāt tarhi kasmāt acittarūpasya kāṣṭhapāśānādiṣu kiṃ svasaṃvedanaṃ bhavati, evaṃ acittarūpaṃ kiṃ lakṣyate ? na lakṣyate iti yāvad*.

Therefore both *citta* and *acitta* are to be abandoned. *cittācitta vi vajjahu ñitta, sahaja sarūeṃ karaaure thitta*. DKT 30 “Abandon always thought as well as non-thought”. Here the comm. quotes two verses expressedly from the Hevajra-Tantra : *sarvacittam* (but HT II. 2. 9 reads *sarvacintāṃ*) *parityaiya-devatāmūrticetasā*. Snellgrove translates that “(Try it [sic. a meditation] one fortnight with zeal, making perfection of your goal,) abandoning all discursive thought, your mind set on the

7 *niścinta* in DKS RS 144 may also be taken in this sense. *pañcava-kāmaguṇa-bhoṇehiṃ ñicinta ñhiyehiṃ, elbveṃ labbhāṇa paramapcu, kiṃbahu bolliā ehiṃ*.

form of the divinity'. Here *citta* (or *cintā*)⁸ is clearly meant for "thought" in the ordinary sense of the term. cf. also : *cintācintā na kiau mai, nau pariāṇa kisa* DKS RS 124 "I have created neither any thought nor any non-thought". *cittācitta vi pariharahu, tima acchahi jima vālu*. DKS PB 57; RS 64 But in MS 59 it is emended to *cintācintā bi...bālu* from the proof of the Tibetan translation.⁹

Now back to the *dohā* in question, *cittahiṃ citta jai lakkhaṇa jāi* may be interpreted as follows : "If one recognizes thought as being beyond cognition".

(2) The second *pāda* is a sort of cliché in the *Sahajiyā* texts although the word *manas* sometimes stands for *citta* (see II 1 below), it is, as is expressly mentioned, after all that which itself moves like a horse¹⁰ (cf. *manaindriyāśva*. Comm. on CGK 40) and closely connected with the faculty of intellect.

We have fair number of descriptions showing that what is responsible for the faculty of intellect is *manas*. *ṇijja sāso ṇihanda-loṇa saala viāra-vimukko maṇo* DKS RS 132 "when the breath is controlled and the eyes are fixed his *manas* is liberated from all thinking".—*amanasiāra ma dūsaha micche*-DKT 4 cf. comm. : *na manasi kriyate ity amanaskarah, nirvikolpakam sahajajñānam tam mā dūṣaya sahajasvabhāvābhiniवेशena—ṇiccala ṇivviappa ṇivviāra uaa-atthamaṇa-rahia susāra, aiso so ṇivvāṇa bhaṇijjai jahim maṇa māṇasa kimpī na kijjai*. DKK 20 "Such, it is said, is the *Nirvāṇa*, where *manas* does not construct any thought"—*bhaṇai kāṇha dullakkha duravayāha ko maṇe paribhāvai*. DKK 15. cf. comm, *paramam tattvaṃ duravagāhaṃ, ko manasi vyavalokayati—ata eva sāhaṃkāre manasi paramārthacittayodayas tava nāsti*. Comm. on CGK 39.

manas is often used with *-gocara* and *indriya*, whereas *citta* has no such case. *jo maṇa-gaareṇ pāvia paramattha na honti* DKS RS 114; DKT 9 (*paññhai* for *pāviai*) "whatever is related to the *manas* is not

8 In DKS RS, *citta* and *cintā* seems to be promiscuously used. I believe. *cintā* and *citta* in the sense of "thought" is almost synonymous.

9 He says (p 194) that the comm. reads *cintā* and *acinta* but the comm. printed in PB has *citta* and *acitta*. The *dohā*, however, is quoted in the comm, on CGK 30. where it is printed "*cintācinta*"

10 *citta* is also "moving" but what is moving is not the *citta* itself but the *vikalpa* attached to it. see I. (3) below.

the highest truth".—*kaṇhu kāhiṇ gai kariba nivāsa jo manogocarō sa uḍṣa* CGK 7 cf. comm. : *ye'pi yogino manogocarā manendriyabodhapradhānā bhavanti te'py asmin dharme udāsāḥ sudūratarā eva.*—*jo manogoara ālāḷālā āgamapothā iṣṭamālā* CGK 40 cf. comm. : *manaindriyāśvasya gocaro yaḥ sakalavikalpajālah—maṇa taru pañca indī tasu sāhā* CGK 45 "*manas* is a tree five branches of which are (five) sense organs". also cf. CGK 31.

According to S B. Dasgupta,¹¹ it is probably *manas* that is connected with *pavana*,¹² which is the vehicle of the defiled *citta*. Perhaps the Pañcakrama was first that spoke of the vehicle with clear definition. It is mentioned that the impurities of nature (*prakṛtidoṣa*) function, day and night, in the flows of the vital wind (*vāyu*). It is the vehicle (*vāhana*) through which the *prakṛtidoṣas* function. When the *vāyu* is ceased to function the *prakṛtidoṣa* is also ceased.¹³ *Pavana* here is exactly meant for the *vāyu*. Therefore it is depicted to be constantly moving and, in order to get salvation, it must be made steady with *manas*.

jahi maṇa pavaṇāho ṇa sañcarai, ravi sasi ṇāha pavesa, tahi vaḍḍa citta viṣāma karu, saraheṇ kahia niesa DKS PB 25; MS 27 "where *manas* (the faculty of intellect) and *pavana* do not come, and the sun and the moon (i. e. dual principles) do not enter, there fix your *Bodhicitta*". *ehu maṇa mellaha pavaṇa turaṅga sucañcala, sahaja sahāve so vasai hei ṇiccala.* DKS PB 45; MS 47—*māria śāsu.* CGK 11 cf. comm. : *soḍṣaṇ pūrvoktamanahpāvanam, tam adhikṛtya cakṣurindriyādivijñānavātām nānā-prakāram boddhavyam* cf. also DKS PB 30; DKK 23; DKS RS 161 etc

Thus the *manas* in the second pāda of the dohā in question may better be translated as "mind" which functions in the sphere of intellect.

(3) In the third pāda, the "immobile (*thira*, Skt. *sthira*) *citta*" presupposes the unsteadiness of the *citta*. In fact we often come across the expression of "moving" *citta*, which, according to the

11 ORC p. 37

12 Only one exception of *pavana* used with *citta* is found in the comm. on CGK 21, where the restless (*sahvṛti Bodhi*-) *citta* is compared to a fickle rat. The comm. says of it to be *cittapavarā*

13 ORC pp 80 ff; iiB pp 44 T.

commentaries, means the unsteadiness of the (*saṃvṛti Bodhi*-) *citta* under the influence of the thought construction (*vikalpa*) or the impure principle of the nature (*prākṛtidoṣa*).

cañcala cie paiṭhā kāla CGK 1 “Into the unsteady *citta* enters the time (i. e. the spatio-temporal existence).¹⁴ cf. Comm. : *prakṛtyā-bhāsadoṣavaśāt cañcalatayā prākṛtasattvendcintyarūpo hi rāhuḥ sa eva kālaḥ...saṃvṛtibodhicittamrgāṅkaṁ śoṣaṁ nayati—jima jalehiṁ sasi dīśai cchāā, tima bhava-ñivāṇā nīrantareṁ paiṭṭho*. DKS RS 130, “as the moon reflecting on water, so all existence are illusion, such can not be seen when one’s (*Bodhi*-) *citta* is unsteady. There is no difference between existence and extinction”.

Thus the *Bodhicitta* in its relative stage is always with *vikalpa* and the *vikalpa* is strongly advised to be destroyed. This is metaphorically expressed as the *citta* is to be “fixed”, “killed”, “purified”, “baten”, “restrained”.

*pahaṁ vahante ñā-maṇa*¹⁵ *vandhana klau jeṇa (tihuṇa saala viphāriā puṇu saṁhāria teṇa)* DKK 17 cf. the comm. *syandarūpaṁ sthīrīkṛtaṁ—cia thira kari dharahu re nāi. āna upāye pāra ṇa jāi*. CGK 38 the comm : *pañcajñānātmakam vilakṣaṇaśodhitasamvṛtibodhicittam sthīrīkṛtya*.

māraha citta ñivāṇeṁ haṇiā, tihuṇa suṇṇa nīraṇaṇa paliā DKT 3 cf. comm, *saṁkalpābhiniṣṭacittam nirvāṇena śūnyatālakṣaṇena hatvā māryatām*. see also the comm. on CGK 21.

duli duhi piṭṭa dharāṇa na jāa, rukhera tentali kumbhīre khāa. CGK 2 cf. comm. : *dyayākāraṁ yasmīn tīnaṁgataṁ mahāsukhakamalam duli [iti]... bodhavyam....tasya dohanam samvṛtibodhicittam,...tasya bhakṣaṇam niḥsvabhāvīkaraṇam [sādhakāḥ] kurvanti* see also the comm. on CGK 35; DKS RS 119.¹⁶

14 ORC P. 39

15 The *manas* here is commented to be the *Bodhicitta*. See also III (1) below.

16 *citta deva je salahi sājjai, para-cittānta cāuli bhuñjai* the second pāda, being a *sandhā bhāṣa*, presents us difficulty in deciding the meaning of *cāuli* (rice). Although no positive proof is found, I suggest to take it as the *saṃvṛti bodhicitta*.

saṁvara citta-rā diḍḍha cāṅgo yāva na daṁsaa visaa bhujāṅgo. DKS RS 122, “Restrains¹⁷ the (saṁvṛti Bodhi-) citta completely so that the snake¹⁸ may not bite the objects of the senses.”

When *vikalpas* are cast off the *bodhicitta* regains its own absolute stage (*vivṛti*); “the *Bodhicitta* is therefore pure by nature”.—*citta sahāve suddha* DKS PB 106; MS 108; DKT 13—*asamala citta ma jhāṇem kharadāha* DKS PB 23; MS 25; RS 43 “Do not defile in meditation the *bodhicitta* which is pure by nature”.—*sahaje sūna sampannā* CGK 42 “the *Bodhicitta* is perfect in the *sahaja* state that is void”. Also cf DKS PB 104; MS 106 DKS RS 129 etc.

The *dohā*, then, is interpreted as follows : “If one realizes thought as being beyond cognition, the unsteady functioning of intellect and the vital wind (that carries *vikalpa*) cease. (Thus) where the *Bodhicitta* is fixed (i. e. the *Bodhicitta* gets rid of *vikalpas*), there appears the pure state where (no dualistic discrimination such as) existence or extinction enter”.

II *maṇa nimmala sahaḥāvatthe sahaḥāvatthe gau.*

ariṭṭa nāhiṁ pavesa |

etcṁ ctehiṁ phuḍa sathāviu,

so jiṇa nāhiṁ viśesa || DKS RS 45

(1) The *manas* in the first pāda stands for the *Bodhicitta* *Manas* used in the sense of *citta* is sometimes found in our texts but the number of the cases is rather few. And the instances of the replacement of *citta* by *manas* seem to occur mainly in two kinds of the context.

17 cf. *savmara* in the Buddhist Hybrid Skt. Dict. of F. Edgerton.

18 *bhujāṅga* is in another place used in the sense of the *Bodhicitta*. CGK 28 : *savaro bhujāṅga nairāmani dāri pemha rāti pokhāit*, “(On the bed of the Mahāsukha) Savara, i. e. the serpent (of the *Bodhicitta*) and the goddess Nairātmā pass the night of love’. As to the Nairātmā, see II (1).

Firstly, this is most evidently seen in such passages as having something, explicitly or implicitly, to do with the doctrine of the union of the *Bodhicitta* with the female force. The *Bodhicitta* produced in the *Nirmāṇacakra* (near the navel) as the result of the union of semen and ovum, is considered to be male. This is then to march upward along the middle nerve called *Avadhūtikā* through the *Dharmacakra* and the *Sambhogacakra*. It finally reaches the *Mahāsukhacakra* in which the *Bodhicitta* becomes motionless and is united with an internal female force of the nature of the vacuity (*śūnyatā*) or of essencelessness (*nairātma*). This is the perfect stage and the *Bodhicitta* itself transforms into the *Mahāsukha*.¹⁹ In the vast majority of the cases the word *citta* is used to be united with *Nairātma* or *Dombi* or other goddesses that represent the female force. But in much fewer cases it is replaced by *manas*, which the commentary unanimously takes as the *Bodhicitta*.

maṇaha bhaavā khasama bhavai, divarātti sahaje rāhiai. DKT 17 “The *manas*, i. e. *Bodhicitta*, is the *Bhagavān*, The vacuity is the *bhagavatī*. The former should be fixed in the *sahaja* day and night”. cf. comm : *mano bodhicittam bhagavān.—hāum nirāsi khamūṇabhatāre, mohora bigoā kahaṇa na jāi.* CGK 20 comm : *aham bhagavatī Nairātma nirāsi āsaṅgarahita, khamāṇeti sarvasūnyam maṇaḥ svāmī.*

The upward march of the *bodhicitta* is processed by arresting two winds, i. e. the *prāṇa* (having always an upward motion) and the *apāṇa* (downward motion). These two winds must be made to flow together through the middle nerve along which the *bodhicitta* flows upward it reaches the *uṣṇīṣakamala*, the seat of the *Mahāsukhacakra*. In this sense the *bodhicitta* should be made steady by making the winds steady so that it may not go either to the left nerve or to the right nerve.

19 Concerning this theory, see the detailed account given in ORC pp. 92 ff. ITB pp. 162 ff.

paham vahante ña-maṇa vandhaṇa kiau jeṇa, tihuaṇa saala vipphāriā punu saṃhāria teṇa. DKK 17 cf. comm : *syandarūpam bodhicittam sthirikṛtam.*—*aha ṇa gamaiūha ṇa jāi, veṇi-rahia tasu ñiccala tṭhāi, bhaṇai kāṇha, maṇa kahavi ṇa phuṭṭai, ṇilala pavaṇa ghariṇi ghare vaṭṭai.* DKK 13 cf. comm : *adho na gacchaty apānavāyor nirodhāt, ūrdhvaṃ na gacchati prānavāyor nirodhāt. dvābhyām ūrdhvādhaḥ prānāpānābhyām rahitaṃ parityaktaṃ tasya tathārūpena bodhicittam nirasya tiṣṭhatīti....bhanati kāṇha mana bodhicittam katham api na sphuṭati na rudhyati iti.*²⁰—*jahiṃ icchai tahi jāu maṇa ahavā niccala tṭhāi addhugghāṭi loaneṃ diṭṭhiwīsāme koi.* DKS RS 31 this dohā of which the second line is dilapidated, may be the same dohā DKT 35 : *jahi icchai tahi jāu maṇa etthu na kijjai bhanti, adha ugghāḍiya loaneṃ jjhāncṃ hoi re thitti.* cf. comm : *adha sthitam nirmānacakram udbhūtam avadhūtimārgam udghāṭya mukti-kṛtya ālokena caṇḍāgniñānolkayā dhyāneṇa mahāsukhasya sthitiṃ bhavati.*²¹

Secondly *manas* often occurs for *citta* in such passages as “the Bodhicitta enters into *samarasa* or *mahāsukha* or *sahaja*”. In this context too the majority of the cases show the word *citta*, whereas the word *manas* (as is seen in the dohā now under discussion) is rather few. In this case *manas* is often compounded with *ratna*. Conversely speaking “*mano-ratna*” seems invariably mean the Bodhicitta. In the following are collected all the instances of this type.

jima jale pāṇlā ṭaliā bheu na jāu, tima maṇaraṇa samarase gaṇa samāa. CGK 43 “as water entered into water makes no difference, so the jewel of the *manas*. i. e. the *bodhicitta* enters into the *samarasa* of the nature of the vacuity”. cf. comm : *yathā bāhyaṇīrāntarapatanabhedo*

20 Also cf. DKK 22 (see III (1) below)

21 Concerning the idea to let the *citta* go wherever he likes, cf. DKS PB 100; MS 102 : *mukkau cittagaenda karu, ettha viappa nu puccha.* comm : *yatheccchayā saṃsāramadhyeṣu kriḍaṇaṃ kuru. asyed-āṃ vikalpaṃ na pucchasi. kutaḥ yataḥ sarve bhāvās tattvātmakās tattvāśritāḥ tattveṣuṃ nīlnāḥ bhavanti. kiṃtu prāṇātipātādi-kukarmaṇaṃ varjjasi.*

na jñāyate buddhaiḥ, tathā mano-bodhicitta cittaratnaṃ yogīndrasamarasī-
bhūtaṃ gaganeti prabhāsvare viṣati tatra tasya jñānopalaṃbho na syād
iti.²² nia maṇa muṇahure niuṇṇeṃ joi, jima jala jalahi milante soi,
DKS PB 32; MS 34 cf. comm : nipunaṃ mano nirmalaṃ
bhāvābhāvarahitaṃ prabhāsvaramayaṃ vā drakṣyasi.—sahaje niccala
jeṇa kiu samaraseṃ nīmaṇa-rāa, siddho so puṇa lakkhaṇe nau
jarāmarañaha bhāa. DKK 19 (MS 19 reads maṇa-rāja) cf. comm :
sahaje mahāsukhopāyena nīscalam askhalitarūpaṃ kāyānandādyekaraṣī
bhāvena bodhicittaṃ jñānānandacaturthaṃ yena yoginā kṛtaṃ . . je kia
niccala maṇa-ramaṇa nīa ghariṇi lai ettha. DKK 31 cf. comm : yena
kṛtaṃ pracaṇḍānti cālayitum aśakyatvat nīscalaṃ manoratnaṃ bodhicittaṃ
nijagṛhīti yam eva divyamudrā tatraiva evaṃkare mahāsukhasthāne sa eva
vajri vajradharo nāthaḥ kāyavākācittaprabhuḥ—jo saṃveai maṇa praṇa
aharaha sahaja pharanta, (so paru jāṇai dhammagai...) DKK 16 cf. comm :
yaḥ saṃvetti manoratnaṃ kulīśābjasaṃyogāt acyutrūpaṃ bodhicittaṃ
aharṇiṣaṃ sahajasvabhāvaṃ pariṣphuṭaṃ (sa ..)—nīhue nīa mana dea ulīla
CGK. 30 cf. comm : nibhṛtena nirvikalpākāreṇa nījamaṇaḥ bodhicittaṃ
vajraguroḥ prasādāt sahajollāsaṃ dodātīti. The *manas* in the DKS RS 109
is to be understood in the same way. jai maṇa sahaja nīrantareṃ pāvai,
indī visaahi khaṇavi ṇa dhāvai. “When the Bodhicitta enters into Sahaja
completely, the sense organs do not work over the objects even for a
moment”.²³

22 cf. similar passages of the *citta* :—mūṭela cīa gaendā dhāvai, nīrantarā
gaṇanta tuse gholai. CGK 16—gaavara samarasa sāndhi gunīā.
op. cit. 17 etc.

23 Concerning this replacement of *citta* by *manas*, there seems to be
some looseness in the commentary of CGK. Apart from those
mentioned above, the instances in which the comm. takes *manas*
in the texts as *citta* are only found in three songs of CGK. In
all the cases, however, the *manas* seems to occur in the right
context because it is invariably connected with the faculty
of intellect (cf. III (2) below). Furthermore the comm. once
paraphrases the *manas* as *citta* but later again as *manas* : moha
vimukkū jai manī, tabeṃ ṭuṭai avanā-gamaṇā. CGK 46 comm :
svacittam mohavimuktam karosi.....tadeva saṃsāramaṇa yaḍi moha-
vimuktam bhavati.....paramārthavittasya aṅkamadaṃ kuru—mana
taru pañca indī tasu sāhā. CGK 45. “the *manas* (comm. *citta*)
is a tree of which (five) branches are five sense organs”.—suineṃ
hattha bidāraa re nīa mana tohoreṃ dose CGK 39 “O, my *manas*,
drive away your *doṣas* even while you are in the dream”.

(2) In the second pāda, *arikula* remains difficult. In CGK 16 the word enemy (*vipakṣa*) once appears in such a context that when the *Bodhicitta*, having entered into *Nirvāṇa* after its upward march to the *uṣṇīṣakamala*, drinks the juice of the *Mahāsukha* and becomes the lord of the five objects (i. e. *vajrasattva*), no enemy is then to be found there. The commentary takes it as *kleśa*. The context of the dohā here in question is exactly the same as that of the CGK mentioned above. Then, may we take the *arikula* in the same meaning ?

Then the dohā may be interpreted as follows. "If the *Bodhicitta* enters into the pure state of *sahaja*, various sufferings (?) are found nowhere. (Thus) the *Bodhicitta* places itself (in *sahaja*). Then there is no difference between he (i. e. the *yogin*) and *jina*".²⁴

III *jena na pasavat hiaa pajjora, tena kīsevī ena | saguṇa paisai tīasa janu, bhāṇau citta maṇena ||* DKS RS 154.

(1) The verbal translation of the first line will be "what is the use of him who does not produce a lamp in his heart ?" The real sense underlying here seems to be almost impossible to find out with certainty. But I think this passage may have something to do with the ideas shown in the DKK 22 and DKS PB 97.

jai pavana-gamana-duāre diḍha tālā vi dijjai, jai tasu ghorāndhāreṃ maṇa divaho kijjai, (jīna-raana uareṃ jai so varu amvaru chuppai, bhaṇai kāṇha, bhava bhuñjante nivvāno vi sijjhai) DKK 22 cf. comm : *pavanasya gamanaṃ dūāram tatrārdham yadidam abheditam abhedyatālasamputi-karaṇmaṃ candrasūryayor mārganirodham dīyate. yadi tasmin ghorāndha-*

24 The second line gives us no great difficulty. The *citta* in the third pāda definitely means, the *Bodhicitta* which is "to be by itself fixed (*svasthāpita*)". cf. supra. The idea that in the *sahaja* state any dualistic discrimination perishes and no differences between *Brāhmaṇa* and *Sūdra*, existence and extinction etc. can be found; it is too commonly expressed to be quoted in detail.

*kāre manor.vṛttibodhicittam*²⁵ *tadeva mahāsukhāprakāśakatvāt dīpaḥ kriyate*. Here *dīpa* (lamp) implies the illuminating nature of the *vivṛti-Bodhicitta* in the nature of the *Mahāsukha*. It is frequently mentioned elsewhere that the *Bodhicitta* in its ultimate state is illuminating and freed from all the darkness of ignorance.

Similarly the *Mahāsukha* is said to be shining like the moon in the darkness. *ghorāndhāreṃ candamani jima ujjoa kareḥ, paramamahāsuha ekkukhaṇe duriāsesa hareḥ*. DKS PB 97; MS 99 “as the moon shines forth in the dark, so the highest *mahāsukha* drives away in a moment all the defilements (comm : *saṃsārāduscarita*) completely”.

With the help of these, the first line of the *dohā* may be interpreted. “One who does not make a lamp of *sahaja* of the nature of the *Mahāsukhā* is useless”.

(2) The difficulty of the fourth *pāda* consists in the relation between *citta* and *manas* which appear in the same sentence unit. In order to clarify it, two more passages are to be quoted.

haṃ puṇu jānāmi jeṇa maṇu cchādai cintātāttā. DKS RS 145 “Again, I know the *manas* that makes us abandon the truth of the (*Bodhi*-) *citta*”.²⁶ Here the *manas* means nothing but the faculty of intellect which always misconceives the truth that is to be intuited within. cf. *saasaṇveana tatthaphala, Tīlapāa bhaṇanti, jo maṇo-gocara paṭṭhāi so paramattha na honti*. DKT 9 cf comm. *svasaṃvedaṃ phalaṃ tattvaṃ, ye manogocaraprāptāḥ padārthāś te paramārtho. na bhavanti*. *Tillopādā-bhaṇanti yas svayambhūyamānam nirvikalpam mahāsukham tad tattvam nānyavikalpaviṣayābhāvā*.

e maṇa mārahu lahu citte nimnūla, tahiṃ mahāmudda tihuanenḥ nimnūla. DKT 33 *lahu citte* is an emendation of P. C. Bagchi from the Tibetan source (*yid ni gsod la sems ni rts ba med par gis*=*manah māraya citte nirmūlam*) and he translated the *dohā* as follows: “Kill this mind in the *citta* completely without delay”.

25 The *manas* here is the *Bodhicitta*. see II (1) above.

“Killing the *manas*” necessarily means the control of the *vikalpa*, cf. *vuddhi viṇāsai maṇa marai jahi tuṭṭai ahimāṇa* (so *māāmaa paramakalu, tahiṇ kiṭṭavajjai jhāṇa*) DKS PB 53; MS 55; RS 61 cf. comm : *yat kiṭṭcit kalpitāṃ buddhiṃ viṇāsayati vismaraṇaṃ karoti vikalpamano mriyate.*—*javveṃ maṇa atthamaṇa jāi taṇu tuṭṭai vandhaṇa. taṇveṃ samarasa sahaje vajjai, ṇau suddha ṇa vamaṇa* DKS PB 46; MS 48 cf. comm: *vikalpamanaḥ astamitaṃ bhavet tasmin sarvabandhanāṃ vinaśyati*—*javveṃ tahiṇ maṇa ṇiccala thakkai, tavveṃ bhaṇsaṃsāraha mukkaḥ*. DKS PB 59; MS 61; RS 66 cf. comm : *yadi tatra mano niścalatvena sthitam ātmātmyādikalpanārahitvāt* . . cf. also CGK 19 with the comm., DKS RS 141 etc.

As we have seen before, *citta* is easily spoiled by the *vikalpa* and therefore to be “killed, fixed, devoured” and so on. And *manas* is here also said to be closely related to the *vikalpa*. It is, however, not easy to decide which is more directly responsible for the production of the *vikalpa*. Concerning this problem, a verse in the Apratiṣṭhānaprakāśa of Nāgārjunapāda, which is quoted in the commentaries on CGK 8, 9 and DKT 4, is significant. *yāvān kaścid vikalpaḥ prabhavati manasi tyājyarūpo hi tāvān*. “As long as there is produced in *manas* any sort of *vikalpa* (thought construction), everything is to be let off”. Thus the *vikalpa* is produced through the function of *manas*, which may, as is understood in other schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism, be accompanied by and moving together with *citta*. The functioning of *citta* and *manas* is spontaneous. It may be a little arbitrary to conclude that this relation between *vikalpa*, *manas* and *citta* as discussed here was always consciousnessed by the Sahajiyās and unanimously taken for granted. Further investigation is necessary to reach the convincing assertion. Nevertheless I suppose that as for as the three doḥās quoted above (i. e. DKS RS 154, 145; DKT 33) are concerned, the Siddhas composed them with this relation in their mind.

The doḥā in question, then, may be interpreted as follows. “What is the use of him who does not make a lamp of *sahaja* in his heart? If he realizes that the Bodhicitta is always under the influence of the *vikalpa* for the production of which the faculty of intellect is responsible he can be well qualified to enter among the god’s folk”.

26 As to the confusion between *citta* and *cintā* in this text, see FN (8)

ETYMOLOGY OF HITTITE GAST-(KAST-) “HUNGER”

Satya Swarup Misra

The following forms of the word *gast*—‘hunger’ are attested in Hittite (vide E. H. Sturtevant, A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language; first edn. p. 188 and Rev. edn. p. 100) :—

Nom. sg.	<i>gasts</i>	(written ka—a—aš—za)
Acc. sg.	<i>gastan</i>	(written ka—aš—ta—an)
		or ga—aš—ta—an)
Inst. sg.	<i>gastet</i>	(written ka—a—aš—ti—ta)
Dat. sg.	<i>gasti</i>	(written ka—a—aš—ti)
Gen. sg.	<i>gastas</i>	(written ga—aš—ta—aš)

The following additional forms of “*gestwant*”—‘hungry’ are attested also.

Dat. sg.	<i>gestwanta</i>	(written ki—iš—du—wa—an—da)
Nom. pl.	<i>gestwantes</i>	(written ki—iš—du—wa—an—te—es)

These two words are undoubtedly related with ablaut distinction of a : e (<IE o : e) and the second word is a Taddhita-extension of the first one with *-want-* suffix (cp. Skt *-vant-* <IE *-went-*/*-wont-*).

In Tocharian A and B we find cognates of this word as *kast* and *kest* respectively with identical meaning. Sturtevant quotes Tocharian *kast* as a cognate, but he does not mention the other dialectal form. Sturtevant aptly guesses the initial guttural to be an IE voiced aspirate *gh*. But he considers it to be IE palatal *gh*, on the basis of comparison of Hittite *gast* with Skt. $\sqrt{h\bar{a}}$ in *jahāti* ‘leaves’ and Av. *zazāiti* ‘smisses’ and Gk. *khēra* ‘widow’ etc.

But I prefer to compare Hittite *gast* ‘hunger’ with Skt. $\sqrt{ghas}$ ‘eat’. This root is undoubtedly of at least Indo-Iranian origin. as the corresponding Avestan root is $\sqrt{gah}$ —‘to eat’. The initial guttural was not of IE palatal series because Avestan shows *g*-(not *z*) and Skt. perfect shows *jaghāsa* instead of *jahāsa*. It is not also labio-velar as Hittite shows *g* and not *gw*. Thus the IE root must have been *ghes* : *ghos* with pure

velar. To derive Hittite *gast* and Tocharian *kast* the IE pleonastic suffix *-t* may be added to the root. This suffix *-t* is found in Skt. only after short vowels as in *sakrt*, *viśvajit* etc. But it seems that there was no such restriction, in the proto-speech as can be known on the basis of Hittite and Tocharian.

T. Burrow (Sanskrit Language, p. 291) compares Skt. *kṣudh-* with Hittite *gast* admitting two different suffixes i.e. suffixes *-udh* for Skt. and *-t* for Hittite and Tocharian. But it is phonologically preferable to accept *gast* to be connected with Skt. $\sqrt{ghas}$ IE. <IE *ghos-t* as shown above. The *kṣ* of *kṣudh-* cannot be taken as weak grade of $\sqrt{ghas}$ as there is a phonological difficulty. Skt. *ghas* contains IE pure-velar where as Skt. *kṣudh* has IE palatal as the initial sound, because Avestan cognate for Skt. *kṣudh-/kṣudhā-* is *suda* (<*ks-*) and not **xsuda* as would be expected from a velar *gs*. Therefore it is safer to assume *kṣudh-* to be another root, the history of which may be traced up to Indo-Iranian with the present evidence.

This paper was read and discussed in a meeting of the Calcutta Philological Society.

A STUDY ON THE SYSTEM OF EPENTHESIS IN RĀṢHĪ

Sudhir K. Karan

It is popularly believed that more than two hundred years ago epenthetic words were largely in vogue even in the dialects of West Bengal, the consequent result being the system of umlaut or 'Abhiśruti'. It is also now an established fact that the Rāṣhī or the present standard colloquial Bengali dialect crossed through the epenthetic stage and has reached the final stage of umlaut through the process of phonetic change.

Dr. Sukumār Sen however has told us that epenthetic words were not found in Bengali (i. e. in Rāṣhī) before seventeenth century (vide *Bhāṣār Itibṛtta*, 8th edition, p. 245). If so, it is sure that the system of epenthesis died very quickly in the Rāṣhī as we do not get its proper relics even in the language of 18th and 19th century so far as the book-language written in those centuries is concerned. The Bangāl dialect of course, spoken in some parts of East Pakistan still preserves the epenthetic form true to its spirit.

We know that in epenthetic words the two vowel sounds 'i' and 'u' change their place and precedes the consonant which was actually in the preceding position. Thus we get the words like *kāirā* < *kariā*, *dhairā* < *dhariā*, *suinā* < *ṣuniā* and also *hāutṭā* < *hāṭṭuā*, *jaullā* < *jaluā* etc. in the present day Bangāl dialect.

It may be well imagined that Rāṣhī had rapid phonetic change towards umlaut. But it seems doubtful whether epenthesis was a strong and clear characteristic of Rāṣhī dialect. It may be asked also whether epenthesis was a system of all the languages of the Eastern Māgadhī group or was it a prevalent factor only in the Bangāl dialect? According to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, apinihiti "in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, does not seem to have occurred. It is found only to a very limited extent in Bihārī; and although it is quite a common characteristic of the Eastern Magadhan group, it cannot be said to have come into force in

the Magadha dialects or languages before the N. I. A. period. The O. B. remains in the Caryās and in Śarvānanda, as well as in the names in the inscriptions, do not give any traces of epenthesis". (ODBL, page 378). Dr. Chatterjee has also said that Maithili, Magahi, Oriyā, all belonging to Eastern Magadhan group generally have no epenthesis though some times some traces may be found.

Thus it is clear that epenthesis was never a characteristic of the languages mentioned.

It may be possible that umlaut may come into existence without crossing the stream of epenthesis. The process of vowel harmony and vowel contraction may produce more or less the same result and the words like (*kore, dhore, bole, Jolo, metho, heṭo*) etc. simply may come through vowel harmony and vowel-contraction, of course varying in degree in pronunciation.

Certain dialects of West Bengal such as the South-western Bengali of the district of Midnapur and the Sīmānta-Rāṇhī dialect of the area mainly comprising Purulia, West Bankura, Dhalbhum (Singbhum in Bihar) and many other contiguous places may however throw some more light on the problem of epenthesis-umlaut.

In S. W. Bengali we simply get the contracted forms of *kariā, dhariā, baliā* pronounced as *karyā, dharyā, balyā* etc. and the words like *jalo, heṭo, metho* etc. do not change their original forms which are *jaluā, hāṭuā* and *māṭhuā* but pronounced in a contracted way so that a strong accent falls on the first syllable and the words are pronounced as something like *jalluā* (the final *a* being shortened naturally) and so on.

In Sīmānta Rāṇhī, generally we do not get any word based on umlaut and the words like *kariā, dhariā, baliā, suniā, rākhiā* etc. are always pronounced as *karye, dharye, balye, sunye, rākhye* the accent being on the second syllable and the words like *jaluā, māṭhuā, hāṭuā* etc. are pronounced with a short *ā* finally.

Now we may think it reasonable that the *-y-* of the words *dharye* etc. may have been dropped in near future so that without any epenthesis and simply through the process of vowel-harmony we may get the words like *dhore, kore, bole* etc.

It is notable that the words like *rekhe, jege, mege* etc. are pronounced as *rekhyā, jegyā, megyā* in some parts of the S. W. Bengali speaking area. In the other parts of S. W. Bengali speaking area these are pronounced purely as *rākhyā, jāgyā* and *māgyā* and we do not get any epenthetic stage at all and we also hear them to pronounce *ēriā < āriā* instead

of *āirā* and *geriā* < *gāriā* instead of *gāirā*. Thus completely leaving aside stage of epenthesis and only through vowel-harmony and vowel-contraction, we may get the words like *hēriā* < *hāriā*, *pekhyā* < *pākhīā* as in the name *terapekhyā*, a village in the the district of Midnapur.

In this way we have the village names like *mugberiā* < *mugbāriā*, *uluberiā* < *uluberiā*, *bargechīā* < *bargāchīā* etc. "A typical early 19th century MS. (dated 1804 : VSP., 700 ff) shows spelling like 'pēryāche' has brought down, 'esyāche' has come, 'enyā' having brought, 'ēsyā' having come, 'thēkyā' having been, 'bērāilā' came out beside 'khātyē' to eat, 'bāyyā' having rowed, 'kāndyā' having wept. The spelling in ē (ēnyā etc.) are contemporary phonetic spellings while those in ā (bāyyā etc.) are archaic and conventional—the old ā having undoubtedly been altered to an [e] sound by the end of the 18th century". ODBL, p. 389.

We have already seen that only through vowel-harmony and vowel-contraction the words like *rākhīā*, *baliā* etc. may easily change the initial sound of -ā- to -e-. Thus in the words *rākhīā* etc. the vowel of the second syllable draws up the vowel of the first syllable to the place of 'e'.

In *Sīmānta Rāṛhī* we do not get the harmony of these two vowels of the first two syllables but harmony is there with the second and third syllables. So instead of *rekhyā*, *jegyā*, *regyā*, *megyā*, as found in S. W. Bengali, we get *rākhye*, *jāgye*, *rāgye*, *māgye*. Sometimes the short *i* is dropped when it is simply pronounced as *rākhechili*, *māgechili* leaving no trace of any epenthetic sound.

We already know that an epenthetic -u- has been transformed into -'e'-and for which we get the standard Bengali words like *heṭo*, *meṭho*, *keṭho* and so on < *hāṭhuā*, *māṭhuā*, *kāṭhuā* through *hāuṭṭā*/*hāuṭyā*, *māuṭṭā*/*māuṭhyā*, *kāuṭṭā*/*kāuṭṭhyā*. In S.W. Bengali and in *Sīmānta Rāṛhī* the original Bengali words of these contract themselves to produce the words like *hāṭṭhua*, *māṭṭhua* and *kāṭṭhua* with a short *a* finally and some times these remain simply as *hāṭhuā*, *māṭhuā* and *kāṭhuā*, perhaps it will not be improbable to suggest that only through vowel-harmony *heṭuā*, *meṭhuā*, *keṭhuā* may be transformed into *heṭuo*, *meṭhuo* and *keṭhuo* in order to reach the final stage (of *heṭo*, *meṭho*, *keṭho*). The words like *jolo*, *joro*, *jodo*, *modho* < *jaluā*, *jaruā*, *jaduā*, *madhuā* also may come through

similar way, and it is more probable that (*jaluā* < *jaluo* < *jolo*; *Jaduā* > *Jaduo* < *Jodo*) i e. *uā* > *uo* > *o*.

It is also possible that we may have the words like *sādh* < *sādhū* *māg* < *māgu*, *cār* < *cāri*, *gāṭh* < *gāṭhi* etc. only by dropping the vowels like -i and -u. Then what about the words like *sedh* as in '*sedher jhi*, *cer*, *geṭer kari*. But these words are very rarely used and may be peculiar to some particular place. Perhaps we do not get *sedh*, *cer*, *geṭ* unless they come through *sāldh*, *cāir* and *gāiṭ*. Singularly we do not get *sedh*, *cer* and *geṭ* but only when they are used in possessive case as to be found in *sedher jhi*, *cerer pāc* and *geṭer kari*. It is notable that in the words *sādher*, *cārcr* and *gāter* we have two vowels -ā- and -e- which easily can transform the initial -ā- to -e- according to the rule of vowel-harmony.

It is of course true that some arbitrary pronunciations which do not have any rigid rule sometimes prevail in the mouth of the village folk. Thus we may have here *berujje* instead of *bārujje*, *herie* instead of *hārie*, *esber* instead of *āsbār* etc. and all these words are found in a drama namely 'kulin-kula-sarvasva', written in the middle of the 19th century. In the district of Howrah and Hooghly we hear the common men to pronounce the words *pālie*, *tārie*, *garie*, *hārie* etc. as *pāile*, *tāire*, *gaire*, *hāire* etc. which originally come from *pālāiā* etc. and peculiarly enough when the verb-root is of one syllable this does not occur. Only when the verb-root is of two syllables like *pālā*, *tārā*, *garā*, *hārā* etc. we get this epenthetic -'e'- which is nothing but pure metathesis.

In *Simānta Rāṭhī*, there is an epenthetic tendency in pronunciation as to be found in the words *kaitte*, *dhaitte*, *haitte*, but strangely enough this tendency is not all found in the pronunciation of the conjunctives like *karye*, *dharye*, *balye*.

Michael Madhusudan Datta in his dramas kept these same words as pronounced in Jessore and Khulna. In S. W. Bengali the words like *karba*, *balba* etc. are pronounced not as *korbo*, *bolbo* and in *Simānta Rāṭhī* also the words are *kairba*, *bailba*, having a slight metathetical tend-

ency and without transforming -a- to -o-. In standard colloquial Bengali these are pronounced as *kotte*, *dhotte*, *bolte* etc. and it is not improbable that without passing through the epenthetic stage and only by dropping the -i- of *karite*, *dharite*, *balite* etc. we get the words mentioned above. In this way we get the words like *koccho*, *dhoccho*, *bolcho* (st. colloquial) and *kaccha*, *dhaccha*, *balcha* of S. W. Bengali by dropping the -i- from original Bengali words *karicha*, *dharicha* and *balicha*. In Sīmānta Rāṣhī however we may sometime have a slight epenthetic sound of *i* when these words are pronounced which are not really epenthetic.

In Sīmānta Rāṣhī we also get the -ia- pronunciation of the words ending in -ya. Thus St. Bengali 'kābbo': Sīmānta Rāṣhī 'kābbia' and such is the case with *sattia*, *kamīā* etc. The words like *lakṣya*, *ḍakṣa* etc. are pronounced as *lokkhia*, *ḍokkhia*, and so on and it is due to the final sound 'khia'.

All these though seem to be epenthetic, probably are really not so. The S. W. Bengali and the Sīmānta Rāṣhī dialects are no doubt much conservative in this character. We get rarely any epenthetic word there and that also not at all found in the conjunctives. The original words are contracted only to produce the words in S. W. Bengali *māryā*, *dharyā*, *basyā* (*basiā*), *kayā* (*kahlā*), *jāyā* (*jāiā*), *hālyā* (*hāliā*), *dhāyā* (*dhāiā*) etc. which are pronounced in Sīmānta Rāṣhī as *mārye*, *dharye*, *basye*, *kahye*, *jāye/jāe* and so on and only through vowel harmony, *mārye* may be pronounced as *merye*, and then *mere*, lessening the accent on the second syllable.

Perhaps a sound like 'āy' developed simultaneously with *ā* and so we always have the words like *cāyr*, *kāyt*, *āyf*, *kāyl* in the Sīmānta Rāṣhī dialect of Bengali which may be direct development of *cāri*, *kāṭi*, *āji*, *kālī* etc. through epenthetic words like *cāir*, *kāit*, *āij* and *kālī* but these may be treated as the examples of metathesis. In this connection it may be told that epenthetic -u- is not at all found in this dialect and the words like *māṭhuā*, *kāluā*, *jahuā* etc. do not show the slightest tendency for *māuṭhuā*, *kāuluā*, *jaulā* and so on.

It may be recalled again that no epenthetic words are found before 17th century. In Prakrit also there was no epenthesis and except Bangālī or Vanga dialect it is no-where a prominent character and perhaps this was not at all a prominent characteristic in the dialects of West Bengal.

THE NASALS AND FRICATIVES IN CENTRAL NEPALI

Balkrishna Pokharel

Jumli is the central Nepali dialect spoken in Jumla, Tribikot, Mugu, Humla, Ras Kot, Eastern Bhajani, Eastern Accham and Bajura. It can also be called Khasani because these districts once constituted the parts of Khasan, i.e., a Khas kingdom. To the south-east it embraces its gorkhali sister (Eastern Nepali), whereas to the west it meets its another sister Dotyali (Western Nepali). It is also associated with some minor Tibeto-Burman dialects in the north as well as in its own area. Like Dotyali, Jumli was also used for literature before the time of Prithvinarayan Shah but, eventually, it also has come to be purely a spoken dialect.

I have heard of many sub-dialects of Jumli but have as yet found only four forms : Bajhāngi, Raskoti, Asidarali and Tribikoti. My knowledge of these is based on the following list of the materials which have been prepared for me by my friends on my request. These materials are not yet published and are lying with me :

- (1) Nāso (a short story by G. P. Mainali),
—translated by Dhan Bahadur into Raskoti.
- (2) —Do—translated by Janak Bahadur Bista into Bajhāngi.
- (3) —Do—translated by Ramkrishna Mahatara into Tribikoti.
- (4) —Do—translated by Harishchandra Mahat into Asidarali.
- (5) Basai (a novel by Lilbahadur Chetri)—
translated by Harishchandra Mahat into Asidarali.

I have come to know that the standard Jumli is represented by Asidarali,—of the others, Tribikoti is influenced by Eastern Nepali, Bajhāngi by Western Nepali, and Raskoti is half way between Bajhāngi and Asidarali.

The Nasals

The dental *n* is very popular, e. g. *nyā*, here; *nāno*, smali; *nunna*, husband's younger sister etc. It assimilates *ε* preceding *r* in a conjunct, cf. *hennu* (to see) beside *heryo* (he saw); but it is assimilated by a preceding *l*, with nasalization of the following vowel, e. g. *bol̃u* (cf. EN. *bolnu* to speak), *dhull̃u* (to sleep), *khell̃u* (cf. EN. *khelnu*, to play), *bollyā* (cf. EN. *bolnyā*, speaking one), *khellyā* (cf. EN. *khelnyā*, one who plays). The dropping of intervocalic *n* with the consequent nasalization is also seen, e. g. Bajhāngī *mā̃is* besides the regular *māñṭha* (man); *pasiyā* (cf. EN. *pasinā*, sweat) is very popular throughout the ole Jumli area. It is aspirated as *nh* when followed by *h*, *nhānu* (cf. EN. *nuhāunu*, to bathe) < Skt. *snāna*, Pkt. *nhāṇa*, bath. It is found as changed to *lh* in a single word, *lhuni* < Skt. *navanṭta*, butter.

The labial *m* is also a popular nasal, e. g. *mun* (EN. *man*, mind), *mālā* (garland), *mero* (my) etc. It assimilates the following *r*, e. g. *hām̃mo* (EN. *hāmro*, ours), *rām̃mo* (EN. *rāmro*, beautiful). It is dropped in some tadbhava words leaving trace of nasalization, e. g. *bhiā̃*, ground or floor (cf. Skt. *bhūmi*, land), *dā̃ulo* (string) Skt. *dama* + **illah*; *kaū̃lo* < Skt. *komalaḥ*, soft. The *m* followed by *h* in the next syllable becomes *mh*, e. g. Skt. *mahājana* (merchant) > Jumli *mhājun* (EN. *mājan*). But the word *mahiṣaḥ* (bullock) becomes *bhuĩso* (buffalo), cf. Hindi *bhāṣā*, EN. *bhāṣi* (fem.), WN. *bhāṣo* (masc.) The word for "rice" is *cā̃nal* (cf. Hindi *cāval*, EN. *cāmal*). This is the sole example of *m* changed into *n*.

The velar *ṇ* does not occur initially. Finally and also medially it is used in various ways. e. g. *añār*, a kind of plant, *xaña* (with): *uñka* (figure). In the tadbhava words it is very commonly nasalized, e. g. Skt. **akṣakaḥ* (for *akṣi*, eye) < Pkt. *añkhaa* < CN. *-ākho*; CN. *jāgar*, (smartness), cf. Skt. *jañghā*, thigh. The word *ṣaṅkā*, (doubt), has given birth to the Jumli *sunko*, (trace i. e. an action which is often helped by doubt). Its counterpart in the Eastern Nepali is *suñko*. The change of *n* into *ṇ* is not very frequent in CN.

The cerebral η is not found in Jumli proper. However, in Bajhang, perhaps due to the influence of WN., the old conjunct ηd , instead of becoming simplified leaving trace of raslization (as in EN.) is simply simplified as $\dot{n}$, e. g. Skt. *bhāṇḍa* > Pkt. *phāṇḍa* > EN. and CN. *bhāṇḍo*, but WN. (including Bajhang) *bhāṇo* (utensil), Skt. *kaṇṭakaḥ* > Pkt. *kaṇṭao* > EN. and CN. *kāḍo*, besides WN. *kāṇo* (thorn).

The palatal $\tilde{n}$ is the rarest nasal. It is only found in the nasalized condition in the tadbhava words, e. g. *bhāṇu* (to break), cf. Skt. *bhañ-jana* (act of breaking), *ujuli* < Skt. *añjali* (cavity formed by joining two palms)

Fricatives

Jumli can tolerate only the palatal sibilant $\mathfrak{s}$, in addition to the mere aspirate h . The s is not always an original s , for already in the MIA. period all the sibilants, had been fused together. Therefore, the Jumli palatal $\mathfrak{s}$ is only partly historical e. g. Skt. *śirasthāna* < CN. *śirān*. (heading); Skt. *aṃśakah* > CN. *āso*, portion; Skt. *śvetaḥ* > CN. *seto*, white; Sometimes $\mathfrak{s}$ and ch are interchangeable, e. g. *śakal*. or *chakal*, morning (cf. Bengali *śakāl*, morning). Further examples of dental s (or the cerebral $\mathfrak{s}$) found as the palatal $\mathfrak{s}$ in Jumli are *diuṣu*, in mid-day (cf. Skt. *divasa*), *śāt* < Skt. *sapta*, seven; *tīṣ* < Skt. *tṛṣā*, thirst.

But the spirant X (pronounced as the ch in the German word "loch") is a commonly expected Jumli sound for sibilants (s , $\mathfrak{s}$, $\mathfrak{ṣ}$), e. g. *barxa* < Skt. *varṣa*, year; *xampai* < Skt. *sampatti*, wealth; *xurag-sky*, < Skt. *svarga*, heaven; *xāu* (cf. EN. *sāu*, a richman) < Skt. *sādhu*; *xā* (cf. EN. *saga*, with); *byāxar* (cf. EN. *besār*), turmeric, < Skt. *vesavāra*. But there are a few instances where the palatal $\mathfrak{s}$ may also be used side by side with the spirant x , e. g. *śuṇa* : *xā* (with), *sātyā* : *xātyā* (friend). *śāt* : *xāt* (seven).

The Jumli s (derived from any source) is treated according to the following manner.

(1) It is retained in some words as mentioned above.

(2) It is changed to x in major cases as mentioned above.

(3) *st* > *ith*, *st* > *iṭh* and *sk* > *ikh*; but in Rāskotī and Bajhāngī the change is simply 'it', 'iṭ', and 'ik' respectively. Examples are given below.

EN.	CN.	CN.	WN.	English.
	(Asidarāli)	(Rāskotī)		
<i>usto</i>	<i>uiṭho</i>	<i>uito (uho)-</i>	<i>(uṣo)-</i>	like that
<i>yasto</i>	<i>yaṭho</i>	<i>yaito (yaho)-</i>	<i>(yaṣo)-</i>	such
<i>kasto</i>	<i>kaiṭho</i>	<i>kaito (kaho)-</i>	<i>(kasa)</i>	like what ?
<i>kaṣṭinu</i>	<i>kaiṭhinu</i>	<i>kaṭṭinu</i>	x	to be in pain
<i>kaṣṭa</i>	<i>kaiṭha</i>	- x	-x-	pain
<i>bastu</i>	<i>baiṭh</i>	<i>bait</i>	x	thing
<i>asti</i>	<i>aiṭhi</i>	<i>aiti</i>	<i>atthi</i>	day before yesterday
<i>usko</i>	<i>uiṭho</i>	<i>uiko</i>	<i>uiko</i>	his, her, its
<i>kasko</i>	<i>kaiṭho</i>	<i>kaiko</i>	<i>kaiko</i>	whose ?

(4) The conjunct *sn* is treated according to the following manner.

EN	CN	WN	English
(<i>sn</i>)	<i>i-(n)</i>	(<i>ss</i>)	—
<i>basnyā</i>	<i>baiṇyā</i>	<i>bassyā</i>	living one
<i>hāṣnu</i>	<i>hāinu</i>	<i>hassa</i>	to laugh
<i>māṣnu</i>	<i>māinu</i>	<i>māssa</i>	to spend
<i>bāṣnu</i>	<i>bāinu</i>	<i>bāssa</i>	to live
<i>kasnu</i>	<i>kaṭnu</i>	<i>kassa</i>	to tighten

(5) The conjunct *sr* is changed to *rx* by metathesis, e. g. *khoxi* (EN. *khosrī*, having scratched), *parxi* (EN. *pasrī*, having crept), *dorxo* (EN. *dosro*, second). The conjunct *rs* also is treated likewise, e. g. *parxi* (EN., *parsi*, day after tomorrow).

(6) The words *kaṣo*, *taṣo*, *yaṣo* (how, like that, like this) are found in Bajhāngī, whereas in the rest of Jumli they become *kao* (*kaho-*) *tao* (*taho*), and *yao* (*yaho*) respectively. The expected forms would have been **kaxo*, **taxo*, and **yaxo*.

“h”

The mere aspirate *h* is a regular phoneme, e. g. *hunu* (to be), *hāt* (hand). But in the medial position either it is united with the preceding consonant or it is elided, e. g. *mhājun* (EN. *mājan*, merchant), *gha*, eyepit (cf. Skt. *gahvara*, 'hole, pit), *jhān* (EN. *jān* < Persian *jahān*, world), family; *dhunu* (EN. *duhnu*, to milk), *bhauti* (cf. Skt. *bahu*, Hindi *bahut*, many, or much,) (medial dropping) *sāeta* (Skt. *sahāyatā*, help), *palli* (EN. *paille*, cf. Hindi *pahale*, at first), *dillān* (EN. *di hāllān*, they will give), *kalinu* (cf. Hindi *kahalānā*, to be called).

A NOTE ON THE DEŚĪ PERSONAL NAMES FROM THE EARLY RECORDS OF BENGAL

Bhabataran Datta

More or less, eight hundred Hindu personal names can be had, including fiftyeight female names, from the available works and inscriptions of Bengal up to the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. From these personal names it can be analysed that there are two sources of the personal nomenclature of this period. One is *deśi* and the other is Indo-Aryan. Of the *deśi* class of personal names it must be mentioned that attempts were made duly to Sanskritize the names which prevailed in the pre-Aryan days. Accordingly, it can be said that there are two sub-classes of the said class of personal names. One sub-class is that which remained intact in their *deśi* forms. Following is the list of such and to trace the meaning and source of which, in some cases are impossible and in some hypothetical. The second and third components of all the following personal names are *tatsama*. *śrī* is used before the personal names as a mark of respect.

Itīta :

Kālasakha :

Kuṇḍalīpta :

Khodula-deva-śarmana :

Gurava-miśra : cf. *guru*

Cahala-deva-śarmana :

Cirāta-datta : possibly kirāta-datta*

Jajāva :

Jolāri : cf. *jola*, mixed caste and *ari*

Taṭṭana-devī (f) :

Tiṅga-deva :

Tyaṣṭana-devī (f) : A variant of Taṭṭana-devī (f) :

Dāmrāta-svāmī :

* Select Inscription by Dr. D. C. Sirkar.

Durgata :

Dedda-devī (f) : cf Diddā (f), name of a princss of Kāśmīra.

Dhoyī :

Pāi (f) :

Picca-kunḍa :

Bappa (Bapya)-svāmī : cf. *baptā*

Bāra :

Bhāmaha : cf. Bhāmaha, author of *Prākṛta-manoramā*.

Bhāśaitya :

Bhoyila :

Mañkha-gupta :

Mahana (Mathana) :

Mākri : cf. *makara*.

Māṇḍī, śrī :

Miko, śrī :

Raṅka :

Raṇṇā-devī (f) : lull word. cf. *rājan*

Rallā-devī (f) : lull word.

Revajja-svāmī : cf. Pkt. *revajja*, obtained.

Ledhu, śrī : cf. N.I.A. *ledā*, coward (in the sense of dull or fool)

Vaja-deva :

Vavvā-devī (f) : lull word.

Śālādḍa-nāga :

Saṭṭa-soma :

Hampi-nāga :

Harjara-varmā :

The second sub-class of the *deśi* class of nomenclature can be said to be hyper-sanskritized forms in which some pleonastic affixes are being added finally in order to give them a Sanskrit look. The pleonastic affixes are -aka, -ika, -ikā, -uka, -oka, -ka, kā and *svārthika* -ṭa. These pleonastic affixes were very commonly used in the thirteenth century and after, e. g., in the case of the names of the poets as mentioned in 'Saduktikarṇāmṛta'. Following is the list of such and to trace the meaning and source of some are impossible, and some hypothetical. All other components other than the first are *tatsama*.

Abbokā (f) :

—kā

Āluka :

—ka. cf. Āluka, name of *śeṣa*, the chief of the Nāgas or serpent race.

Indoka :

—oka.

Kalaka :	—ka. cf. <i>kalaka</i> , a kind of fish.
Khandabidurggarika :	—ika
Khāsaka (Khusaka) :	—ka
Gāṅgoka :	—oka
Goyika :	—ka. cf. <i>gopī</i>
Goṣṭhaka :	—ka. cf. <i>goṣṭha</i>
Citramatikā (f) :	—kā
Cheppāyikā (f) :	—kā
Jayīka :	—ka. cf. <i>jayī</i>
Tuṅgoka :	—ka
Dāmuka :	—uka. cf. <i>dāma</i>
Divokka :	—okka. It might be a <i>deśi</i> form of <i>divya</i> , cf. <i>divyaka</i> , a kind of serpent.
Nādabhadaka :	—ka
Nāthoka :	—oka. cf. <i>nātha</i>
Nābhaka :	—ka. cf. <i>nābha</i>
Nibboka-śarmana, Bhaṭṭa :	—ka
Pavitruka :	—uka. cf. <i>pavitra</i>
Pāukā (f) :	—kā
Puṇḍroka :	—oka. cf. <i>puṇḍra</i>
Pobyoka (pobboka) :	—oka
Bāthoka :	—oka
Buduka :	—uka
Bhogika :	—ka. cf. <i>bhogī</i>
Rāmaka :	—ka. cf. <i>Rōma</i>
Rīyoka :	—oka
Rumaḥa :	—ka. cf. <i>Ruma</i> , name of a man RV
Lalitoka :	—oka. cf. <i>lalita</i>
Varṇaṭiyoka :	—oka cf. <i>Varṇaṭa</i> , name of a person, 'Rājatarāṅginī
Vittoka :	—oka. cf. <i>vitta</i>
Vaidyoka :	—oka. cf. <i>vaidyaka</i> , a physician.
Śaṇḍaka :	—ka. cf. <i>śarḍa</i> .
Śatruka :	—ka. cf. <i>śatru</i> , an enemy, subhāshī-tābālī.
Śūdraka :	—ka. cf. <i>śūdraka</i> a name in Rāmāyana and Śūdraka, the author of Mṛcchakaṭika

Śyāmāyikā (f) :	—ikā. cf. <i>śyāmikā</i> (śyāma-ka--ā) (fm.), greenness.
Sabhrāyikā (f) :	—ikā
Sāṅgokā (f) :	—kā
Siddhoka :	—oka. cf. <i>siddha</i>
Sumkuka :	—ka
Sohnoka :	—oka. cf. <i>solloka</i> . and <i>soluka</i> , name of persons ?
Saukhyāyikā (f) :	—ikā
Svastiyoka :	—oka. cf. <i>svastika</i> , a kind of bard.
Hiṅgoka :	—oka. cf. <i>hiṅguka</i> , name of plant used as a medicine or for seasoning.

With reference to the hyper-Sanskritized forms with the pleonastic affix -ṭa (*svārthika-ṭa*) the following list can be given. In one case, however, reference can be given to the ancient chronicles of Kāśmīra. In other cases the references are hypothetical.

Tātata :	cf. <i>tāta</i> or <i>tatva</i>
Durggaṭa :	cf. <i>dūrga</i>
Devata :	cf. <i>deva</i>
Bhijjata :	
Bhogata :	cf. <i>bhoga</i>
Vapyaṭa :	cf. <i>baptā</i> or <i>Vapyaṭadevī</i> (f), name of a princess of Kāśmīra.
Subhata :	cf. <i>subha</i>

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FLORA AND FAUNA IN THE PLACE NAMES OF BENGAL

Krishnapada Goswami

A large number of place-names are found to occur with the names of trees fruits, vegetables, flowers, birds, beasts, reptiles etc. Some of them are given below.

(a) **Names after trees, plants and fruits :**

Bisurigach < viṣahari [(Pab)na]	Nimtitā (Mur)
Bāblā [(Bur)dwān, (Mym)ensingh]	Kadamba (Bur)
Seorā [(Khu)lnā]	Cāltā [(Ban)kura]
Māndārī [(Noa)khali]	Gambhārīā (Mid)
Khāgrā [(Din)ajpur, (Mur)shidabad]	Karañji (Mid, Din)
Atāphalā (Mur)	Amṛā (Tip, Bur)
Bhubi (Mym)	Kāmṛāṅgā (Tip)
Karamja [(Raj)shahi]	Phuṭi (Mym, 24 p.)
Tetaiā < tetul [(Tip)perah]	Jāmirā [(How)rah]
Dephal [(Bar)isal]	Amlā (Mym)
Baheṛā [(24 p)arganas]	Ākandi (Mid)
Helencā (Pab)	Dhutrā (Din)
Berelā [(Hug)ly]	Paltā (24 p, Bur, Mid)
Pitānāu < tikta alābu (Mid)	Nisindā (Mym, Bur)
Mandāran < mandāravana (Ban)	

(b) **Names after vegetables :**

Ciciṅgā (Mid).	Uste (Mur).
Dumur [(Rang)pur]	Karālā (How).
Jagaḍumbur (Pab).	Śuśunia (Ban).
Paṭal (Mym).	Kumri < kuṣmāṇḍikā [(Jes)sore]

Lāuphul (Mym),

Śuṭpipul (Mid).

Haldi (Mur, Bur, Ban)

(c) **Names after flowers :**

Beli (Hug)

Śiuli < Śephālikā (Bur, Mid).

Palāśi < Palāśikā (Bur, Mur).

(d) **Names after crops :**

Bhuṭṭā (Mym).

Mouri (Bur).

Maśuri (Mym).

Keorā (Mym).

Sariṣā (24 p).

Rasunā (Mym).

(e) **Names after reptiles :**

Sāpmārā < sarpa [(Dac)ca]

Gokhur [(Chi)ttagang]

Takṣak (Mur).

Kānār < kāṇārā [(Bog)ura]

Kumbhīrā < kumbhīra [(Mal)dah]

Dārāis kāṭhi [(Far)idpur]

(f) **Names after birds :**

Kokil (Din, Mym).

Pāyrā (Mym).

Bagā < baka (Dac).

Kuṛā (Mym).

Dāuki < dāhukī (Dac).

Śālikhā (How).

Śakuni (Far).

Pecā (Mid).

Mayurā (Tip).

Kāoyā < kāka (Mid).

Maynā (Bur, Khu, Jes).

Dahukā (Ban).

Bāyesā < vāyasa (Jes).

Kāktiyā < kāka + ṭiyā (Ban).

Bādurā (Mur, Bar).

(g) **Names after insects :**

Bhingrol < bhṅga (Chi).

Bhomrā < bhramara (Far).

Bhīmrol (Dac, Bar).

Uipokā (Bur).

Ārsulā (24 p).

Mākrā < mākaṛa (Jes, Bur).

(h) **Names after fish :**

Kākrā (Mid, Mym);

Teṅgrā (Jes, Far, 24p, Dac).

Rohita (Bar).

Cingrā (Hug).

Singi (Bur).

Kātlā (Mym).

Tapsī (Din).

Khayrā (How).

Kailāṭi (Mym).

Śoulā (Far, Bar).

Māgurā (Jes, Hug).

Ichābācā (Bur).

(i) **Names after animals :**

Pāṭhāmārā (Khu).

Bheṛāmārā (Nad, Bir, Pab).

Khāsimārā (24 p).

Sāṛmārā (Mid, Bir, Mym).

Ghoṛāmārā (very common name)

Kumīrmārā (Mid, Bar).

SOME PECULIAR WORDS FROM THE REGION AROUND GALIA

Aditya Kumar Chattejee

Galia is a village in the Bishnupur Subdivision of the district of Bankura in W. Bengal, (famous for its medicine for fever *geler pācan*). The words in the following list have been collected by the writer who is a native of this village. Some of the words may possibly be the same as in the other villages of Bankura and even in the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, but these are not found in the Standard Colloquial Bengali.

A. Nouns and Adjectives—

<i>alār</i>	unbalanced, unsteady.	<i>aśatā</i>	aversion, repugnance.
<i>āgule</i>	watchman.	<i>āckā</i>	unexpectedly.
<i>āṭupāṭu</i>	breathless impatience.	<i>ādār</i>	food of birds and reptiles.
<i>ādihānik</i>	upstart.	<i>ānsāṭṭe</i>	bully.
<i>ānkhā</i>	rash.	<i>ārāpāṭā</i>	preparaory atangement.
<i>ārāḍob</i>	a pit dug as a contrivance to trap fishes.	<i>ālājhālā</i>	sick of.
<i>ālāmārā</i>	exhausted.	<i>āṭhu</i>	knee.
<i>ārse</i>	sweetcake of powdered rice fried in oil.	<i>ærgā</i>	refractory.
<i>el</i>	shelf of ground round a corn field.	<i>ēṭhe</i>	hip.
<i>icle</i>	shrimp.	<i>osār</i>	width.
<i>ucko</i>	strange and unknown.	<i>uṭhno</i>	dealings on credit with shopkeepers.
<i>udmo</i>	rash, indiscretet.	<i>ūl</i>	proper order.
<i>kacā</i>	offspring of fishes.	<i>kalanā</i>	niche.

<i>kāchā</i>	fold tuck of dhuti.	<i>kāchār</i>	tumble.
<i>kāñui</i>	comb.	<i>kāṭākhālsā</i>	clear (of payment).
<i>kāp</i>	affectation, pretension.	<i>kāth</i>	wall.
<i>kārā</i>	he-buffalo.	<i>kār</i>	arrow
<i>kār-sāp</i>	a kind of snake.	<i>kād</i>	a kind of fruit.
<i>kele korā</i>	a kind of wild fruit offered to Manasā (goddess of snake).	<i>kācā</i>	a variety of javelin.
<i>kedeli</i>	outer portion of the basement of a wall.		
<i>kerell</i>	a kind of pulse, husked and split.		
<i>kédai</i>	a kind of centipede.	<i>kāre</i>	trunk of palmyra tree.
<i>kuli</i>	narrow path.		
<i>kudri</i>	kind of fruit used as kitchen vegetable.		
<i>khanā</i>	borderless (with reference to cloth worn by widows).		
<i>khalā</i>	earthen pan.	<i>khāpri</i>	a kind of earthen vessel.
<i>khāl</i>	skin of animal.	<i>khāṭimuṭi</i>	stiff (ref. human body).
<i>khuli</i>	narrow path.	<i>khiye</i>	fishing net used by fishermen.
<i>gaccā</i>	cavity on cart track.	<i>gad</i>	kind of aquatic grass.
<i>gamdā</i>	grave (-face).	<i>gājā</i>	rubbish, refuse.
<i>gadal</i>	feeding spoon.		
<i>golui</i>	a narrow passage between two walls.		
<i>gādrā</i>	milk of a cow just after the birth of calf.		
<i>gābāl</i>	dry bed of pond or river.		
<i>gāndiei</i>	ridge of earth along the basement of a wall.		
<i>gār</i>	pit, hole.	<i>gire</i>	knot.

- gere* pond. *gāj* kind of aquatic plant.
gāṛgere (-*piṭhe*) a variety of rice-cake roasted in steam.
ghaṇā empty match-box, √Persian *gung*.
ghāi angle at the base of a wall or *el* (see).
ghāt offence. *ghātghāti* a kind of fishing net.
ghuni fishing-trap made of split bamboo. *ghāṇā* perplexity.
cakā junction of two roads. *carkā* thunder and lightning.
caṭā crust. *cābijāl* handy type of fishing net.
cāgrā slab. *cuṭcuṭe* sour fish-fry.
cuoṛ a caste. *ceṭ* kick of animal.
cāṭā mat. *cāc* a kind of coarse mat.
cēye not amenable to reason. *cādkuro* a kind of fish.
celo kind of water-melon used as kitchen vegetable.
char skin of animal. *chiye* layer of mud-wall.
chædām one-fourth of a pice. *chæṛā* shameless.
chūto (*hāri*) unclean pot, abandoned and untouchable.
jolui nail, iron-spike. *jalbædā* eruption on the body.
jalpaṭāl water.snail. *jāt* village fair.
jābdā strong. *jumro* piece of burning wood
jāli a sappy fruit in the bud.
jat a sanctified piece of wood planted at the central point in the bed
of a newly excavated pond.
jāṇlā unpolished stick, small branches of bamboo.
jhāljhāl sort of game. *jhāl*=jump.
jhāṭi small branches of Śāl tree (fuel).
jhāpi parasol made of palm leaves. S. jāput 'rain'.
jhālkāni kind of vegetable soup.
jhā a disc made of bell-metal, used as musical instrument.

<i>jhāiporā</i>	charred.	<i>ṭui</i>	vertex of thatch.
<i>ṭābā</i>	plump lemon.	<i>ṭālā</i>	slap.
<i>ṭāp</i>	edge of cloth.	<i>ṭhēk</i>	measure of faggot.
<i>ṭhor</i>	instantaneously.	<i>ḍābu</i>	pit.
<i>ḍeo</i>	kind of fruit.	<i>ḍārko</i>	iron anklet.
<i>ḍōb</i>	hole.	<i>ḍinle</i>	pumpkin.
<i>ḍākur</i>	spider.	<i>ḍhæmnā</i>	a characterless person.
<i>ḍhemni</i>	a wanton woman.	<i>ḍhin</i>	mound.
<i>toribat</i>	prepared perfectly. The word is of Arabic origin.		
<i>tartarā</i>	sprinkling.	<i>tālāi</i>	mat of palmyra leaves.
<i>togrār</i>	betting.	<i>thalkul</i>	limit.
<i>dojomi</i>	land yielding crops twice a year.	<i>niñre</i>	rickety (children).
<i>nuñus</i>	kind of insect.	<i>nār</i>	widow.
<i>næcar</i>	tenacious, obstinate.	<i>nuo</i>	tears.
<i>pāṭkarum</i>	maid-servant.		
<i>pālākāṭi</i>	long handy bamboo with sharp knife for cutting leaves (palmyra tree etc).		
<i>pālui</i>	hay stack.	<i>puol</i>	straw-heap.
<i>puon</i>	family, lineage.	<i>puo</i>	sappling.
<i>pæñā</i>	ill-tempered (child).	<i>pālānhurkī</i>	unchaste woman who elopes.
<i>poṭkenni</i>	mania for cleanliness.	<i>pāṭl</i>	plots of land in a row.
<i>pāi</i>	measuring pot.	<i>pethe</i>	small basket. cf. S. phātia
<i>pāc</i>	sprout. cf. S. bāk	<i>puṭi</i>	a little girl.
<i>pāb</i>	part of bamboo between two joints. <i>pæṭā</i> entrails. M. poṭa 'intestines'.		
<i>phore</i>	hinder legs of goat.	<i>pharā</i>	hollow.
<i>pher</i>	entanglement.	<i>phurkanā</i>	pimple.
<i>batkā</i>	noisome, rancid; particularly the smell of a he-goat.		
<i>badā</i>	insipid, savourless.	<i>bāgāl</i>	cow-boy.
<i>banā</i>	kind of bird (lit. wild).	<i>bāgrā</i>	leave; of palmyra tree.

- bākhul* house. *baṛ* straw-rope. cf. S. *baṛ*
bākhān evil speaking, abuse. <Skt. *vyākhyāna*, with semantic
 change.
bāṛi agricultural land. cf. *dhanbaṛi*=paddy field.
bāskanā kind of flower. =cal. coll. *bakphul*.
bedo illegitimate, bastard.
ben big earthenware in which fodder is given to cattle.
bēlag separate (a derivative with Persian prefix attached to Bengali word).
bej entanglement, embarrassment. *bicel* dry paddy-straw.
bærbære (-*ghā*) running sore.
bomā ball-shaped cake of pulse-meal fried in oil.
bæmrā a bamboo rod for bolting doors etc.
bæddo perplexity, trouble. *boṭlu* a type of brazen pot.
bākl iron ring used as anklet.
bæncarkā lightning and thunder (lit. thunder that excites frog).
būṭhi kitchen knife, S. *biṇṭhi* 'knife'. *bāet* mouth.
bhaskā worthless fellow.
bhācā share of rice given to labourers as remuneration for husking.
bhānāni riddle. *bhālko* species of bamboo.
bhāet seeds of water-lily.
māṛo place or shed where people assemble to worship a village god.
muduni wooden bar below the vertex of a thatch. cf. S. *mutni*.
mece stool made of bamboo. *mechol* expert angler.
rakā note, epistle. *rāmjhine* a vegetable, lady's finger
ramākalāl a kind of grain; the same as 'barbaṭi' in Calcutt colloquial.
ras vanity, pride. *rātcārā* bat (lit. nocturnal rover).

rā hair.*rād* fence. (from Portuguese)*ruibhār* central bed of pond (lit. the pot for the rui fish).*lalā* greed.*laskā* long (arm).*larkā* fishing rod.*lātā* kind of fruit.*lāhe lāhe* widely (ramble).*lig* cart-track.*lige* axle of bullock-cart. S. niñghā 'axle',*luye* sacrificial he-goat meant for Dharma a village god).*lādā* slanting (tree).*lædnā* a heavy type of stick*lækā* affected.*læpsā* attachment, connexion.*lækaṭ* over-boiled semi-fluid (rice).*lælā* muddy-headed, doltish.*loliloli* thin, thread-like (arm),*ṣaṇ* company, association.*ṣoli* a grain measure.*ṣalākocu* an edible bulbous root.*ṣutli* a long thread with fishing hook.*sānā* the big horizontal wooden bar on which the roof of a cottage rests.*sārkuṭ* refuse-pit.*siṇe* boiled vegetables.*hāmā* a cell, as granary.*harkā bān* sudden spate in a river.*hētāl* clod, pieces of stone.*hāpā* snake gourd.**Verbs :***āgād-* beat severely.*kapā-* strike (with axe or digger)*khācā-* plan, design.*khic-* skin.*gaṭāl-* kick.*giṇur-* show teeth in agony, grin.*ghit-* swallow.*caṭā-* strike with an axe or digger.*cāb-* trap (fishes).*chāiāl-* trample.*jhur-* smooth unpolished branches.*jānlā-* strike with stick.*tur-* speak vigorously.*phād-* over-pass.*phir-* putll out sheaf from stack (hay).*phābṭā-* throw.*bāj-* ache, twinge.*bājā-* wind (rope etc).*phik-* throw.*bīṭ-* cross-examine.*mu-* churn.*ṭālā-* slap with the palm.*lākārā-* utter, respond.*hāmlā-* bleat, low.*hāṭāl-* throw stone.*ædnā-* strike with a stick.

[M. = Mundari; S. = Santali]

A NOTE ON LINGUISTIC CHANGES IN BHUMIJ AND JUANG

Dipankar Das Gupta

Bhumij and Juang are in contact with their neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages. The term 'linguistic changes', as it has been used in this paper, refers to the changes occurring in a language as a result of language contact.

Bhumij and Juang genealogically belong to the Munda Group of languages of the Austro-Asiatic sub-family of the Austric family of languages¹. Bhumij belongs to the Kherwari sub-group (or Eastern sub-group) of Munda languages and Juang belongs to the Non-Kherwari sub-Group (or Central sub-group) of Munda languages². Bhumij is mainly spoken in Ranchi district and Singhbhum district in Bihar, Purulia district in West Bengal, Mayurbhanj district and Balasore district in Orissa. Bhumij population, as per language Census 1951, is 101508. Juang is spoken in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal districts in Orissa. Juang population, as per language Census 1951, is little above 12000.

The salient features (or overall pattern) of Munda languages are given below with a view to ascertain the present position of Bhumij and Juang. As Mundari exhibits all the significant features of the Munda Group of languages, the examples are cited from (M)undari.

Phonological Level :

1. Checked consonants³ (') and 2. Glottal stop⁴(?).

Examples :

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1. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV and Vol. I Part I (1906 and 1927).
 2. Ibid.
 3. In Mundari, checked consonants are not so tense as they are in Santali; therefore the symbols b' and d' have been used instead of p' and t'. Vide, Mundari Grammar and Encyclopaedia Mundarica, by Hoffmann.
 4. From the historical point of view, glottal stop in the Munda languages can be traced back to checked consonants (with few exceptions); e. g. M. ? < * k' * c'.

- | | | | | | |
|----|----|-------|------------|--------|----------------------|
| 1. | M. | dub' | 'to sit', | silib' | 'deer' |
| | M. | med' | 'eye', | tasad' | 'grass' |
| 2. | M. | seta? | 'morning', | seta | 'dog' |
| | M. | uri? | 'cattle', | uri | 'to feel by finger'. |

Morphological Level :

1. Three grammatical numbers.

Examples :

- M. (Zero modification) 'sg',
 —kiñ 'dl',
 —ko 'pl'.

2. Inclusive and exclusive forms of 1st personal pronouns.

Examples :

M. alañ 'you (sg.) and I=we', aliñ 'he/she and I=we'.

M. abu 'you (pl.) and I=we', ale 'they and I=we'.

3. Grammatical distinction between animate and inanimate.

Examples :

M. seta hai jom/tanae 'dog is eating fish' (animate object),

M. seta mandi jomtanae 'dog is eating cooked rice' (inanimate object),

M. hofo gojo?tanae 'man (animate subject) is dying',

M. lalten jultana 'lantern (inanimate subject) burns'.

4. Pronominalization, i. e., incorporation of pronominal forms in the verbal constructions.

Examples :

M. (aiñ) seno?tanaiñ 'I am going',

M. (alañ) seno?tañalan 'We (incl. dl.) are going',

M. (aliñ) seno?tanaliñ 'We (excl. dl.) are going',

M. (abu) seno?tanabu 'We (incl. pl.) are going',

M. (ale) seno?tanale 'We (excl. pl.) are going',

M. (am) seno?tanam 'You (sg.) are going', and so on.

Pronoun is used separately (in addition to pronominal suffix) for emphasis, e. g., aiñ seno?tanaiñ 'I (not any other person) am going'.

5. Vigesimal counting system, i. e., counting on the basis of 20's.

Examples :

M. mid' hisimiad' 'one-twenty-one (i. e. 21)',

M. barhisi 'two-twenty (i. e. 40)',

M. upunhisimiad' 'four-twenty-one (i. e. 81)'.

Syntactical Level :

Agglutinative type of sentences are found; i. e., roots, prefixes, infixes, suffixes are glued together and each element retains its entity.

Example :

jom + i + tan + a + e (eat + sg. animate object + present continuous aspect + verb-stem formative suffix + sg. animate subject) > jomitanae '(dog) is eating (fish)'.

In Manbhum (Singhbhum district and Purulia district) and Ranchi district a section of the Bhumij people speak in their own language which is a form of Mundari marked by the influence of neighbouring languages. In Ranchi district the language is marked by the influence of Tamarua or Panch Pargania¹ which is a sub-dialect of the Magahi dialect of Bihari. In Singhbhum and Purulia districts their language is marked by the influence of Bengali. The form of Mundari spoken by the Bhumij people in Manbhum is locally known as Bhumij Thar. The term 'thar' is used by the people to designate a tribal language or dialect. In Manbhum there are some other tribal dialects known as 'thar', viz, Kharia Thar, Kurmal Thar, etc. 'thar' actually means a language or dialect which is understood by a particular group of persons and which is not intelligible to others. I had no opportunity to carry out field investigations among the Bhumij people in Orissa, but the speech-materials presented by Grierson² are from Nilgiri State of Orissa and these speech-materials do not basically differ from the Bhumij Thar, which we collected from Singhbhum and Purulia districts. From the linguistic point of view, there is no doubt that the original language of the Bhumij was Mundari. The changes which have distinguished Bhumij Thar from Mundari are undoubtedly due to the influence of neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages. The salient points of deviation may be pointed out :—

1. At the phonological level we find that the checked consonants and glottal stop have lost their phonological importance. Glottal stop is frequently found to be dropped, e. g.,

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1. For samples of Panch Pargania speech-materials, vide, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V. Part II (1903).
 2. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV (1906).

da? ~ da 'water',

seno?tanæ ~ senotanae 'he is going'.

Checked consonants occur in free variation with their non-checked counterparts, e. g.,

med' ~ med 'eye',

dub' ~ dub 'to sit'.

The neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages spoken by the bilingual Bhumij people do not have checked consonants and glottal stop.

2. At the morphological level we find,

- (i) Two numbers—singular and plural. Dual number occurs occasionally—but generally plural number occurs in the place of dual number, i. e., the significance of dual number from the grammatical point of view is in the process of decay.

It is to be noted that Modern Indo-Aryan languages, from the grammatical point of view, do not recognize dual number.

- (ii) Grammatical distinction between animate and inanimate is also in the process of decay. Expressions like : nere hoṛo mena : 'here is a man' occur more frequently than : nere hoṛo menaia : (/i/ in : menaia : indicates that the subject is animate).

Such grammatical distinction between animate and inanimate is absent in Indo-Aryan languages.

- (iii) Pronominalization occurs in Bhumij Thar—but it is also losing its functional importance. There is a tendency to use pronouns separately. Sentences like : aiñ senotana : 'I am going' occur generally in the place of : senotanaiñ :.

Indo-Aryan languages do not have 'pronominalization' and pronouns are used separately as the subject or object of the verb.

- (iv) Vigesimal counting system is present, but, Indo-Aryan cardinal numbers are used frequently side by side with Mundari cardinal numbers.

3. At the syntactical level changes are not so prominent excepting

the use of postpositions like : -e, -ko, or definite suffix -ṭa. e. g.,
haiko bilie jomtanae 'cat is eating fish', (cf. *M. pusi hai jomitonaē*).

4. At the lexical level, the outright borrowings from Indo-Aryan languages are less restricted in comparison to Mundari.

The Bhumij people who retained their language, i. e., Bhumij Thar, are bilingual—in Ranchi district they speak in Panch Pargania with their neighbouring people, in Manbhum (i. e., Purulia and Singhbhum districts) they speak in Bengali with their neighbours and even among themselves. But majority of the Bhumij people in Manbhum, especially in the eastern and southern portions of Manbhum, are monolingual in Bengali—they cannot speak or understand Bhumij Thar. Among these Bhumij people we find a case of total language shift—they have switched over from Bhumij Thar, i. e., their form of Mundari, to Bengali (i. e., Manbhum dialect of Bengali) which is structurally a different language.

The Juang people in Orissa are all bilingual, besides their own language, they speak in Oriya. During my field-investigations in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal districts I did not come across any Juang who is monolingual either in Juang or in Oriya. Though the Juang people retain their own language, they speak in Oriya with their neighbours and occasionally among themselves. The Juang language is highly mixed up with Oriya—besides the naturalized loan words from Oriya, e. g., : *munuso* : 'man', : *gasō* : 'grass', *ñā* : 'name', : *dudo* : 'milk', : *kara* : 'sun', : *jōrō* : 'fever' etc., they incorporate Oriya words freely in their language :—: *arō betōnke*—*arō dōreke* : 'he fears (cf. Oriya : *dōrō* 'fear').

Some of the features of the structure of Juang language which appear to have developed due to the influence of Oriya¹ may be pointed out :—

1. At the phonological level we find that glottal stop is absent²

1. The writer is aware of the probability of the independent development of some of the features (i. e., change irrespective of Oriya influence) described herein.
2. Sporadic occurrence of glottal stop is sometimes observed in the fluent speech due to loss of a stop, especially /k/, e. g., : *grinḍaksōr*—[*grinḍaʔsōr*] 'sweat'. But this appears to be a sporadic phonetic feature and it does not appear to be related to the phonemic structure of the language.

and checked consonants have lost their phonological importance checked consonants occur but they occur in free variation with their non-checked counterparts, e. g., : *ɖak'~ɖak* 'water' :, *ɭɭɔp'~ɭɭɔp* 'hot' :.

Retroflex lateral (slightly flapped) sound [ɭ] occurs in Juang, especially in the Oriya loan words.

Oriya does not have checked consonants and glottal stop. Retroflex lateral [ɭ] is a characteristic phoneme in Oriya. Retroflex nasal (slightly flapped) [ɳ] which occurs in free variation with alveolar nasal [n] in Keonjhar-Juang¹ (especially in the Oriya loan words)—e. g., : *ɔnsɔm~ɔnsɔm* 'jackfruit' (cf. Oriya : *pəɳɔsɔ :*), : *tɔɳɔ ~ tɔɳɔ* 'cooked-rice'—appears to have entered into the phonemic structure of Dhenkanal-Juang² 'due to contact with Oriya. [ɭ] also appears to have entered into phonemic structure of Dhenkanal-Juang.

2. At the morphological level we find that
 - (i) Three grammatical numbers (i. e., sg., dl., pl.) are present, but dl. number is losing its functional importance because there are instances showing the occasional occurrence of pl. number in place of dl. number, c. g., : *ramɔ hɔri ebɔɖɔɳɳɪki* : 'Ram and Hari play' (pl. suffix : -ki: occurs here in the place of dl. suffix -kia:; expressions like: *ramɔ hɔri ebɔɖɔɳɳɪki* 'Ram and Hari play': are in accordance with the grammatical structure of

1. The form of Juang spoken in Keonjhar district.
2. The form of Juang spoken in Dhenkanal district.

Juang).

Oriya, from the structural point of view, does not recognize dl. number.

- (ii) Pronominalization is present (pronominal prefixes are incorporated in the verbal constructions in Juang, e. g., : *nii mikibke* 'We (pl.) do' ;, : *am mikibke* 'you (sg.) do' ; etc) but it appears that the process of pronominalization has become less obligatory, because, verbal constructions without pronominal prefix (i. e., expressions like : *am kibke* 'you (sg.) do') are also occasionally met with.

System of pronominalization is absent in Oriya.

- (iii) Grammatical distinction between animate and inanimate and the exclusive and inclusive forms of the 1st personal pronouns are absent in Juang and in these respects Juang agrees with the structure of Oriya.
 - (iv) Numerals except first four (i. e. : *muinṭo* 'one' ; *bato* 'two' ; *ego'a* 'three' ; *gandami* 'four') are completely replaced by Oriya numerals. Even the numerals below four are frequently found to be replaced by Oriya numerals.
3. At the syntactical level, changes are not so much prominent, but the Oriya particles and postpositions are frequently used (: *ki* : 'interrogative particle', : *-ṭa* 'definitive suffix', : *ṭa* 'expletive particle', : *-sangere* 'sociative postposition', : *-dwara* 'instrumental postposition', : *-ṭhare* 'locative postposition', etc).
4. At the lexical level, besides a large stock of naturalized Oriya words, outright borrowing of Oriya words are frequently observed.

A comparative study of the speeches of the Bhumij and Juang gives rise to an interesting problem. The speakers of both the languages are bilingual, i. e., in addition to their own language they are conversant with the principal languages of their neighbours, but in the case of the Bhumij we find that the majority of them have given up their own

language completely in favour of Bengali, while the Juang, on the other hand, have retained their own language which is getting more and more mixed up with Oriya day by day. In short it may be said that the language-shift among the majority of the Bhumij in Manbhum is total and the language-shift among the Juang in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal districts is partial¹. The motivation behind the total language-shift among the majority of the Bhumij in Manbhum do not appear to be linguistic, on the contrary they appear to be socio-cultural.

Note : This paper is based on the Bhumij and Munjari speech-materials collected jointly with Shri R. C. Nigam. Observations on the linguistic changes among the Bhumij people are based on their joint work.

1. For 'partial' and 'total' language-shift, vide, Languages in contact by Uriel Weinreich (1953).

SOME INFORMATIONS ABOUT

“PĀNDU RĀJĀR DHIBI”

Panchanan Mandal

Panduka village is said to be named after the king Pāṇḍu a local powerful chieftain who had his residence on this mound (*Pāṇḍu rājār Dīp*) also known as “*Rājār potā*” (the site of the royal palace).

Vārāhī Caṇḍī is said to be the family deity of the Rāja. The image of the deity which is found in a reclining position against a tree, is too confusing to be recognised.

A big tank (*Rasphallā*) on the north side of the stūpa and another bigger one on the south west (*kokphallā*) close to the village Dariāpur are said to be excavated by the same Rājā. It is believed that a dip in the tank may make a sterile woman fertile. She dives down and rises up with fists closed. If either of the fists holds an oyster the woman begets a female child and if a watersnail, a male one. But if the fist is empty or contains a dead oyster only she will have no child. It is said that about a century ago, close to one of the seven water inlets (*koṭāl mohānā*) of the tank there existed one stone image reclining against the trunk of a thick-shaded Aśvattha tree, which was of one of the seven sisters residing in the tank. But now neither the tree nor the stone is to be found there. There is another interesting story connected with this tank. A golden bull (Mahādeva's riding animal) once stayed in the tank, which would graze round the fields during the night and would come back to the water before the day dawned. One day a Sannyasin came upon the tank and saw the Bull. In order to make Mahādeva settle down there permanently and to convert the tank into a place of pilgrimage, he devised means to do away with the Bull. He bought a calf from the village and gave

it to a milkman with the instruction that it should be fed from the entire milk of a cow and not a drop should be milched for other purposes. But the milkman's wife was dishonest and she took a portion of it for sale. As the calf grew up into a stout bull, the Sannyāsin led him to the tank to give fight with the golden Bull of Mahādeva. The fight continued until three quarters of the night were passed and then the bull of the Sannyāsin was killed. At this unexpected happening the Sannyāsin got exasperated and he suspected dishonesty on the part of the milkman and wished destruction of all milkmen. Due to his curse there exists no milkman in the village.

Another belief among the people is that the tank once possessed the miraculous power of supplying pots for ceremonial uses. The people in need of pots used to present betel and betelnut to the deity of the tank along with an invitation to a dinner in their houses. On the day of the ceremony they would come and take away the pots invariably from a particular place. But the supply has been stopped since the Muslims washed beef there.

The palace of the Rājā, it is said, was on the bank of the river Ajaya now two miles off from the stūpa. The river's course being so near the stūpa is proved by the fact that a place is still there known as "Thākrun-Ghāt" and the ruins of a temple are still there.

It is further said that in another small stūpa close to the village Ramnagar, two miles away from this "ḍhībī" there was the *kāchāribāri* or *golābāri* of the same Rājā. This stūpa is known as "*Bārāsāt Dāngā*" also "*Mādhaver Dip*" (Mādhava might be another name of the king) *

* The author visited the site in 1947 and gave some information to the Archaeology Department of the Government of India regarding this "ḍhībī" and he suggested that the excavation of the mound might bring to light valuable and interesting relics, contributing to the reconstruction of the early history of Bengal. Researches of the Archaeologists have since been published in details. Hence it is not worthwhile to publish the author's archaeological notes any more. But his collection of local stories and beliefs regarding the site and its king may be interesting. Ref. Viśva Bharati News dated 8. 2. 63. The Statesman dated 31. 7. 63. Ananda Bazar Patrika dated 19. 2. 64. Damodar, (Burdwan) 9. 4. 65.

SOME PECULIAR WORDS FROM DIAMOND HARBOUR REGION

Ramola Mandal

Some peculiar vocables collected from the villages situated in the Diamond Harbour Sub-Division are given below :—

Nouns :

āgāli broken parched rice.

kāmri *sārāshi* a holding instrument.

kuni small pond.

khūci a very small cane basket.

gator body, health. e. g. *tār gator legeche* He has gained in health.]

ghuni a kind of instrument made of bamboo for catching little fishes.

ghog small hole letting out water,

jauro persistent crying (of a child) for some thing.

jhūjrobālā early morning, dawn.

jhok, jhul *ækjhok/jhul dhān kātā*. Harvesting at a stretch.

talā poṛe land where paddy-seedlings are grown.

} *tan* attention, e. g. *se ekathāy tan karenī*—He did not pay attention to these words.

titikkāri bitter annoyance.

terki temper, anger.

thopnā jaw. *thopnār ki jor*—How untiringly he can talk. !

don canemade basket which can contain two and half seers.

nod extract. *pākā āmer nod; pākā tāleṛ nod*—Juicy substance of a ripe mango or palm fruit.

neor dew.

bākul homestead.

bemon seedling.

bhātā : top.

makṣā . maize.

meclā : earthen manger.

meṭe : a big earthen pot.

Adjective :

khālā : low (land).

cāṭā : shallow (pond).

ṭṭekkharo : easily excitable.

pāṭālo : broad.

mukhkharo : sharp-tongued.

harjāoli : of various kinds (of fishes).

Adverbs :

kharo kharo : quickly. *kharokharo, eso* : 'come quickly'.

khunokhuni : bitterly. *keḍe khunokhuni khācche* : is weeping bitterly.

nāgār - all along. *nāgar āse jāy* : comes all along.

bule bule : without doing anything.

Verbs :

ule āsā : to come down.

ele deoyā : to give up a thing as lost, to forego the title to thing.

phikke deoyā : to throw.

buṛiye deoyā : to overflow with water.

buṛiye ānā : *ḍābarṭā buṛiye āno* Merge the pitcher in the water and bring it full.

hāmlāno : e. g. *gāitā hāmlācche* The cow is lowing.

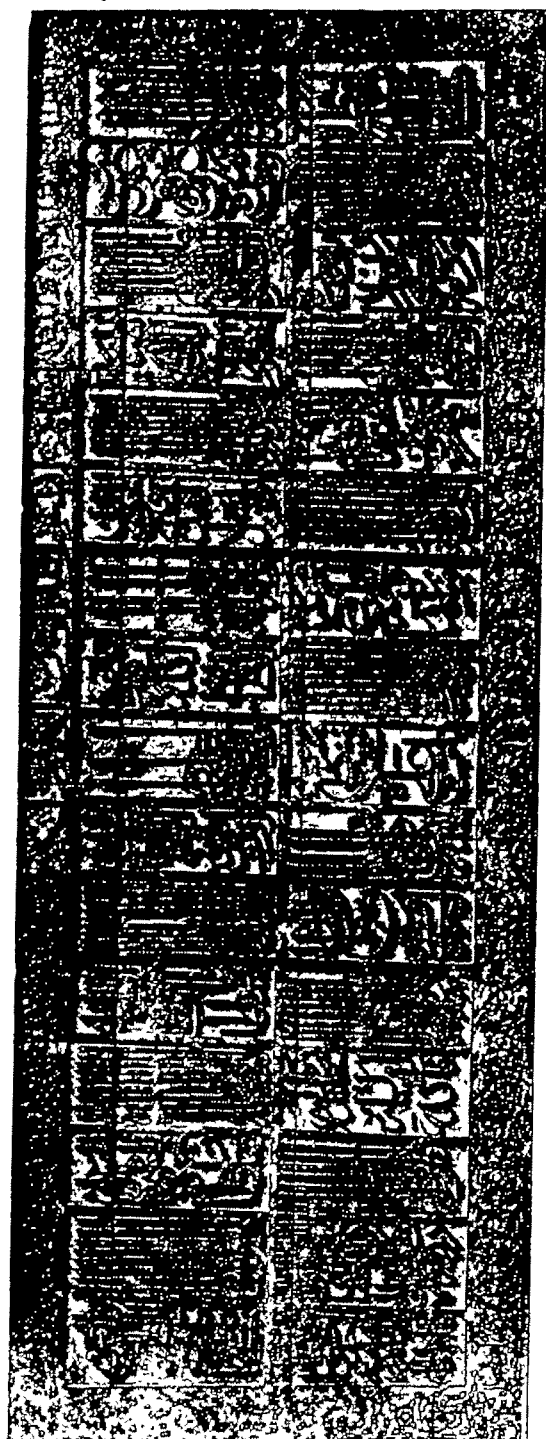


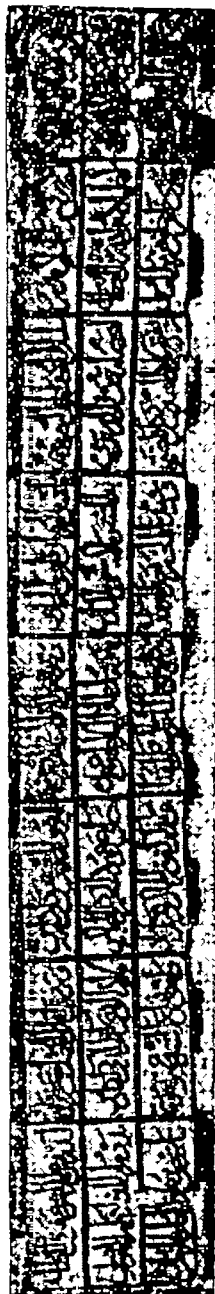
Plate No. 1.

afar Khan's Mosque, ^{Abeni.}
Over the lintel of the southern niche.



Scale '2

(b) On the lintel of the southern niche, below (a)



Scale '142

(c) On the right post of the niche.



Scale '142

(d) On the left post of the niche.



Scale '1

THE VERSIFIED ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL

Chinmoy Dutt

Almost all the early inscriptions of Bengal are in Arabic and the first record in Persian is the inscription of Sikandar Shāh, son of Ilyās Shāh executed in the year 765 A. H./1363 A. D.¹

This fact, the paucity of Persian inscriptions at this period, leads us to believe that though Persian was introduced in this land as early as the sixth century A. H. / twelfth century A. D., Arabic was considered to be a more dignified language for mural writings and numismatic purposes than Persian, and when the Persian language was used, it was largely embellished with phrases of Arabic construction. For over four centuries, Arabic continued to maintain its premier position in the mural records of Bengal, during the supremacy of Imperial governors and Turko. Afghān Sultāns. But the 10th century A.H./16th century A. D. marks a turning point in the field of epigraphy when conquest of Bengal by the Mughals broke the traditional sanctity of Arabic which was replaced rapidly in the field of Epigraphy and Numismatics by Persian.

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1. The inscription is partly in Arabic and partly in Persian verse.

J. A. S. B., 1872, PP. 104-5

Cunningham—A. S. R. vol. xv, p. 98.

Epigraphia Indo-moslemica 1929-30, pp. 10-11

Shamsiddīn Ahmad, Inscriptions of Bengal (Rajshahi, 1960), p. 34

A. H. Dānī, Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal, Appendix to the Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan, vol. II, P. 11 (Pakistan, Dacca, 1957).

The total number of inscriptions of the Muslim rulers of Bengal comes to about 200, of which 144 are in Arabic, 21 in Arabic mixed with Persian, 34 in Persian and 1 in Sanskrit. So far, only 2 Arabic inscriptions of Bengal rulers have been discovered in metrical verse; one of the two is in Zafar Khān's mosque at Tribeni, District Hughli, and the other one of Sulṭān Bārbak Shāh, now preserved in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, U. S. A.

In regard to the merit of the literary production, none of the two could reach the standard of perfection. The authors seem to have been prompted by the idea of producing something marvellous but their attempts were not successful. The style lacks the natural flow while the syntax and the choice of vocables are farfetched. The rhyme and metre are defective. It seems almost certain that the writers were non-Arab. Before the 11th century A. D., Arabic inscriptions in verse even in pure Arab countries are rare. It may be pointed out that the earlier Persian inscriptions are often composed in prose but later on verse becomes gradually common. But such versification was deemed derogatory in as much as the composer, in his eagerness to show off his skill in high-flown language, exaggerated the description of buildings or facts and thus divested the buildings of their true architectural merit and the inscriptions of their true historical value.

The inscriptions studied in this essay may also prove useful to the students of Indian architecture as fixing the date of several important structures viz. the Zafar Khān's tomb at Tribeni, Miyānadar Reservoir at Gaur etc. The greatest interest of the epigraphs, however, lies in their literary and calligraphic features. These versified Arabic inscriptions cannot be classed as brilliant compositions and they seem to have been the work of ordinary poets. The style of writing represented by the inscriptions is the highly stylish ornamental characters of mediaeval Bengal. The script of Bengal, on the other hand, has been characterised from the beginning by delicacy of form and subtlety of arrangement.

The intricate designs in the early forms of the fine Tughra writing of Bengal reached its climax a century and a half later during the reigns of the Habshī kings and the House of Husain Shāh.

1. Inscription of king Kaikā'ūs in Zafar Khān's mosque at Tribeni. Tribeni (Skt. tri=three, benī=braids) is an old place, so named from the fact that three streams branch out at this point, viz. the Bhāgīrathī flowing to the south, the Saraswatī to the west (right), and the Yamunā to the east (left).¹ The sanctity of the place was recognised from the very ancient days. It was an important town and a centre of Hindu learning. Tribeni is often called Tripānī, Tripānī Shāhpur or Fīrūzābād by the Muslim population of the place. The local Muslim community associates this place-name with Sultān Fīrūz Shāh of Delhi but Mr. Blochmann was right in connecting it with Sultān Shamsu'd-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh I of Bengal, whose name is commemorated in an inscription in Zafar Khān's tomb there.²

Zafar Khān's mosque, on which the present Arabic inscription is carved, is built out of the materials of old Hindu temples. The two historical names mentioned in the inscription are those of Kaikā'ūs and Zafar Khān. Ruknu'd-Dīn Kaikā'ūs (1291-1301 A.D.), the only surviving progeny of the Bengal branch of the House of Ghiyāthud-Dīn Balban claiming descent from Sultān Nāṣīru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Balban was raised to the throne of Lakhnauti (Lakṣmaṇāvatī) perhaps after the abdication of his father in 1291 A. D. The boy king Kaikā'ūs ruled over Bengal and Bihar and issued coins and inscriptions. Again, Governor Zafar Khān, whose origin and life the local tradition had treated as a myth, proved to have been a historical personage by epigraphs and his name,

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1. L. S. S. O' Malley & M. Chakravartty, Bengal District Gazetteers—Hooghly, Calcutta 1912. p. 254
 2. J. A. S. B. vol XXXIX, P. 282.

race and the province under his government are now known.¹ This inscription and two other epigraphs at Tribeni prove that he was appointed governor of the districts of Dinajpur, Tribeni etc. from 697-713 A. H. and from the texts of these records he seems to have been fond of architecture, liberal, brave and a zealous Muslim, and a patron of learning. He was a Turk, a fact apparent from his name 'Aitigīn', a Turkish word, meaning 'beautiful moon'. The title 'Sikandar-i-thānī' used for Fīrūz Aitigīn in the Lakhisarai inscription has been used here for Bahrām Aitigīn.²

The inscription under notice commemorates the establishment of a school in the year 698 A.H./1298. A.D. at Tribeni in the District of Hughly in the reign of Ruknu'd-Dīn Kaikā'ūs. One Qādī al-Nāṣir Muhammad, who for strength of his argument was styled "Qādī, the tiger", spent a large sum of money on education. It starts with a tradition of the prophet calling upon the people to acquire knowledge as "its acquisition is verily submission, its search is devotion, its discussion is glorification". Education is compared to 'a shield that can avert such evils as cannot be avoided with the help of a shield-bearer'. The Qādī also spent a large sum in granting subsistence to men of learning for "the inculcation of the Muslim law", and "manifestation of the Divine faith among the haughty".

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1. D. Money, "Temples of Triveni near Hughli", J. A. S. B., vol. Xvi, pp. 395-96
 2. The History of Bengal, vol, II, Dacca, 1948, pp. 77-79

Though no direct evidence is available, it is apparent that this inscription was traced by Mr. Blochmann, who first noticed it, and was later on noticed by Dr. Yazdani.¹ The epigraph is found carved in 'alto-relievo' in black basalt around the principal niche, which is built in the 'pillar and lintel' style in the Zafar Khān's mosque. The inscription is a long Arabic poem, a Qaṣīda with a rhyme in 'sin' and it is the oldest record of its kind in India. The lines are composed in a purely Arabic meter, viz. Tawīlī-sālim. The epigraph consists of sixteen lines of which Mr. Blochmann was able to decipher only a few lines, while Dr. Yazdānī's attempt in interpreting the whole epigraph except the second line of the first slab, and the first hemistich of the lines 1, 5 and 9 and two words of the sixth line has been accepted. It is, however, written in fine 'Naskh' style, and excepting the portions where the stone delapidated, the writing is quite legible. The literary style of the inscription is somewhat heavy, but still there are no grammatical mistakes nor any orthographical inaccuracy. The chronogram at the end of the epigraph is important, being the earliest example in the Muslim epigraphy in India.

Zafar Khān's mosque contains several other inscriptions. "Its sanctity in history lies in the fact that it has become in course of time a museum of Muslim epigraphy on account of the preservation of many inscription slabs of different times built into different parts of this mausoleum".² The present one is divided into four parts viz. (a) the religious text, with which it begins, is engraved on a small stone tablet measuring $13\frac{1}{2}" \times 7\frac{1}{2}"$ and fixed above the lintel of the niche; (b) the first twelve verses on the lintel, the carved face measuring $6'8" \times 13"$; (c) verses 13-14 on the right jamb, the inscribed face measuring $5'5\frac{1}{2}" \times 5\frac{1}{2}"$ and (d) the last two verses i.e. 15 and 16 on the left jamb, the carved face measuring $5'5\frac{1}{2}" \times 5\frac{1}{2}"$.

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1. J. A. S. B., vol. XXXIX (1870), pp. 285-86;
Epigraphia Indo-moslemica, 1917-18, pp. 13-15, pt. II.
It has recently been reproduced in S. Ahmad's op. cit., pp. 18-19.
 2. The History of Bengal, vol. II. p. 78, Dacca University. 1948.

The following reading (Romanised) and translation of the inscription have been prepared on the basis of those of Blochmann, Yazdani and Shamsu'd-Dīn Ahmad.

(a) Over the lintel of the southern niche.

qāla 'alaihe as salāmu tà'eallāmu al 'ilma fa inna ta'allamahu lillāhe
tā'atun wa ṭalabahu 'abādatun wa muzakaratahu tasbīḥūn wa
albahathā 'anhu hādīn wa ta'alīmahu limain lā ya'alamu ṣadaqatun
wa bazlahu liahlīhi tanzīhun.

(b) On the lintel of the southern niche below (a)

- (1) linaṣbi durūs wa ittekḥāz madārīsī
- (2) salīl al guzzāt al Naṣīr Muḥammad yalqab bil burhān qādī'l ḥamāris
- (3) wa qad anfaq liamwāl fid durūs hasbat lā yardā bihe arraḥmān 'an
kul darisī
- (4) fayarzag ahl al faḍl man 'and mālihi litadrīs 'ilm al shara 'fauq al
tanāfisi
- (5) liāzhār dīn allāhi baina al gḥatārīsī
- (6) layaḥṣilahu tars miṇ al dars yatqā bihe al shar mā lā yatqa bittārīsī.
- (7) binaubat sultān al salāṭīn 'uhdahu ḥokeya 'an 'uhūd aljam kull
al majālīsī
- (8) milāz al war'a rukn al duni kaikā'ūs tadaum lahu al dunyā dawām
al hawājīsī
- (9) tabdī Zafar Khān hizbar al 'abāyāsī
- (10) bifataḥ bilād al hiṇd fi kull rakḍata wa Shīd banā' al Khair bād al
dawārīsī
- (11) wa qala'ulūj al kufr bi'l saif wa alqanā wa bazl kunūz al māl
fi kull bā'īsī
- (12) wa hiya rubā'a al Shara 'miṇ ba'd maitah bitalkḥiṣ burhān al
'ulūm al faraisī

(c) On the right jamb of the niche.

- (13) Khairjan min al faqhā' bāniah da'ūt lita thbīt imān awān alḥanādīsī
- (14) juz allāhi Khaira anhu maḥḍ raḥmat wa bar u āḥsān li ahl al qalānīsī

(d) On the left jamb of the niche.

- (15) wa ta'zīm 'ulāmā' al sharī'at jamlāt lā 'alā' a'alām al'alām al
'amālisi
 (16) batārikh hā man sinīn wa ṣādhā wa khā hūrīf al wafaq ḥisbān qā'isi

Translation

- (a) He (Prophet Muḥammad), may peace be upon him, has said :
 Acquire knowledge because its learning for the sake of God is devotion, and its acquisition is worship and its discussion is praise (of god) and its search is guidance and its teaching to the person who does not know, is charity and its bestowing on the people is glorification.
- (b)
- (1)to institute lectures and to establish schools.
 - (2) The offspring of Qāḍī, al-Naṣīr Muḥammad, who for (the strength of) his argument is styled Qāḍī, the tiger.
 - (3) And he has spent large sums of money on education for the sake of God; so that the merciful one (Allah) may be pleased (through his (Qāḍī's) munificence with every student,
 - (4) From his private money he grants subsistence to men of learning. for the teaching of the Muslim law, besides providing them with carpets.
 - (5)to manifest the Divine faith among the haughty.
 - (6) Through education that he may acquire a shield that can avert such evils as cannot be avoided with the help of a shield-bearer.
 - (7) In the reign of the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, whose government has revived the memory of all the assemblies of Jamshēd's time.
 - (8) The refuge of mankind; the prop of the world, Kaikā'ūs, may the world last for him as long as ideas occur in the mind.
 - (9)Zafar Khān, the lion of lions has appeared frowning.
 - (10) By conquering the towns of India in every expedition, and by restoring the decayed charitable institutions.
 - (11) And he has destroyed the obdurate among infidels with his sword and spear, and lavished the treasures of his wealth in (helping) the miserable.

- (12) And he has revived the institutions of the faith, after its destruction, by selecting arguments based on initiative knowledge.
- (13) The builder expects blessing from such as are learned in the law for the protection of his faith at the time of intense darkness (the darkness of the grave and of death).
- (14) May god reward him (the builder), for he is all mercy, and benevolence and bounty to the wearers of 'qalansūa (pious persons).¹
- (15) And (he has the utmost) respect for all the learned in the faith, in order to elevate the standards of stholars and the virtuous.
- (16) (The institution was built) in the year obtainable from the letters ḥā, ṣād and khā, the numerical value of which (8+90+600) tallies with the calcalation of the chronologist. (698 A. H.—1298 A. D).

II. Inscription of Ruknu'd-Dīn Bārbak Shāh (864-879 A. H./1459-1474 A. D.) found at Gaur, District Malda, West Bengal.

Bārbak Shāh¹ succeeded his fāther Sulṭan Nāsiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd in 864 A. H./1459 A. D. He was an excellent ruler. During his reign, his subjects and army both were in a happy and prosperous condition. Historians have described him as a "sagacious and law-abiding sovereign", in whose kingdom the soldiers and citizens alike enjoyed contentment and security. While a prince, Bārbak was appointed governor of South-Western Bengal i. e. Sātgaon and it is presumed that he was in charge of the Devikoṭ parganāḥ prior to his appointment in the Sātgaon province.

Bārbak showed great interest in Bengali literature. The poet Mālādhar Basu, who commenced his Śrīkṛṣṇa-vijaya in 1395 Śaka era/1473 A. D. records with gratitude the receipt of patronage from

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1. Qalansūa, a close fitting cap(used by the companions of the Prophet.)
 1. cf Persian 'bōrbeg'. The word 'Bārbak' is the Turkish synonym of Āmīr Hājib i. e. 'chief chamberlain'.

the Gauṛesvar who honoured him with the title, Guṇarāja Khān, on his son also, the poet tells us, the king conferred the title of Satyarāja Khān. The poet says :

guṇa nāhi adhama muṇi nāhi kona jñān.

gaureśvar dilā nām guṇarāja khān.

satyarāja khān hay hrdaya nandan.

tāre āśīrvād kara yata sādhujan.¹

The poet was a resident of 'kulīngrāma', District Burdwan, West Bengal, which was an integral part of the kingdom of Bārbak Shāh. Bārbak Shāh's dominion comprised the whole of East and West Bengal, parts of Bihar and Orissa and included Assam and Chittagong upto the borders of Arakan. He reigned successfully upto 879 A. H./1474 A.D.

The inscription tablet² was first found by Creighton close by the Chānd Gate, in the citadel of Gaur in the District of Malda, West Bengal. But Stapleton maintains that the record was traced at Goamāl̥ti by Francklin. It is possible that the inscription slab was first found by Creighton lying on the Gate and subsequently it was removed to Goamāl̥ti by some one as stated by Stapleton.

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1. Mālādhār Basu, Śrīkṛṣṇavijay ed. by K. N. Mitra, Calcutta University, Introduction, pp. 12 & 13.
 2. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Report, vol. XV, p. 53; Ravenshaw, Gaur its Ruins and Inscriptions, pp. 18-19; Abid Ali Khān, Memoirs of Gaur and Panduah, pp. 56-58, A. K. Maitra, The Ancient monuments of Varendra, p. 35; S. Ahmad, Inscriptions of Bengal, vol. IV, p. 85; N. A. Faris & G. C. Miles, Ars Islamica, vol. VII, pp. 141-146; Ahmad Hasan Dani, Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal, Appendix to the Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan vol. II, pp. 26-27, Dacca 1957.

The inscription commemorates the construction of a water course and Gateway during the reign of Sulṭān Ruknu'd-Dīn Bārbak Shāh in the year 871 A. H./1466 A. D. The epigraph is in Arabic verse and consists of fifteen couplets and a post-script of two lines in Persian prose. It was acquired by the University of Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia, U. S. A. by purchase from Mr. H. Kevorkian, an antiquarian and art dealer. The epigraph is carved in 'alto-relievo' on nine stone slabs of irregular size fitting together to make a rectangular panel measuring $8'1'' \times 2'11\frac{1}{2}''$. The stone is black tuff, resembling black basalt in appearance. A border of an undulating foliate pattern interspersed with rosettes surrounds the inscription and is interrupted midway at the top by a cartouche containing the 'basmala' in simple 'Thuluth' character. The inscription proper consists of two lines, each divided into 16 vertical rectangular frames, the character being an exceptionally graceful and elaborate variety of Ṭughra script. Instead of the customary unbroken repetition of elongated verticals so characteristic of the Indian Ṭughra character, the letters in every other frame or panel are inscribed in open Thuluth, and contrasted with the varying rhythm of the repeated verticals in the alternate frames. Furthermore, the alternation of compact and open script in the upper and lower lines is staggered—that is, the upper line commences with a panel of Ṭughrā character, and the lower line begins with one of open 'Thuluth'. The inscription is characteristic example of the variety of ingenuity displayed in the use of Ṭughra character in this period. The effect is most striking, and the inscription as a whole is a masterpiece of Islamic epigraphy. Two circumstances have contributed to the difficulty of decipherment and identification. In the first place, the text is Arabic verse, and Arabic verse is never easy. Secondly, the panels containing Ṭughra character are for the most part exceedingly crowded and complex; several of them are very nearly undecipherable. The metre is Basīṭ-i- muṣamman -i-sālim with a rhyme in 'nun' but the scheme is defective. With the establishment of the Mughal rule in India, the characters commence to change, and

though Ṭughra letters are still in use; they gradually drift into 'nastā' liqh'.¹

The following reading and translation of the inscription have been reproduced after a careful comparison of the readings in Ravenshaw, Stapleton, Shamsuddin Ahmad & Ars Islamica. See plate.

Bismillah ar-rahmān ar-rahīm

- (1) alhamdu lillāhi zi ālālā' wa almanani rabbun tanazzahu,' an nau-
min wa'an wasani
- (2) thumma at ṣalāt 'ala al mukhtār-i-man mazar khairu'l anām al
nabī al sayyid al madani
- (3) muḥammad khātim al rasal al karām wa man laulāhu sabal al huda
wa alhaq lam tabani
- (4) wa ālihi ma'dun al-tagwa wa sahbathu altā' 'iyi allāh fi sar wa fi
'alani
- (5) wa ba'd athna 'ala min jawād rahmathu izra bajūd al saḥāb alhātīl
al hatani
- (6) al shāh sultān rukn al dunyā wa al dīn sulṭānanā bārbak shāh alālā
al faṭani
- (7) ibn auazi shā' fi al amṣār bābahu sultān mahmūd Shāh al 'ādil al
hasani
- (8) hall fi al 'irāqain, sultān lahu karam kebārbak Shāh fi al Shām
wafial yamani
- (9) kallā wa mā fi bilād allāhi qaṭṭ lahu fi al bazl mithl fahazā wāhid al
zamani
- (10) wa dārahu kāljannān rāi'q nazzahu we mujlib lilqhani wa mazhab
lil shājani
- (11) nahru jara taḥtāhā kālsalsabil lahu ajnā' dar qultu bi'l fuqra wa
al mahni
- (12) wa bābhā rāhtun lilrūb raiḥānā lazi al habīb wa lā a'adā' kālsh-
atani
- (13) bāb 'ala' nashīt mashrah samahu 'miyānadar' wahiya dukhul khāṣ
labani

1. Ars Islamica vol. VII, pp. 141.

- (14) ahdā wa saba'unā wa althunlānmiyat sanān mabnāhu dāru'l 'aīsh
wa alāmāl wa al kanani
- (15) fallāhu asā'lahu takhlīd daulathu mā_ghird al tayīr fi raud' alā' al
fanani

Persian Portion :—

dar daur-i-saltanat-i- Shāh Jahān panāh Ruknu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn
abu'l muzaffar Bārbak shāh sulṭān Khallada allāhu mulkahu wa
sulṭānahu banā' miyānahdar sanate ahdā wa saba'una wa thumān
miyāt Shuda ast.

Translation

In the name of god, the Compassionate, the Merciful

1. Praise be to God, the lord of munificence and grace, the lord who neither slumbers nor sleeps.
2. Then, the peace be on the chosen one of (the tribe of) Muḍar, the most excellent of created beings, the prophet, the Medinese (the lord of Madina).
3. Muhammad, the last of the eminent and graceful prophets, without whom the paths of righteousness and truth would not have become known.
4. (Blessings also be) upon his family, who are the mines of piety, and upon his companions, who are obedient unto God in private and in public.
5. And afterwards I sing the praise of one whose generosity surpasses the beneficence of clouds heavily laden with moisture.
6. The Shah, the Sultan, the protector of the universe, the pillar of religion. Our Sultan Barbak shah, the sublime, the wise.
7. Son of the most renowned, whose fame has spread throughout the lands, Sultan Mahmud Shah, the just, the fair.
8. Is there in the two Irajs a Sultan as generous as Barbak Shah in Syria and in Yemen ?
9. No. There is not unto him in all God's land an equal in generosity, for he is unique, unparalleled in his time.

10. His abode resembles paradise, tranquil and pleasing, it gathers joy and dispels sorrow.
11. A water course flows beneath it, resembling 'salsabil' (a fountain in paradise) with pearl-like ripples, which do away with poverty and pain.
12. Its gate provides refuge (comfort), like fragrant 'basil' to the soul to friends while to foes it is forbidden and remote.
13. A gateway which is on the stream bearing his name, is the middle Gateway (Miyānādar) which has a special entrance for the milk.
14. (It is erected) in the year eight hundred and seventy one (871 A. H.) which is the abode of life and hope and favours.
15. So. I pray to God for the continuance of his sovereignty as long as birds sing on the branches of any garden.

* * *

In the reign of Shāh, asylum of the world, Ruknu'd-Dunya wa'd-Dīn Abu'l Muzaffar Barbak Shāh Sultān, may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, the middle Gate (Miyānādar) was constructed in the year eight hundred and seventy one (871 A.H./1466 A.D).

SOME PHONOLOGICAL DISTINCTIONS OF THE EASTERN PRAKRIT GRAMMARIANS

Satya Ranjan Banerjee

Prakṛit grammarians can be divided into two schools : Eastern and Western. To the former belong Vararuci and his commentators, Kramadīśvara, Rāmaśarman, Mārkaṇḍeya, etc., to the latter belong Hemacandra, Trivikrama, Lakṣmīdhara, Siṃharāja, Appayadīkṣita and others.

Some phonological characteristics in which the two schools appear to differ are discussed here.

(i) **On the quantity of vowels**

As regards the change in the quantity of vowels¹ before consonant-conjuncts Hemacandra states : “a long vowel is shortened before a consonant-conjunct” (“*hrasvaḥ saṃyoge*”—Hc. I, 84) or, “wherever a *y, r, v, ś, ṣ*, or *s* is elided, which precedes or follows a *ś, ṣ*, or *s*, the preceding vowel is lengthened” (Hc. I, 43), or, the doubling previously done is forbidden after a long vowel or an anusvāra, (cf. Vara II, 56) whether these have been introduced by previous rules (*lākṣaṇika*), or are the original letters of the word (*alākṣaṇika*) (Hc. II, 92). Hemacandra is followed by Trivikrama (I, 2, 8) and others. But Vararuci is absolutely silent about it. Cowell informs us that the Ms. ‘W’ has a spurious sūtra, “*saṃyogapūrho hrasvaḥ*”, but this has not been recognised by Vasantarāja in his commentary, even in explaining such a change as that of of *āścarya* to *acchera*. Kramadīśvara simply remarks that *ā, ī* and *ū*

1. Lassen,—*Institutiones* pp. 41-49; Cowell-Appendix D to his edition of *Prākṛta-prakāśa*, 1868; Pischel, *Gram, Pkt. Spr.* §§79-100

sometimes become short (I, 14) and also if the consonant is elided the *a*, *i* and *u* may be lengthened (“(dirghaḥ) ad-id-ul-lupta-vyañjane” II, 145). Later authors like Puruṣottama, Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍeya do not formulate any rule like Hemacandra that Prakrits do not allow any long vowel before a consonant-conjunct, but like Kramadīśvara they have also noticed that long vowels become short in some words classed as *āktigaṇa*, for example when $\bar{a} > a$, words are optionally classed under *yathādi-gaṇa* by Vararuci, (I, 10) Kramadīśvara (I, 9), Mārkaṇḍeya (I, 67) and Trivikrama (I, 2, 37) divide them into two groups—*avyaya* and *utkhātādi-gaṇa*, the words with $\bar{i}$ shortening to *i* are grouped under *pāntiyādi*-class by Vararuci (I, 18) and also by Hemacandra (I, 101) while Kramadīśvara mentions two groups: *pāntiyādi*-group (I, 11) where shortening of $\bar{i}$ is compulsory and *gabhitādi* - group where it is optional (I, 12). Mārkaṇḍeya follows Kramadīśvara but with a different terminology “*grhitādi*-class” The grammarians have not formulated any *gaṇa* for words with long $\bar{u}$. On the whole, the easterners do not categorically hold that long vowels before consonant conjunct are shortened. On the other hand, long vowels before consonant conjuncts are seen in the Mss. belonging to the Eastern region. Hemacandra also notes it in his Prakrit grammar: “*kēcid brāhmaṇapūrvāhṇayor apīcchan ti| bamhaṇo bāmhaṇo| puuvāṇho puuvāṇho| davaggi dāv(ā)ggi|/...*” (under *vāvyayotkhātādāvadātāḥ* I, 67).

On this point Cowell¹ interrogates—“Are we therefore to interpret the silence of Vararuci as evidence that the principle in question grew up gradually in Prakrit and only became fully recognised in later times?” Cowell’s statement is to a certain extent borne out by the Inscriptions of Aśoka² where we find that Hemacandra is followed in the Western region and perhaps, Vararuci in the Eastern portions.’

1. loc cit, p. 186. 2. M. A. Mehendale, Aśokan Inscriptions in India, The University of Bombay, 1948; Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits, Poona, 1948.

(ii) **Treatment of r**

With regard to the treatment of r the grammarians do not mention anything specifically. But from a careful perusal of their texts. it could be surmised that there was a dialectal distinction in the treatment of r . The grammarians consider the change of $\text{r} > a$ as usual, while that into i or u under *ganās*; and a statistical account will show that the change of $\text{r} > i$ or ri , is in a majority of cases in the non-western region. This has led the modern scholars ilke R. Pischel¹, J. Bloch², Suniti Kumar Chatterjee³ and Sukumar Sen⁴ to point out that the change of $\text{r} > a$ is predominant in the west and the south, and the development of $\text{r} > i$ is mostly noticed in other regions. "This distinction finds an exact reflection in the Aś. inscriptions in as much as the $\text{r} > a$ treatment is the principal one in the Western and the $\text{r} > i$ treatment in the non-Western regions⁵". When we come to Apabhramśa this distinction is also noticed. G. V. Tagare⁶ has shown statistically that "in the earlier Apabhramśa works, initial $\text{r} > i$ was the characteristic of Eastern Apabhramśa and it went on increasing in Western Apabhramśa. Initial $\text{r} > a$ was less in vogue in Eastern Apabhramśa than it was in Western Apabhramśa, although it was decreasing in both. Medial $\text{r} > i$ was the general rule in Western and Eastern Apabhramśa".

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1. Gram. Pkt. Spr. §§49-51.
 2. La Formation de la Langue Marathe, §31
 3. ODBL, §173 p. 354.
 4. A Comp. Gram. MIA. §40.
 5. Aśok, Insc. in India—M. A. Mehendale p. 54.
 6. Historical Grammar of Apabhramśa, (Poona) p. 24

(iii) **Treatment of cerebral *ṇ* and dental *n*.**

In the matter of cerebral *ṇ* and dental *n*, these two schools also differ. So far as the principal Prakrit (i.e. Mahārāṣṭrī) is concerned, Hemacandra (I. 228-9) allows single *ṇ* medially; but he has made an option with regard to initial and conjunct. But according to Bharata and Vararuci (II. 42) the dental *n* of Sanskrit words will be changed into cerebral *ṇ*- be it initial, medial or conjunct. Rāmaśarman (I. 2. 14) and Mārkaṇḍeya (II. 41-3) allow cerebral *ṇ* everywhere, although Mārkaṇḍeya is aware of the option for the initial and for conjuncts. Kramadīśvara (2. 106) advocates that *ṇ* should be written everywhere, but in 2. 107. he states that initially dental *n* is also sometimes found. It is seen that Prakrit grammarians of the eastern school are almost unanimous with regard to the change of dental *n* into cerebral *ṇ*. But divergent view between Hemacandra and Trivikrama is noticed with regard to the cerebral *ṇ* in Deśi-words or roots. Hemacandra holds the view¹ that there cannot be dental *n*, either initial or medial in Deśi words and his rule *Vāḍau* (1. 229) only refers to such Prakrit words as are derived from Sanskrit and not to Deśi words. But Trivikrama, on the other hand, believes that initial dental *n* might occur in Deśi words: e. g. *nirappai* (2.4. 127) as a 'dhātvādeśa', but adds "*ṇatve ṇirappi*". They usually write *ṇam* for *nānu*, *ṇṇam* for *nūnam* and also *ṇa* for *na*. But "the conventions of modern critical editors", says A. N. Upadhye², "are nearly settled., In Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī texts *n* is initially preserved (*ṇam* excepted), medially it is *ṇ*, and in a conjunct usually *nn* (and sometimes *ṇṇ*); in Jaina-Śaurasenī, Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī texts it is necessarily cerebral *ṇ* everywhere"; and to these we add Māgadhī, Paisācī and Apabhraṃśa, according to the conventions of the easterners. P. L. Vaidya³ also instructs us that if the text comes from a non-Jaina source, it should be moulded according to the rules given by Vararuci, (Kramadīśvara), Puruṣottama, Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa and Mārkaṇḍeya. This shows that a line of demarcation can be drawn between the two, so far as the treatment of dental *n* and cerebral *ṇ* is concerned.

1. Vide Deśināmamālā—nakārādayastu deśyām asaṃbhavina eveti na nibaddhāh. Yacca "vāḍau" (1. 229) iti sūtritām asmābais tatsaṃskṛtabhava-prākṛta-śabdāpekṣayā na deśyāpekṣayeti sarvam avadātam. p. 208. BSS ed.
2. Intro. p. 9 to his edition of Līlāvaī, 1949, cf. also Pischel, Gram. Pkt. Spr. §§224. 282.
3. Trivikrama's Pkt Gram. Intro. p. xxff.

(v) **Treatment of Labial b and semi-vowel v.**¹

According to the Western Prakrit grammarian, Hemacandra (1.237), (a) original initial *b* remains unchanged in Prakrit, as Skt. *balam* > Pkt. *balam*; while original intervocalic *b*, becomes *v* (*bo vah*. 1. 237.); as *alābu* > *alāvu* > *lāu*; *sabala* > *savala*, *sayala*; (b) initial *v* remains unchanged, while intervocalic (1. 177) *v* is generally elided; and (c) initial *p* remains unchanged while intervocalic *p* generally becomes *v* (*po vah* 1. 231), or in Apabhraṃśa *b* (*anāḍau svarād asamyuktānām ka-kha-ta-tha-pa-phāṃga-gha-da-dha-ba-bhāḥ*. 4. 396). The Prakrit intervocalic *v* in all these cases is itself frequently elided.

For the Eastern grammarians, the case is altogether different. In the modern Indo-Aryan languages of eastern India like Bengali and Oriyā *b* and *v* are not distinguished, both being pronounced as *b*. In the Mss. the same character *b* corresponds to the Nāgari *b* and *v*. Hence one faces an insurmountable difficulty in editing an Eastern text written in Bengali or Oriyā character. In editing Vararuci's *Prākṛta-Prakāśa*, Cowell encountered the same sort of difficulty; but he somehow got rid of that by following the method of Hemacandra. In his edition of Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa*,² he says—"I have also throughout followed the Mss. in writing *v* as the 'Prakrit equivalent for the Sanskrit *p*'; in the continental editions of the plays it has been usual to write *b*, but for this there is no authority, as the Mss. make no difference between the *v*=the Skt. *p*, and that=the Skt. *v*. The rules of Vararuci evidently show that there was no distinction whatever between *b* and *v*." He further adds³—"It is not so easy to determine which of the two sounds thus absorbed the other and whether in translation we should represent it by *b* or *v* universally; the analogy of the modern languages would incline us to the former, but a sūtra in Hemacandra seems to favour the latter, which I have therefore adopted throughout". He, therefore, printed semi-vowel *v* and rejects *b* altogether in his edition of Vararuci.

1. vide Grierson's JRAS (1925), p. 231-34.

2. Cowell, Pkt. Pra. Intro. p. xiv. 2nd ed. 1868.

3. Ibid. p. xiv.

When we come to Kramadiśvara, we find that no such distinction between a labial *b* and a semi-vowel *v* is maintained from the point of view of the construction of the sūtras. He simply states “*po vaḥ*” (2 8); but *b* or *v* is not clear from the Mss. not from the other rules of the text. The twin sūtras of Hemacandra “*po vaḥ*” and “*bo vaḥ*” are not found in Kramadiśvara. So is the case with the other grammarians Purusottama, Ramaśarman and Markandeya. Markandeya’s text was written in Oriya character and hence we are to come across the same difficulty.

So far as the Eastern grammarians are concerned, Ramaśarman in his Prakṛta-Kalpataṛu (1. 5. 16) has thrown some lights on this point, and from him we come to know that the Eastern grammarians do not allow semi-vowel *v* in their texts. Rāmaśarman says—

namo’stu bindur hali no’pi ṇasya (Grierson. *krasya*)

vargottamā vā yayi sambhavādau

ॠ ॠ, ॡ ॡ *ai*cca ṇanau yavau ca (Ghosh, *na-au*)

śaśau visargaśca na santyamuvyam||¹

(cf. Varā. IV. 14, 17; Pu. IV. 2; Mk. IV. 23-24).

Here it should be noted that the word “amuvyam” in the last line is unintelligible; yet it does not affect our result. The general meaning is according to Grierson².

(1) Anusvāra is substituted for *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *n* and *m*, when any of them is followed by a consonant; but when it is followed by a class consonant, (*pratyāhāra yay*) the corresponding class-nasal may optionally be substituted, as, in *sambhavādau* etc. 2) The sounds like ॠ, ॠ, ॡ, ॡ, *ai* and *au*, *ṇ* and *n*, *y* and *v*, *ś* and *ṣ*, and visarga do not occur in Pkt.

1. I have taken this verse from Grierson’s article *Prakritika* pp. 215-236, published in JRAS, 1925. The edition prepared by M. Ghosh and published from the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1954 contains this verse with a different reading. In the footnote the name of Grierson has not however been mentioned.

2. JRAS, 1925, p. 232.

be expected only there where it is a case of samprasāraṇa (i. v. *v* becoming *m*), and that is not even shown in writing. It may be presumed that the original Sanskrit *v* may be retained when it has become a case of samprasāraṇa in Prakrit.

It will not be out of place here, if I mention the different readings in the Prakrit passages of the editions of *Sakuntala* as prepared by Monier-Williams and by Pischel, so far as this point is concerned. Monier-Williams prepared the Text from the Mss. in Devanāgarī found in the upper Provinces of India, while Pischel collated the text from the Bengali Mss. Monier-Williams¹ also "consulted the Bengali Mss, but rarely admitted readings from them, unless supported by some one of the Devanagari". Pischel also consulted the Devanagari Mss but he did not attach so much importance to them in place of the Bengali Mss. Furthermore, regarding the three Indian editions (of which one is prepared by Prema Tarkavagisa) Pischel states that these are "based on Mss. of doubtful value and are altogether uncritical; and so he has hardly ever admitted a reading from them into it, unless it was supported by one of his Mss. or at least by Sankara". Pischel discarded the readings of Pandit Prem Tarkavagisa; but really speaking in the treatment of labial *b* and semi-vowel *v*, Prema Tarkavagisa followed the diction of the Eastern grammarians, i. e. he uniformly preserved the labial *b* in the Prakrit passages instead of semivowel *v*. Pischel unnecessarily rectifies the labial *b* into semi-vowel *v* and corrects the whole Prakrit passages against the evidence of the Mss., but following the rules of the Western grammarians particularly of Hemacandra. He says that the grammarians are not to be corrected with the help of the Mss but the Mss. are to be improved upon with the help of the grammarians. But it can be added here that the peculiar characteristics of an eastern Prakrit, supported by the Eastern grammarians, should not be rectified with the evidence of the Western grammar. So the Prakrit readings, in regard to labial *b*, cannot be summarily rejected. Now it should be noted that the readings given by Monier-Williams seem to be based on an outlook of the historical background answering to the reliability of one or the other reading of the different manuscripts, while it will appear as almost certain that the readings given by Pischel reveal a strong predilection for grammar.

1. Oxford, 1876.

(v) **Ya-sruti.**

Hemacandra, a grammarian belonging to the Western school, in his Prakrit grammar (1. 180) has prescribed *ya-sruti* after *a* and *ā*, but in his commentary under the same sūtra, he has further added that occasionally *ya-sruti* is noticed after *i* also. When the medial single consonants—*k, g, c, j, t, d, p, y* and *v* (1. 177) are dropped leaving behind the accompanying vowel, the remaining *a* or *ā*, if preceded by *a* or *ā*, is pronounced like a lightly articulated *ya* (*laghu-prayatnatara-yakāra srutir bhavati*). Thus

Skt. nagara > Pkt. nayara (<naara),

„, kāmamāni > Pkt. kāyamāni (<kāa māni)

„, Pātāla > Pkt. Pāyāla (pāāla).

Hemacandra strictly observes that this *ya-sruti* is possible only after *a* or *ā*, although in the *vrtti* he mentions that it is also found after *i* (cf. *kvacid bhavati. piyai*). Whether this phenomenon will be observed after any other vowel, is not clear from Hemacandra's sūtra. Caṇḍa (III. 35) also admits it in between *a* and *ā*.

Vararuci of the Eastern school, does not recognise it, so also his commentator Bhāmaha (II. 2); but other commentators like Vasantarāja and Sadānanda recognise it by quoting—*īṣatsprṣṭaḥ prayojyo yaḥ kvacid lupṭeṣu kādiṣu*. Kramadīśvara (3: 2) does not formulate any hard and fast rule on this point. In his opinion *ya-sruti* may optionally come after any vowel and in any dialect. Mārkaṇḍeya (II. 2) also does not make any provision for this, but he simply gives a quotation according to which the non-initial vowel *a* and *i* may sometimes be pronounced like *ya* : “*anādāv aditau varṇau paṭhitavyau yakāra-vad*” *iti Pāṭhaśikṣā*. (II. 2). Other grammarians of this school do not say anything on the subject. Practically speaking, grammarians belonging to this school do not advocate the rule of Hemacandra; they

follow a different method. In their opinion, the rules regarding the substitution of *ya* for *a* refer to pronunciation and not to writing. There are certain rules, though a few, which refer to the pronunciation of sounds. The rule relating to *ya-sruti* is one of them. It is, therefore, evident from the grammars of the Eastern school that the proper way is to write *a* in all cases and leave the reader to pronounce it according to his practice. A similar practice occurs with regard to the vowels *e* and *o*. It is admitted on all hands that the Prakrits possess these vowels in the short and long forms. They are to be pronounced short when followed by a conjunct consonant. But both the long and the short vowels are represented by the same character and the short vowels are only heard in pronunciation. In the same way, the vowel remaining after the elision of the consonants is always to be written as *a* but it has to be pronounced as *ya* when preceded by any long or short vowels. And that is why in the manuscripts of the Eastern school, we do not find any *ya-sruti*, at least, in writing. So according to the Eastern School, we could write *loassa* and *loyassa*; *dearo* and *deyaro*, but always as *loassa* and *dearo* according to the Westerners.

Linguistically *ya-sruti* is a natural phenomenon; and something like this is already noticed by Pāṇini (VIII. 3. 18-19) and by the earlier Sanskrit phoneticians.¹ "From an etymological point of view", says Jacobi, "it is more self-consistent that *ya-sruti* should be written after all vowels, because it is the remnants of a lost consonant".² He comes to this conclusion, corroborated by the Eastern grammarians, while he finds that the Jaina Mss. are not always uniform so far as the use of

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1. V. Bhattacharya, Panini's Grammar and the influence of Prakrit on Sanskrit. Grierson Commemoration Volume, Lahore 1933, pp. 157-59.
 2. The Kalpasutra of Bhadrabahu, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 20-21.

ya-śruti is concerned. But Weber¹ and Alsdorf² consider it to be one of the exclusive characteristics of Jaina Prakrit. Pischel³ after much discussions has said that *ya* is the oldest characteristic of Ardhamagadhi, Jaina-Maharastri and Jaini-Sauraseni and wrongly the Jains carry over this to other dialects also. A. N. Upadhye⁴ has critically discussed the subject and has retained it in his edited texts in many cases because of 'editorial discipline'. The development of Middle Indo-Aryan languages as well as the New Indo-Aryan vernaculars⁵ shows clearly that the phenomenon *ya-sruti* is natural but the process of writing varies from school to school and from locality to locality. This may be found in all sorts of Prakrit dialects and after any vowel. Such is also the view of the eastern school of Prakrit grammarians as represented by Vararuci, Kramadīśvara, Ramaśarman and Markandeya.

(vi) **Pronunciation of Magadhi Palatals.**

With regard to the pronunciation of Magadhi palatal sounds⁶ Prakrit grammarians are not always unanimous. Western Prakrit grmmarians, like Hemacandra, Trivikrama and Siṃharāja do not mention anything on the subject in their Prakrit grammars. Only the Eastern grammarians have discussed something on the subject. On this point Vararuci mentions—

"cavargasya spaṣṭatā tathoccāraṇaḥ (XI. 5)

which Bhāmaha interprets as *"cavargo yathā spaṣṭastathoccāraṇo bhavati"* meaning thereby, that c, ch, j, and ñ are so pronounced as to be clear Lassen⁷ has emended the reading of Vararuci and says that instead of

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1. Uber ein Fragments der Bhagavati, Berlin, 1865, p. 397ff.
 2. Der Kumarapala pratibodha, Hamburg, 1929, p. 52.
 3. Gram. Pkt. Spr. §187. Hemacandra's Gram. (1. 180).
 4. Intro. pp. 10-12 to his edition of Lilavati, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavana, Bombay, 1949.
 5. Grierson, Introduction to Maithili, Pt. I, §24. S. K. Chatterji, ODBL §170. Geiger, Pali Lang. & Lit. §36.
 6. Grierson-JRAS. 1913, pp. 391-96 (inverted portions are from him); Hoernle, Gd. gr. p. 8; Pischel, Gram. Pkt. Spr. §217.
 7. Lassen, Institutiones etc. p. 397.

spaṣṭatā we should read *aspaṣṭatā* 'not clear'. This sūtra of Vararuci is very unintelligible", says Cowell, "as it stands in the Mss. with *spaṣṭatā*, and Lassen's conjecture of *aspaṣṭatā* does not seem satisfactory". Cowell suggests *asprṣṭatā* and translates the sūtra thus: "The palatal letters are pronounced with but a very slight contact of the tongue with the root of the mouth". "The *ābhyantara prayatna* or internal effort in the utterance of the palatals", says Cowell, "is properly *sprṣṭa*, because the organs of utterance are in contact; but in that of the semi-vowels (of which *y* corresponds to the palatals) it is *īṣatsprṣṭa*, because here they but slightly touch", and in support of his statement he quotes "*yapacavargayuktā manāguccāryāḥ* from the Saṃkṣiptasāra.

Next comes Kramadīśvara, whose sūtra on this subject, (*yapacavargayuktā manāguccāryāḥ*) is extremely obscure. This reading of the text is very doubtful. The other reading "*īṣatcavargayukta* etc". is also obscure. Puruṣottama is of opinion that the pronunciation of *ca-varga* is perfectly palatal (*cuḥ spaṣṭa-tālavyaḥ*. XII. 13). Rāmaśarma states that "the semi-vowel *y*, and only that semi-vowel is prefixed to every letter of the *ca*-group, and also in the case of conjuncts (*cavargak-ānām upari prayojyo yukteṣu cāntaḥsthayakāra eva*. II.2.18). Mārkaṇḍeya also says that *y* is prefixed to *c* and *j*, as in *yciram*, *ycia* etc. (*cajayor upari yaḥ syāt* XII. 21.). Again Mārkaṇḍeya says (*ciṭṭhasya tu ściṇṭaḥ*. XII. 32) that the Śābarī *ciṭṭhadi* (Skt. *tiṣṭhati*) becomes *ściṇṭadi* in Mg. which again (*scinto ycisa ityeke* XIII. 3) becomes *ycisadi* in Śakārī, a variety of Māgadhī. Again in the Vṛācaḍa Ap. spoken in Sindh (i. e. North-west) he tells us that *y* is prefixed to *c*, and *j*, as in *ycalai* (Sk. *calati*), *yjalai* (Sk. *jvalati*). Finally in Śauraseni Paisācīkī (XX. 4), which is a variety of the Kekaya-paisācīkī, of the extreme North-West, "*cavargasyo'pariṣṭād yaḥ*, i. e. *y* is prefixed to the letters of *ca-varga*, i. e. "only to *c*, *ch*, and *ñ*, as the language does not possess sonant mutes". Thus *ychale* for *chalam*, *paycche* for *paksam*.

From the above discussions, it is evident that Prakrit grammarians, belonging to the eastern school, are not even clear on this point, though they try to come to a conclusion. From Vararuci and Kramadīśvara (whatever may be the exact meaning of their sutras), it is clear that the pronunciation of palatal sounds in Māgadhi (i. e. *ca-varga*) was quite different from that of Mahārāṣṭrī which is regarded as the standard Prakrit. Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍeya have clarified the point by employing *y* prefixed to it. They “considered that besides the standard Prakrit pronunciation of the palatal, these letters had another sound”, not only in Māgadhi, but also in the North-west and Midland dialects closely connected with it. He thus agreed with Vararuci and Kramadīśvara in this respect that in Prakrit the palatals had two sets of sounds, some dialects employing one and others the other. If that is true, that all the eastern Prakrit grammarians agree in accepting the two sets of palatal sounds, then what should be the true reading of the text of Vararuci and Kramadīśvara whose sūtras are shrouded in darkness. So far as Vararuci’s sūtra (*ca-vargasya spaṣṭatā tathoccāraṇaḥ*) is concerned, three alternatives have been suggested by different scholars—for Ms. *spaṣṭatā*-Lassen suggests *aspaṣṭatā* ‘unclear’, but Cowell suggests *asprīṣṭatā*, “with a very slight contact of the tongue with the roof of the mouth” and he also suggests “*iṣatsprīṣṭatā*” ‘slightly touching’. It seems to me probable that the Ms. reading ‘*spaṣṭatā*’ should be the correct reading of the text, as opposed to *aspaṣṭatā* which pronunciation we find in the standard Prakrit dialect.

“It appears to me, therefore”, says Grierson, that we can gather from the remarks of the Prakrit grammarians quoted that in the Standard Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit and in Śauraseni (which in this respect followed Mahārāṣṭrī) the palatals were probably pronounced as dento-palatals as in Modern Mārāṭhī, but that in Māgadhi they were pronounced clearly as true palatals”.

But the opinion of Grierson has been modified to some extent by Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji. He says that according to Vararuci

the palatals in Māgadhī were pronounced distinctly and pronounced in full. "Apparently there was another pronunciation which could be characterised as "*aspaṣṭa*" or indistinct, and which evidently obtained Śaurasenī and Mahārṣṭrī and such as indistinct pronunciation could not mean a dental affricate one, as Grierson is inclined to think, but rather an elided pronunciation in Śaurasenī and Mahārṣṭrī, as Basanta Kumar Chatterjee¹ has rightly contended."²

1. Ca-vargīya varnasamūher uccāran. VSPP. 1320 B. S. pp. 201-63.

2. ODBL. §132, p. 246.

THE USE OF SUBSTANTIVE VERBS IN KHAMTI

Sukumar Biswas

1. In Khamti, there are three substantive verbs. They are /ū/, /yang/ and /chaü/. /ū/ may be used in a sentence singly, but the other two verbs are used conjointly with the former one except in negative sentences.

/ū/ of Khamti (also Shan /yū/¹ and Ahom /jū/¹) has also the sense of a full-verb 'to remain' or 'to reside', besides the suggestion of a link-verb. e, g.

khau hom ū ū—'they reside together'.

1 2 3 1 3 2

/yang/ is used in Khamti to suggest an idea of 'existence' 'possession'. Except in negative sentences, /yang/ always takes /ū/ after it, but in Ahom, I am told², the use of /ū/ is dispensed with in an affirmative sentence also.

Kh.—'He is in water'—man nam mai yang ū

1 2 3 4 1 4 3 2

Ah.— „ „ —man nam mai jang

1 4 3 2

Ah.—'There was no animal'— jang mī tū³

1. J. N. Cusing—"Grammar of the Shan Language", Art. 97. G. C. Barua—"Ahom Buranji" p. 3., Ex. 9.
2. The statement regarding Ahom language has been made after consultation with Mr. J. N. Phookan of the Dept. of History Gauhati university.
3. "Ahom Buranji" Ch. I., Ex. 1.

2. (a) /ū/ is used as a substantive verb in an impersonal statement,

lüt ū—'hot or heat is', i. e. 'it is hot'.

compare wan lüt—'hot day'

2 1 1 2

with wan lüt ū—'the day is hot'.

1 3 2 1 2 3

(b) It is used as a substantive verb when the quality or the attribute suggested by the predicate is co-existing with the subject.

lek hing ū—'Iron is hard'.

1 3 2 1 2 3

man nī ū—'He is good'.

1 3 2 1 2 3

When we say 'he is here', 'that is not a dog' etc. the substantive verb 'is' does not refer to any one attribute or quality of the subject, so /ū/ is not used here.

(c) /ū/ is used as an auxiliary in the present tense and always comes after the principal verb.

man kā ū—'he goes, he is going'.

kan kin ū—'I am eating'.¹

The use of /ū/ after /ū/ in the example of para 1 may be noted in this connection.

/ū/ as a link-verb is however dispensed with in some cases.

kau kun Tai long—I (am) a Tai man'.

1 4 3 1 2 3 4

mā ā nai phük—'This dog (is) blind'.

2 1 4 1 2 3 4

1. /ū/ meaning 'to remain' suggests a continuous idea or a definite present action in a Khamti as well as in Shan and Ahom. Vide J. N. Cusing—Art. 102. In Siamase also, man yang kin ū—'he is still eating. Siamese Grammar p. 123 (in possession of Dr. P. Gogoi; the author of this rare book is not known).

3. /chaü/ like /yang/ is used with /ü/ in affirmative sentences and suggests the idea of "existing" or "belonging". It should be noted that /yang/ and /chaü/ are used when a sense of existence is intended but there is no qualifying attribute associated with the subject.

(a) kau luk hā yang ü—'I have five sons'.

1	4	3	2	1	2	3	4
noi	mai	sü	yang	ü—	(There)	is a tiger	on the hill'.
4	3	2	1	1	2	3	4

(b) When the 'be'-verb does not merely link but emphasise the sense of the predicate, we get /yang/ or /chaü/ instead of /ü/

kan hing ü—'I am strong',

but kau hing yang ü—'I have strength'.

Similarly,

mā	ā	man	thau	ü—	'That dog is old'
2	1	4	3	1	2 3 4

but, mā ā nan than chau ü—'That is an old dog'.

4	1	3	2	1	2	3	4
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In all these sentences with a verb 'to be' plus /ü/, the latter is not grammatically associated with the subject, it is merely an auxiliary.

4. /mā/ and /ün/ (some times pronounced as /n'/) are two negative particles. The link verb is used in affirmative sentences but it is not used when the statement is negative.

(a) kau khai ü—'they are ill'

1	3	2	1	2	3
kau	n'	khai—	'they (are)	not	ill'
1	3	4	1	2	3 4

(b) ā nai lüt ū—'this is hot'
 1 3 2 1 2 3

ā nai n' lüt—'this (is) not hot'
 1 3 4 1 2 3 4

To convey the idea of "existing" or "possessing" the language makes use of /yang ū/ and /chaü ū/, but /ū/ is dropped when the sentence is negative.

(a) hau nam mai yang ū—'we are in water'.
 1 4 3 2 1 2 3 4

hau nam mai mā yang—'we are not in water'.
 1 5 4 3 2 1 2 3 4 5

(b) man nang sau yang ū—'he has (a) stster'¹
 1 3 2 1 2 3

man nang sau mā yang—'he has no sister'
 1 4 3 2 1 2 3 4

/n' chaü/ is ordinarily used in simple negation, i. e. 'is not'

ā nau hū in chaü—'that is not a boat'
 1 4 3 2 1 2 3 4

In-tra-sit kun mā ni chaü ū—'Indrajit is a bad man'

1. If one says—*nang sau man*, it means "sister of him"

so, nang sau kau yang u sister of me exists.
 1 2 3 1 2 3

Indrajit is a *bád man* i. e. not a good man. Here, in the negative statement with /n' chaü/ the auxiliary /ü/ has also been used in order to lay emphasis on the statement. It has however been found by J. F. Needham in his *Outline Grammar of the Khamti language* that /yang/ does not require /ü/ when used negatively, but /chaü/ takes /ü/ more often than not even in negative sentences.

5. The 'be' verb is not normally used when there is an interrogation. The sentence ends with an interrogative particle /ke/ and the verb 'to be' is dropped.

ā nai lak kha chaü u—'This is a child'.
 1 3 2 1 2 3

ā nai lak kha ke ?—'Is this a child ?'
 2 3 1 2 3

But if the interrogative sentence has an asking about existence or possession, the 'be'-verb /yang/ is placed before /ke/' along with its usual companion /ü/.

khan naü hün mai yang ü—'They are in the house'.
 1 3 4 3 2 1 2 3 4

khan naü hün mai yang ü ke ?

'Are they inside (or in) the house. i. e. do they exist ?'

maü nang yang ü ke ?—'Have you a brother ?'
 9 3 1 1 2 3

When a sentence becomes interrogative by force of an interrogative pronoun or adjective, the substantive verb in Khamti, unlike English is left out.

ā nan kā sang ?—'what is that ?'
 3 1 1 2 3

maü phaü mai wā tā ?—'whom you speak to ?'
 2 1 4 3 1 2 3 4

but

nü khā laiü yang ü—how many deer are there ?
 2 1 3 1 2 3

Here /yang ū/ suggests the idea of 'existing' and the substantive verb has therefore been used. So we find that the substantive verb which is otherwise not used in an interrogative sentence is used in such sentence when the idea of existing, possessing or belonging is emphasised.

tai nai khai nam nam ngün yang ū ke ?
 3 2 5 6 4 1
 —do the Khamtis possess much wealth ?
 1 2 3 4 5 6

kun khai kotama mā chāü ū ke ?

—are not the people Buddhists i. e. do they not belong to
 (the faith of) Buddha ?

In the application of the substantive verbs in the interrogative sentences, Ahom language followed the same principle.

In potential sense, the idea of capability is expressed by "pen" meaning 'ability' or 'capacity', but /ū/ is always attached to it only in the affirmative sentence.

man len pen ū—he can run
 but, 1 3 2 1 2 3
 khai hit n' pen—they can not do
 1 4 3 2 1 2 3 4

To denote a past time of action, Khamti, Shan and Ahom add a past indicatory suffix or word /kā/ after the principal verb, but when the past action is understood from the context, /kā/ is dropped and the link-verb /ū/ is used instead.

kau māngā nü kin kā—I ate meat yesterday
 1 4 3 2 1 2 3 4

Here /kin u/ may also be used. The following example as cited by Needham (pp. 46, 57) may be quoted to indicate the use of the auxiliary verb /ū/ in past and future tenses also.

1. Lak kh ā mai po kā ye hai u—if you beat the child (it) will cry
 4 1 5 1 2 3 4 5

(/mai/ is accusative particle)

2. kau ing san hū ũ—I felt the earthquake

1	3	2	1	2		3
mü	man	po	maü	mai	nai	kau han ũ
1	2	3	3	4	5	6

—I saw him strike you (when he strike you I am seeing)

1	2	3	4	5	6
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In Ahom use of *ũ* in future and past tense is not uncommon.¹

Chaupha hau pō ming u koi-to Chaupha (they) will offer blessings.

In conclusion, we may observe that the auxiliary verb *ũ* of Khamti has a very remarkable place in the structure of sentence. Sometimes it is simply a be-verb, serving as a substantive verb linking the subject with the predicate, sometimes it is merely a copula coming after other auxiliary verbs (*yang* and *chau*) and here it has nothing to do with the substantive sense. Moreover *ũ* is used as a tense-sign suggesting a definite action of the principal verb with which it is associated, and finally the language extends this auxiliary verb to denote a past and a future idea sometimes, which however becomes vague unless the context of or the reference to the action is not known.

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1. Copper-grant of king Rajeswarsimha, in possession of Mr. J. N. Phookan of Gau. University.

The writer says that the treatment of the substantative verb in Khamti has not been thoroughly discussed in the "Grammar" by Needham. but he has given profuse examples, on the basis of which the present paper has been prepared, as there is no Khamti text-book. Besides, he has got the Khamti examples checked by the informant Sri Indrajit Namsun and Ahom ones by Sri J. N. Phookan, and Dr. P. Gogoi.

A NOTE ON THE USE OF THE ABLATIVE IN EARLY HINDI PROSE

Dayanand Srivastava

I. The ablative is generally termed as 'the case of separation', and thus it is just the opposite of the dative. Owing to the nature of the case it has also been termed as a 'from case' i. e. it indicates the spot out of which or from where the action originates or starts. Pāṇini defines the case as—'apādāne pañcamī', (2. 3.28) and 'apādāna', he defines thus—'dhruvam apāye' pādānam' if there be withdrawal, that which stays is apādāna (1. 4. 24). In Hindi the ablative is similarly defined.

In Hindi morphologically, the ablative and the instrumental are identical i. e. both the ablative as well as the instrumental employ a common post-positive—*se*. As regards its origin, Bhandārkar derives it from *sama*¹, Beames derives it as *samam* > *se*², Hoernle as *santo* > *sunto* > *se*³, Kellogg derives it from *saige*. But none of the derivations is convincing and is based merely on fallacy. The possible source for this *-se* is *sam+ena*. Thus *sam+ena* > *sae* > *sai* > *se*; *se*. The origin of the Braj ablative post-positive *so*, *sū* is from *samam*. Thus *samam* > *so*. Besides the above post-positive, in the language of Braj prose (as well as poetry) and in the Eastern Hindi i. e. 'Padmāvat' of Jāyasī and the 'Rāmcarit Mānas' of Tulsīdāsa *te-iṣ* employed as ablative (as well as the instrumental) post-positive. As regards its origin vide ODBL⁴ and

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1. Wilson Philological Lecture pp. 534.
 2. Comp. Gram. 274.
 3. Gaudian Gram. 376. 227.
 4. ODBL. 507. 763.

UVPI The above source for the post-positive *se* clearly indicates that the ablative with *-se* is really instrumental. The sense of the concomitance is well prevailing in the ablative in Hindi and the ablative in nature really conveys the sense of instrumental-ablative. This extension of the instrumental to the ablative in Hindi (as well as to other NIA.) is very interesting. It should be mentioned here that the OIA nominal-declensions were reduced in MIA and by the end of the first phase of the MIA the ablative was expressed in the following manner: (i) with adverb *tas*,¹ (ii) with the instrumental.² This tendency became a regular feature as the language advanced. By the time the Apabhramśa entered the proto-NIA stage, i. e. Avahatṭha, it completely lost its organic character and of the various cases only the direct and the oblique remained. Therefore, the extension of the local cases became unavoidable and a regular phenomenon. Thus the instrumental and the locative were extended to function for the ablative.

2. The original ablative (OIA) was not inherited by NIA, for it disappeared from MIA, (even in OIA the ablative had a distinctive form only in the singular of a-declension, otherwise either it was identical with the genitive singular or with the dative plural or with the instrumental and dative dual.³ Even the ablative singular in the a declension distinctively belongs to the pronominal declension *tasmāt*, abl. sg. Thus even in OIA. the ablative did not possess a perfectly distinct identity, where its function was carried mostly by the instrumental and the genitive. Thus the ablative in Hindi (as well as in other NIA) emerged partly from the instrumental and partly from the locative. Of the two cases (i. e. the instrumental and the locative) the locative has contributed much to the ablative. Both the ablative and the locative, are local cases and when problem for an independent ablative for the NIA arose, it became quite natural for some of the idioms of the locative to be extended to express the ablative sense. The extension of

1. UVp. HSMIA §62. 40.

2. Ibid §53. 35. and also Vide-Comp. Gram- of MIA. §30. pp. 51

3. HSMIA §53. 35.

the locative sense to function as the ablative in NIA, with special reference to Old and Middle Bengali has been (first of all) marked by Dr. S. Sen in 'Syntax of Early and Middle Bengali' as "the locative has contributed the greatest to the formation of MB. Both the cases are local cases par excellence. So some of the idioms of the former were easily extended to express the ablative sense. Thus *dura kara pāpate mati*—remove (your) heart (which is) in sin i. e. remove your heart from sin. KK. 54. *ghara te bāhira*—outside home, *nibāriyā pāpate mana*—restraining (your) heart from evil KK. 104."¹

In the light of the above discussion let us consider the nature of the ablative in Hindi. In *jaise tum janam maraṇa se chūṭ bhaw sāgar pār* how so that you may be free from (the bondage or cycle of) the birth and death and ferry the ocean of the world. PS. I.; the ablative *janam maraṇa se* really conveys the notion of 'free from within the birth and death. In *sab gopiyā ekā ekī wirah sāgr se nikālī*—all on a sudden all the gopies came out from the ocean of separation. PS. 70 the ablative idiom conveys the idea of 'coming out from within the ocean of separation. *ghar se bāhar pāwā nahī rakhatā*—(he) never sets his foot out of doors (i. e. he never sets his foot out from within his house) RKK. 3. Thus we find a close similarity between the ablative in Bengali and Hindi where the idea of 'being within' is predominant and both have emerged out of the locative sense.

Clear instances of the extension of the locative idea for the ablative is found in the periphrastic or the compound ablative in Hindi, which constitutes the locative post-positive *mē* or *par* and the ablative post-positive *se* or *te*, e. g. *tā pāche ghara mē te nikasa ke vicāra karana lagyau*—then setting his feet out from (i. e. from within) his house, he began to contemplate—CV. 109. *aur vīno mē se do puruṣ ati suṇḍar nīkal stuṭi karane lage*—and from them (from their within) two handsome

1. Syntax of Early and Middle Bengali (*Mss*) pp 125 § 127.

persons emerged and with folded palms began to worship—PS. 11. 24.; *mai jānati hū ki svarga Par se kiś devatā kā vah gir paḍā*—I believe that it belongs to some god and has fallen from the heaven (from upon the heaven) NKP. 8. In this respect the ablative in EHP is quite identical to the ablative in the Buddhistic Sanskrit, where it is expressed periphrastically, the only difference being that 'those verbs which were construed with the ablative in OIA are mostly construed in Buddhistic Sanskrit with the genitive plus the ablative adverb—*antikāi*¹, and in Hindi such verbs in the ablative are construed with the locative post-positive *mē* and the ablative post-positive *se*.

3. The following are the typical uses of ablative in EHP--

- A. Ablative (a) with verbs and verbal derivatives.
(b) with substantives (with adjectives and nouns).
- B. Instrumental ablative.
- C. Temporal ablative.
- D. Objective ablative.
- E. Comparative ablative.
- F. Partitive ablative.
- G. Adverbial ablative.
- H. Ablative of direction.
- I. Ablative governed by adverbs.
- J. Ablative of distance.
- K. Causal ablative.
- L. Ablative indicating the upper limit.
- M. Ablative of material.
- N. Absolute ablative.

4. A. The ablative with verbs and the verbal derivatives.

1. An Outline Syntax of Buddhistic Sanskrit. 'The Ablative'. page 29. vide-JDL 1928. Also cf. "from the syntactical point it is doubly interesting as it retains much of the remanants of OIA idioms which were lost in Classical Sanskrit, as well as it contains the germ of many of the peculiarly NIA idioms". Ibid p. 2.

A close analysis and observation of the idioms illustrated below makes it clear that the ablative with verbs and verbal derivatives express Separation, physical, or mental, actual or supposed. This use of the ablative in EHP has a close affinity with the use of the ablative with verbs and verbal derivatives in OIA, and MIA cf. 'The ablative with verbs (and verbal derivatives) denoting separation, physical or mental, actual or supposed :=*eti ha eṣa yajñapathāt*—he wanders from the path of sacrifice;¹ *dhammā dhamṣenī yājakā*—the sacrificing priests fall away from 'dhamma' (SN. 19. 29.)'²

Also cf. 'The ablative is used with all adjectives, verbs and other words expressing local or ideal separation'.³

The following are the examples :

- (1) Verbs meaning to fall from; to go away from, *giranā=taba śrīnath ii ke kaṇṭha se phūla ki māli girī*—then garland of flowers fell from the neck of Śrīnāthji CV. 189.,=*aura kai loga caritra se girate hai*—and several people fall from character. PP. 23. *jaise phūli phali laṭā peṭ se gir paṭe*—just as a full bloomed creeper falls from a tree. NKP. 10. Mss.
- (2) To be released from, *chūṭanā=māno gāya ke bachaḍe bandhana se chūṭe*—as if the calves are released from the rope (bondage) PP. 103, *itano likha deya jo brāhmaṇa ṛṇa te chūṭe*—be merciful to intimate that this Brāhmaṇa may be relieved from (of) his debt. CV.173. *jis se tum janam marana se chūṭ bhavasāgar pār ho*—so that you may be released from the bondage of the birth and death and ferry the worldly ocean. PS. 1. 1. *mujhe samajhāy ke kaho kis rīti se karma ke phande se chūṭūgā*—explain to me the manner through which I may be released from the human bondage. PS. 1. 5. *jisase saṃsār mē kebār bār āwāgaman ke dukh se chūṭe* so that I may be released from the cycle of coming and going of this world NKP. 45.,

1. UCVP. 3. 107.

2. HSMIA §54. 34.

3. Hindi Grammar. Kellogg. Syntax of ablative. 3. 408.

- (3) To flow from, to issue from—

naḍi parvatani se nikasati—the river flows from the mountain PP. 440. *dono mātā putraṁ ke sneha viṣai tatpara jinake stan se dugdha jharai*—both (of) the mothers are attached to the affection of (their) sons and milk flows from their breasts. PP. 761.

- (4) To proceed from—

taba ācāryaji mahāprabhūna aḍela se cale—then Ācāryaji Mahāprabhūna proceeded from Aḍela. CV.114. *dwārikā purī se cal hastinapur āye*—proceeding from Dwārika he came to Hastinapur. PS. LIX. 140.

- (5) To be generated from, to issue from—

strini ke mukha se aisī dhwani nikasc such words came from the mouth of the woman. PP. 761. *pitā ke virya mātā ke rudhira se upjhā*—(he) generated from the sperm of father and blood of mother. PP. 765. *aisā magan huā ki muh se bol na āyā*—(he) was overjoyed and not a single word came forth from (his) mouth 761. *usake muh se koṭ jabāb na nīkalā*—no reply came forth from her mouth. OL. 125.

- (6) To go away from :

jo is ke hāth se jiti jāūgi to phir gokul me kabhi na āūgi—I would never come back to Gokul, if I go away alive from his hands PS. *mitrō se mitrai jāti rahī khāwindō se waphāi uth gayi*—friendship has departed from amongst friends, and sincerity has left masters. BP. 66.

- (7) To descend from :

ki rānī is samay ko dekh rath se utar kar calī—having seen the lovely scene (time) the queen having descended from the chariot proceeded further PS. 1. 6. *śrī kṛṣṇa rath se utar saba ko samajhāy.....cale*—descending from the chariot Kṛṣṇa pacified them all..... (and again) proceeded. PS. XL. 68.

- (8) To put down from—

taba lakṣhmaṇa ne donō kumārō kā vṛttānta suna harṣita hoyā hātha se hathiyāra dāra diyā—having heard about both (of) the princes Lakṣman was delighted and put down the arms from his hands.

PP. 868. *jab hari ne giri kar se utār dharā tis samay sab baḍe baḍe gop to is adbhut caritra ko dekh yō kah rahe the*—when Hari (Krishna) put down the mountain (Govardhana) from his hand, all the elder 'gops' having witnessed this amazing behaviour began to say thus. PS. 24. 45.

- (9) To obtain from.

jaise rcō se phal kī prāpta hat hai taise pṛthvī so anna kī prāpta hot hai—as salvation is obtained from the R̥cās, likewise grains are obtained from the earth. NṚTUB/MSS. *mujh se āśis le hajār varṣa tak jītā rahget*—a boon from me and live for a thousand years. SB 51.

- (10) To be born from.

kahō hai kis kokh se yah kanyā paidā huī hai—and (he) said from whose womb this damsel is born. SB. 47. *sudrāṇī se jo beṭā huā nām dhanvantari*—the son born of (from) Śudrāṇī was known as Dhanavantari SB. 19,

- (11) To protect from, - to save from.

koī aisā hai kī merī ākar khabar le is pāp se mujhe bacāwe aur jī dān de—is there any one who would come and take care of me, and would protect me from the sin and bestow (me my) life. SB. 49. *suraj bhān ke hāth se āpane bacā liyā*—you have saved me from the hands of Surajabhān. RKK. 15.

- (12) To come out from, to emerge from.

sab gopiyā ekā ekī virah sāgar se nikalī—all of a sudden all the 'gopies' came out from the ocean of 'virah' (separation). PS. *vah un darakhṭō se nikalā aur pās ākar kahane lagā*—he emerged from those trees (grooves) and having drawn near (he) began to say SN. 42

- (13) To disappear from.

jab sūraj aur hiranī ākh se ojhal ho gaye tab ta kūwar uḍayabhānu bhukhā pyāsā unīdā jabhātā āgaḍāiyā letā hakkā bakkā hoke lagā āsarā ḍhūḍhane—when the sun set and the deer disappeared from

his eyes, the Kunwar hungry, thirsty, yawning, gaping, distracted began to seek shelter. RKK. 4.

- (14) Separated from.

aura kauna artha akelī yutha se vichurī mṛgī samāna mahā ban mē rahe hai—and for what reason (you) dwell in (this) dense forest as a deer separated from (her) herd. PP. 115.

- (15) To snatch away from, to take away from.

yā bhāti kaha kara mitra ke hāth se khaḍga ltnā--having said thus, (he) snatched the sword from (his) friend's hand. PP. 203.

- (16) To bid adieu from.

ab nigoḍī laj se kūṭ karatī hū , tu merā sāth de--now I bid adieu from the modesty, and do thou accompany me. RKK. 20.

- (17) To be startled from.

us kā śabda sunate hī sāre braj bāsi kyā strī kyā puruṣ nīd se cauḱe—having heard his noise, all the inhabitants of Braj, either men or women, were startled from sleep. PS. 38.

- (18) To regain consciousness from.

kai eka mūrḱhā se sacata hoyā urasthala kutatī bhuī--several (of them) regaining consciousness (becoming conscious from unconsciousness) began to strike against their bosoms. PP. 723.

- (19) To depart from.

aise kah kansa se vidā ho akrūr apene ghar āye--having said so, Akur departed from Kansa and came to his abode. PS. 38. 63.

- (20) To take away from, remove away from.

gale se sāp nikāl kahane lagā--removing the snake from (his father's) neck he began to say. PS. 1. 4.

- B. The ablative with substantives,

rahit—aura saṃsāra ke ananta jīva samyaktā se rahit mithyā dṛṣṭi hai--and the innumerable souls of the universe are deprived from the proper judgement and conceive the wrong. PP. 27. jānma jarā

maraṇa se rahit jo śivapur hai—the place of Śiva, which is free from the birth, the old age and the death. PP. 740. *so samsta wikāra se rahita hoya gaye*—he became free from all the evils PP. 769. *aur surya astā hone se logō ke netra dekhane se rahit bhaye*—the sun having set peoples' eyes became free from seeing. NRTB/MSS.

virakta :--*ankea jīva dharma mē parvarte pāpa karma ke upārjana se virakta bhaye*—many souls adopted the religion and became detached from accumulation of sinful acts. PP. 27.

nirlipta—*jaise sarovara me kamala jala se nirlipta rahe taise bhagawāna jagata kī māyā se alipta rahe*—like a lotus in a pond, which is detached from water, the god is detached from the illusion of the universe. PP. 20.

bhayabhita :--*aise bacana suna kara kṣīra kadamba saṁsāra se atyanta bhayabhita bhayā*—having heard this preaching Kṣīrakadamba became afraid from (of) this world. PP. 183.

nivṛtta—*mai saṁsāra ke mārga se nivṛtta huā*—I became free from the worldly bondage. PP. 203.

agocara—*tumase dwīpa mē koī sthān agocara nahī*—in the island none of the places are imperceptible from you. PP. 359.

nirbhaya—*maine unako bhaya se nirbhay kiyā*—I made them free from fear. PS. 148. With substantive (nouns); *aura devō se manuṣya hoya siddha pad pāwe hai*—and being incarnated from gods to men they obtain salvation. PP. 251, *koī eka nirdhana se rājā hoya jāya*—if some one becomes rich from poverty. PP. 751.

5 The Instrumental ablative.

In quite a good number of idioms the ablative appears as a kind of subjective instrumental. In such idioms, the agent is regarded as the source from where the action originates. This use of the ablative in EHP. bears close affinity with the use of the ablative as the subjective instrumental in

bhārata) cf. 'In Mahābhārata the ablative sometimes appears for the subjective instrumental or genitive. Here the agent is viewed as the source of the action. Thus—*durātmano vadho yatra kīcakasya vṛko-darāt*—where (there is) the killing of the foul hearted Kīcaka by Vṛko-dara. (I. 2. 131.), *tvatsakāśācca rāmācca bhīmasenācca mādhaba arjunād va mahabāho hantum śakyo na vetivai*—(he) cannot o great armed Mādhava, be killed by you, or by Rāma, or by Bhīmasena or by Arjun (9. 15. 9.)¹

The following are the examples :—*ara munī kī jo avajñā kare so sarva se dukha pāwe*—and one who disrespects a saint, receives misery from (i. e. by) all. ĀP. 80. *yah bacan nārī se sun satrajīt bolā*—having heard this from (by) his wife Satrajīta spoke. PS. LVIII. 130. *yogī se sunkar maibhī vahā gayā*—having heard this from the saint I too went there. SB. 9. 46. *padmāvatī gyārahavī putalī has kar bolī ai rājā pahale mujh se kathā sun piche simhāsan par pāva de*—Padmāvatī, the eleventh do laughing said. O king! first hear the anecdote from me and then ascend the throne SB. 11. 49. In the following the instrumental of means can also be explained as the ablative idiom—*aur apane phūl kī pañkhāḍī jaise hoṭhō se kis kis rūp ke phūll ugalatā hū*—and what sort of flowers I disclose from the petals of my lips. Rkk.

The ablative of father-hood is an allied idiom (i. e. allied to the instrumental ablative). Thus—*ara yaha pitā dhanya hai jisase isane janma pāyā*—fortunate is that father from whom he got his birth PP. 107. *goyā kāmadeva se paidāhuī hai*—as if she is born of the cupid. SB. 10. 46. *yākub se yusuph paidā huā sauhar mariyam kā ki jis ke peṭ se isā paidā huā ki jiskā nām masihā rakhā gayā*—Jacob begot Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus who is Called Christ. N. T. 3. 10.

1. HSMIA. §§ 55. 37.

6. The Temporal ablative.

The temporal ablative denotes the time giving the meaning *from*, *since*, *after*. Thus the temporal ablative indicates the starting point of an action, i. e. the time indicating the starting of an action. The temporal ablative is expressed, mostly with the temporal adverbs as, 'jab', 'tab', 'jad', 'tad' 'āj' 'kal', 'tabhī' 'dīn', 'pahar' 'āge' etc and with some other words having the similar semantic value. The temporal ablative is a well established idiom in the Eastern and Western Hindi. e. g. sādho sahaja samādhi bhalī, guru pratāpa jā dinatē upajī dina dina adhika calī—O saints, 'sahaja samādhi' is superior to all, it is being deeply rooted in me from the day it sprung in me by the blessings of (my) guru. KK. 28. 179. mahā dukhita mere doū nain, jā dinatē hari calē madhupurī naiku na kabahū kīnhau sain—my eyes are much grieved, (and they) had not a wink of sleep from the day Hari went to Madhupuri SS. 1363. 3242 jaba te rāma vyāhi ghara āye, nita nava maṅgala moda badhāye—every day there were great merriments and rejoicings from the day Ram having married returned home. RC. 35.

7. The Objective ablative.

The use of the ablative for the indirect object is not an extensive idiom but it is a very interesting phenomenon in the syntax of the ablative in EHP. It should also be mentioned here that this is also the function of the objective instrumental. Apparently there appears no difference between the two (i. e. the objective instrumental and the objective ablative). But there is some fundamental and remarkable difference between the two; while functioning as indirect object, the instrumental always retains its identity intact i. e. the germ of the sociative idea (the fundamental feature of the instrumental) is well predominant, and while functioning as indirect object, the ablative always retains its original value of the 'from case'. The following are the examples :—*tab garga muni ne nanda jī se dono kī janma tithi pūchi*—then the sage Garg inquired the date of birth of the two (sons) from Nandjī. PS. 9.20. *aur lenā usī bhabhūt kā jo gurūjī de gaye the ākha micauwal ke bahāne*

apanī mā rām kāmlatā se—and (Rānī Ketakī's) begging of the ash, which the teacher gave, to play at blindman's buff from her mother, the queen Kāmlatā RKK. 18. *dekhā ki ek dew̃ us strī se rati māgatā hai*—he saw (found) that a demon was asking from that woman the bed (i. e. the sharing of the bed.). SB. 49. *mujhase āśis le hajār varṣa tak jītā rah*—have blessings from me and live for a thousand years. SB. 51. (This idiom is also explained as instrumental ablative).

8. The Ablative of comparison.

The ablative is employed to express comparison between two persons, objects or things. The nature and the function of the comparative ablative may be illustrated thus, 'The comparative use of the ablative is directly deducible from the primary function of the ablative—"He is taller than me" is conceived (in the original parent language) as he is taller from me. The smaller of the two things compared is the standard of the comparison and accordingly takes the ablative'¹

It is also to be noted that the comparison is expressed in the following manner (a) The comparison expressing similarity or dissimilarity (b) Comparison expressing inferiority, (c) comparison expressing superiority.

The following adjectives and words having the value of an adjective are employed in the comparison (a) for superiority :—*uttam- sab dharmō se uttam dharma kaun hai*—which is the best of all the religions, PS. 1. 5. *baḍha kar- ve mujh se baḍhakar hai*—he is greater from me PS.180. *adhik-mujhse adhik kaun hai*=who is superior from me SB. 40. *baḍā-mujh se baḍā jag me aur kaun hai*—who else in the world is greater than me PS. 30. *mahāna—ākāsa se koī mahān nahī*—no one is higher than (from) the sky. PP. 59. (b) For inferiority :—*choṭā-jñān me suk se choṭe hai*—in knowledge (he) is inferior to (from) Śuk. PS. 1. 5. *hīn—mujh se hīn jag me kaun hogā*—who else would be inferior to (from) me in this universe RC/ Mss. *laghu—tujha se laghu is sṛṣṭi me koū nahī*—none is inferior to

1. UCVP. 118.

(from) you in this Creation. *alpa-paramāṇ use ara kou alpa nāhi*=none is smaller than the atom. PP. 59.

When the comparative ablative is employed to explain the difference, the substantives in question stand in reciprocal relation to each other. This idiom is alternatively expressed by the reciprocal locative. This idiom of the ablative can broadly be classified as (a) the comparative ablative with substantive as, *samskr̥ta se ara bhāṣā se bhinnatā hai*—there is difference between Sanskrit and Bhāṣā PP. 107. (b) The comparative ablative with verbal derivatives—*kahane se aur karane se antar hai*—there is difference between saying and doing. SB. 107.

The partitive comparative ablative is very interesting idiom in the syntax of the ablative, and deserves our special attention. The chief feature to be noted in this idiom is that it is positive in form, but semantically it has the comparative value; examples=*to dekhātā hai jo cālīs pacās rañḍiyā ek se ek joban me agālī jhūlā dāle paḍī jhūl rahī hāi*=what a sight he saw! forty or fifty damsels in their youth, one more beautiful than another were playing at swings. RKK. 4. The following are some of the other important idioms—‘*sundar se sundar*’ ‘*acchā se acchā*’ ‘*laghu se laghu*’, ‘*bhārī se bhārī*’, *thoḍe se thoḍā*’ ‘*uttam se uttam*’, ‘*aur se aur*’.

Kellogg, in ‘Grammar of the Hindi Language’ has marked this idiom of the ablative as, ‘The ablative is used with all the words denoting or implying comparison. Thus it is used (a) with adjectives=*mujha se baḍā*=greater than I; *aise pūt hone se wah apūt kyō na huā*=why was he not sonless rather than have such a son, *wah sab se pahale jā milī*=she went and met him first of all; (b) with verbs=*koī mujh se na jite*=no one may conquer me; *bāl hatyā se baḍha kar koī pāp hī nahī*—there is no sin as a greater than homicide—(c) before some adverbs=*as-in inse āge*=before this, *ghar se bāhar*—outside of the house’.¹

1. *Grammar of the Hindi Language*—Syntax of Ablative 591. 7. 409. 410. also vide. *Pincoth-Hinai Manual*. Page. 99, *Platts-Hindustani Grammar*—The ablative case—9. 279.

The examples marked as 1, 2, 3, require a revision of judgement. The idiom marked as I, is absolute ablative, while in the 2nd, and 3rd. the ablatives are governed by adverbs, and they indicate no symptom of comparison.

The use of the comparative ablative in EHP is quite identical to the use of the comparative ablative in OIA and MIA. The use of comparative Ablative may be compared with—*rājā kahai gāuab s̃au, h̃ai re idarsivlok. koisasri m̃osau p̃avai, k̃asau k̃arau baroka*—the king says with pride I am the Indra of Śiva-lok, who can be a match to me and with whom should I marry PM. 83. *aur sakala aṅganate. ūdhava ākhiyā adhikh dukhārī* of all the limbs the eyes have grater grief SS. 1160. 3577.

9. Partitive ablative.

The partitive ablative in EHP, is periphrastically expressed. The periphrasis consists of the locative post-positive *m̃e* and the ablative post-positive *se* or *te*. The partitive ablative indicates the many from which an individual is spoken of. (This is also the function of the partitive locative.) The partitive ablative in EHP, has a similar function as that of the ablative idiom in the following:—*krauñca mithunādekamavadhīh*—you have killed. one out of the couple of plovers CP. *Kathās.* 13, 144; 24, 176.¹

The nature of the partitive ablative in EHP, is similar to that of the Partitive ablative in OIA. This statement is attested by the following, 'It is very common, especiarly in simple prose, to periphrase the partitive cases by *madhye* (=gen. or loc) and *madhyāt* (=abl).² The following are the examples *tab roṇi mete eka ṭuka mela lete*—then he would consume a part from the bread. CV. 101. *yah sun vin mese ek boh*—having heard this one from them spoke. PS. 88. 55.

1. Skt. Synt. §116. Rem 1. 86.

2. ibid. §116 Rem. 2. 86. and also §191. 137.

mahārāj jagat parakās aur mahārāni kāmalaṭā rāj pāt us viyog me choḍ
chāḍ ek pahāḍ kī cotī par jā baiḥe aur kiśi ko apane logō me se rāj
 thāmane ko choḍ gaye—King Jagat Prakāsh and the queen Kāmalaṭā
 quitting on account of this desertion, their kingdom all else, retired to
 the summit of a mountain, having left one from their subjects in charge
 of the Government. RKK. 88. in me se ek bolā kī mujh me yah vidyā
hai ki kapaḍā banākar māi pāc lāl ko bēcatā hū—one from them spoke
 I possess the science that I make a cloth and sell it for five reubies. BP.
 8. 76. *farrukhasiyar ke sidṛviyo me se mūle khā. fidāi khā* ke bete ne ek
laḍāi māri—Mulekhān, from the courtiers of Farrukhasiar and son of
 Fidāi Khan won a battee. SN. 20.

12. The ablative governed by adverbs.

The ablative when governed by some adverb implies a relation in
 space or time, Thus—*vahā jāne ke bandobasta se pahale ek brāhman kā*
laḍakā..... ..*kahī se phiratā huā āyā*—before the arrangements (made for
 her) of departure a son of Brahmin.....had come wandering about. BP.
 15. *tū āj rāt murga ke bāḡ dene se pahale tīn bār merā inakār karegā*—
 this night before the cock crow thou shalt refuse me thrice. NT. 26. 34.
lekin jab vah yahā se bāhar nikalā to vah us ke piche se ek sundari nāyakā
ā us se pūchane lagī—when he came out from (that place) thence a
 beautiful damsel having followed him began to enquire. BP. 8. 80.

13. The ablative of distance.

The ablative also indicates the point from which some distance is calculated. Examples—*so vaha mālā dūrate śrī thākura jī keūpara vāne dārī*—then he threw that garland upon ‘thākurji’ from a distance. CV. 120. *so svayambudha mantri dūr te giri rāj kū dekhātā bhayā*—hence the minister Svayambudha saw the great mountain from a distance. ĀP. 83. *tinho ne rath dūr se panth me āte dekhā*—from a distance they saw the chariot coming in the way. PS. *dūr se use dekh sab gwāl āpas me khane lage*—having seen him from a distance, all the cow-boys began to say. PS. *sāmane se usakī strī ne dekhā ki merā sauhar ātā hai*—from the front his wife saw that her husband comes. BP. 56. It should be noted that the ablative, in the idioms illustrated above, is construed with spatial adverbs.

14. The causal ablative.

The ablative expresses the cause or reason and in this case it is accepted as the starting point from where some consequence has proceeded.¹ The causal ablative is construed both with substantive and with verbal noun or infinitive. The following are examples—*putrī ke wichude se śoka sahita apane deśa ko gayā*—with the grief from the separation of (his) daughter (he) went to his country BP. 132. *sūrya asta hone se logō ke netra dekhane se hīna bhaye*—from the setting of the sun people’s eyes were deprived from seeing. P. 27. This idiom can also be explained as causal instrumental—*is bhaya se māi bhāgatī hū*. I flee from this fear. P. S. *isī ke āne se māi bhāgā jātā hū*—I run away from (the fear of) his coming. P. S. 3. *indra ke māna ne se kucha nahī hotā*—nothing is achieved from obeying Indra. P. S. *tū kis pāpa se aṛagar huā*—from what sin did you become a serpent P. S. *udhar jāne se merā jī dāratā hai*—my heart fears from going there. S.B 66. c. f. *madā hī pāpāni karoti bālā*—out of intoxication the stupid commits sin. (S.N. 26. 24) *pāpāni kammāni karoti mohā*—They commit sinful acts out of ignorance². The following features deserve our discussion.

1. See Skt. Synt. 102. 75. Ablative of causality.

2. HSMIA §58.39.

(a) Some of the idioms of causal ablative may also be explained as causal instrumental.

(b) The cause is sometimes confused with the purpose hence the ablative under the circumstance appears for the final dative.¹

But the original difference between the instrumental and the ablative is always preserved there. The causal instrumental explains the cause as the means while the causal ablative explains the cause as the source.

15. The idiom of the ablative also is employed to express the idea of upper limit. The sense of the upper limit may be (a) with regard to space, (b) with regard to person. The ablative in this case is construed mostly with the verbal forms 'leke' or 'le kara' or, 'lagā'. The following are the examples.

(a) *dharatī se lekara ākāśa taka samsta vānara vaṃśī bikhara gaye*—the vānara vaṃśī scattered from earth to sky-PP. 760.—*sira se lagā pāwa taka jltane rog ate hai jo sab ke sab bol uthe* - if as many hairs as there are from head to foot were all to speak RKK. 1.

(b) *rājā raghu ne candrāvati ko ladakīā se āja taka suggā sa padhōyā* the king Raghu taught Candrāvati from (her) childhood by now like a parrot. NKP. 10.

(c) *tinake nāma suna ramjī se leke daśaratha paryanta kṛtāratha bhaye*—having heard his name from Ram to Daśarath (all) were obliged. BYB. 29.

16. The idiom of the ablative in the following is idiomatically used, which is historically instrumental—thus *us ke sāth ek dāi ai sī kar dī kī ākhō se andhī kāno se baharī mūh se gūgi* and (he) engaged a maid servant (for her) who was blind from eyes, deaf from ears, and dumb from mouth. S. B. 95.

1. In this respect it is identical to the causal ablative in MIA, see HSMIA §§ 58-59.

17. The ablative of material

The ablative of material denotes the former state or shape out of which some other state proceeds or is produced. Examples.—tab hanumān ne svarna se banī mudrikā ḍārī- ‘then Hanumān dropped down the ring made from gold’. Rc/Mss. *phūl se banī māl liye baiṭhi thi* (She) was sitting there with a garland of flowers (made from flowers). Ibid.

Abbreviations

- Com Gram=Comparative Grammar
 ODBL=Origin and Development of Bengali Language
 UVP=Ukti Vyakti Prakaraṇa
 HSMIA=Historical Syntax of Middle Indo Aryan
 MIA=Middle Indo Aryan
 JDL=Journal of the Department of Letters
 UCVP=Use of the Cases in Vedic Prose
 Skt Syn=Sanskrit Syntax
 OSBS=An Outline Syntax of Buddhistic Sanskrit
 EHP=Early Hindi Prose
 CV=Caurāsī Vārtā
 BYB=Bhāṣāyog Bāsiṣṭha
 PP=Padma Purāṇa
 AP=Ādipurāṇa.
 OL=Oriental Linguist
 SB=Siṅghāsan Battisī
 BP=Baital Pachisī
 SN=Śakuntala Nāṭak
 PS=Prem Sāgar
 NKP=Nasiketopākhyān
 NT=New Testament
 RKK=Rānī Ketaki Kī Kahānī
 RC=Ram Carita Mānasa
 NrTUB=Nṛsingha Tāpani Upaniṣad Bhāṣā
 SS=Sūra Sāgara
 KK=Kabīra

ON THE INFINITIVES IN BENGALI

Dwijendranath Basu

S. K. Chatterji (ODBL, §747) opines that the Infinitive in Bengali is derived from the old Verbal Noun in *-i* put in the Locative and this is different from the Present Participle (Ibid, §§732-3). S. Sen (BhI, p. 203) on the other hand, suggests that it owes its origin to the Present Participle with the Instrumental/Locative-case affix. In BhPBV (Note, 3-09/10) again, S. K. Chatterji observes that it is difficult to trace with certainty the origin of the Gerundial Infinitive suffix *-ite* and to distinguish its use with that of the Verbal Adjective or Participle, and that a merging of the meanings of the two has also taken place.

Here are some varied uses of the *-ite* forms as the Infinitive and as its homomorph, the Present Participle (or better, the Imperfect Participle) in Modern Bengali :

- A. (1) *gān sunite tahār bhālo lāge*—‘To hear songs is to his liking’.
(2) *gān sunite se bhālo bāse*—‘He likes to hear songs’.
(3) *gān sunite man ānande pūrṇa haila*—‘The heart was full of joy by hearing the song’.
(4) *ei gān sunite āmi anek kaṣṭa kariyāchi*—‘I have taken a lot of trouble to hear this song’.
(5) *gān sunite ei bipad ghaṭila*—‘This accident occurred from hearing song’.
(6) *gān sunite tahār klānti nāi*—‘He has no fatigue in hearing song’.
- B. Imperfect Participle—
(1) *āmār gān sunite keha nāi*—‘There is nobody to hear my song’.
(Adjective to the substantive—Nominative)

- (2) *āmi tāhāke gān ṣunite dekhiyāchi*—‘I have seen him hearing songs’ (Adjective to the substantive—Accusative).
- (3) *tāhār gān ṣunite bhālo kintu tāhār antaḥsār kichu nāi*—‘His song is pleasant to hear but it has nothing substantial in it’.
(Adverb to the adjective) A similar expression—*thākurdā chele khepāte ek khāni*—‘Grandpa is unique to flare up boys’
- (4) *se gān ṣunite ṣunite khāy*—‘He eats while he hears the song’
(Adverb to verb-concurrent—continuous).
- (5) *se gān ṣunite ṣunite āmi āsiyā pariba*—‘I shall come up during the time he will be hearing the songs’ (Adverb-absolute).
- (6) *megh nā cāhite jal*—‘(Rain)-water came down while even the cloud was not prayed for (Adverb absolute—subjunctive)
- (7) *āmi jāite se āsila*—‘He came after I had gone’ (Adverb—absolute—conditional)
- (8) *ghar thākite bābui bhije*—‘The weaving bird is wet (in the rain) although it has its nest’ (Adverb-Absolute “Infinitive nexus (Philgr 117. ff-Jespersen).

C. Imperfect participle in Compound Tense and Compound -verb.

- (1) *se gān ṣunite-ehe*—‘He is hearing songs’
se gān ṣunite-chila—‘He was hearing songs’
- (2) *se gān ṣunite-thākibe*—‘He will continue to hear the songs’
se gān ṣunite-lagila—‘He went on hearing the songs’
se gān ṣunite pāre nā—‘He can not hear songs’
se gān ṣunite pāy nā—‘He does not get the chance to hear songs’
tāhāke gān ṣunite dāo—‘Let him hear songs’ etc. etc.

In A. above the Infinitives are Noun-Infinitives in different cases, (1) in Nominative, (2) in Accusative, (3) in Instrumental, (4) in Dative, (5) in Ablative, (6) in Locative. All case-forms other than Nominative and Accusative are adverbial and it is useless to make a category of the Gerundial or Dative Infinitive. All the examples in A may be equated with the verbal nouns in different cases but they have interesting nuancial differences. S. Sen (loc. cit, p. 203) suggests that OB-*ante* forms, MB.

-*ite* forms from which the Mod. Bg. -*ite* forms occur, functioned as Imperfect Participle and those ending in -(i)ba functioned as Infinitive in OB and MB. Hence a close study of the OB & MB instances is necessary.

In the Caryās, all the forms in -*anta* are found in the oblique case. In *jibante maile* (*maale*) *nāhi biśesa* (*biśeso*) (22/6, 49/10)—‘There is no difference between a living one and a dead one’ *jibante* is an adjective substantivised in the Instrumental case denoting Reciprocity in connection with *biśeso*. The same word as an adjective substantivised is also found in *jibante bhelā bihani maela naali*—‘you have brought a dead one which is without having been alive’ (according to S. Sen, CGP, also agreeing in general with the suggestion of Chatterji, ODBL p. 1013) such adjectival -*anta* form is preserved in a few words in Modern Bengali (*ghumanta puri*, *paṭanta rod*, *chuṭanta ghorā* etc.)

In *dudhamājhe lāṭa cchante na dekhai* (42/8) ‘One can not see the cream existing in milk’ *cchante* is not merely on adjunct of *lāṭa*, but it has also a nexal connection with *lāṭa*. Jespersen has named such a phenomenon as “Infinitival nexus” (PhGr p. 117). In criticising Sonnenschein he has pointed out that in the sentence ‘I like boys to be quiet’—“boy” and “quiet” are not functioning as the two objects of the verb “like”. Similarly *lāṭa* and *cchante* can not be called the two objects of *dekhai*. The oblique case-affix gives it a special function to perform. The cream remains (= *acchati*) in milk, but no body sees that cream in the state of existing. There are two other instances of *ācchante* in the Caryās. In one, *amiyā ācchante biśa gilesi re* (39/7) ‘you take poison while there is nectar’ *ācchante* is Imperfect participle in the Locative case to denote the sense of “disregarding” used absolutely (*anādare*). Unlike Sanskrit there is no congruence of it with *amiyā*, used as Nominative, as in all such cases there is a syntactic contamination’ :--‘the nectar exists (= *acchati*)’ and ‘(tad *anādṛtya*) disregarding that you take poison’ are mixed up. In the other, viz *mūrkhā acchante loṇa na pekhai* (42/7)—‘While remaining stupid, a man cannot see’ the locative case affix of the present participle is due

to the temporal sense in the absolute use" :—"So long as one remains stupid" p. 58.

Similar instances of the imperfect participle in the locative case used absolutely are found in a few more instances in the Caryās.

jāsu guṇante tuṭṭai indiāla (30/5)—'While one remains in expectation of which, the net of senses is torn'. Here the imperfect has the sense of "continuative". The imperfect has also the sense of "iterative", as in *mai eṭhu buṇante kimpī na dīṭhā* (16/10)—'While dips are being taken by me (repeatedly, one after another) in this place nothing is seen'. *nāri biārante seba bāyurā (bāpurā)* (20/6)—'While the umbilical cord is seen through and through, it is lost in the air (he, the poor fellow, is no more)'.

There are two *-ante* forms of $\sqrt{jā}$ 'to go' occurring in two subsequent lines. *bhānti na bāsasi jānte* (15/7) and *ethā aṭa mahāsiddhi sijhae ujubāṭa jānte* (15/8) the former signifies 'entertain no doubt in going forward' and the latter 'The eight Great Occult Powers are achieved here by keeping on the straight path' (S. Sen, OBT, CGP). S.K. Chatterji understands *jānte* in the former example as 'at the time of going', but it may not have the sense of Imperfect Absolute, it may simply denote a verbal noun in the locative case signifying a subject-matter'. The latter has the sense of 'instrumental' which is not normal for the Imperfect Absolute.

The instrumental sense is found in the *-ante* forms repeated. Thus *cāhante cāhante suṇa biāra* (31/8)—'By searches going on and on the consideration is Void'. But in *āṇa cāhante āṇa biāṭhā* (44/6)—'While one remains to be searched on and on, the other is lost'.

The word *paisante* occurs twice in the Caryās. In *nalini bana paisante hohisi ekumaṇā* (23/2)—'While getting into the lotus-bed, be singleminded' (S. Sen. OBT), *paisante* is Imperfect Absolute in the sense of 'continuative'. But in *giribara-sihara-sandhi paisante sabaro loriba kaise*—'Getting into the crevice of the peak of the high hill, how can Śabara be traced'

(S. Sen, OBT), *paisante* has the function of a subjunctive (How can Śabara be traced if he goes on entering into the.....).

The subjunctive use is also found in another *-ante* form in the Caryās. It is the word *jāgante* in *gaanata gaanata.....kanthe narāmaṇi bāli jāgante sughārī* (50/1-2)—‘The void, the second Void, and the third Void the fenced plot are there, the axe in the heart, the girl Nairāmaṇi close to the neck, if one remains awakened, it is well’.

Another peculiar use is found of an *-ante* form. *pāñca keruāla parante mānge piṭata kēcchī bāndhī| gaana-dukhole, siñcahu pānī na paisai sāndhi ||* (14/5-6)—‘Five oars plying aft, the rope is fixed on the platform, Bail out water with the bucket of the Sky, water may not leak in through the joints’—S. Sen, OBT) Here the relation of *parante* with the finite verb is not clear. Rather, by anacoluthon the absolute sense is lost. It may be the precursor of the Imperfect Compound Tense form, the Substantive verb being absent here, like the copula not generally expressed in Bengali.

Similar use of the Imperfect Absolute without any connection with the Finite verb, functioning as the Imperfect Compound Tense is found in the Dohākosa of Saraha (from CGK)

khāante [pibante suha ramante nitta puṇu puṇu cakka bi bharante| āisa dhamme sijjhai paraloha nāha pāe dali]- ūbhaa loaha||, and

na maṇa munahu re niṇe joi

jima jale jalahi milante soi| (Alt rdg. in BGD *milantei*).

In Saraha’s Dohakoṣa (BGD) an instance of reduplicated Imperfect Participle oblique denoting Instrumental is found. *cāhante cāhante diṭṭhi niruddho*—‘The sight is dazed by looking on and on’.

A quotation of Nārapāda from Śānti contains an Imperfect Participle-oblique. *cintā cintante pohāi gela rāti* (OBT, 67)—‘Thinking and thinking the night was over.

Thus the *-ante* forms of the Caryas and Dohas mostly function as Imperfect Absolute and only occasionally as Subjunctive in the Locative

case to indicate generally” the time during which an act is going on or being done. “The reduplicated forms have generally the function of the Instrumental to indicate “by the process of the action being performed or going on”.

As instances of Infinitives from the Caryās, *bāhaba* and *bolabā* in the sentence *bāhaba ke pāraa* (8/8) and *kaise sahaṣa bolabā jāya* (40/3) respectively have been mentioned (BhI, pp 203-4, CGP, p. 45). But they might as well be called Verbal nouns (Mod Bg. *dekhi nāi kabhu... eman taraṇi bāowā*, and OB. *kahana na jāi* may be compared). The other instances mentioned have *-ka* and *-re* affixes after the *-ibā* suffix from Sekaśubhodayā and Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana. Infinitives were formed by adding *-ka/-ku* or *-re/-rē* with the nomina actionis base in *-aba/-iba* form. If in Caryā 8/8, *bāhabake* reading is not ensured, *sināibāka* of Sekaśubhodayā and the ŚKK forms in *-ibāka*, *ibāre* etc. are the oldest Bengali forms of the Infinitive.

In ŚKK however, a merging of the Imperfect Absolute (in locative) with the Infinitive or the Verbal noun in the oblique case has taken place and there is practically no functional difference between the two. Thus *bharā diā dadhira pasārā jāite cāha jamunāra pāra*—‘Arranging the selling basket full of curds and yoghouts you like to go over the other side of the Jumna’ on the one hand, and *bale dharibāka cāha more*—‘You wish to get hold of me by force’ and *cumbana dibāre cāhe badanakamale*—‘he likes to kiss me on my face’ on the other. Also *sādha nāhi pāra hayite hena bhāṅgā nāe*—‘I have no wish to cross over the river by such a broken boat’, on the one hand and *maṭhurā jāibāka rādhā ki tora āse*—‘(if) you have the desire, O Rādhā, to go to Mathurā’ on the other. Then, *bujhite nārō mo tohmāra maṇe*—‘I can not understand your mind’ and *parāna dibāka pāra tohmāra bacane*—‘I can offer my life at your word’.

Possibly at the close of the OB period, there came a tendency by which Bengali changed *-aba/-abā* (verbal noun base) to *-iba/-ibā*, e. g. *sināibāka* etc., (already this change occurred in Future *-itavya>iba*

(ODBL, §697) in OB) and *-ante* (the Imperfect Absolute ending) to **-inte/ -ite/ -ite*. This was done (in the words of Prof. Chatterji, ODBL §733) in 'the native line of development in the language represented in the Past Conditional or Habitual (not found in the Caryās) formed with *-it-* affix is also found in early MB, which might have come through the process of *-ayant > -enta* side by side with *-ant > -anta*. But the analogy of *-ila < -illa :-ala* (Bihari), *-iba < -itavya :-aba* (Bihari) was also there, and above all, there was the strong influence of the Perfect Absolute form in *-ile* which was in use in OB. That the Infinitive in *-ite* is developed from the Verbal Noun in *-i* put in the Locative is apparently unnecessary, because OB Imperfect Absolute ending *-ante* became *-ite* in MB and it is found simultaneously used and confused with *-ihāku/ -ibāre*, both being used without any perceptible distinction. Gradually the former has almost ousted the latter from the field, except *-ihāre*, as the Dative Infinitive ending used in Mod Bg. Poetry-language and *-ibar* with Genitive ending *-r* occurring side by side with the Genitive of the Verbal Noun) and the Adverbial form with *-mātra* (e.g. *sunibā-mātra*)

7. The development of the *-ite* form from the Imperfect participle/ Absolute to Dative Infinitive and then to the other cases of the Noun Infinitive without any difference in form (which with their nuance differences with the different cases of the Verbal Noun is rather recent) is unique in Bengali, and is quite distinct from the other New Indo-Aryan languages which have separate forms for the Infinitive and the Imperfect Participle

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BHĀSĀ-SĀHITYAYŌS TATTVA-GUṆA-VIKARANĒ

SARVADĀ YASYA NISṬHĀ/

VISVĒ PRŌDBHĀSITAIR YASYA MANANA-KIRANĀIR

VARDHITĀ BHĀRATA-ŚRĪH/

RĀJANTAM TADGURŌR MĀRGAM ANUJIGAMISŌH

PRĀRTHANM MĒ SABHAKTI/

SVĀSTHYĀDHYAM DĪRGHAM ĀYUR NIVIDASUKHA MAYAM

DĪYATĀM DĒVADEVAIH//