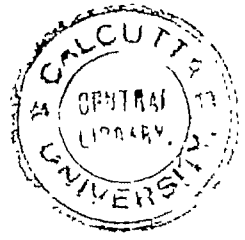


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Editor.—Professor Sukumar Sen

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LEVELS OF LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

Suniti Kumar Chatterji

The present divergence of view in linguistic theory and methodology which has been posed by the title of the subject has been exercising linguistic scholars in both Europe and America, and it has in some of its obvious or noteworthy forms attracted the attention of some of the few top-ranking linguistic scholars in India also. Exponents of the new method and approach, mostly trained in America, are now working in the study of different Indian languages. They are but vaguely conscious of this diversity, but some of them are inclined to ignore or brush aside as old-fashioned whatever does not conform to the canons and to the terminology of the new method. The present speaker has had his life's work done in the atmosphere of a tradition which has been built up in India and Europe, and a tradition which has been what has been established in Europe. In Modern India of he has not been a "scientistic technician" in linguistics, but a ge of psychology and mathematics and higher levels he is not competent to s on of cepts own isci-

gathering of specialists and I crave your indulgence for that—the position of a lay student of language for whom language is primarily an all-round social phenomenon in which the individual man participates. Linguistics is a human science, a science dealing with man as a living and thinking organism circumscribed by actualities, and consequently, as he feels, a detached, dry-as-dust as well as exclusive application of the physical sciences has to be taken with a little caution and circumspection. Language is a continuity, a dynamic process, at the same time, at a given space-time context, it is within its dynamism, in admissible theory at least, something static. Both these aspects have to be taken note of.

The levels of linguistic analysis treated in India presents a long history. We at least in India are at a confluence of the old and the new. The situation from the point of view of the Old World tradition, which began in India and took its final shape in Europe, has been discussed in some suggestive papers by the late Professor J. R. Firth of London and his British colleagues (in *Studies in Linguistic Analysis*, Oxford) and these papers have sought to clarify the position. In making observations, without going into details of illustrative examples, I have sought to look at the matter from what may be called a new point of view—with its uncompromising objectivity and its emphasis on the phonetic and morphophonemic structure of language and its gradually developing and almost universal nature. The latter part of the science

early centuries of the 1st millennium B. C. The greatest advance of these studies on the phonetic side we find in the works known as the *Prātiśākhya*s, which started to be composed probably from the middle of the 1st millennium B. C., and on the side of both phonetics and morphology as well as syntax—in morphophonemics and morpheme relations—the sage and grammarian Panini, living in the extreme North-West of India (near the present town of Attock or Atak on the Indus, now in Pakistan) in the 5th century B. C. presents the peak for the age, and for any age for the matter of that, in the study of Sanskrit. Panini was at the end of a long series of grammarians whom he has utilised and at times quoted, and at the same time he stands at the head of another long line of grammarians, who came after him, for some 2400 years, right down to the 20th century.

The Sanskrit grammatical system as perfected by Panini presents one of the highest achievements of man in the field of linguistic analysis. In both the objective or scientific study of the sounds of the living speech, of the sounds in themselves and in their relation to each other as well as to their significance in linguistic communication, and also in the study of morphemes or the significant elements which by combination give rise to expressive words and sentences, this Linguistic Analysis presents something at a very high and comprehensive level, making, in the first instance, phonetics the basis of all analysis. This can very well be taken note of in the latest development of the linguistic science in the West in what has been called *descriptive linguistics*.

In the first instance, the word *Viśākaraṇa* in Sanskrit, which means “grammar”, etymologically has the sense of “explanation” and “analysis” (prefix *vi* prefix *ā*+root *kr* ‘to do’+nominal suffix-*ana*, “to do” i. e. to open up fully”). In the *Tāṭtirīya Samhitā* of the Black Yajur Veda one of the earliest Vedic texts, it is said that speech was originally unexplained or unanalysed, and the Gods spoke to Indra (the king of the Gods) : “analyse this speech for us”—and Indra went into the middle of speech and analysed it (*vāgvai parācyavyākṛtā van dat : te devā Indram*

abruvanimaṇ no vācam vyākurvīti...tān Indro madhyato vakramya vyākarot: TS., VI, 4, 7, 3). This analysis of “unsplit speech” was from both the levels of sounds and of significs-of the functions of the phonetic elements in expressing ideas and relations. Later commentators have called this analysis “cutting asunder” (*vi-ccid*). The study of the sounds, on which is based the arrangement of the letters in the Indian system of writing, has been, considering the age, on the highest scientific level : modern phonetics is but corroborating with the help of instruments the most remarkable discoveries of the ancient Indian phoneticians. Thus they discovered in ancient India that the opening(*vivara*) of the glottal passage produced breath or breathed sounds (*śvāsa* or *aghoṣa*), and its closure *saṁvara*) resulted in the production of voice and voiced sounds (*nāda*, *ghoṣa*) and there were “pressed down” or checked consonants i. e. unexploded stops (*nipīḍita*, *sannatāra*) both finally and in the middle of the word in consonant combinations.

In the matter of morphological analysis, the discovery was first made of the three basic categories in the analysis of the Sanskrit speech-*nāman* or the noun, i. e. the subject, *ākhyāta* or the predicate i. e. the verb, and *nipāta* or particles i. e. help-words. The concept of the root as a fundamental or basic signific element in speech, which has dominated our ideas of linguistic analysis for over 2500 years (in Sanskrit, and then in Greek and Latin, and in Arabic and Hebrew, and this has been extended to other languages) was also arrived at in India before 500 B. C., when the word *dhātu* came to be established in the sense of the abstract “verb-root”, as opposed to *ākhyāta* meaning “the finite verb”. The word *dhātu* is from the verb-root *dhā*, which is the equivalent in Sanskrit of the English verb do, and it originally meant “layer, constituent element, basic element”, and then was specialised by grammarians in the sense of “verb-root”. Linguistic analysis was well on its way from the time that in some of the older Vedic texts the poets were becoming conscious of the fact that the words of the language they were using were capable of being split up into two or more components, the

basic and the accidental-*prakṛti* or root and *pratyaya* ("that which goes to the basic") or *udaya* ("the coming up or out") i. e. the affix.

Science is both analysis and synthesis, with the indication of a sequence of cause and effect. The linguistic analysis was in full swing. Panini was fully conscious of the two levels of language—the actual living or spoken language as current in the world of men and women round about him (*laukika*) and the "high" or archaic language of old or traditional poetry (*chāṇḍasa*). A most comprehensive description of the two he has given in his great work the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* or "Eight Books" consisting of nearly 4000 sūtras or aphorisms (rules or descriptions within the briefest terms), touching all points of phonemes, morphemes and word-relations.

The sūtras from a marvel of concentration in propounding speech analysis from all aspects, such as they were understood 2500 years ago among the Aryans in India. It was discovered that the same morpheme had different phonetic forms, and that the use of the same morphophoneme brought about different phonetic or significant effects, either in the outward acoustic appearance or in some slight nuance in meaning, or in both. Thus the various morphemes were in the first instance isolated as, e. g., *-a*, *-ta* (with a variant *-na*), *-l*, *-aka* etc. But these affixes, within the general orbit of their significance, had at times special nuances, and brought about modifications of various kinds in the form of the completed word (*pada*) as used in connected speech (*vākya*). Generally the affixes are indicated by themselves—the affixes give their own names, but occasionally an affix has a separate name for itself. Thus each consonant sound in the language has its name consisting of the sound plus the vowel *a* (*ka*, *kha*, *na*, *ca*, *pa*, *sa* etc. for *k*, *kh*, *n*, *p*, *c*, *s* etc), but in the solitary case of *r*, it has a special name, *repha*, beside its common name *ra*. With regard to the affixes, a few examples will make clear how this comprehensive analysis was made in these sūtras.

Take, for example, the very common Sanskrit primary affix *-d*, which is found added to the root to form a large number of nouns and

adjectives, indicating sometimes the doer and sometimes the deed. The root changes in various ways when the—*a* affix comes to modify it. Thus—

(1) In certain roots with the vowels *i, u r l*, and in the roots *jnā pri, kṛ*, (really *jn, pri, kir*) the affix *-a* is added at the end, and there is no modification of the root, and the resultant noun is agentive. Thus *vid+a=vida* “a knower”; *budh+a=budha* “a wise man”; *nṛt+a=nṛta* “a dancer”, *jñā=jñ±a=jñā* “a knower”, *pri=pri+y+a=priya* “one who pleases”, *kṛ=kir+a=kira* “scatter”. This *-a* has been augmented by adding the sound *k-* to it—it is named as *k-a*, or *ka*, where *k-* is a symbol signifying that the verb-root remains unchanged.

(2) In certain roots, with some special words, prefixes or prepositions added to them initially, the addition of the *-a* affix to form an agentive noun is accompanied by the loss of the vowel, and if the root ends in a nasal, by the loss of both the vowel and the nasal, before the the *-a* affix is added. Thus, root *gam* becomes simply *g* before the affix *-a* can be added to it, *sarva-ga, para-ga, kha-ga, dur-ga, dasyu+han=dasyu-ha, padma±jan=padma-ja*. To indicate this kind modification brought about by the affix *-a*, in this particular case the affix has been given the symbolical letter or sound *d* before it, and this *-a* called *d-a* or *ḍa*.

(3) The *-a* affix in certain cases is pronounced in the *udātta* or high pitch or acute accent, as *a*, while the root vowel is modified by *guṇa* i. e. extension of the root vowel by *-a*. e. g. *ji, j-a-i=jaia, jaya*. This *-a* has been given the name of *ac*, i. e. *a-c*, by adding *-c* at the end, and the *-c* signifies the advent of the high pitch (*udātta*) on the affix.

(4) In certain roots, when they are compounded with a noun comes after the noun just before the root, and the affix has the high (*udātta*) pitch; thus *priya+root vad+a=priya-m-vad-a*, “one who speaks pleasantly”. The *-a* affix here is called *kh-a-c*, the addition *kh*-meaning the presence of the nasal, and *-c* meaning pitch accent on the affix itself as in the case of (3) above.

(5) In the above cases there is the intrusion of the nasal between the prefixed word and the root, but when the accent falls on the root vowel and not on the suffix *-a*, it is called *kh-a-ś* (or *khaś*) ! e. g. *iana-m-ejaya* (root *aji*), *vātam-aja* : root (*aj*), etc.

(6) In a number of other words, the *-a* affix is added, expected nasal intrusion is not there according to another rule, the high pitch is on the root vowel, and the sense of the word is "action that is being done", then this *-a* has been named as *kh-a-l* (or *khal*) ; e. g. *īṣat-kar-a*, *duṣ-kar-a*.

(7) Root *pac*+nominal suffix *-a* gives the form *pāka*. This *-a* is called *ghañ* or *gh-a-ñ*. Here we have lengthening of the root vowel (*-a* to *-ā-*), and this lengthening here is symbolised by the letter *-ñ*. Then, the palatal *-c* ending the root is changed to the guttural *-k*, and the letter or sound *gh-* indicates this function of the suffix *-a*. So *ghañ* (*gh-a-ñ*) standing for this *-a* expresses in a tabloid form how the root is modified when this *-a* is added.

In this way, to express analytically the modifications indicated by the nominal affix *-a* and its various functions, there are various extensions of it by adding indicative sounds, or letters before or after it -a sort of an algebrical compression of analytic description. These algebrical additions are known as *anubandhas* in Sanskrit (lit. "on or after bindings"), and in the actual formation of the word, these have no place—they are omitted (in the technical language of Sanskrit grammar, "these *anubandha* letters then undergo it or extinction"). Vowel and consonant sounds like *u, k, kh, n, c, ñ, t, d, ṇ, t, n, p, y, r, l, v, s, ś* etc. are among such *anubandhas*. So in an analytic description of the various functions of the nominal primary affix *-a*, according to its behaviour or action on the root and prefixed word, it is given such a diversity of names—*a, a-n, a-c, a-n, a-p, k-a, k-a-n, kh-a-c, kh-a-l, kh-a-ś, gh-a, gh-a ñ, t a, t-a-k, t-a-c, d-a, n-a, ś-a, etc.* In this way, the explanatory analysis of various formative affixes has been denoted by a kind of algebric method.

In some cases, the affix has been indicated, not by itself as in the

case of *-a*, but by an arbitrarily created name. Thus the affix *-aka* has been called under various circumstances *vu-n*, *vu-l*, *vu-ñ*, *ṣ.vu-n*. The present participle affixes *-ant* and *-ana* or *-mana* have been respectively named *śatr* and *śānac*; the affix *-ana* has been variously named as *yu-c*, *l-yu*, *l-yu-t*.

Verb roots have similarly been prefixed and suffixed with anubandha letters to indicate descriptive analysis of the phonemic and morphemic modifications which are operative. (See Otto Bohtlingk's Panini's Grammatik, Leipzig, 1887, and works by other Western authorities like Bruno Leibich, Paul Thieme, Louis Renou; also works by Indian authors, like K. C. Chatterji's Technical Terms and Technique of Sanskrit Grammar, Calcutta, 1948; K. V. Abhyankar's Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar, Baroda, 1961; and G. B. Palasule's work The Sanskrit Dhatupathas, Poona, 1961, Chapter III. Groupings, Anubandhas and other Technical Devices used in the Dhatupathas, pp. 57-88).

As a linguistic exercise, of the nature of a plaisanterie, it would be interesting to analyse the Morphophonemes of, say, the modern English strong verbs, indicating by means of a well-thought out and systematic series of letters like Anubandhas added to the basic affixes (e. g. *-ed*, *-t* for the past, as in the regular verb) the various changes in the root vowel of the verb and in the past-participle and other forms.

This kind of linguistic analysis is something unique, and it has held the field in India all through in orthodox or old-fashioned Sanskrit grammar, and it has been extended to Pali also. This method considered language, from the point of view of descriptive grammar, as something static, which existed in *se*, and there was not the slightest attempt in this method towards a historical approach; and of course it was too early for the comparative method, as the comparative study of languages was a thing not yet discovered. There was some complication in the above algebraical analysis of the affixes. Frequently the use of the same letter-symbol for different morphophonemic functions brought in some ambiguity and even confusion. Again, the use of different letter-symbols,

often for the same purpose by Panini himself, who took them over from his predecessors, also gave rise to complications which had to be steered clear of. Finally, later grammarians often used some of their own creations in this line, side by side with a good many taken over from Panini, and this gave rise to different systems of anubandhas or morpho-phonemic symbols.

Here we have a noteworthy attempt at linguistic analysis both in sounds and signific morphs at a static and descriptive level. The grammatical conscience of India became saturated with this kind of outlook or attitude : find out the root and the morphophoneme and dissect the action of the morphophoneme, and indicate the whole thing in a lump as it were. Of course, this kind of analysis was applicable primarily to Sanskrit, about which the ancient and mediaeval Indian grammarians thought that it was a language which came out as a perfect speech and was not capable of development. The close study of the earlier Vedic and the later Epic Sanskrit did not help to bring about the idea of a historic development, except that, in the case of the Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit dialects, it was conceded that in the bulk they were but a modification, a devasement, in a way, of Sanskrit, and although the phonemes and morphemes of the Prakrit dialects were to some extent analysed, they were generally, together with the bulk of the roots and words, looked upon as derived from Sanskrit through the working of some phonetic laws which were fairly accurately observed and described. The Prakrit morphemes generally were equated in their function or application with those of Sanskrit, with the implication that they were phonological developments of the latter.

This was then the line of linguistic analysis. We have thus a rigid description of the Sanskrit language (the earlier Vedic forms were treated as variants only), in both its phones and phonemes, morphs and morphemes, as well as in its morphophonology, these being considered in themselves, without any thought of historical development, and this description analysed to the fullest the sounds and forms and their func-

tions separate or conjoint, and presented this analysis in series of succinct algebraic formulae, as explained above. Then for the Prakrits, there was the general admission that the Prakrits represented a phonological and morphological development or modification of Sanskrit. Sanskrit was behind Prakrit : and this great fact was always looming in the background of Indian linguistic thought.

This attitude was passed on as a natural corollary or inheritance when the New or Modern Indo-Aryan Languages came to be considered. The attitude of the Indian scholars of Sanskrit towards the New Indo-Aryan languages—the Bhashas—was the same as that towards the Prakrits; they were but later forms of Prakrit, and were derivative, and could be explained only with the help of Sanskrit. The Bhashas as much as their earlier forms, the Apabhramsas and the Prakrits, could, by the application of phonological laws or rules, be easily restored to Sanskrit.

In present-day Indian linguistics, particularly in the study of the New Indo-Aryan speeches, this historical level of analysis is the predominant one. The comparative aspect has now come to extend and complete it. The three great pioneers in Indo-Aryan Linguistics of the present age, who established the study of New Indo-Aryan during the seventies and eighties of the last century, viz. John Beames, Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, and A. Rudolf Hoernle, in a way strengthened the traditional Indian line of analysis : Sanskrit, as the static *fons et origo* of Indo-Aryan, giving rise to Prakrit, which changed to the Bhashas. Of course, for Sanskrit itself, the findings of comparative Indo-European linguistics brought in a new vista, which has now been further extended by the postulating of Indo-Hittite.

The study of languages in India, particularly of the New Indo-Aryan Languages, follows the pattern that developed in Europe during the close of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, and its basic outlook was historical and comparative. Just as the Junggrammatiker of Germany during the last quarter of the 19th century brought in a new outlook and approach to grammar and established the canons of histo-

rical and comparative grammar, so during the last thirty years a new approach towards grammar and grammatical analysis has come to the field; and mainly through the labours of a brilliant group of language-investigators in America, it has come to be established, and established at the forefront. One may say that the American methods of modern descriptive grammar and of structural linguistics, with their thorough rehauling of our inheritances in linguistic investigation, and their rather exuberant wealth of new terms and coinings, at times carrying with them the atmosphere of the physical laboratory and of "field-work", and their occasional crossing over into the domains of mathematics and mathematical and symbolical logic and the physical sciences, proved a little disconcerting for the votaries of the traditional school, who had so far found the historical-comparative method with adequate broadbasing on phonetics, even experimental phonetics, enough. The approach to the problems of language was at times on abstract lines—without being facetious it may be opined that it was like abstract art—and this seemed to encroach upon a good deal of the terrain. At the Conference of Linguists held in Paris in 1938, under the auspices of the CIPL, as far as I remember, it was Dr. Doke, the Africanist and authority on Bantu from the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, who gave his opinion that the modern levels of linguistic approach often took us high up into a sort of "a linguistic stratosphere, where we felt very much the need of a little oxygen", and that linguistic speculation and classification should always move with its feet firmly set on the soil.

New methods naturally would require new words. But in this matter, too, in the interest of international convenience in the study of a science through the English language, there should be international cooperation and agreement, among the two main groups of English speakers in the United States and the United Kingdom—America and England, and the wider groups of English-users outside. This view, along with a number of other ones quite pertinent to the question, was expressed by Professor Einar Haugen in a paper contributed to the Journal of

the Linguistic Society of America, *Language*, in 1951, where he deplored the widening gulf in linguistic approach and in linguistic terminology between America and Europe.

Just as old fashioned "philologists" at the turn of the 20th century and for a couple of decades after that felt a little bewildered at the methods of modern phonetics, both theoretical and descriptive as well as experimental, so some of us in India, senior workers and students on the wrong side of 70 and eve of 60, feel 'the want of a little oxygen' in the methods which are being developed in America and are being quickly disseminated outside America, including India. We are not at all critical of these new methods, simply because we have not been able to follow them through our own inability in keeping abreast of the times. We can see that the level of linguistic analysis, particularly for structural linguistics, is on a different, perhaps more objectively constructed plane. In America itself, we can see how the approach has changed within thirty years, from a work by L. Bloomfield on *Language* (1924), and the current works of linguisticians like Charles F. Hockett, Zellig S. Harris, H. A. Gleason, Kenneth L. Pike, Hency Hoenigswald, Uriel Weinreich and others, some of whom have had the advantage of a training in the "classical" tradition and classical languages also. In India during the last eight years, the new approach and methodology has been slowly introduced, through the various summer and winter linguistic schools held in different universities to which senior linguistic scholars and researchers from all over India repaired for intensive training in language-study and linguistic analysis. These schools were run under the joint auspices of the Linguistic Society of India (Calcutta and Poona), the Deccan College of the University of Poona, and the Rockefeller Foundation of New York (which largely financed it). Professors and lecturers as well as research scholars from American universities and occasionally from British universities came under this scheme, and they took classes and introduced this new method; and young as well as senior linguistic scholars from India also went to study in some of the American universities. In this way, a

new generation of Indian linguistic investigators from different parts of India, who are working in both the Aryan and the Dravidian and other / nonAryan languages, have come to the field, and are employing the methods of modern descriptive and structural linguistics in the study of Indian languages.

The current, or rather the old Indian level of analysis professedly relies on the historico-comparative approach, with full consideration of the actual phonetic level. In the Indian tradition, this method has so far given good results, and in what may be called the orthodox method, following Beames, Bhandarkar, Trumpp, Platts, Hoernle, Grierson, Kellogg, Jules Bloch, Grahame Bailey and others, historical grammars of Bengali, Awadhi, Konkani, Assamese, Maithli, Bhojpuri, Panjabi and descriptive grammars of current Bengali, Awadhi (Lakhimpuri), and a number of other dialects have been written, and these have broken new ground in India.

The old or Euro-Indian method and the new or American method are now face to face with each other, and they present two levels of linguistic analysis. I think the American method of looking most closely into the facts of the language under study—in fact, often confining itself into the actualities without much concern for earlier stages, is the result of the linguistic scholarship of America having largely taken in hand the investigation of the Amerindian languages which have preserved no past records or specimens. The historical method could not be followed in this domain, as there were no materials, except for the speech as it was in front of us. Hence it was more satisfying intellectually and perhaps also more profitable to take up the language as it was objectively—to get at

its *tat-tva* or "that-ness", to use a Sankrit expression—the exact nature of the speech—the understanding of the Dingan-sich, the thing-in-itself. Perhaps this circumstance supplied one of the most important bases of the American linguistic approach and linguistic science. Perhaps this sometimes manifested itself into an ignoring of, or impatience with the considerations or questions or implications or anxieties with regard to an earlier background, presenting the dynamic aspect of speech.

But in India, there has been some sort or other of a complete linguistic record for some 3000 years continuously. The anomalies or irregularities of the phonemic and morphemic situation in a New Indo-Aryan language are almost always capable of being explained in their historical or sequential setting or development by the earlier records registered in literature or inscriptions or in dialectology. Hence the tendency and the temptation would be to base investigation into a modern Indo-Aryan speech on the pattern or ground-plan of the earlier stages of it; and it would appear so obvious on the face of it. Besides there is ample material for the comparative approach, and for the question of linguistic substrata. The Indian mind, again, is always eager to go into the fundamentals—the use or foundation of a matter to its deepest depth attainable. Hence the acceptance of primitive Indo-European (and than Indo-Hittite) has been so easy and natural for speech-researchers in India following the modern or European method.

In treating of the basic character of a modern language as at now stands, or for the matter of that of any language at a given stage of its existence, we may of course confine ourselves to its actual facts and to

establish a sort of pattern which can be fully correct and true for it. This is what we see in the detailed descriptive grammar of Sanskrit at a particular point in its history, such as was done by Panini, following an all-inclusive phonemic-morphemic consideration, as indicated above. The modern English verbsystem with all its irregularities and its anomalies is the result of a gradual historical development of what we see in Old English system is based on that of Primitive Germanic, of Primitive Indo-European and of Indo-Hittite successively. But still it is possible to take modern English by itself, and draw out a new and a consistent pattern from it for its verb-system, without reference to Old English or German is or Indo-European, in the manner done by H. A. Gleason (see, e. g. pp. 102—103 of Gleason's *Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*, New York, 1955). I have treated the historical development of the verb-system from old through Middle to New Indo-Aryan, as in *Modern Bengali*, where each anomaly or irregularity is sought to be explained with reference to what was behind it in the earlier phases of Middle and old Bengali and of "Prakrit" and "Sanskrit" (in my *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926). But in my *Modern Bengali Grammar* written in the Bengali Language for Bengali-speaking students at high school and college (1246 ff), I have arranged the whole thing in a pattern which holds good for Modern Bengali only.

I think that in linguistic analysis, the proper level should be both descriptive and structural, and historical and comparative. These two levels approach cannot be cut off from other—they can easily go with each other. For the fundamental thing about language is that it is never static—it is always in a state of flux, it is a continuous historical process. Language is never detached from life, and it will ultimately refuse to be dissected and analysed with modern "tools" upon a laboratory table only. It can be questioned if we could think of language in the abstract when dealing a living speech. Its phonemes and morphemes are redolent with life, and throbbing with heart-beat. This should never be lost sight of in descriptive linguistics, if only as a background, and occasionally a

source of light in illumining dark spots in modern languages most easily. A classical training is always a great stand-by in my kind of intellectual work. Then those who confine themselves to the historico-comparative method, particularly in India, should recall the necessity of studying the "thing-in-itself" before we can find out its place in the scheme of things. And the perennial lesson of Panini is there. His grammatical approach was nothing if not rigorously descriptive—his work was the consummation of a great labour in finding out the structure of Sanskrit as it was current in his time, as a living speech, with its literary form in the offing as something which was also a part of it. To revive the spirit of Panini in his level of linguistic analysis as concerned with a living speech independently of its past will once again be doing a great service to the science of linguistics, particularly in India, as a balance to the long period of known historical development for 3000 years."

BIKĀNERI DIALECT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BIKĀNERI ARCHITECTURE.

Manik Bachhawat

The city of Bikāner has a typical dialect. It is of course Rajasthani but it bears an impact of the then Royal dynasty which separated itself from the Royal Jodhpur House. Rao Bikajee brother of Rao Jodhjee, left Jodhpur and found his own princely state and named it as Bikāno. In due course this Bikāno came to known as Bikāner.

To-day Bikāner, the capital city of the then state has a quite different type of dialect. The real Bikāneri is spoken by the people of the city proper. It has an aristocratic flavour and extra-ordinary sweetness which is rarely found in any other dialect of Rajasthan. Created and nourished by the royal house of the highest order, the dialect has rich local literature in its stock. The MSS of which are lying in the bhāndaras and with some of the aristocratic families of Bikāner. There might come a time when some scholars will be attracted toward its rich literary value.

The people of Bikāner were fond of art and culture. The type of architecture which the founders of this state created is also typical and not to be found in other parts of Rajasthan. An old house of two hundred years is an ordinary thing in Bikāner. Almost all the 19th century houses in the city are made of red stone and engraved in traditional carvings.

The Bikāner school of architecture is quite different to Mughals. This school has its own colour and typicality. There are common traits

in forms of almost all the houses of the city. The whole city was divided in 114 Gawārs by the learned Mantri Karamchand Bachhawat. There were separate localities for each community. The oswals, the brahmins, maheswaries, muslims, the Gujars, Sonārs, Suthārs, Hamāls, Chimpās, Darjees, Lohārs, Telis, Ustājas, Dhunias, Chunigars, Rangāras, Nāriyas, Kumbhars Chamārs, etc. etc. They all were given a part of the city to settle in. Each such locality is again sub-divided in Gawārs which is being named after each cast.

Every Gawār has a boundry and the particular cast is living within its territory enjoying the security and assence of close brotherhood

There is a vocabulary of the words related to the Bikāneri architecture.

Gawār	—A group of houses in a Muhallah.
Pirol	—The main gates or doors of a Gawār or Muhallah.
Dhori Mowro	—Main entrance of the house.
Diwankhano	—Gent's drawing room.
Janankhano	—Ladies drawing room.
Ānganō	—The centre courtyard of the house.
Sāl	—A portico.
Basāli	—An open room near Angan.
Mindari	—The house temple.
Oro	—A store house.
Payenḍo	—Where water pails are preserved
Kunḍi	—A small well.
Jharokho	—A window
Bāri	—A small window.
Tipar	—The top roof.
Dāglo	—The lower roof.
Paṁkhāsāl	—The room having window open to south.
Timolo	—The room at third floor.
Tāñ	—The stack in a room.
Mori	—The rain water pipe.

Taikhāno	—The room in under ground used as drawing room.
Bhanwaro	—An another part of under ground room.
Talbhanwaro	—The last under ground room.
Talghar	—a part of under ground.
Pichokṛo	—The back door.
Dabki	—A window on stair case.
Koṭho	—A store room.
Ālo	—The small almirah on a wall.
Gokho	—A type of window.
Jājru	—The latrine.
Tāki	—The shutter of a door.
Nāl	—Staircase.
Takio	—A pillow of stone adjoining the window.
Bārno	—A gate.
Āḍañ	—The shutter for the door.
Bhogal	—An Inside wooden shutter of the door.
Kūṇṭo	—An outside shutter of the door
Fālsō	—Courtyard.
Medhi	—Small roof at the top of a house.
Tālkhān	—The cover frame of the door.
Māliuah	—A room where precious articles are kept.
Tibari	—A room having open space.
Bindi	—Boundry wall on the top roof.
Pagānthia	—Stairs
Moul	—A living room.
Citkani	—A small shutter of the door.
Pōsāl	—A school building.
Bhāndel	—A big earthenware pot where grain is stored.
Gunbhario	—An underground used as store.
Fulsāl	—an side Drawing room.
Kundi	—a small reservoir of drinking water where water is stored from outside.

Bāwādi	—A big under ground water reservoir where rain water is preserved.
Mokhi	—A big Rain water pipe made of stone.
Bilai	—A steel shutter fixed on main gate.
Senthir	—Wooden Beams used for ceiling.
Bālo	—Wooden Pillars used for support of the ceiling.
Sinyon	—A special type of dry straw used in ceiling.
Roroh	— Pillars casted in pebbles (gādda) used for Constructing walls.
Jali	—carved stone pieces used for ventilation.
Ghursāl	—a stable.
Nero	—A big spacious room.
Choko	—Kitchen.

COMPOUND VERBS IN ASSAMESE

Satyendra Narayan Goswami

1. The compound—verb is an interesting verb—form in Assamese like duplicated or auxiliary verbs. While discussing on the topic Dr. S. K. Chatterji has explained that all NIA agree in having a remarkable idiomatic use of verb-roots in connection with a noun or verbal conjunctive or participle. The noun compounded is mostly in accusative and occasionally in locative—the verbal forms remain uninflected, the root following takes the temporal and personal affixes. Thus, these two parts combining together form the concept. The inflected root in such a group, though outwardly in form the principal part modified by a noun or by a participle, is properly the auxiliary; but sometimes it has no special force, although usually it strengthens or modifies the idea of the preceding verbal participle or noun. The use of this compound or group verb construction compensates the loss of the root—modifying prefixes which form such a characteristic feature of Sanskrit or other non-Indian IE speeches.

2. Such compound—verbs are used very frequently in NIA from its earliest stage. The compound—verbs in Assamese are mainly of two types : Nominal and Verbal.

Nominal

(a) Accusative : kāmkarā 'to work/to serve', jamākarā 'together', dārsan (pr. darṣan) karā 'to see (deity in a temple)', āhār diyā 'to feed', pānī diyā 'to water', lāph mārā 'to jump'.

(b) Locative : āg 'bāṛhā/bāṛhā 'to advance', talsārā (pr. talxārā) 'to fall down', gātsanā (pr. gātxanā) 'to smear on the body'.

EMPLOYMENT OF ROMAN SCRIPT

M. S. Thirumalai

The aim of this paper is to find out/point out the phonemic complexities, if Roman Script, as it is, were to be employed in the place of a native script. As a corollary aim it tries to find out the extent to which the exhibition of allophonic distributional features are revealed by the employment of Roman Script in the place of a native script or to say it in another way, to illustrate how the allophones of phonemes of a language are subtly hidden/taken into account by a native script.

By Roman Script this paper means the script from B to Z, employed by the English language. The phonetic values of the script relate to the English language only.

A passage published in a popular Tamil magazine (the passage is given as an appendix to the paper) was read out/dictated by a native speaker of Tamil, his dialect being the educated middle class non-brahmin Tirunelveli dialect, to a number of native Tamil speakers. The present analysis relates only to the dictation taken by a native speaker of Tamil his dialect being the educated middle class non-brahmin Tirunelveli dialect. This the matter dictated is assumed to be representative of standard literary colloquial Tamil, the dictator and the person

This is a follow up of the Dissertation 'A Comparative Phonemic Study of Tamil and Hindi' for D. Phil degree done under the guidance and supervision of Prof. Sukumar Sen. I am very glad to acknowledge with gratitude the supervision and guidance given me by Dr. Sukumar Sen. I am also thankful to the informant Mr. P. Tnbamani Amos for his excellent cooperation.

to whom the dictation was given were native speakers of the dialect.

The persons who were dictated were asked to employ Roman Script in the place of the Tamil Script. The following are the accepted phonetic values of the transliterated letters of Tamil language.

VOWELS

	Front	Central	Back
	Unrounded	Unrounded	Rounded
High	i i :		u u :
Mid	e e :		o o :
Low		a a :	

CONSONANTS

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stop (Voiceless)p			t		T	C	k
Lateral				l	<u>l</u> L		
Nasal	m		<u>n</u>	n	N	<u>ñ</u>	ṅ
Trill				r, R			
Semivowel		v				y	

VOWELS

/i/ High front unrounded short vowel is represented in the dictation taken, by the following letter (i) only.

/i:/ High front unrounded long vowel is represented in the dictation taken, by the following letters (ee), gemination of (e). This gemination to represent /i:/ is uniformly employed in all the cases of occurrence of /i:/ in the passage. The employment of (ee) to represent /i:/ may be related to the widely current phonetic value of (ee) in the English words like 'cheek', 'meek'.

/e/ Mid front unrounded short vowel is represented in the dictation by the following letters (ye), and (e). (ye) is employed for /e/ in the initial position only. This reveals, and is in conjunction with, the sporadic palatalisation of front vowels attested in the educated middle class non-brahmin Tirunelveli Tamil dialect.

/e:/ Mid front unrounded long vowel is represented in the dictation by the following letter (e). Thus the employment of (ee) for /i:/ makes it impossible to employ the same for /e:/ and the same results in the overlapping or confusion in using the same letter for both the sounds. Anyhow an automatic regularity in employing the letters/ graphemes is attested here and this brings to the fore the subconscious identification of phonemes.

/a/ Low central unrounded short vowel is represented in the dictation taken, by the following (a) only.

/a:/ Low central unrounded long vowel is represented in the dictation taken, by (a) only. The overlapping of the employment of the letter (a) may be related to the use of (a) for the short and long varieties of the low central unrounded item in English.

/u/ High back rounded short vowel is represented in the dictation taken by (u) only.

/u:/ High back rounded long vowel is represented in the dictation taken, by (oo). The employment (oo) for /u:/ corresponds to the employment of (ee) for /i:/. The factor here also may be employment of this gemination for /u:/ in English in word such as 'boom' 'nook'. /u:/ occurs in a borrowed item only in the illustrated passage. But that the employment of (oo) for /u:/ is uniform is attested in the illustrative items given in the extra dictations.

/o/ Mid back rounded short vowel is represented in the dictation taken, by (o) only.

/o:/ Mid back rounded long vowel is represented in the dictation given, by (o). Thus the employment of (oo) for /u:/, a vowel (though back and long) which belongs to a different group i. e. High, makes it impossible to employ the same for /o:/. This results in the overlapping or confusion in using the same letter (o) for /o/ and /o:/. This again reveals an automatic regularity in employing the letters/ graphemes due to the subconscious identification of phonemes of his speech by the informant.

The chart below gives the corresponding graphemes against the transliterated vowels :

i	i:	/	i	[ee]	u	u:	/	u	[oo]
e	e:	/	e		o	o:	/	o	
a	a:	/	a						

Thus the replacement of native script by, or employment of Roman Script warrants provisions for the graphemes of long vowels in the Roman Script. Further, a subconscious identification of phonemes of the language and an automatic regularity or homogeneity as a corollary of the earlier condition in the availability or employment of graphemes for High group only, are also revealed. Moreover a bilingual phonetic cum phonemic interference is attested through the employment of (ee) and (oo) attributed to English phonetics for /e:/ and /u:/ of Tamil.

CONSONANTS

Stops

/p/ Bilabial voiceless unaspirated stop is represented in the dictation taken by (p) and (b). (b) always occurs either intervocally or after a nasal segment; (p) occurs elsewhere. The allophones of /p/ are (B) bilabial voiced fricative having its distribution only intervocally, (b) bilabial voiced unaspirated stop having its distribution after homorganic nasals and (p) bilabial voiceless unaspirated stop having its distribution elsewhere. The non-availability of graphemes for the bilabial fricatives may be the reason for not employing a separate grapheme and hence the same grapheme is employed for (B) and (p).

/t/ Dental voiceless unaspirated stop is represented in the dictation taken by (th) only. But a check up with some other informants of educated middle class Tirunelveli dialect reveals the employment of (dh) also intervocally and after nasals. Thus while the first informant has established a grapheme equivalent to /t/ in all positions, others are still prone to use letters which they subconsciously feel related to the sounds directly.

/T/ Retroflex voiceless unaspirated stop is represented in the dictation taken by (d) uniformly. The check up with the other informants of educated middle class non-brahmin Tirunelveli dialect reveals the employment of (tt) also in the medially geminated positions. The non-occurrence of /T/ in the initial position accounts for the non-employment of (t) by the informants. This corroborates with the allophonic distribution of /T/.

/C/ Palatal voiceless unaspirated (affricate) stop is represented in the dictation taken by (S) only. The passage does not have any medial geminated occurrence for /c/. But the check up with other informants reveal the employment of (ch) also for /-cc-/ in the medially geminated position. The employment of (s) for /c/ in medial position is in conformity with the allophonic distribution of /c/; the employment of (s) in the initial position also is in conformity since (S) is always identified to be in free variation with (c) in the initial position in the dialect. The subconscious identification of the phonetic segments, thus, is carried over to the Roman Script where the availability of separate graphemes for similar but different sounds make a suitable choice between the many feasible to a certain extent.

/k/ Velar voiceless unaspirated stop is represented in the dictation taken by (h), (g) and (k). (h) occurs intervocally, (g) occurs after a homorganic velar nasal and (k) elsewhere. This is in conformity with the allophonic distribution of /k/ descriptively having (h), (g) and (k) in the above stated Conditions.

Nasals /m/ is represented by (m) only.

 /n/

 /n/

 /N/

 /ñ/

 /ñ/ All these nasal segments are represented in the dictation taken by (n) only. It is only with regard to /n/ and /ñ/ there is confusion for identification. The other segments occur before

their respective homorganic nasals only in the passage as well as descriptively and hence these are easily identified due to the subconscious identificational ability. Thus the nasal segments warrant special provisions to be made for them in the Roman Script.

Lateral /l/ All the lateral segments are represented in the /l/ dictation taken by (l) only. The non-employment /L/ of (zh) for /L/ is a noteworthy feature because (zh), for /L/, has been in use for quite a long time. Thus the lateral segments warrant special provisions to be made for them in the Roman Script.

Trill /r/ Alveolar soft Trill.

/R/ Alveolar Hard Trill. These two segments are represented in the dictation taken by (r) only, thus revealing the already established coalescence of these two phonemes in the actual speech. Anyhow these two are still separate phonemes in the written language and hence warrant special provisions in the Roman Script.

Semivowels

/v/ is represented in the dictation taken by (v) only.
/y/ is represented in the dictation taken by (y) If /y/ is preceded by /i/ and followed by any vowel /y/ is identified to be missing. The palatalisation of the front vowel may explain this.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE UNDERWORLD LANGUAGE IN WEST BENGAL

Bhakti Prasad Mallick

In this paper some terms which are still current among the criminals of West Bengal are found to have been used by the Thugs or other criminal tribes of India.

Examples :

cauknu : a burglar, cf. choukna : to see, inspect, examine (Sleeman, 1836).

kāli : dark night, cf. kalee : night (ibid).

māhil : a gang leader, cf. mohil : a chief (ibid).

tholā : police, cf. thulla : Deputy Inspector of the police (Dict. of the Criminal Tribes in the Punjab by M. A. Ghafur, 1879).

dhur : a victim, cf. an individual (ibid).

sīt : a girl or young woman, cf. seet : woman, a female (ibid).

chābā : 1. a boy. 2. a catamite, cf. chāwā', a boy, generally under 10 or 12 years of age (ibid).

dāmri : money, cf. rupees coin (ibid).

ṭin : a pocket, cf. tīnd : pocket (ibid).

ganā, gaunā : a hidden cavity inside the mouth to hide stolen money etc. cf. "gaunā is that place which these pilferers make in their mouth for hiding money etc; some of these artificial holes thus made underneath the uvula both sides of the throat as far as the collar bone are quite capable of holding from 70 to 80 rupees at a time". (ibid)

māṅghi : house-breaking instrument. cf., manghee : sindh (Manual of criminal classes operating in Bengal by F. C. Daly, 1916).

kakaro : police cf., kakaro : do (ibid).

chappoki : hidings, cf. chappoki : hiding (ibid).

It is observed that there is a close psychological affinity between the different criminals and anti-social elements of the different parts of the world. Some parallel examples from a few foreign languages are given below, beside the terms from West Bengal.

andherā : darknight in the new moon; cf. E.S. darks : night.

āgun : 1. Fire, cf. E. S. Fire : do. 2, pistol, cf. F. S. feu : revolver
pistol.

uṭhāobāj : luggage-lifter, cf. E. S. lifter, pickman.

oṭhāo : a room, cf. G. S. Absleige : do.

kālā, kāli : 1. opium, cf. E. S. black silk, black smoke black stuff :
do. 2. dark night of E. S. black and white : to night,
cf. F. S. la noire : 1. night 2, opium.

kākan : handcuffs, cf. E. S. bracelets : do.

kupiā : prison cell, cf. E. S. car : do.

cāp : investigation by the police, cf. E. S. pressure : do (E. S.,
und).

chuṭkod : apprentice thief, cf. B. choṭo : small, cf. E. S. kid : do.

dristi : exes, cf. E. S. sights : exes

bādhākopi : 1. head, especially of a sikh. 2. intelligence, cf. F. S.
chou : head.

māchi : police, cf. F. S. mouche, J. S. hachi : police officer (a bee).

ghaṭak : one who acts as a mediator to the selling transaction of a
girl; girl-hunters, cf. ghaṭak : match-maker cf. G. S.
Ammenmacher : do.

kām : to be out on theft, G. S. Arbeiten : do.

dim : 1. small coins, cf. G. S. Eier : coins. 2. a wrist watch, cf.
J. S. nasu : a pocket watch (an egg plant).

kharcā : an arrest, cf. J. S. son-o-suru : to be arrested (to sustain
a loss).

jātṭhā : a buyer of stolen goods, cf. J. S. shinseki : do (a relative).
 māmār bāṛi : police station, cf. J. S. Oisantoko : do (uncle's home).
 bābā : a known policeman, cf. J. S. chichioya : uniformed police
 (father).

Abbreviation : E. S. =English slang, G. S. =German slang, F. S. =
 French slang, J. S. =Japanese slang, und=underwored
 slang.

THE APPOSITIONALS IN OLD BENGALI

Dwijendra Nath Basu

A “slight pause” and “intonation” are important factors of an appositional to distinguish it from an adjunct according to Jespersen (Analytic Syntax, §4.1). He observes that the former thus has a looser coordination while the latter has a closer connexion.¹ In Old Bengali² the coordinates of the appositional are found to have the looseness of connection generally by the intervention of an adjective. While pause and intonation are evident in the spoken language, in written speech this intervention is necessary in place of them. Thus :

- (a) *dhamaṇa camana beṇi piṇḍi baiṭhā* (Caryā 1/10)—‘Seated on the dual platform of the Intake and the Off-take’.
- (b) *cānda-sujja beṇi pākhā phāla* (C. 4/8)—‘The moon and the Sun, the two wings, are unfurled.’
- (c) *ādaa dirha ṭāṅgi nibāṇe koṛia* (C. 5/6) The stout Axe of Non-duality is plied for Extinction’.
- (d) *pucchatu cāṭila anuttara sāmī* (C. 5/10)—‘Cāṭila, the matchless Master be then queried’.
- (e) *ebaṃkāra diṭha bākhōṛa moṛia* (C. 9/1)—‘(Perception of) Suchness, the strong post is pulled down’. (*moṛiu* in Śāstri’s Text; *moṛia* in RASB Text rhymes with *toria* of the next line in Sk. Annotator’s rdg.)

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1. As the Old Bengali specimens are mainly the Caryā songs which are metrical, there is limitation to syntactical rules regarding the position of words, yet some general observations can be made.

- (f) *pāpa puṇya beṇi toria sikala* (C. 16/5)—‘Tearing off the twin chains of Sin and Piety...’ (*toria* in RASB Text and Bagchi’s emendation for Śāstri’s *tīria*).
- (g) *āli kālī beṇi sārī muniā* (C. 17/5)—‘The A-series and the K-series are accepted as the twin sticks’. (*sūnea* in Śāstri’s Text was emended by Bagchi to *sunīā*, but Shahidullah and S. Sen read it *muniā* which accords with SA meaning ‘*pratītya*’).
- (h) *jaa jaa dunduhi-sāda ucchaliā* (C. 19/3)—‘The festive notes of big drums are resounding’.

2. Sometimes the coordinates are intercepted by verbs. For example :

- (a) *kāhru bilasat āsabamātā* (C. 9/3)—Kāṇha is disporting intoxicated with drink’.
- (b) *ekeli sabarī bara hiṇḍal karṇa-kuṇḍala-bajra-dhāri* (C. 28/6) ‘The lonely Savari treks this wilderness, wearing ear-rings and the bolt’.
- (c) *anudīna sabaro kimpī na cebai mahāsuhe bholā* (C. 50/10)—‘Day after day Savara feels nothing, being immersed in Great Happiness’.

In these instances the appositionals have a combination with the function of the predicatives. (Jespersen explains such examples as “transition to Predicative”. loc. cit. §12.2)

3. In the following examples, the appositionals are in series, functioning as explicatory and exemplificatory respectively :

- (a) *ālo ḍombī toe sama karibe ma sāṅga*
nighiṇa kāhna kāpālī joi lāṅga (C. 10/3-4)—‘Hullo Ḍombī, with thee shall be made by liaison, I shameless Kāṇha, a Kāpālīka, a Yogi, naked’.
- (b) *bāndhi-suā jima keli karat khelai bahubliha kherā*
bāluātēṭe sasara siṅge ākāsa phulilā (C. 41/7-8)—‘The son of a barren woman, as it were, enjoys (himself) and plays various games with oil from sand, with the horns of a hare and in the blooming sky’.

4. Without any interception the coordinates may be explained as compounded. For instance :

- (a) *sahaja nalinibana* ..(C. 9/4)—‘..in the lotus-bed of the Innate...’
- (b) *gaana dukhole sīñcahu pānī* (C. 14/6)—‘Bail out water with the bucket of the sky.’
- (c) *karunā meha nirantra phariā* (C. 30/1)—‘The cloud of compassion (is) ever spread over’.
- (d) *baragurubaana kuthāre chiaa* (C. 45/3)—‘By the instructions of the True Guru, as with an axe let it be hacked down’.
5. But when the normal position of the components of compounds is found to be reverse, the appositionals become obvious. Thus :
- (a) *ghumai na cebai sapara bibhāgā sahaja-nidālu kāhnilā lāngā* (C.36/3-4) —‘He is sleeping, he perceives not the distinction between the Self and the non-Self. Overcome by the sleep of the Innate is the naked fellow Kāhna’.
- (b) *ūcā ūcā pābata taḥi basai sabari bāḥi* (C. 28/1)—‘Lofty hill tops, there dwells the girl sabari’.
- (c) *kāhna kāpālī yogi paṭṭhe acāre* (C11/3)—‘Kāhna, akāpālīka, a Yogī has joined in the march.’
- (d) *chai choi yāiso bāhma nāriā* (C. 10/2)—‘You go about touching that shaven-headed Brahmin off and on.’

These as well as some examples cited before would be according to Jespersen “equipollents” (junctions of two connected items of the same rank) (loc. cit. § 3.5) rather than “appositionals”, but it is not worth while to maintain that distinction here.

6. If the coordinates have inflexions, they remain distinct and the sense of the appositional is clear, but such examples are rare. One example is : *sunata māṅge* (C. 13/9)—‘on the aft of the void’.
7. *māṅge abadhūi* (C. 27/3)—‘...along the Avadhūti channel’ is a peculiar instance of reversal of position which may be due to the metre.
8. As examples of “restricted appositionals” (loc. cit. §12. 6) in OB. may be cited :
- (a) *soṇa rua mora kimpī ṇa thākiu* (C. 47/7)—‘of gold and silver not a bit left.’

- (b) *chebaha so taru mūla na dāla* (C. 45/10)—‘Hack the treedown;
neither roots nor branches (should remain).’

9. Appositionals are to be carefully distinguished from some instances of predicatives and factitive objects, such as :

- (a) *bhaba nibbāṇe paraha mādālā* (C. 19/1)—Existence and Extinction are the twin drums.
 (b) *sujalāu sasi lāgeli tānti* (C. 17/1)—‘The Sun is the gourd shell; the Moon is attached as the string;’ etc. etc.
 (c) *āi aṇuanā e jaga re bhāṁtiē so paṭihāi* (C. 41/1)—‘In origin uncreated, this universe appears as such through ignorance.’
 (d) *sādguru-bohe kariha so niccala* (C. 21/10)—‘By the advice of the true Guru it should be made motionless.’
 (e) *rāga deśa moha lāia chāra* (C. 11/7)—‘Attachment, hatred, and ignorance are taken as ashes.’
 (f) *keho keho tohore biruā bolai* (C. 18/7)—‘some call you ugly.’

(The readings are mostly taken from ‘Caryāgīti-Padāvalī’—S. Sen (1956) and the translations are after ‘Old Bengali Texts’—S. Sen (Indian Linguistics, vol. x, 1948).

ETYMOLOGY OF HITTITE *aruna-* AND $\sqrt{\text{harg}}$

Satya Swarup Misra

Hittite *aruna-* 'sea'

The following forms of *aruna*—'sea' are attested in Hittite¹.

Nom	Sg.	<i>arunas</i>
Gen.	Sg.	<i>arunas</i>
Acc.	Sg.	<i>arunan</i>
Dat.	Sg.	<i>aruni</i> (= <i>arune</i>), <i>aruna</i>
Abl.	Sg.	<i>arunats</i>
Acc.	Pl.	<i>arunns</i>

This is a very important word in the Hittite. *a*- declension, because a maximum number of forms of the *a*- declension are citable from this word.

Skt *dr̥ṇa-*(-*a*-stem) and *ar̥ṇas-*(-*as*-stem) seem to be cognates of

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1. Vide Friedrich : Hethitisches Wörterbuch, under the word *aruna*—; and Sturtevant : A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite language, Rev. edn , pages 91-92 §147)

Hittite *arunas*². The words *arṇa* and *arṇas* are quite frequent in RV and mean "a wave, flood or the sea". The IE form may be reconstructed as **orno-*³, which became **arna-* is proto-Hittite and *aruna-* in Hittite with *-u-* anaptyxis. Insertion of *-u-* as an anaptyctic vowel also occurs in Hittite *daluga-* 'long' (<proro-Hit ite **dalga-* <IE **dǵho-*, cp. skt. *dirgha-*, *darēva-*, Gk *dolikhō-* etc),

and *sumas/sumes* "you (plural)", besides *smas/smes* "you (plural—enclitic)"⁴.

Hittite $\sqrt{harg-}$ (*hark-*) 'have'

This is used in Ht as an auxiliary verb to form the periphrastic perfect. The following forms of this verb are attested in Hittite⁵.

2. Vide Prof. Sukumar Sen : History and Prehistory of Sanskrit page 29, where he compares Hittite *aruna-* with Skt *arṇava-* and *varuṇa-*
3. This reconstruction is provisional as the initial vowel cannot be ascertained only on the basis of Sanskrit and Hittite, since IE **a*, **e* & **o* > *a* in Skt and IE *a* & **o* > *a* in Hittite and further IE **e* also 'becomes *a* in Hittite before *r*'
4. Hittite *smes/smas* are considered to be original forms and *sumes/sumas* as anaptyctic ones similar other anaptyctic forms of this word occurs, e. g. *sames* (with *-a-* anaptyxis) and *simes* (with *-i-* anaptyxis).
5. Vide Friedrich : Hethitisches Wörterbuch, under the word *har(k)* and Sturtevant : A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language Rev. edn page 15 §304)

Present Indicative (1, 2, 3, = 1st, 2nd and 3rd (persons)).

- sg. 1 *harmi* (=hargmi)
 2 *harsi* (=hargsi)
 harti (=hargti)
 3 *harts* (=hargtsi)
 pl. 1 *harweni* (=hargweni)
 2 *harteni* (=hargtni)
 3 *harkantsi* (=hargantsi)

Preterite

- sg. 1 *harkun* (=hargun)
 2 & 3 *harta* (=hargta)
 pl. 1 *harwen* (=hargwen)
 3 *harkir* (=harger)

Imperative

- sg. 2. *harak* (=harg)
 3. *hardu* (=hargtu)
 pl. 3. *harkandu* (=harguntu)

The *g* (written *k*) of *harg* has been lost before a consonant and retained before a vowel as the examples show. This may be because orthographically a triple consonant could not be represented in Ht. Triple consonant was generally retained in cases like *rts*, *nts* etc as the representation of *ts* was made by a single sign *Z* in Ht.

The *g* of *harg* (written *hark*) may be either *g* or *k*, as orthographically *k* and *g* could be distinguished only in an intervocal position.

But I consider this to be *g*, taking Skt $\sqrt{arh}$ —as a cognate⁶ Skt $\sqrt{arh}$ is also used as an auxiliary verb with a somewhat similar meaning, e. g. *bhavān gantvā arhati*, originally meaning “your noble self has to go”, but used as a polite expression for “your noble self may be pleased to go” Gk *arkha* ‘be able, lead, begin’ may also be a cognate, The IE form may be $\sqrt{*argh}$ ⁷ meaning ‘have, hold, be able, begin’.

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6. Sturtevant interprets the word as *hark* (Comparative Grammar of the Hittite language Rev. edn, page 45 §72) and compares with Lat. *arceō* ‘hold, enclose; keep away’ and Gk. *arkeō* ‘ward off’ etc.
 7. The IE reconstruction is provisional here as well.
-

LARIA SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Appanna Pradhan

Laria is a language spoken in the Sundergar, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Kalahandi, Dhenkanal and Korapu districts of Orissa State. The total number of speakers is 45,514. The majority of the speakers live in the first four districts mentioned above! Most of Laria speakers know Oriya language spoken in their districts by the majority of the people. The 1961 census of India Reports show that Laria is affiliated to Chattisgarhi; but it is an important fact that not a single speaker from Orissa claimed Chattisgarhi as his mother tongue and in the same way not a single speaker from Mādhyā Prādes^h claimed Laria as his mother tongue. Grierson in the "Linguistic Survey of India, vol VI," has mentioned that Laria is the same as Chhathisgarhi, spoken in the feudatory states of Orissa.

The speakers of the language are of this following castes. The Agharias are many cultivators, and the Mālis are known as Phulmāli and Deulia Māli. Other castes are professional classes like Dhobā (washer men), Kēūt (fisherman):

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1. Census of India, 1961, Orissa, vol. XII, pt. IIc-Cuttack.
 2. Census of India, 1961, Language Tables, vol I, pt II-c (ii), Calcutta.

Besides, there are Brahmins who are known as Pandes and Thakurs. The material were collected from one informant of Māll community and two informants of Aghria community¹ in the years 1965 and 1966 when I was at Behala and Shambazar.

Vowel Phonemes and Their Distribution

i	i:	u	u:
	e:		o:
	a	a:	

There are eight vowel phonemes in Laria These. phonemes may be treated in two different groups. The first group comprise /i/, /i:/; /u/, /u:/ and /a/, /a:/, and the second group /e:/ and /o:/.

Group. I. Vowels of this group occur as short and long ones, of which the high front vowels contrast only in final position, where as the central vowels (lower-mid and low) contrast greatly in medial and rarely in initial and final positions. In the final positions only two instances are attested.

Group. II. Vowels of this group are mid front and mid back which are "a bit longer than the short Ones. So, for the present purpose, they are treated tentatively as /e:/ and /o:/ only.

-
1. Sri Hare Krishna Patel, Sambalpur, of Māll Community.
 2. Sri Ananda Kumar Naik, Bolangir (Aghria)
 3. Sri Satyanarayan Naik, Sundergarh, (,,)
to whom I am grateful.

Group. I.

i i:

u u:

a a:

/i/ a high, front, unrounded, short vowel.

/i/ 'this' [i]

/bile:i/ 'cat' [bile:i]

/co:'bis/ '24' [c:o:'bis]

/ba:ti/ 'small stone ball' [ba:t]

/sa:li/ 'wife's younger sister' [sa:li]

/i:/ a high, front, unrounded, long vowel.

/li:m/ 'nee' [li:m]

/ka:thi:/ 'stick' [ka:thi:]

/ka:ki:/ 'father's younge'r brothers wife' [ka:ki:]

/a/ has two allophones [$\wedge$]¹ and [a]; [$\wedge$] occurs initially and medially where as [a] only finally.

[$\wedge$] a lower mid, central, unrounded vowel.

/adha:/ 'half' [$\wedge$ dha:]/aja:] mother's father' [$\wedge$ ja:]/das/ 'ten' [d $\wedge$ s]/bhal/ 'good' [bh $\wedge$ l]/sulah/ '16' [sul $\wedge$ h]

[a] a low, central, unrounded short vowel.

/rupa/ 'parrot' [rupa]

/durga/ 'fort' [durga]

1. In case of Bolangir informant's speech [$\wedge$] is bit rounded. This may be due to the influence of Oriya central vowel. In phonemic level it is not pertinent.

/putvra/ 'bother's son' [putva:]

/a/ a low, central, unrounded, long vowel.

/a:m/ 'mango' [a:m]

/sa:n/ 'small' [sa:n]

/rupa:/ 'silver' [rupa:]

/ba:l/ 'hair' [ba:l]

/u/ a high, back, rounded, short vowel.

/ui:l/ 'onion' [ui:l]

/usuna: co:l/ 'boiled rice' [usuna: co:l]

/buda:/ 'bush' [buda:]

/mahu/ 'honey' [m^hu]

/u:/ a high, back, rounded, long vowel.

/u:th/ 'standup' [u:th]

/khu:sa:/ 'hair-knot' [khu:sa:]

/be:chu:/ 'scorpion' [bechu:]

/bahu:/ 'elder brother's wife' [b^hu:]

Group. II. /e:/, /o:/

/e/ a mid, front unrounded. a bit longer than the short vowel.

/e:k/ 'one' [e:k]

/dhe:kun/ 'bug' [dhe:kun]

-
1. [a.] is not phonemically pertinent, as it is a bit longer than the shorten one.

- /tʉke:l/ 'girl'
 /na:te:n/ 'grand-daughter' [na:te:n]
 /ine:/ 'here' [ine:]
 /o:/ a mid, back, rounded, a bit longer than the short vowel.
 /o:s/ 'dew' [o:s]
 /tʉke:l/
 /po:d/ 'buffalo' [po:r]
 /co:bis/ 'twenty four' [co:bis]
 /surso:/ 'mustard' (surso:)
 /bha:ibo:ho:/ 'younger' brother's wife' (bha:ibo:ho:)

Diphthongs

A few instances of diphthongs are attested only in medial position.

- /e:i/ /athe:is/ '28' (Λ the:is)
 /ui/ /e:kuis/ '21' (e:kuis)
 /ou/ /noukar/ 'servant' (nouk.Λr)
 /mousa:/ 'mother's sister's husband' (mousa:)

Nasalisation.

/~/ Nasalisation occurs in all the positions.

- /ĩ/ /ĩta:/ 'like this' /guĩs/ 'went'
 /ni:d/ 'sleep' /d̃a:hi/ 'branch'
 /ẽ/ /bẽ:k/ 'neck' /juẽ:/ 'son-in-law'
 /ã/ /ãd̃a:/ 'egg' /cad̃/ 'upper lip'
 /siha/ 'lion' /has/ 'swan'
 /ã:/ /sã:p/ 'snake' /ba:/ 'confusion'
 /õ:/ /õ:t̃h/ 'lowerlip'
 /ũ:/ /u:t/ 'camel' /su:t̃h/ 'miser'

Contrasting pairs :**Quantitative** $/i/ \div /i:/$ $/ba:tʃ/$ 'small stone ball' $/ka:θi:/$ 'stick' $/bahi/$ 'book' $/dahi:/$ 'curd' $/a/ \div /a:/$ $/bal/$ 'strenght' $/ba:l/$ 'hair' $/rupa/$ 'parrot' $/rupa:/$ 'silver'**Quantitative** $/i/ \div /e:/$ $/pila:/$ 'child' $/pe:lha:/$ 'push' $/u/ \div /o:/$ $/buda:/$ 'bush' $/bo:da:/$ 'he goat' $/pud/$ 'burn' $/po:d/$ 'bebuffalo' $/e:/ \div /a/$ $/me:la:/$ 'open' $/mala:/$ 'dead' $/be:la:/$ 'time' $/balad/$ 'bullock' $/a/ \div /o:/$ $/chabis/$ '26' $/co:bis/$ '24' $/mar/$ 'die' $/mo:r/$ 'my' $/a:/ \div /o:/$ $/ca:r/$ 'a sweet fruit' $/co:r/$ 'thief'**Nasalised versus non-nasalised :** $/i/ \div /ĩ/$ $/iʈa:/$ 'this' $/ĩʈa:/$ 'like this'

/d̥ihi/ 'land' /d̥a:hi/ 'branch'

/e:/ ÷ /ẽ:/

/e:k/ 'one' /bẽ:k/ 'neek'

/jue:/ 'fire' /jue:/ 'son-in-law'

/a/ ÷ /a/

/ead/ 'climb' /eɑd/ 'upper lip'

/sae:d/ 'rotten' /sɑd/ 'bull'

/has/ 'laugh' /hɑs/ 'swan'

/a:/ ÷ /ã:/

/ba:/ 'father' /bã:/ 'confusion'

/sa:p/ 'c̥nrse' /sã:p/ 'snake'

/:s/ ÷ /oo:/

/o:t̥h/ 'standup' /õ:t̥h/ 'lower lip'

/u:/ ÷ /ũ:/

/u:t̥h/ 'stand up' /ũ:t̥/ 'camel'

/su:t/ 'shoot' /sũ:t̥h/ 'niggard'

Consonants And Their Distribution

p ph t th t̥ t̥h k kh

b bh d dh d̥ d̥h g gh

c ch

j jh

m

n

s

h

l

r

w

y

There are twentyeight consonant phonemes in Laria. They are classified into stops, affricates, nasals, fricatives, lateral, trill and semivowels.

All ophonic distribution of consonants.

/p/ a bilabial, voiceless, unaspirated stop, occurs in all positions.

/pa:ɪ/ 'mat' /rupa/ 'parrot'

/pa:n/ 'betel leaf' /pa:p/ 'sin'

/kap/ 'cut'

/ph/ a bilabial, voiceless, aspirated stop, having greater frequency in initial and medial positions.

/pha:di/ 'tearing' /phal/ 'fruit'

/rapha:/ 'spade' /kaph/ 'cough'

/b/ a bilabial, voiced, unaspirated stop, occurs initially and medially.

/bi/ 'also' /ba:e:l/ 'sand'

/ca:bi/ 'key' /dua:√rban/ 'door frame'

/bh/ a bilabial, voiced aspirated stop, having greater frequency of occurrence initially and medially.

/bhamar/ 'hee' /bhais/ 'shee buffals'

/ke:bhe:/ 'when' /la:bh/ 'profit'

/t/ a dental, voiceless, unaspirated stop.

/tal/ 'floor' /bha:t/ 'cooked rice'

/cita:/ 'leopard' /vra:e:t/ 'night'

/th/ a dental, voiceless, aspirated stop, having greater frequency of occurrence medially, rare elsewhere.

/thuthna:/ 'beak' /katha:/ 'tabe'

/pathav/ 'stone' /vath/ 'charriot'

/d/ a dental, voiced, unaspirated stop, having greater frequency initially and medially.

/da:/ 'sickle' /da:n/ 'gift'

/ada:/ 'ginger' /gad/ 'a medicinal plant'

/dh/ a dental, voiced, aspirated stop, rare occurrence in medial and final positions.

/dha:n/ 'paddy' /dha:r/ 'loan'

/padha:n/ 'a surname' /gādh/ 'ass'

/t/ a retroflex, voiceless, unaspirated stop.

/ṭaka:/ 'wait' /ṭangia/ 'big knife'

/ma:ṭi/ 'ground' /jhaṭ/ 'quick'

/ṭh/ a retroflex, voiceless aspirated stop.

/ṭhi:k/ 'exact' /ṭhe:kua:/ 'hare'

/ṭaṭhe:is/ '28' /pi:ṭh/ 'back'

/ḍ/ a retroflex, voiced, unaspirated stop. It has two allophones

/ḍh/ a retroflex, voiced, aspirated stop, having two allophones :

/ḍhe:kun/ 'bug' [ḍhe:kun]

/ḍhu:ḍ/ 'vulture' [ḍhu:r]

(1) [ṛ] a retroflex voiced unaspirated flap, occurs intervocally and finally.

/saḍak/ 'road' [saṛak]

/pa:r/ 'foul wind' [pa:r]

(2) [ḍ] occurs only initially.

/ḍe:na:/ 'wing' /ḍa:l/ 'small branch'

(1) [ṛh] a retroflex voiced aspirated flap; occurs intervocally and finally.

/buḍha/ 'old man' [buṛha:]

/paḍh/ 'read' [paṛh]

(2) [ḍh] occurs only initially.

/k/ a velar, voiceless, unaspirated stop, occurs in all positions.

/ka:n/ 'lar/ /ka:nthi/ 'wall'

/rakat/ 'blood' /na:k/ 'nose'

/kh/ a velar, voiceless, aspirated stop, occurs in all positions.

/khae:t/ 'destroy' /kha:/ 'eat'

/ukhe:n/ 'louse' /ma:kh/ 'apply oil etc'

/g/ a velar, voiced, unaspirated stop, occurs in all positions.

/garra:/ 'lamb' /jagal/

/mu:g/ 'green gram'

/gh/ a velar, voiced, aspirated stop, occurs initially and finally.

/ghi/ 'ghee' /gha:/ 'sore'

/me:gh/ 'cloud'

/c/ a palatal, voiceless, unaspirated affricate, occurs in all positions.

/caka:/ 'wheel'

/na:c/ 'dance' /usuna:ca:l/ 'boiled rice'

/ch/ a palatal, voiceless, aspirated affricate, occurs in all positions.

/chua:/ 'baby' /picha:/ 'buttock'

/gach/ 'tree' /ba:ch/ 'choose'

/j/ a palatal, voiced, unaspirated affricate, occurs in all positions.

/ji:bh/ 'tongue' /jan/ 'moon'

/guja:e:r/ 'spear' /gi:j/ 'anus'

/jh/ a palatal, voiced, aspirated affricate, occurs in all positions.

/jha:r/ 'forest' /jharka:/ 'window'

/majhi/ 'centre' /bo:jh/ 'burden'

/m/ a bilabial nasal, occurs in all positions.

/muhu/ 'face' /bhamar/ 'bee'

/ka:m/ 'work'

/n/ a dental nasal. It has three allophones : [ɳ] before retroflex stops, [ɲ] before palatal affricates, and [n̪] before velar stops.

/nae:d/ 'river' /cana:/ 'gram'

:jan/ 'nuon' /dhe:kun/ 'buy'

[ɳ] a retroflex nasal.

/tanti/ 'throat' [tʌnti]
 /thanda:/ 'cold' [thʌnda:]

[ñ] a palatal nasal.

[ganja:] 'ganja' [gʌñja:]
 /guncimusa:/ 'squirrel' [guñcimusa:]

[ŋ] a velar nasal.

/the:ŋgua/ 'bachelor'
 /a:ngu:t/ 'finger'

/s/ an alveolar voiceless fricative, It has another allophone

[ʃ] before retroflex voiceless unaspirated stop.

/kasʃe:mastʃe:/ 'with difficulties' [kʌʃte:mʌʃte:]

This is an Oriya compound used in Laria. (/)

/h/ a voiceless glotal fricative, occurs in all positions.

/ha:d/ 'bone' /luha:/ 'iron'
 /sulah/ '16'

/l/ an alveolar lateral, occurs in all positions.

/le:di/ 'heel' /sulah/ '16'
 /cilka:/ 'lake' /ga:l/ 'cheek'

/r/ an alveolar trill, occurs in all positions.

/rua:/ 'cotton' /ra:et/ 'night'
 /tara:/ 'star' /mo:r/ 'my'

/w/ a bilabial semivowel, only one instance is attested.

/wo:/ 'he'

/y/ a palatal semivowels, occurs intervocally and finally.

/bhuy:/ 'a surname' /ga:y/ 'cow'
 /aa:yak/ 'cow'

HISTORICAL SYNTAX OF EARLY HINDI PROSE

CHAPTER ONE

Dayanand Srivastava

Gender and number

1. Little needs to be said regarding gender. We have only two genders, (a) the masculine, (b) the feminine. The OIA neuter and masculine merged together in MIA period. This tendency continued even up to the Apabhramśa and the proto-NIA (Avahatṭa) period and is inherited by NIA. (Only Marāṭhī and Gujarātī as well as Singhalese have retained the historical neuter). Thus, like most of the NIA, Hindī also did not inherit the neuter gender. The historical neuter merged into the masculine. The gender, therefore, in Hindī became grammatical rather than natural.

2. It is an established fact that the grammatical distinction of gender in Hindī is made by having the affix-ī (the suffix-ā, too is employed and it represents the historical feminine). The feminine forms for the inanimate object is due to psychological reason, rather than that of the grammatical. The smaller and nicer aspect of a thing led such nouns to be accepted as feminine, the result being that most of the names of the inanimate objects became diminutive only,¹ and inanimate nouns, abstract, material or concrete.....are feminine because of their affixes.²

3. As regards the masculine and feminine terminations, formation of the feminine from the masculine gender of substantives ending in consonant and the gender of the borrowed elements, see

1. Also See UVP 53. 31,

2. Vide ODBL 83. 721,

A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Languages of India; pt. 11. Chap. 11. 32-35, Pages 151-170. Hindī Vyākaraṇa 257. 241-205 and ODBL 403. 720.

4. Germ of the historical neuter is not completely lost from Hindī and is well preserved in the use of the accusative postpositive-ko. Originally this-ko is a dative post-positive and historically it is a personal case-affix, when it was extended to function as the accusative post-positive it retained its original value and is only employed as the accusative post-positive as direct object with personal nouns. Some exceptions to this statement are available, i. e. the inanimate object, in a few cases, is construed with ko. But this cannot be accepted as a tendency, moreover such cases are doubtful, hence no definite decision can be taken on its account. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, in ODBL also remarks "There are relics of the neuter in Western Hindī"¹ but without adding any example.

5. The genitive in-kā, and the pronominal-rā, and (the reflexive)-nā (which were from the very beginning of adjectival character) regularly take the feminine form according to the qualifying noun, e. g. *unkichā-vā me kūvar udayaibhāntane apanā bichaunā kiyā*-under their shade (protection) prince Uday Bhān prepared his bed RKK. *rānī ketakī apānī māki is bātpar muh thuthākar uṭh gayī*-Rānīketakī greatly vexed at her mother on this account, arose and departed. RKK. *ham tumāhārī baḍī tapasyā is van me sunkar āye hai*-having heard of your great devotions I have come in this forest. NKP. 3.

6. The present and the past participial adjectives both attributive and predicative, qualifying feminine nouns, regularly take the feminine affix; e. g. *us rotī bhāī kanyā ko ban me choḍ āye*-(they) left the weeping damsel in the forest. NKP 11. *ab tum apānī bitī kahānī kaho kis deś ke kaun ho*-do now tell me your past story, what country you come

1. Vide. ODBL. 483. 722.

from, and who are you. RKK. 17. *muh se nikalibāt lauṭati nahī*—uttered words from mouth do not come back (to mouth). SB. 98.

7. Verbs originating from participles (present or past) take feminine affix with their feminine subject or object (as the case may be).

8. Adjectives, both, the attributive and predicative, qualifying feminine nouns, regularly take the feminine affix.

(B)

The Number.

9. The language of EHP, like the other NIA, recognises only two numbers, the singular and the plural, and like them, it also did not inherit the historical dual. The OIA dual was lost very early in MIA, and was completely replaced by the plural; however, the number 'dvi' 'two', with the noun ending in the plural, in Aśokan Edicts, was used to express duality e. g. '*duve morā*' two peacocks. This relic of the dual also exists in Pāli¹ and Prākṛt². B. Müller in Prākṛt Grammar (page 65. f) mentions the retention of the two examples. But Geiger refuses to accept it. Thus the expression of the duality by the number 'two', is inherited by Hindī from MIA through Apabhraṃśa. e. g. *thiyai ve vi ganjollya gattai*-Bhavisatta Kahā. 85. 4. *avā rāha donṇi ajjavi khamisu*—Karakanda Carita—2. 18. 3. (Quoted from-Historical grammar of Apabhraṃśa §77. 106). e. g. *dekhane ko do ākhē dī aur sunane ko do*

1. Pāli Literature and Language—77. 1. 117. 2.

2. Pischel Gram. 360. 245. 3. c. f. 'The two examples given by B. Müller, P. Gr. p. 65f. as instances of retained dual are unconvincing, one of them (*paṭhanam*) to *idhāgato* DPVS. 9. 32; even if the reading is not corrupt, goes back to the author of this work whose knowledge was very imperfect. The second form—*mātāpitu* (*ca vandi tvā*) CP. 11. 9. 7. is certainly not dual Pāli Language and Literature. 117. FN.

kān—for seeing (to see) (he)gave two eyes and for hearing two ears. RKK. 1.

10. Besides, 'do', 'dono', which has its origin from *dvānām* (on the analogy of the m. Genitive *trīṇām*), is also employed to express the number 'two' e. g. *dono mahāhrājāo ko āpas me laḍane do*—let the two Kings fight among themselves RKK. 12.

11. Besides 'do' and 'dono', the pronominal adjective '*ubhaya*' or '*ubhau*' is also employed to express the number two; '*ubhau*' was quite a living idiom in MIA, which was regularly employed to express duality, c. f. 'The dual number which in OIA was mostly an archaism, if not always artificiality, is completely replaced in MIA. The only relics of it are the numeral 'two'; (A. dvo, Pkt. do<dvau; A. *duve* P. dve, duve, Pkt. be; *duve*<*dve*) and the pronominal adjective, 'both' (Khar. D. *uhu*, P. *ubho*<*ubhau*)'.¹ Thus Hindī has inherited this idiom and kept it intact. The expression of duality, by *ubhaya* or '*ubhau*' represents a very interesting example of archaism or Sanskritism in Hindī e.g. *ataev ubhayasevakn brāhmaṇ ke pās gaman karate bhaye*—therefore both the servants went near the Brāhmaṇ. NR̥TUB/MSS.

Thus, *do*, *dono* and *ubhaya* are the only survivals of the historical dual in Hindī.

12. As regards the origin of various plural affixes in Hindī vide. ODBL. §484. 482. page 722-727.

Grammar of the Hindī Language. §189-193. page 125-128.

Hindī Bhāsa kā Udgam aur Vikās §299. 433. 435.

Comparative Grammar. Chapter. III. §45, 46, 47, 48. page 203 227.

13. Specific plurality in Hindī is expressed in the following ways :—

(a) By employing the following collective words—'*log*', '*jan*', 'people', '*sab*' 'all'; '*samūh*'—'*gaṇ*' (b) '*samāj*, *saikul*', '*barūth*', '*ṣamudāy*'—'multitude'. '*ayālī*'-*pañkti*, 'line', *vrāta*, *nikara*, *bhāg* 'portion'. *jāti*, 'race, or 'community. All these words, enumerated above, are employed to express the

1. CGMIA. §30. 50.

generic Singular.—The following features are to be noted.

- (i) *log*—As generic singular *log* is employed with persons only. (though it has been employed with non-personal substantives as *paṣu log* 'the animal people'. But this is a very rare feature.
- (ii) Besides being used as plurality indicating word, *log*, is also employed as an independent substantive. The following are the examples :—*dūta loga jala kī dhārā samāna hai*—but the messengers are like the flow of water PP. 850. *ṛṣi log boluṭhe*—the saints spoke. NKP; as substantive—*use uske ghar mā-bāp aur sab ghar ke log udayabhān kah kar pukārate the*—him his father and mother and all the people called (Kūwar) Udayābhan.
- (iii) *jan* (a)—*hama strijan-nikṛṣṭa buddhi hai*—we women-folk are vicious PP. 145; *ham tumako updeś dene ko samartha nahī hai kyō ki ham strijan hai*—we are unfit for preaching to you, for we are womenfolk. *pāpi jan narak bhogate hai*—the sinners face to hell. NKP. 30.
- In the following *jan* is used as substantive :—*tinako samasta jana āśiroād dete bhaye*—all people blessed them. PP. 760. It should be noted that the plurality in this idiom is being expressed by 'samasta'; *tab unake rone kā śabda sun yaḍuvamṣī sab kyā strī kyā puruṣ ghṛ āye*—having heard him weep, all the Yaduvamṣīs either men or women congregated. PS. L VI. 115. As substantive—*aur sab ne sir-jhūkā kar kahā*—and bowing (their) heads (they) all said. RKK. 15.
- (iv) *samūh*.—*devatā samūh*—gods. RC/MSS. *pāp samūh*—sins Ibid; *samūh* is also employed with the genitive as—*devatāo ke samūh*—the gods. RC/MSS.
- (v) *gaṇ* (a)—*devatā gaṇ*—gods. PS. 100. *tārā gaṇ*—stars. PS. 122. *veśyā gaṇ*—prostitutes. NKP. 25. with genitive—as—*yodhāo ke gaṇ*—the warriors (batch of soldiers) RC/MSS.
- (vi) *samāj*.—*santa samāja*—saints. BYB. 60 *dev samāj*—gods. RC/MSS. also used with genitive.

jahā muni saṅkula veda uccāre hāi—where the sages recite the Vedas. BYB. 890. *bāṇ saṅkul se piḍita lakṣamaṇ*—Lakṣamaṇ, smitten by the arrows. RC/MSS.

nikar(a)—The use of *nikar* for expression of plurality is also a very rare phenomenon and I could note only a few idioms. e. g. *pāp nikar me ḍūbo maṇ*—the soul immersed in the evils. NRTUB/MSS.

It is interesting to note that in one or two instances '*bhāg*' portion or 'section' is employed to denote plurality. e. g. *senā ke kucha eka sainika bhāga*-some of the soldiers i. e. a section of the army. P P. 540. *havan me kuch sāmagrī bhāg*-some commodity in the sacrifice. NRTU/MSS. *bhāg*. has also been employed as plurality indicating word in some of the ancient works of Bengali. Cf. 'in some of the sixteenth century works or manuscripts plurals with the word *bhāg* (section) are fairly numerous. Thus in U we have *māntri bhāga*-the ministers; *pātra bhāge*-the councillors'.¹

14. Besides being used as plurality denoting word, *sab* and its synonym *samasta* are employed as adjectives but they also imply plurality. e. g. *sab pāp dūr karanevālī purān kī kathā*-The 'Kathā' (story) of the 'Purān', the remover of all the sins, NKP. 2. *tere rāj kī dhūm sab deś me hai aur sab rājā tujhase darate hai*-your kingdom is reputed in all the lands and all the rulers are afraid of you. SB. 21. *samāsta logo se pūjya*-worshipped by all. 640. *jo samasta prāṇīyo me dayā karate hai*-those who bestow mercy among (to) all the animates. ÂP. 106.

15. Used as adjectives are the words *anek* 'many', *nānā* 'many or various', *bahut* implying plurality e. g. *kansa kā mantri to anek rākṣas sāth hie mārātā phiratā thā*-the minister of Kansa with many demons was roaming and killing (people). PS. 717. *vo anek yuvatī striyō ke sāth jal vihār karate hai*-and (they) sport in water with many beautiful damsels. NKP. 45. *brāhmano ko bahut sā dān de*-having offered numerous alms to the Brahmins. NKP. 2.

1. *Syntax of Early and Middle Bengali.* /MSS. pp. 21.

16. Expression of plurality by using numerals e. g. *nabbe lākh atit guṭake apane mnkh me, geruye bastar pahane jaṭā bikhere usake sāth tthe-and ninty lakhs of saints, each putting a prepared ball in his mouth wearing ochre coloured raiment, with matted dishevelled locks accompanied him. RKK.*
14. *gurū jī sāt din sāt sāt rāt yahā rah kar jagat parkās ko singhāsan par baiṭhā kar.. ..-the gurū after remaining there for seven days and nights having enthroned Rājā Jagat Parkās. RKK.*
16. *pāc ratna rājā ko diyā-and offered five diamonds to the king. SB. 61.*

In the following the specific cardinals are expressing plurality of indefinite or uncertain numbers-*to dekhātā kyā hai joī cālīs pacās raṇḍiyā ek se ek agali jaoban me jhūlā ḍāle paḍi jhūl rahi hai-he-finds that some fifty damsels, one more beautiful than the other were playing at swings. RKK.*

4. In the following the plurality (of indefinite numbers) is periphrastically expressed. (The periphrasis consists of indefinite pronoun or pronominal adjective-*kuch* and cardinal *ek*) *itane me kuch ek amarāiyā dekh paḍi-meanwhile some mangogroves met his eyes. RKK.*
- 4 Likewise *kāi* is employed as-*kāi ek baras bād-after a few (or several years). SB. 90.*

The numerals are also used with the plural forms, e. g. *das sahastra rājō kī kanyā-daughters of ten thousand kings. NKP. 6.*

In a few cases, a substantive, when qualified by an adjective (adjective denoting plurality), is accompanied with the enclitic *sā* e. g. *brāhmano ko bahut sā dān de-having offered many (an alms) to the Brahmins. NKP. 2.*

Likewise, numerals, when they qualify a substantive, are oftend accompanied by the cardinal *ek* to explain the indefinite number e. g. *das ek jan mandir me āye-some ten persons entered the temple. SB. 101.*

17. Expression of plurality by pronoun or pronominal adjectives e.g. *harī ghās kāi baras tak carate rahe-(were) grazing grass for many years. RKK.*
15. *kuch puruṣ mārṅa me dīkh paḍe-some men were seen in the way. SB. 101.*

18. In the following the plurality is expressed by the repetition of the interrogative pronoun *kaun*. e.g. *pās me unake kaun kaun se muni rahate hai*-what are the names of the saints,(those)who dwell near him, NKP.34.
19. Plurality with *thodā* 'a few' - *thode din bitane par*-some days having passed. NKP. 16.
20. Generic singular by the word *jāt* or *jāti* 'race or caste' and *sr̥ṣṭi* 'creation' e.g. *strī jāti me*-among the women folk RC/MSS. *strī sr̥ṣṭi me* in the creation of women. Ibid.
21. Expression of plurality by repetition of adjectives (in a distributive sense) e. g. *baḍe baḍe gop*-the elderly gops (milk-men) PS. 22 45. *uttam uttam vastra*-beautiful garments. NKP. 42.
22. In RKK, SN (and also sometimes in PS) the participial adjectives and participial verbs take the plural affix e. g. e. g. *viyog me madamātiyāphāga gātiyā* PS. 80. *ātiyā jātiyā jo sāsē hai unake bin dhyān sab phāse hai*-the coming (s) and going (s) breaths would be a noose for our necks, if our thoughts are turned on them. RKK. 1.

Participial verbs-*aur sāvan gātiyā hai*-and are singing (s) 'sāvan'. RKK. 5. *gharawāliyā jo kiśi ḍaul se bahalātiyā hai*-when the females of the house divert him in any way. RKK. 9. *ve sūrate mūratosī bār bār kandhe kamar par ghaḍe le le ātiyā hai*-those beautiful damsels come again and again with pitchers on their waists and arms (shoulders) SN. 37. In the following the plural verb '*pūchane lāgiyā*' is on the analogy of its grammatical subject *sakhiyā* or it may be *metri causa-itane me śukuntalā se donō sakhiyā pūchane lāgiyā* meanwhile both the friends of Śakuntalā began to inquire (of her). SN. 39.

The plural suffix of the participial adjective and the participial verb is partly on the analogy of the substantives (the plural qualified substantive and plural grammatical subject respectively) and partly on *metri causa*.

23. Expression of plurality by implication - *das sahastra rājo kī kanyā ke bīc rah ke*-having lived among the daughters of ten thousand of kings. NKP. In this idiom the plurality is expressed by the genitive *rājo kī*. This idiom can also be accepted as a variety of generic singular.

24. The plurality is expressed by the plural verb-*devatā gandharvā kinnara āye hai*-the Gandharvas and the Kinnars (all) have come PP. 270. *tajati hai pati ko akulini nāri*-base-born women desert (their) husbands. PS. 160.
25. *rāmacandra naino ke tāre hai*-Rāmacandra is dear to the eyes. RC/MSS. (The plural verb is used here for honorific singular).
26. Expression of plurality by repetition of noun e. g. *dvār dvār par* - on every door. PS. 17. *ghar ghar me*- in every house. Ibid. (Repetition, in these idioms, explains the distributive plurality).
-

ON BAṄGĀLĪ BHAILĪ (Caryā 49.2)

Sukumar Sen

The text of the Caryā song ¹ reads

āji bhuku baṅgālī bhailī |
ṇia ghārim caṇḍālī leṭī ||

The commentary reads

āji bhusuku baṅgālī bhailī |
ṇia ghariṇī caṇḍālī leṭī ||

The text and the commentary differ on the reading of two words :
bhuku | *bhusuku* ; *caṇḍālī* | *caṇḍālī*. In the first set of reading the text is obviously wrong; the song belongs to Bhusuku and therefore *bhuku* is a faulty reading. The other alternative cannot be easily dispensed with. The commentator who had before him *caṇḍālī* explains as follows :

ājityādi. svāyam evātmānaṁ sambodhya vadati bho bhusukupāda !
dhyānaparipākāvasthāvyogenaḍāyaiva ² tvam naivā vaṅgālikā bhūtā.
yasmāi nijagṛhṇī hyapārisuddhā vāyurūpā caṇḍāleneti sparśa
prakṛti-prabhasvareṇā, mātā.

In English :

Āji etc., (He) addresses himself and says :

‘O Bhusuku, on account of separation from the state of mature contemplation ³ today only you have become *Vaṅgālikā*

-
1. Haraprasad Shastri, *Bauddha Gān O Dohā* (1916) ; Sukumar Sen *Caryāgiti-padāvalī* (second edition 1966).
 2. Reading -*nādata*.
 3. It refers to the contents of the foregoing couplet which mentions the sack of the country by attacking robbers.

(a Bengal or destitute girl ?), (it is) not so. Because (your) own mistress of the house who is represented by impure breath (*vāyu*), by a *caṇḍāla* that is by the effuhgent sense of touch had been taken away'.

In the first line the verb *bhalli* is a difficulty in as much as it can be taken in two ways, as first person singular or as third person feminine. Accordingly it may be translated in two ways :

- (i) 'To-day (I), Bhusuku, have become a *baṅgālī*.'
- (ii) 'To-day Bhusuku has become a *baṅgālī* (woman)'.

In the first translation *baṅgālī*, an obviously feminine form and taken as such by the commentator, is a difficulty. The corresponding masculine form *baṅgāla* was known in the tenth-eleventh century. The second translation is unacceptable as there is no parallel where a Caryā poet thinks of himself as a woman. Moreover the context is against this explanation; the second line becomes meaningless.

The second line in English:.

'(Your) own wife is taken away by a *Caṇḍāla* (very low caste fellow)',—according to the Commentary

'(You) have taken as (your wife a *Caṇḍāla* woman';—according to Text. Both translations are acceptable.

The crux lies in the meaning of *baṅgālī* in the first line. It cannot be taken to mean a *baṅgāla* woman although the commentator implies it. But all the same it is a feminine form. I consider it better to take *baṅgālī* as a feminine abstract noun meaning 'indignity of a *baṅgāla*'. Compare such abstract feminines as *aṅkavālī* 'embrace', *aheri* 'hunting', *biālī* 'improper time', *bhābhariālī* 'coquetry', etc., all from the Caryā songs. The commentator would have been completely right if he had written *baṅgālikam bhūtam*.

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Abbreviations

E	=	Etruscan.
G	=	Gothic
IE	=	Indo European.
Gk	=	Greek.
L	=	Latin.
M	=	Messopic.
O	=	Oscan
S	=	Sicel
U	=	Umbrian.
V	=	Venetic

One

Languages in Ancient Italy

1

From epigraphical remains and from analysis of the languages discovered from them as well as from the old place names and personal names it has been deduced and universally accepted that several languages were once spoken in the various regions of Italy. These languages can be relegated to two groups, Non-Indo-European and Indo-European.

The most, if not the only important Non-Indo-European language current in the Italian peninsula in the earliest period known in history is Etruscan, the language of the people known in Latin as *Etruscī* or *Tuscī*, in Umbrian *Turskum* (acc. sg.) and in Greek *Tursēnei* or *Turrēnei*.

The Etruscans occupied a large portion of northern Italy, in the valley of the Po, and they were in possession of Campania from the eighth century B. C. until the Samnites invaded Campania in the last quarter of the fifth century B. C.

The language of the Etruscans is known mainly from inscriptions numbering more than six thousand. But the most of these inscriptions contain nothing but proper names. Less than a dozen of the Etruscan inscriptions are of any considerable length. The interpretation of the latter is only tentative as no bilingual texts or glosses have been found. Notwithstanding the uncertainty in the interpretation of the inscriptions it is abundantly clear that Etruscan does not belong to the Indo-European family of languages.

Roman life as well as Latin culture is heavily indebted to the Etruscans. The latter were masters over a large portion of Latium including Rome for about a hundred and fifty years. The Etruscan domination of Rome left a permanent stamp in religion, townplanning and other matters. The upper classes of the Etruscan people and the Romans merged together during the Etruscan occupation of Rome. One of the most tangible results of this merger was the adoption by Romans of a cluster—of names of *praenomen*, *nomen* (gentile) and *cognomen*—which was an Etruscan custom, instead of a single name (usually a compound). Some of the Roman names were of Etruscan origin, especially those ending in *-na*, *-inna*, *-enna*, *-erna*, and *-o* (e. g. *L. Vibenna*, *Velina*; *E. Porsenna*; *L. Cato*, *Cieero*, *Piso*, *Varro*.) The name of Rome (*Roma*) is accepted as of Etruscan origin. The three out of the seven hills of Rome, *Palatinus*, *Veliis* and *Caelius*, are undoubtedly named after Etruscan families.

We cannot know how far the language of the *Latini* was influenced by Etruscan. But we know this much that there is a large and important number of Etruscan loan-words in Latin. These belong to military, religious, cultural and other categories. For example,

L. satelles a 'body-guard'. The employment of body guards was introduced by the Etruscan patricians.

L. miles : (*militis*) a soldier' and *veles*: (*vēlitis*) 'light-armed infantry are admitted to be Etruscan origin by some old writers.

L. cacula 'a soldier's servant' : E. **cace*, **cacla*.

L. caerimonia 'sacred ceremony'. The ancient writers derived this word from *Caere* the name of an Etruscan town.

L. cupencus 'a priest of Hercules' : E. *cepen* 'priest'

L. fenestra 'a window' : E. **fnestra*.

L. genista 'broom'.

L. fala 'scaffolding'.

L. hister (*histrio*) 'a play-actor'.

L. laliena 'butcher's stall'.

350 1180

L. *hister* (*histrio*) 'a play-actor'.

L. *lespista* 'drinking vessel'.

L. *rabula* 'a pettifogging advocate' : E..*rapli*.

L. *satura* 'satire'.

L. *servus* 'a slave, servant, serf' : cf. E. personal name *Serui*.

L. *spurius* 'illegitimate', *spurcus* 'dirty'.

L. *subula* 'an awl. a bodkin'.

Etruscan influence is found in some vocables in Latin which were borrowed from Greek, not directly but through Etruscan. Such words in their orthography bear the impress of the Etruscan language. To give a few examples :

L. *aprilis* 'April' comes from Etruscan *apru* (*aprun*) which comes from Greek *Aphrō*, an abbreviated form of *Aphrodītē*.

L. *autumnus* 'autumn' <Etr. *autu*+ < Gk. **aistumnos*.

In a few words, other than proper names, Etruscan formative affixes are found attached to Latin words; e. g.

L. *favissa* < L. *favea* + E. *-issa*.

L. *sociennus* 'companion' < *socio*- 'to unite' + E. *-enno*.

2

The IE languages that were spoken in ancient Italy may be put into two groups. One group comprises the speeches belonging to the Italic branch of the family and the other group includes the speeches belonging to the branches other than the Italic. Some of the speeches of the second group belong to the Illyrian, the Greek and the Celtic branches, and the remaining ones cannot be definitely assigned to any branch at the present state of our knowledge (owing to extreme paucity of the documents).

The Illyrian branch has left its traces in ancient Italy in three languages recovered from inscriptions. They are Venetic, Messapic and Iapygian.

The Illyrian languages were spoken in the regions on the East coast of the Adriatic, and from there the invasion of the Illyrians into the peninsula of Italy seems to have occurred in the eighth century B. C. The remnants of the Illyrian speeches are left in the East coast of Italy.

Venetic was spoken at the head of the Adriatic. There are some hundreds of short inscriptions in this language the most of them consist only of proper names. The influence of Venetic spread as far as Liguria (to the west) and Latium (to the south). This is indicated by place names.

The influence of the Venetic on Latin culture was not negligible. They were famous for horse-breeding. They sacrificed horse images to the goddess Reitia, and white horses to the hero Diomede.

Venetic has some affinity with Latin. The sonant liquids are treated in the same way (i.e. $*r, *l > or, ol$; but the nasal sonants are traced differently (i.e. $*n, *m > V. an, am$; L. *en, em*). IE. $*dh, *bh$ become in both languages, initially *f* and medially between vowels *d, b* respectively. In the *o*-declension the gen. sg. ending *-i* is common to both and so is the gen. dat. pl. (V. *-os*, L. *-bos*). In vocabulary affinity is not less remarkable. V. *Louzera* (a goddess) corresponds to the L. *Libera*. V. *louzeros*=L. *liberis* 'free'; both developed the special meaning 'children'.

Venetic has an interesting affinity with the Germanic branch also, and it is probable that the Venetic and Germanic peoples had lived as neighbours in the region of the Vistula. For these various reasons some specialists are now of opinion that Venetic form an independent branch closely related to Illyrian and Latin and showing points of contact with Germanic, Celtic and Balto-Slavic.

Messapic and Iapygian are practically the same language, and they were spoken in Calabria (the eastern spur of the Italian peninsula). Messapic is represented by some two hundred inscriptions. But the most of them contain nothing but proper names.

It cannot be decided at the present state of our knowledge whether the Illyrian languages (including Messapic) belong to the Satem or to the Centum group.

The chief characteristics of Messapic, as obtained from the inscriptions, show points of similarity with as well as difference from Latin. Thus:

IE **o>* M. *a* : this does not agree with L. but agrees with Germanic.

IE. **dh, *bh>* M. *đ, b* : this agrees with L. only in internal and intervocalic positions.

M. Gen. sg. ending *-ihī* : cf. L. *-ī*.

M. Dat. pl. ending *-bas* : cf. L. *-bus*.

Like Latin Messapic does not show the augment in the preterite, but unlike Latin it has preserved the middle forms.

The subjunctive and the optative are preserved in Messapic.

A few Illyrian (Messapic) words are preserved in Latin; e. g.,

M. *balta* : L. *blatea* 'swamps'.

M. *mands* : L. *mannus* 'pony'.

M. **paro>* South Italian Gk. *parōn* - L. '*paro* a small ship'.

Other words of possible Messapic (Illyrian) origin in Latin are :

deda 'nurse'; cf. Gk. *tēthē*.

hōreia 'a small fishing boat'.

Like the Etruscans the Illyrians also acted as intermediaries in introducing Greek vocables into Latin. The Latin name for the Greeks, *Graeci*, is generally accepted as an Illyrian name for a Greek tribe with whom they had first come into contact. *Ulixēs*, the Latin form of the Sicel (or Sicilian), the language of the Siculi, was an IE. language¹ but belonging neither to the Illyrian (Messapic) nor to Venetic, although there are some little points that suggest its affinity with the former. This language is known from a few inscriptions, a good number of glosses and some personal and local names. There is no doubt that Sicel had come in contact with Illyrian before it had come over to Italy. The archaeological evidence so far obtained indicates that the Sicels had come to the Italian mainland from Sicily. (Evidence of occupation by the Siculi has been obtained from Bruttium). According to some ancient authorities the Sicels had occupied regions in the entire Italian peninsula

1. The verbal form *estl* 'is' is the strongest bit of evidence for this hypothesis.

name of Odysseus, probably come through the same channel as far as Cisalpine and Gallia. This statement has received support from the fact that personal and local names of Sicel origin (e. g. Sicilium) are of widespread occurrence.

Illyrian linguistic tradition was brought into Rome by the poet Ennius, his nephew Pacuvius, and Horace. In Ennius and Horace only the word *lāma* ('a swamp') occurs, and this word also occurs as an element in place-names from the Illyrian regions.

The Sicel inscriptions¹ have not been interpreted with certainty. The glosses however give good help and they show that Sicel has some affinity with Latin in the matter of vocabulary. Thus :

S. *arbinnē* 'flesh' : L. *arvina* 'fat, grease'.

S. *kāmpes* 'hippodrome' : L. *campus* 'field (of battle)'.

S. *kátinos* : L. *catinus* 'a bowl'.

S. *dōs* : L. *dōs* 'gift'.

S. *gēla* : L. *gelu* 'frost'.

S. *patāna* : L. *patina* 'a dish, pan'.

S. *noūmmos* : L. *nummus* (> *numus*) 'coin, money'.

S. *litra* : L. *libra*² 'Roman pound'.

S. *onkia* : L. *uncia* 'twelfth part, ounce'.

S. *molten* : L. *mutuum* 'loan'.

Some scholars would connect Sicel and Latin as sister speeches belonging to "West Italic" which would include also the little known dialects Ausonian and Oenotrian. But the material is neither sufficient nor unequivocal for such a hypothesis.

1. Sicel was written in the Greek alphabet.

2. Both from $\times li\theta ra$.

Ligurians were among the most ancient peoples of the western Mediterranean. The question is still open whether they were indigenous people or IE. settlers. Whatever may be the ultimate answer to the question it can be safely said that the Ligurians known in history used an IE. dialect.

The Ligurians are known to have occupied a large part of western Europe and some areas in the Italian peninsula and Sicily. They seem to have been in occupation of Rome and Latium. This inference is based on the distribution of place names bearing the suffix *-sc-* (as also in the river names *Vinelasca*, *Tulasasca* etc.).

The hypothesis of IE. origin of Ligurian is based mainly on the following names :

The river name *Porco-ber* 'salmen-bearing'.

The mountain name *Berigiemo* 'snow-bearing' : IE* *bheregheimer-* (Skt.* *bharahima*).

The town name *Bormiae* 'warm springs' : 'gwheormikā- (Skt.* *gharmikāh*).

That Ligurian did not belong to the Italic branch is clear from the treatment of IE.* *bh*, * *gh* and * *gwh* in the three names given above. These phonemes which in Ligurian have become *b*, *g* and *g* respectively have, in Latin, changed respectively, into *f* (initially); *h*, (<**X*), and (initially.)

The Celts occupied Gallia in the ninth century B. C. Before that period they had been living in the region of the upper Rhine and reaches of the Danube. They invaded Italy in the fifth century B. C., and sacking one by one the Etruscan towns they made themselves masters of the Northern Plain between the Apennines and the Alps. They defeated

the Etruscans and the Umbrians and sacked Rome in 396 B. C. There is no evidence of their permanent settlement in any particular region of Italy except in Cisalpine Gaul, but even there they were easily absorbed by the local peoples, and according to an ancient authority Gallic, the language of the Celts in Italy, was out of use towards the middle of the second century B. C. The Celts possessed no alphabet of their own and were not much culturally advanced. Only three inscriptions in Gallic have been found, including a single inscription from Cisalpine Gaul. The Celtic dialect that was spoken in Italy and Gaul, i. e. Gallic, contributed quite a number of words to the Latin vocabulary. These words belong to the various semantic categories such as riding and driving warfare, clothing etc. Thus :

benna 'two-wheeled car with a wickerwork body'.

earpentum 'two-wheeled carriage'.

carrus 'fourwheeled wagon'.

essedum 'war chariot'.

reda 'travelling coach'.

gaesum 'javelin'.

lancea 'lance'.

parma 'light shield'.

sparus 'spear'.

birrus 'hooded cloak'.

bracae 'breeches'.

sagus, sagum 'tunic'.

bulga 'leather bag'; etc.

The earlier stratum of Greek borrowings in Latin can be tested on linguistic test. In Attic IE **a* had become *e*. Therefore something as *mācina* (<Gk. *mākhánā*) must be pre-Attic. *Simi* (<Gk. *AkhaiFoi*) is certainly early Doric as the intervocalic *i* is preserved.

Some of the early borrowings betray their chronology by the changes that are due to Etruscan handling (i. e. *C* for *G*). Thus : *camera* 'vault' (<Gk. *kamára*), *trutina* 'balance' (<Gk. *talantón*), etc. But in the later stratum such Etruscan treatment of Gk. *a* is absent; e. g. *cerasus* 'cherry' (<Gk. *kerátea*)¹. Other examples of Gk. loan-words showing Etruscan handling are as follows.

gubernare 'to steer a ship' : Gk. *kubernō*.

Agrigentum (a town in the south coast of Sicily) : Gk. *Ágrigenton*.
amurca 'the oil-lees' : Gk. *amórga*.

cotoneum 'Cretan'² : Gk. *√kudonton*.

triumpus (later *triumphus*) 'a solemn dance'. Gk. *thriambos*.
Catanius 'Gamymedes' : *√Gk. Ganumēdes*.

*Cisterna*³ 'cistern' : Gk. *Kistē*.

*lanterna*³ 'lantern' : Gk. *lampōter*.

*persōna*⁴ 'mask, character in a play' Gk. *phersu* (possibly a corruption of *presōpon*).

elementum 'letters of the alphabet, element' : Gk. **elephēn* 'letter'.

forma 'form, figure' : Gk. *morphē* (through Etruscan *morr*).

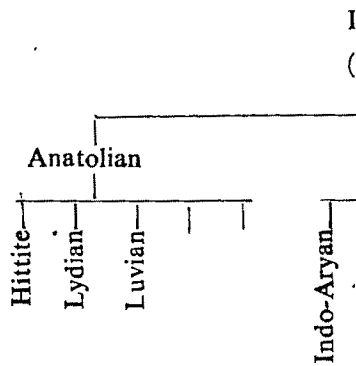
Cockles 'one-eyed' (cognomen of Horatio) : Gk. *kúklops*.

-
1. Introduced by Lucullus in 76 B. C.
 2. Used by Virgil.
 3. With Etruscan suffix—*erna* (> *enna*).
 4. With Etruscan suffix—*ōna*.

Latin literature started as an excursion from Greek literature, and even when the Latin authors had long shaken off the close imitation of Greek the influence of the latter was not altogether absent. Greek poetry and drama almost always furnished the model to the Latin authors. The first two notable writers of Latin literature were mainly translators of Greek poetry and drama. Andronicus, who is the earliest known author in Latin was himself a Greek prisoner of war in Rome. He translated *Odysseia* in Latin in verse. The next following was Naevius. He was the first of the native speakers of Latin to write good poetry. Besides his epic *Bellum Punicum* he translated and adapted in Latin a large number of Greek tragedies and comedies.

The next good poet Ennius wrote an epic *Annales* and translated all sorts of works from Greek. It was in the writings of Plautus and Terrence that Latin literature started to take to its own path. But only for a short time. Although specific Greek influence was no longer actively felt the syntax of literary Latin was definitely coloured by the syntax of Greek. It was only in vulgar Latin that more or less complete freedom from Greek was achieved.

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The PIE was a highly synthetic language showing rigidity in grammar but flexibility in the formative process of new words from roots and other words. The language was a powerful tool to the speakers, as is indicated by the later development of the various branches.

The phonemic system of PIE was as follows :

Vowels : a, e, o, ə, $\mathcal{S}$, ā, ē, ō

Sonants and Semivowels : r, l, n, m; $\bar{r}$, $\bar{l}$, $\bar{n}$, $\bar{m}$; y, w

Consonants : . k' (k' h) g' g' h ñ

. k (kh) g gh

. k^w (k^w h) g^w h

. t (th) d dh n

. p (ph) b bh m

r, l, s, and some secondary fricatives. (z, x, ʃ, θ, $\mathcal{S}$)

There were regular patterns of Vowel gradation or Ablaut

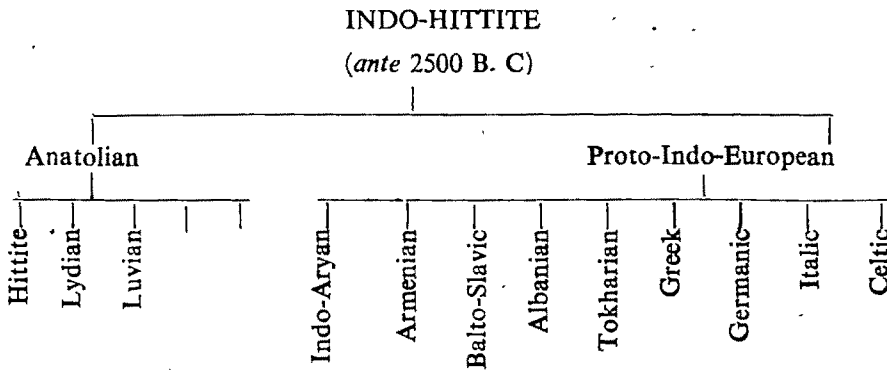
The grammatical (or morphological) system was as follows.

1. There was a large number of formative affixes which could be added to verbal and other roots and also to words to form new words.
2. Two words could combine and produce a new (compound) word.
3. The declension of the substantive was elaborate. There were three numbers, three genders and eight cases, and these were indicated by endings which were added to the stems. The declensional patterns varied according to the gender as well as to the nature of the stem syllable. The gender was mainly grammatical. The declension of the pronoun differed somewhat from that of the noun and it also had different patterns.
4. The conjugation of the finite verb was even more complex. It had two voices with different sets of endings. Each voice had three tenses (present, aorist, perfect) and four moods beside the indicative (subjunctive, imperative, optative, infinitive).

TWO

THE PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN AND ITALIC BRANCH

The Indo-European languages comprised nine (or more) branches such as Indo-Iranian, Armenian, Balto-Slavic, Albanian (also Illyrian & Phrygian), Tokharian, Greek, Germanic, Celtic and Italic. Some scholars would add Hittite. But it is now abundantly clear that Hittite is not a branch of Indo-European but a cognate of it and that IE. and Hittite both come from an earlier language which has been named Indo-Hittite. The ramifications of the I-H linguistic family are as indicated below !



The I-E languages are usually grouped under two heads : the Satem and the Centum. The first four belong to the Satem and the last five to the Centum group.

Our knowledge of Proto-IE is entirely hypothetical as it is based solely on comparative study of the languages showing very close affinity in linguistic structure as well as in vocabulary.

The peoples that spoke PIE do not seem to have been homogeneous except in language, and even in language there was much dialectal

divergence. It is now agreed that the home of the PIE peoples immediately before their dispersal was probably in the Russian steppes. The time of this dispersal seems to have been near about 2800 B. C. This date is indicated by the Hittite language the documents of which date between 1800 and 1350 B. C.

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ctive, optative, imperative and injunctive). For each of the tenses and roots there were various stem-affixes and/or endings. Some of the tense stems show the phenomenon of reduplication. The tense did not have any time significance but indicated the nature or aspect of the action indicated by the verb.

5. There were participles corresponding to the two voices and the three tenses and a large number of gerunds, all of which were nominal stems and subject to declension.
6. The language being inflectional there was no rigidity in Syntax.
7. Accent was a significant element and throughout the history of PIE and IE languages its nature alternated between intonation and stress.

Italic is one of the nine branches of the Indo-European family of language. As a distinct branch Italic emerged in the peninsula of Italy after migration of its speakers into the country towards the end of the second millennium B. C. There it grew into two groups or sub-branches which are called (a) Sabellian (b) Latin-Faliscan. The Sabellian group comprises of two better known old languages Oscan and Umbrian and some little known dialects such as Paelignian (the language of the Paeligni), Marrucian, Vastinian, Volscian etc.

The Latin-Faliscan group includes the Latin of Rome and the dialects of the plain of Latium mainly, and Faliscan (current in the Faliscan plain in the southeastern part of Etruria), known slightly from a few short inscriptions.

The Italic branch of IE is distinguished from the other branches by some peculiarities in phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary.

As the first two categories are most clear cut, the phonological and morphological characteristics are indicated below.

(i) Phonological :

- a. As in Greek, Germanic, Celtic etc. IE. *ə becomes *a*

IE. **pátér*—: O. *patir*. U. *patre*, L. *pater*.

IE. **stato* : O. *statu*, L. *status*.

- b. IE. diphthong **eu* < **ou*. IE. **newō* : L. *novem*, V. *nuvime* (< **novime*) L. *nona*, *nonus* 'the ninth' 'the ninth hour' < IE. **noweno-* (normal grade).
 IE. **teutó-* (cf. Goth. *þiuda* 'people') : O. *touto*, U. *tuta* 'citizen, city'; U. *túvīks* 'public'.
 IE. **leugo-* O. *Lūvkis* 'Lucius', OL. *loucom*, *lūcus*.
- c. IE. sonant **r* becomes *or* : IE. **kṛn-* (cf. Skt. *śṛṅga-*) > L. *cornu* 'horn', U. *curnaco* 'horn-blower'.
- d. IE. sonant **l* becomes *ol* : IE. **mḷdwis* (c f. Skt. *mṛdu*, *mṛdvi*) > L. *mollis*.
- e. IE. voiced aspirates first become deaspirated in Proto-Italic (as also in Greek) and then become unvoiced spirants independently in the different dialects of the branch. In Oscan-Umbrian the process of deaspiration and spirantization is complete but in the Latin dialects it is not complete as the deaspirated consonants were not always devoiced and spirantized when medial and intervocalic in Latin. (As a centum language Italic does not differentiate between the palatal and the velar stops of IE.)
- f. IE. **gʷ h*, *gh* become *h* (from earlier **X*) : IE. **gʷ hortō*-GK. *xórtos* > O. *hūrz*, L. *hortus* 'garden, cultivated field'.
 IE. **gʷ homo-* > O. *humuns*, U. *homonus*, L. *homō* 'man'.
- g. IE. **g h* becomes *f* (from earlier **xʷ*) :
 IE. **uegʷ h-* (cf. Skt. *vāghat* 'sβcrificer'), **eugʷ h-* (GK. *eúxomai*) > O. *vufriu*, *vufetes* 'votive'. IE **gʷ hormos* > L. *formus*, 'heat'.
- h. IE. **dh* becomes *f* : IE **dhē-* (Skt. root *dhā-*: GK. *tithēmi*) > O. *fakiid*; U. *faxia*, *fakust*; L. *faciō*. IE. **dheigho-* (Skt. *deht-*, Gk. *teîxos*) >

- O. feihüss 'wall'; L. *finġō*. IE. **dhurā* (Skt. *dhurā*, Gk. *therā*) > I. furu, L. *forum*.
- IE. **medhyo-* (Skt. *madhya-*, Gk. *meso-*) > O. *meftai* 'in media' cf. L. *medium*.
- i. IE. **bh* becomes *f*: IE. **bhū* (Skt. *abhūt*, Gk. *ēphū*) > O. U. *fus* 'erit'; U. *futu* 'esto': L. *fuī*, *forem*. IE. **bher-* (Skt. *bhārāmi*, Gk. *phérō*) > U. *ferest*, *fertu*; L. *ferō*. IE. **bhrāter* > O. *fratrūm*, L. *fratrum*, L. *frater*.
- j. IE. **s* when intervocalic, becomes voiced *ʒ* in the Italic branch which was subsequently changed into *r* in Umbrian and Latin. In Oscan this *ʒ* is written 'z' in the Latin alphabet but appears as 's' in the native alphabet (where 'z' stands for *ts*).
IE. **-āsōm* (gen. pl. ending of the *ā* stem) > O. *-āsūm*, *-azum* (e. g. *ehianasūm* 'of those emitting', *egmazum* 'of the things'; U.—*aru* *-arum* (e. g. *urnasiaru* 'of tables on which water-cans were placed' *praeatarum* 'of enclosures' L. *ārum* (e. g. *istārum*). Cf. Gk. *tāōn* Skt. *tāsām*.
- IE. **esm* > O. *ezum*; U. *eīu*, *erom*.
- k. IE. **y* when intervocalic, is lost. IE. **treyes* > O. *trīs*, L. *trīs*.
IE. **ghortei-en* (loc. sg. with postposition) > O. *hūrtin*.
- l. IE. initial *d* is gradually lost before **y*: IE. **dyeu-* O. *Iuveis*, U. *Iuvie* (dat. sg.); OL. *Diovs* > L. *Iovis*.
- m. IE. final **-t* becomes *-d*: IE. **syet* > OL. *sied*. IE. **bhu-s-yet* > O. U. *fusid*.
- n. IE. **t+t*, **d+l* become *-es* (as in Germanic) through earlier **tats*.
IE. **met-tis* > L. *messis* 'harvest' IE. *sed-to* > U. *isesust* 'sat', L. *seissor* 'one who sits'. IE. **pod-tos* > L. *pāssos* 'pace, etc.'

- o. Before *r* the second dental remains : IE. **uer-to*-> O. Fersorei 'Versori', L. *versus* 'towards' (< **verssus*).
- p. IE. sequence **pw*-*K*^w becomes *Gw*-*Gw* in Proto-Italic. Thus : IE. **penKwe* (Gk. *pente*, Skt. *pañca*)>Proto-Italic **k^wenk^wgwe*> L. O. *púmperiais* (name of a festival), U. *pumperias* 'groups of five'.
- q. IE. **ps* becomes *s* before 'consonants' : IE. **ops-tendo*-> L. *ostendō* 'to show' U. *ostendu*, *ustetu* (imper. sg.)

(ii) Morphological :

- a. The abl. sg. ending *-(*o*)*d*, which in IE. belonged to the pronoun and the *o*-stem only, is here extended to some other stems. (in Avestan the ending is extended to all m. and n. stems), Thus :
ā-stem : L. *praldad* 'plunder', O. *toutad* 'people'
u-stem : L. *castud* 'pure, innocent'.
r-stem : L. *lucarid* 'lucre',
 - b. The dat. sg. shows the ending **-ei* : OL. *mihei*; U. *mehe*; OL. *tibel*, U. *tefe*, *tefe*; O. *tfei*; OL. *sibel*, O. *sifei*.
 - c. The number of conjugational patterns of the verb are reduced to four. Thus, according to Latin grammar: (1) *amā-re* etc.; (2) *vidē-re* etc., (3) *legē-re* etc., and (4) *audī-re* etc.
 A new tense, imperfect indicative, is evolved out of periphrasis with the verb root **bhewə*. Thus : L. *amabam*, O. *fufans*.
 - d. An imperfect subjunctive is also evolved out of the aorist. Thus : L. *foret*, O. *fusid* (= **fu-se-d*).
 - e. A distinctive passive conjugation was created with the old IE ending **-r* (as appearing in Skt. *duh-re*, *se r-ate*, *ūc-ur*; etc.). Thus : L. *sacratur*, O. *sakarater*.
 - f. The formation of the supine (U. *anzeriatu*=L. *observatum*) and the gerundive (L. *sacranda*=O. *sakrannas*) is common.
 - g. The IE. aorist and perfect tenses combine into a single tense, the new "perfect".
 - h. The IE. optative and subjunctive moods combined into a single mood, the new "subjunctive".
-

to 25x15 inches, were found at Gubbio (the ancient Iguvium) in 1444. Two were lost soon after discovery. The Tables are written in two scripts. Tables I-IV and Va-Vb7 in the native alphabet and Tables V b7-18, VI and VII in the Latin alphabet. The native Umbrian alphabet, like the Oscan, came from the Greek alphabet through the Etruscan. The native Umbrian alphabet is as follows.

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N

O P Q R S T U V X Y Z

a b c d e f g h i j k l m

n p q r s t u v x y z

k (X) and *t* (q,y) stand also for *g* and *d*. *ř* (+) was probably a kind of sibilant *r* and in the Latin alphabet it appears as *rs*. Historically it comes from an intervocalic *-d-* (like Indo-Aryan *-ḍ-, -ṛ-*?). There are other variants also.

The Latin alphabet as used in Umbrian lacks *z*. The secondary sibilant (d) of the native script is devoted by *ř*.

The Iguvian tables contain the acts of a religious brotherhood and are dated roughly between 400 and 90 B. C. The older part is written in the native alphabet and the later part in the Latin.

We now consider the common characteristics of Oscan and Umbrian as against Latin.

(i) Phonological.

1. The final *-ā* is changed to *ā¹*, as in Germanic and as against Latin where it is generally shortened to *-a*.

O. *molto*, U. *muṭu* (but L. *multa*) 'fine'; O. *viū* (L. *via*) 'way'.

2. Syncope in a medial syllable is more extensive in Oscan-Umbrian than in Latin.

O. *actud*, U. *aitu*, but L. *agitō*; U. *kuvertu*, but L. *convertitō*.

IE. **opesā-* : O. *upsed* 'made' *ūpsannam* (*⇒* L. *faciendam*), U.

1. In the native alphabets of Oscan and Umbrian there is no sign for short *o*. It is written *u*.

osatu (=L. *facito*), but L. *operator*.

U. *veskla* 'small vessel' (<**ves-kele-*); U. *vitlu* (=L. *vitulum*, acc. sg.): cf. O. *Vitelú*, Gk. *italós*, Skt. *vāt(sa)*.

O. *pūstreí*, U. *postra*, but L. *pōsterus*, *posterius*.

3. In Umbrian syncope is more marked than in Oscan.

U. *podruppeí* 'to both sides' (but O. *pūtereí-pfd*) = Skt. *katara-cit*; cf. Gk. *póteros*.

U. *nomner* but L. *nomínis*.

O. *humuns* (L. *homines*); U. *frater* (nom. pl.; IE. **O bhrāteres*)

4. In the final syllable and elsewhere syncope in Oscan-Umbrian is far more extensive than in Latin.

O. *hurz* 'garden, field' (<**hortos*); *tūytíks* 'public'

U. *Ikuvíns* 'Iguvins'; *pīhaz*, *pīhos* (<**piatos*).

O. *teremniss* (L. *terminibus*); U. *fratrus* (L. *fratribus*).

5. As in Latin there is hesitation in the retention and omission of the final vowel in Oscan and Umbrian.

O. *aut* (also *auti*), U. *ote*, L. *aut* 'or'.

O. *ant*, L. *ante* 'before'.

O. *puf*, U. *pufe*, L. *ubi* 'where'.

6. The final *-i* of the primary endings **-ti* and **-nti* is lost in Oscan-Umbrian as well as in Latin.

O, U. *est*, L. *est* < IE. **esti*;

U, L. *et* < IE. **eti*.

O. *stahint*, L. *stant* < IE. **stā-nti*.

7. Lengthening of a short vowel before a nasal conjunct is as much extensive in Oscan-Umbrian as in Latin.

O. *keenzstur*, L. *ensor*.

O. *saahitūm*, U. *sahta*, *sahatam*, L. *sanctum*, *sanctus*.

U. *shítu*, *unsilitu* 'girdle'; cf. L. *vinculum* 'chain'; *cingulum* 'girdl

(b) Consonant.

8. IE. **k* becomes *p* in Oscan-Umbrian as against *k** in Latin.

O. *pid*, U. *piř-e*, but L. *quid*; O. *pud*, U. *puř-e*, but L. *quod*; O. *petiro-pert* 'quarter' (cf. Skt. *catuř-kṛtas*) 'four times, U. *petur-persus*, but

L. *quadru-pedibus* (cf. Skt. *catur-pada*).

9. IE. **gʷ* becomes *b* in Oscan-Umbrian, but *f* (initially), *v* (intervocally) or *gu*, (after *n*) in Latin.

O. *kumbened* 'convenes', U. *benust*, but L. *veniō*; '(I) come' O. *bivus* (nom-pl.), but L. *vīvus*, 'alive'.

10. IE. **gʷh* becomes *f* in Oscan-Umbrian but *f* (initially), *v* (intervocally) or *gu* (after *n*) in Latin.

IE. **wogʷh*- (cf. Skt. *vāghāt*- 'sacrificer', Gk. *eúkhomai*) > *vufru* 'votive', 'vowed', but L. *voveo* 'to vow'.

11. IE. **dh* becomes *f* in Oscan-Umbrian but *f* (initially) and *d* or *b* (medially) in Latin.

IE. **dhē*- O. *fakiiad*, U. *faʷia*: L. *faciō*, 'I make'.

IE. **dheigh*- (Skt. *deha*, GK *teikhos*) > O. *feihūss*, but L. *fiŋgō*, 'I stroke'

IE. **dhwer*- (Skt. *dhur*-, Gk. *thūrā*) > U. *furu*: L. *forum*. 'an open space'.

IE. **medhyo*- (Skt. *madhya*-, Gk. *messo*.) > O. *meŋiai*, but L. *medius*, 'the middle'.

IE. **rudhro*- (Skt. *rudhira*-, Gk. *eruthros*) > U. *rufru*, but L. *ruber*, 'red'.

IE. **dhlo*- (formative affix; Skt. *-dhra*-, GK. *-thlo*-) > L. *flo*.

IE. **wordho*- (Gothic *waurda*, English *word*) > U. *uerfale*, 'a section', but L. *verbalis*, *verbum* 'a word, expression'.

12. IE. **bh* becomes *f* in Oscan-Umbrian but *f* (initially) or *b* (medially) in Latin.

IE. **bher*- > U. *fertu*, *ferest* etc.; L. *ferō* 'I bear'.

IE. **bhrāter*- > O. *fratrūm*, U. *fratrum*: L. *fratrum*.

IE. **albho*- (Gk. *alphós*) > U. *alfu*, O. *Alfaternum*. but L. *albus*, 'white'.

IE. **tu(e)bhi*- (Skt. *túbhyam*) > O. *tfei*, U. *tefe*, but L. *tibi* 'to you'.

IE. **-bhos* (dat-abl. pl. ending; cf. Skt. *-bhyaś*) > O. *-fs* but L. *-bus*.

13. IE. **kt* (*k^ht*) becomes **xt* in Proto-Oscan-Umbrian and then *-ht-* in Oscan-Umbrian¹ but remains unaffected in Latin.

IE. **ek-tro-* > O. *ehtrad* 'outside'. U. *ap-ehetre* 'from outside'; L. *extrā*. 'outside'.

IE. **okto-* O. *ùhtavís* : L. *octāvus* 'the eighth'.

U. *rehte* : L. *rēcte*, 'in a straight line'.

U. *uhtur* : L. *auctor*. 'originator'.

U. *speture* : L. (*in-*)*spectator*, 'observer'.

14. IE. *sn*, *sm*, *sl* and *sz* remain unchanged in Oscan-Umbrian whereas in Latin the sibilant is lost.

U. *snata* 'wetted' : L. *nare*.

O. *fíísnnù*, U. *fesnof -e* : L. *fanum* 'holy place' (< **fās-no-*).

IE. **k^wosmei* (Skt. *kasmai*) > U. *pusme* 'to whom'.

IE. **esmei* (Skt. *asmai*) > U. *esmei* 'to him'.

IE. **sīzd-* (< **sīsed-*) > U. *sistu* (= L. *sidito*)

15. IE. **ns* becomes *f* in Oscan and Umbrian (but under different conditions).

IE. **oítlōn-s* > U. *ùittiuf* 'use'.

IE. **eans* (acc. pl.) > U. *eaf*. But O. *víass* (acc. pl. of *víú*).

16. IE. and proto-Italic *nd* is assimilated.

O. *ùpsannam* : L. *operandum*.

U. *pihaner* (for *pihanner*) : L. *piandi*,

(ii) Morphological.

(a) Declension.

17. The locative is more fully represented (especially in the Third declension) in Oscan-Umbrian than in Latin.

18. The first Declension :

Latin has lost the *gən*-sg, and *nōn* pl. endings of IE. whereas they are preserved in Oscan-Umbrian.

1. The aspirate was weakly pronounced in Umbrian and so is often dropped in writing,

Thus. Gen. Sg : Ō. vereias 'youthfulness'; U. tūtas 'citizenship'.

Nom. pl. : O. *scriptas* 'scripts'; *urtās* U. 'risings'.

19. The Second Declension :

The gen. sg. ending in Oscan-Umbrian is *-eis* (<IE. *-l-es*, *i*-stem) whereas in Latin there occurs a new ending *-ī*.

The dat. sg. ending in Oscan-Umbrian is *oi* and in Latin it is *-ē*.

The nom. pl. ending in Oscan-Umbrian is historical *-ās* (<IE. **-o-es*) which is extended to the pronoun also. But in Latin the pronominal ending *-ī* (< *-ē* < *-ei* < IE. **oi*) has replaced the noun ending.

In gen. pl. Oscan-Umbrian retained the original ending **-ōm* > *-um* but Latin shows the ending *-orum* which is secreted from the demonstrative pronoun (**-o-s-ōm*).

Gen. sg. : O. *sakaracleis* 'temple'; U. *katles* 'young animal'

Dat. sg. O. *hūrtūi* 'garden, field'; U. *pople* 'people',

Nom-pl. : O. *Nūvlanās*; U. *Ikuvinus*.

Gen. pl. : O. *Nūvlanūm*; U. *pihaclo* 'atonement'.

20. The Third Declension :

The acc. sg. of consonantal stems shows the ending *-om* (from IE. stem) in Oscan-Umbrian but Latin shows *-em*.

The nom. pl. of consonantal and *-i* stems are distinct in Oscan-Umbrian; the consonantal stems have the original IE. ending **-es*, and the *i*-stems have the contracted ending *-es* (<IE. **-eies*).

Acc. sg. : O. *tanginom* 'opinion, thought'.

Nom. pl. (i) consonantal stems : O. *humuns* < **homones*.

(ii) *i*-stems : O. *tris* <IE. **iteles*; U. *puntes*, 'groups of five'.

(b) Conjugation

21. The conjugation of the verb in Oscan-Umbrian is not very much different from Latin. The difference lies in certain preferences in the use of stem affixes and endings. The more important of such variations between the two groups are indicated below.

22. The future in Oscan-Umbrian is originally a short vowel subjunc-

tive from sibilant Aorist stems. O. *deiust* 'shall judge' (<IE. **deiuō* -*s-ti*); U. *ferest* (<IE. **bhere-s-ti*).

23. The future perfect is based on the old perfect participle affix **-us* (weak grade) combined with a short vowel subjunctive of the verb **es*; e. g. O. *dicust* (<*dicus est* <**dikus eset*); U. *benust* (IE. **gwem-*).

24. The *f*-Perfect is characteristic of Oscan-Umbrian. The *vi*- and *s*-perfects of Latin are lacking here. Thus: O. *aiḱdafed* 'decreased'; V. *andirsafust* 'brought around'.

25. The Perfect subjunctive in Oscan-Umbrian is a real subjunctive with *-ē*. In Latin it is properly the optative in *-ī*.

26. The present infinitive active in Oscan-Umbrian is the old acc. sg. in *-om* and in Latin it is generally the old loc. sg. in *-ī*; e. g. O. *ezum*, U. *erum*; L. *esse*.

27. The secondary third person sg. act. ending IE. **-t*, which became voiced in Italic, remains as *-d* in Oscan (but lost in Umbrian) whereas in Latin it is replaced by the primary ending *-t* (<IE. **-ti*). Thus; O. *fakiad*; L. *faciat*.

28. The secondary third person pl. active ending (IE. **-nt*) appears in Oscan-Umbrian as *-ns* but in Latin it is replaced by the primary ending e. g. O. *deicans*; L. *dicant*; U. *dirsans*; L. *dent*.

29. The corresponding primary ending remains unaffected. Thus. O. *stahint*; L. *stant*; U. *furfant*; L. *purgant*.

30. The athematic form of the ending (**-ent*) is preserved in Oscan-Umbrian but is replaced by the thematic (**-o-nt*) > *-unt* in Latin; e. g. O. *set*, U. *sent*; L. *sunt*.

31. The third pers. pass. ending *-ter* appears in Oscan-Umbrian but in Latin the corresponding ending is *-tur*; e. g. *vincter* (=L. *convincitur*), *karanter* (=L. *vescuntur*); U. *emantur* (=L. *accipiantur*).

32. The third per. sg. pass. in Oscan-Umbrian has a set of peculiar forms with the ending *-r*; e. g. U. *ferar* (=feratur); O. *sakrafir* (perf. subj.) (=L. *sacrato*).
33. The imper. pass. ending *-mo(d)* is unknown in Latin. In Oscan it appears with the addition of *-r*. Thus : O. *censamur* (=L. *censetor*); U. *persnihimu* (=L. *precator*).

(iii) Syntactical

34. Syntactical affinity between Oscan-Umbrian and Latin is very close. Only the following points in the use of some cases need be mentioned.
35. The loc. is preserved as a distinct case in Oscan-Umbrian while in Latin, the corresponding construction has abl. with the particle *in*; e. g. O. *eisei terei* (=L. *inecterritorio*).
36. The gen. is used freely in idioms which either do not occur or occur only rarely in Latin; e. g. the partitive gen., the temporal gen., the gen. of the subject-matter, etc.

(iv) Lexical

37. The vocables that are peculiar to Oscan-Umbrian are not uninteresting. To mention some :
- **medes*-‘law’ : U. *meřs*, *mers* ‘law’; O. *medđiss* ‘magistrate’. <**med(fes)* deikos); L. *meddix*.
- **ner*-‘man, premier’, a title of rank (L. *vir*): O. *niir* (nom. sg.), *nerum* (gen. pl.); U. *nerf* (acc. pl.), *nerus* (dat. pl.). cf. Old Irish *nerf* ‘strength.’
- **toutā*-‘city, citizen, people’: O. *tōwto* Mamertino ‘the city of Mamertina’; U. *totam Iiuginam* (acc. pl.) ‘the city of Iguvina’. This vocable occurs in other Sabellian languages (such as Marrucinian and Volscian) as well as in some Celtic, Germanic and Baltic-Slavic languages (e. g. Old Irish *tuath* people, Gothic *thinda* ‘people’, Old Prussian *tauto* ‘country’, Lithuanian ‘*tauta*’ people’.
- **pur*-‘fire’ (Gk. *pūr*, *pūrós*; Skt. *purta*, : English *fire*) : O. *purasiai*, ‘*inigniarla*’, U. *pir* ‘fire’; cf. L. *ignis*. Skt. *agnis*.

**gher*-(verb root) cf. Skt. *haryāmi* 'I am gratified', Gk. *Khairō* Goth-*fairns* 'eager', Eng. *yearn*). : O. *herest* 'may wish', U. *heriest*.

**komno*- 'assembly' : O. *comono* (pl.) U. super *kumne* 'about (or over) assembly'.

**ghontro*- 'lower' (cf. L. *humilis*, Lith. *zėmas* 'low') : O. *hu(n)truis* 'the dead'; U. *hondra* 'below', *hondomu* (superlative).

**ais*- 'holy, divine, sacred'. O. *aisusis* (dat-abl. pl.) 'sacrifice'. U. *esono* 'sacrifice', *esonā* 'sacred, consecrated'. The vocable occurs in other Sabellian languages also. cf. L. *aestimō* (<* *aiz-d-*); Goth. *aistan* 'revere'¹

**sēwo*- 'all whole' : O. *siuom* 'altogether, totally'; U. *seuom* 'all, whole', *sev-akne* 'a solemn feast, a religious rite'. cf. L. *sō-lus*, Goth *se-ls*.²

**tep* (*e*) *s-ro* (cf. Skt. *tāpas-*, L. *tepor*) > proto-Oscan-Umbrian *tefro*- 'burnt-offering' : O. *saahtūm tefūrum* 'sacred burnt-offering'; U. *tefra* 'burning dead bodies', 'tefru-to' 'from the funeral pile'.

**treb*- 'to inhabit' : O. *trībūm* (acc. sg.) 'dwelling place'.

trībarakkiuf 'building', *trībarakavum* 'to build'; U. *trebeit*. 'staying', *tremnu* 'hut, tent'. cf. Old Irish *treb* 'dwelling-place'.

Lith. *troba* 'building', Goth. *thaurp* 'field'.

**wero*- 'gate' (<* *wer*- 'to enclose') : O. *veru* (acc. sg.) 'door, gate'; U. *uerof-e* (loc. sg.) cf. Lith. *vartai* 'gate'.³

There are vocables which are peculiar to Oscan or to Umbrian. To give some examples :

i) Vocables found only in Oscan.

**deiwā*- (denominative from * *deiwo*- 'to swear') : *deiuatud* (imperative), *deiuaid* (pres. subj. 3 sg.), *deiuast* (fut. 3 sg.) etc. cf. Lettic *diwatis*- 'swear' (from *diws* 'god') ; Skt. *divya*.

**dheigho*- (cf. Gk. *teikhos* 'heap, wall', Skt. *dehī* (Vedic) 'wall', *deha-lī* 'low-boundary wall'; cf. also L. *figure*) : *feihūss* (acc. pl.), *feihūis* (abl. pl.)

**putro*- 'boy, son' : *puklum* (gen. pl.) 'boy, son'. It also occurs in another Sabellian language; (e. g. Paelignian *puclois* (=L. *pueris*). It

1. cf. Avastan *aēšō amavā* (Hamo Yast). 2. Perhaps also Skt. *sā-kam*.

3. cf. Middle Bangali *bāra* (= *rājadvāra*), and Persian *darbār*.

does not occur in any other branch except Indo-Iranian. (e. g., Skt. *putra-*, Old Persian *pussa-*, Avestan *puθra*).

**tonk* 'scrutinize, to judge' : *tanginom* 'sentence', 'judgment', 'tanginud' (abl. sg.) cf. Goth *tha(n)-gjan*, Eng. *think*; Skt. *tanka-*, *ṭanka* (ṭ < *tarka-*) 'scrutinizing'.

* *egmo-* 'property, matter' : *egmazum* (gen. pl.), etc. cf. Skt. *imāu* (loc. sg. Vedic) 'earth, territory'.

(ii) Vocables found in Umbrian only :

* *nertero-* (Gk. *nérteros* 'lower, nether'; cf. Skt. *nar(a) ka-* 'nether region, hell') : *nertru* (abl. sg.) 'unfavourable, adverse'.

* *wend-* 'to turn round' : *ahauendu* 'turn round' *preuendu* 'direct'.

* *tud-* : *tuderus* 'to the limits', etc.

**gem-* : *gomia* 'pregnant, laden'. cf. L. *gemō* 'groan, lament', Gk. *gémō*.

Although in the upper and lower limits of the date of the available records in Umbrian are slightly older than that of Oscan the two languages can be taken as fully contemporary. Nevertheless Umbrian, on the whole, is less archaic than Oscan. It shows developments which appear much later in the history of Latin. The archaism of Oscan is no doubt due to its being a standardized official language, and the advanced features of Umbrian speak of its popular origin.

The distinctive features of Umbrian are as follows :

1. IE. diphthongs generally have become monophthongs.
 - * *ai* > *e* (open; it is never written *i*) : **prai* > *pre*, but O. *prae*, L. *prae*.
 - * *swai* > *sve*, but O. *svai*, *suae*.
2. * *ei* > *e* (regularly; very rarely written *i*).
 - * *ei-tod* > *etu*, *eetu*; cf. L. *itō*.
 - * *preiwo-* > *prever* 'single'; cf. O. *preivatud*.
 - * *mātreis* > *matrer* (gen. sg.).
 - * *dyowei* > *Iuve* (dat. sg.)
3. * *oi* > *ō* (written *u*) in initial syllables and *ē* (written *e*, *i* or *ei*) in final syllables :
 - * *oino* 'one' : *unu*; cf. L. *ūnus* < Old Latin *oinos*.

- **moino* : muneklu 'office, function'; cf. L. *mūnus* < older *moenus*.
 *-oi (dat. sg. ending of o-stems) : Tefre, Tefri, *Tefrei*.
 4. **au* > *ō* :
 **auctor*-: uhtur (official title); cf. L. *auctor* 'doer, originator'.
 **touro*- 'bull' : *toru*, turuf (acc. pl.); cf. L. *taurus*, GK. *taūros*.
 5. **ou* > *ō* :
 **touto*- 'community, 'city'; tuta, *tota*, *totam* (acc. sg.); cf. O. *touto*.
 **roudho*- 'red' : *rofu* (acc. pl. m.).

Oscan shows anaptyxis between a liquid or a nasal and another consonant; e. g. Hereklei 'Herculis', Mulukiis 'Mulcius', Urufiis 'Orfius' teremniss (=L. *terminibus*), paterei (=L. *patri*). pūtūrus-pīd (nom. pl.). Such anaptyxis is unknown in Umbrian.

In Umbrian *k* and *n* are palatalized when followed by the palatal vowel (i) or by the semivowel (y). The semivowel is assimilated and therefore does not show in writing. Thus: fašiu (<* *facio*) and fašu (<* *facyo*); spinia 'enclosing pillar, barrier' and spina. (<* *spinya*).

The nasal is very weakly pronounced finally in Umbrian. Therefore it is often omitted in writing. Thus: : puplu, *poplo* beside puplum, *poplom* (acc. sg.); -e beside -en (postposition; L. *in*); nome (cf. L. *nomen*).

Medially in some conjuncts the nasal is a weak sound in both Oscan and Umbrian as it does not appear in writing. Thus :

Umbrian : usteṭu beside *ustentu*, *ostendu* (imper. sg.) 'to display'; sis beside *sins* (pres. subj. pl.); IE. *-ns (acc. pl. ending) > -f (e. g. vitlaf 'heifer', vitluf 'calf'), traf; (beside *tra*) = L. *trans*.

Oscan : IE *-ns (acc. pl. ending) > -ss (e. g. viass, feihuss); set (=sent) < * *senti*; fiet < * *bhw-y-ent*); stāiet beside stahint (< * *stā-*).

Secondary final -ns in the nom. sg. of *n*-stems becomes *f* in both Umbrian and Oscan. Thus: Umbrian : esuf 'self'¹. Oscan : statif 'statue'.

The frequent omission of *r* in the final position in Umbrian indicates that its pronunciation is weak. Thus : herte beside herter (< * *gher-*

¹. *f*. is sometimes omitted; e. g. karu 'part, portion'.

'to gratify' etc; pres. indic. pass. 3 sg.); ementu beside ementur 'to be receiving' (?); tuta-pe beside tuā-per (=L. *pro populo*).

Initial *l* is changed to *w* in Umbrian. Thus: Vuvʒis 'Lucius'; vutu(imper. 'wash'); cf. L. *lavato*; vapeře (abl. sg.).

uapef-e (acc. pl.) 'seat, stool' cf. L. *lapis* 'stone'.

Medial *l* is preserved in Umbrian but is lost in the primary conjunct -*lt*:- muta 'money-fine' as against O. *moltom*., L. *multa*<proto-Italic **moleto*-.

But -*lt*- is preserved when a secondary conjunct: veltu(<* *velitu*; mper.) 'select'; kumultu, *comoltu* (imper.); cf. L. *commolito*. 'break up in pieces (such as cakes)'.

In some words in Umbrian intervocalic -*l*- shows a change to -*d*- and is written -*ř*- in the native script and *rs* in the Latin script. Thus: *ka řetu carsitu* (imper.) 'call, apply, drive to'; cf. L. *calato*.

fameřias=L. *familiae*; uřetu (imper.) 'smell, set on fire'; cf. L. *adoleto*.

Umbrian agrees with Classical Latin in the phenomenon of rhotacism. Oscan and Old Latin show the earlier stage zetacism. Thus: IE. *-*a-sōm*; (gen. pl. ending of the *ā* stem)>O.-*asúm*,-*azum*; U. -*aru*,-*arum*, L.-*arum* U. *eru*, *erom*, O. *ezum* 'to be'; cf. L. *erō*.

Final -*s* remains in Oscan. In Umbrian it remains at the older stage (Tables I-IV) and becomes -*r* at the later stage (tables V-VII). Thus: **matereis*> U. *Matrer* (but O. *Maatreis*); **nomnes*> U. *nomner* (VI), U. *prinuvatus* (I) *prinivatur* (VI) 'deputies, assistants, *ligati*'.

Intervocalic primary -*rs*- is assimilated to -*rr*- in Latin and to -*r*- (with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel) in Oscan. In Umbrian it is unchanged but the sibilant, being weakly pronounced, is sometimes dropped in writing. Thus: **tersa*->L. *terra*, O. *terúm*, U. *tursitu*, *tusetu* (imper.), 'scare away, run away'.

Intervocalic secondary -*rs*- (resulting from syncope) is assimilated to -*rr*- in Latin and Oscan but is changed to -*rf*- in Umbrian. Thus: **ker* (*e*) *so*-> L. *Cer*(*r*) *us*, U. *Cerfe*, *Serfe* (dat. sg.) 'guardian spirit';

but O. *kerri* 'goddesses of agriculture': <**ker(e) s-ē*.

Italic **pt* becomes *ft* in Oscan but *ht* in Umbrian, and the aspirate, being weakly pronounced, is sometimes dropped in writing. Thus: O. *scriftas*, U. *screhto*, L. *scriptae*, *scriptum*.

**opti*-> L. *optiō*, O. *uftis* (nom. pl., 'wishes'), U. *hahtu*, *hatu* (imper. 'take, seize').

IE. final-*t* which was voiced in early Latin and Sabellian is retained in Oscan but is lost in Umbrian. Thus: O. L. *faced*, O. *fakiiad*, U. *fašia* (pl.); O. *deded*, U. *dede* (=L. *dedit*).

Final-*t* from IE. *-*ti* and in the conjunct -*st* is retained in Umbrian but being weakly pronounced, it is often dropped in writing: Thus *tišit* 'it fits' (cf. L. *decet*) but *habe* 'holds' (cf. L. *habet*); *fus*, *fust* (fut. 3 sg of **bhewə*).

Intervocalic -*d*- in Umbrian is changed into a rolled fricative indicated in the native script by *ç* (*ř*) and in the Latin script by *rs*. Thus: *teřa*, *dirsa* (=L. *det*); cf. O. *dideſt* (=L. *dabit*).

Final-*d*, original or secondary, is lost in Umbrian. Thus: U. *dede* (<**dedet*); cf. O. *deded* (=L. *dedit*); U. *svepu* (<**suai kwod*); cf. O. *suae pod*. U. *futu*, *aitu* (imper.); cf. O. *estud*, *actud*.

Primary -*kt*- becomes -*ht*- in Oscan and Umbrian but *h* being a weak sound, is sometimes dropped in the latter. Thus: O. *saahťum*, U. *sahte šahatam* *satam*; cf. L. *sanctus*.

Secondary -*kt*- also becomes -*ht*- in Oscan but in Umbrian *h* is replaced by epenthetic *i* as in Old French (e. g. *fait* <L. *factum*). Thus: O. *actud*: U. *aitu*, *aitu*; U. *teitu*, *deltu* (<**deiketod*). O. *factud*, U. *feitu*: *feitu*, *řetu*, *řeetu* (<**fek(e) tcd*); cf. L. *facto*.

In Umbrian intervocalic -*g*- before *e* and *i* has a tendency to be palatalized and then lost. Thus: *muieto* (=L. *muttitum*) beside *mugatu* (imper. 'mutter'; =L. *muttito*).

In Umbrian there is a tendency of voicing of *p* and *t* when followed by *r*, and of *k* and *t* when followed by *n*. Thus: *supra*, *subra*; *abrof* 'apros'; *ander*, O. *antar* (=L. *inter*); *iuengar* (nom. pl.) =L. *iuvencae*.