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Editor : Professor Sukumar Sen

Department of Comparative Philology
University of Calcutta

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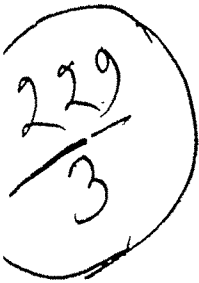
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Study of some interesting linguistic forms in Saraha's Dohakosa(2)

Tsuyoshi Nara

(2.0.) In my first paper I discussed the grammatical functions of—ehi with special reference to its Nominative function. Here I am going to study the other Instrumental endings found in the language of Saraha's Dohākoṣa : i.e. -eṇa, -eṃ, -w ; -hiṃ ; -e, -esu. (cf. Bulletin of the Philological Society of Calcutta, Vol. 2. pp. 63-73).

[Final m before a vowel indicates nasalization of the vowel.]

(2.1.) Examining the grammatical functions of these forms, we can notice the following three prominent features,

- (i) The formation of Instrumental ending of mc. & nt. is extended to fm.
- (ii) The grammatical function of pl. ending is extended to sg.
- (iii) The grammatical function of Inst. ending is extended to Loc. ending and vice versa.

Examples of (i) :

2nd verse 4th line : -eṃ (Inst. sg. mc.)

Bag.	akkhi	ḍahāvia	kaḍueṃ	dhumeṃ
Śās.	akkhi	ḍahāvia	kaḍaue	dhumeṃ
Sha.	akkhi	ḍahāvia	kaḍaue	dhūmeṃ
Sāp.	akkhi	ḍahāvia	kaḍueṃ	dhūmeṃ
Com.	caḅṣuṣi	dāhaṃkaroti	kaṭudhūmena	
Bag. ST.	akṣi	daḥyate	kaṭudhūmena	
Sāp. HT.	amkha	jalāveṃ	kaḍuye	dhūmeṃ

Sha. ET. their eyes are burnt with bitter smoke

8th verse 3rd line: -em (Inst. sg. nt.)

Bag.	uñchem	bhoṇem	hoi	jāṇa
Śās.	uvebhā	bhoṇem	hoi	jāṇa
Sha.	uccha	bhoṇem	hoi	jāṇa
Sām.	ucche	bhoṇem	hoi	jāṇa
Com	uñchita	bhojanena	bhavati	jñānam
Bag.ST.	ucchiṣṭa	bhojanena	bhavati	jñānam
Sām.HT.	umcha-bhojane		hoi	jñāna
Sha.ET.	(if) there be the Vehicle by eating refuse matters			

22nd verse 3rd line : -em (Inst. sg. fm.)

Bag.	bhava	muddē	saala	hi	jaga	vāhiu
Śās.	bhava	mudde	saala		jaga	vāhiu
Sām.	bhua	mudde	saala		jaga	vāhiu
Com.	bhava	mudrayā	sakalam		jagad	vāhitam
Bag.ST.	bhava	mudyā	sakalam	hi	jagad	vāhitam
Sām.HT.	bhuva	samudra	sakala		jaga	baheu
Sha.ET.	the whole world is deceived with the coin of					existence

79th verse 2nd line : -em (Inst. sg. fm.)

Bag.	appaṇu	icchem	phuḍa	paḍihāsai
Śās.	apaṇu	icchem	phuḍa	paḍihāsai
Sām.	appaṇa	icchem	phuḍa	paḍihāsaa
Com.	ātmanaiva	icchayā	sphuṭam	pratibhāsate
Bag.ST.	ātmanaiva	icchayā	sphutam	pratibhāsate
Sām.HT.	āpaṇa	icche	phuri	pratibhāsai
Sha.ET.	he appears clearly on his own accord			

14th verse 3rd line : -em & -v (Inst. sg. mc. & nt.)

Bag.	kintaha	divem	kintaha	nivejjam
Sām.	kintaha	dīpe	kintaha	nevejje
Com.	kiṃ	pradīpena	kiṃ	naivedyena na kiñcit
				kāryam asti
Bag.ST.	kiṃ	tatra dīpena	kiṃ	tatra nivedya
Sām.HT.	kyā	taṃha dīpem	kyā	naivedye
Sha.ET.	what is use of your lamp ? what is use of			
				your offerings ?

14th verse 4th line : √ (Inst. sg. fm.)

Bag. kintaha kijjai mantaha sejjam*
 Sām. kintaha kijjai mantaha bhāvem
 Com. kintena karttavyam mantra sevanayā
 Bag.ST. kiṃ tatra karttavyam mantrasya sādhanayā
 Sām.HT. kyā tamha kijjai mantrahim bhāvai
 Sha.ET. what do you do by serving incantations ?

40th verse 1st line : -ena (Inst. sg. nt. & fm.)

Bag. vajjhai kammeṇa uṇo kamma-vimukkeṇa
 hoi maṇamokkham
 Sām. bajjhai kammeṇa jaṇo kamma-vimukkeṇa
 hoi maṇamukko
 Com. (yeṇa) vibadhyante karmaṇa (tat)
 parityāgamokṣeṇa bhavati manomokṣam
 Bag.ST. badhyate karmaṇā puṇaḥ karma-vimuktyā
 bhavati manomokṣaḥ
 Sām.HT. baṃdhai karmase janā karma-vimukta
 hoi maṇomukta
 Sha.ET. One is bound with action. When one is freed
 from action, the mind becomes liberated

40th verse 2nd line : -ena (Inst. sg. mc.)

Bag. maṇamokkheṇa aññam pāvijjai
 paramañivvāṇam
 Sha. maṇamokkham aññam pāvijjai
 paramañivvāṇam
 Sām. maṇamokkheṇa añuram pavijjai
 paramañivvāṇam
 Com. manaśca mokṣam anayoranyonyam
 paramanirvāṇalakṣaṇam prāptiḥ
 Bag.ST. manomokṣeṇa anyānam prāpyate
 paramanirvāṇam
 Sām.HT. manamokṣa ke pāche hī pāvai
 parama nirvāṇa
 Sha.ET. surely the supreme annihilation is obtained by
 one whose mind is liberated

* Bagchi reads this sevvā but it does not rhyme with ñivvejjā.
 So I corrected it as sejjā

Example of (ii) :

91st verse 4th line : -hiṃ (Inst. pl. mc. used for sg.)

Bag.	marai	so	sosahiṃ	ṇabha	jalu	kahiṃ	pāvai
Śās.	mara	sosena		ṇabha	jalu	kahiṃ	pāvai
Com.	mriyate	sosena	(cakṣuṣā)	nihāramātram	na		pāṇiyam

Bag.ST. mriyate sa śosena nabha jalam kutra prāpyate

Sha.ET. one does not get the rain water anywhere and
dies of thirst

Examples of (iii) :

4th verse 4th line : -hiṃ (Inst. pl. mc. used for Loc. sg. mc.)

Bag.	koṇahiṃ	vaisī	ghaṇṭā	cālī
Śās.	koṇehiṃ	vaisī	ghaṇṭā	cālī
Sam.	koṇahiṃ	vaisī	ghaṇḍhā	cālī
Com.	koṇam	āśritya	ghandhām	cālayati
Bag.ST.	koṇe	sithatvā	ghaṇṭām	cālayati
Sām.HT.	kone	baiṭhe	ghaṇṭā	cālayam
Sha.ET.	sitting in a corner they shake the hand-bell			

5th verse 2nd line : -ehiṃ (Inst. pl. mc. used for Loc. mc.)

Bag.	kaṇṇehiṃ	khusukhusāi	jana	dhandhī
Śās.	kaṇṇehi	khusukhusāi	janavandhī	
Sām.	kaṇṇehiṃ	khusakhusāi	jana	dhandhī
Com.	karṇābhyām	khusakhusāyati	dhandhajānānam	
Bag.S.T.	karṇe	khusakhusāyate	dhandhajanānām	
Sām.HT.	kānahiṃ	khusakhusāya	jana	mūḍhe
Sha.ET.	they whisper into ears deceiving people			

56th verse 2nd line : -ihim (Inst. pl. fm. used for Loc. fm.)

Bag.	vahu	satthattha	marutthalihim	tisie
			mariau	tehi
Śās.	vahu	satthattha	marutthalihim	tisie
			marithau	tehi
Dar.	vahu	satthattha	marutthalihim	tisie
			maricau	tehi
Sām.	bahu	sātthāttha	marutthalihim	tisia
			maribbo	tehim

Com. bahuṣaṃghāta marusthaliṣu tṛṣitaṃ
(mṛtvā)

Bag.ST. bahu śāstrārtha marusthaliṣu tṛṣṇayā
mriyate taiḥ

Sāṃ.HT. bahu śāstrārtha-marusthale tṛṣṇite
maribo tehi

Sha.ET. one dies of thirst in the desert of many explana-
tions of scriptures

62nd verse 1st line : -eṃ (Inst. sg. nt. used for Loc. sg. nt.)

Bag. ghareṃ acchai vāhire pucchai

Śās. ghare acchai vāhire kui pucchai

Sha. ghare acchai vāhire gai pekkhai

Sāṃ. āgge ācchaa bāhire ācchaa

Com. svagrhe (svajanam) asti bahiḥ pṛcchati

Bag.ST. grhe asti vahiḥ pṛcchati

Sāṃ.HT. age rahai bāhire rahai

Sha.ET. he is at home, but she goes out to enquire

2nd verse 3rd line : -e (Loc. sg. nt. used for Inst. sg. nt.)

Bag. kajje virahia huavaha homēṃ

Śās. kajje virahia bhamavaha homēṃ

Sha. kajje virahia vahanti home

Sāṃ. kajje virahia huavaha homēṃ

Com. kārya virahitena agni hotreṇa

Bag.ST. kārya virahita hutavaha homena

Sāṃ.HT. kāja vinā hī hutavaha homēṃ

Sha.ET. devoid of work by their oblation to fire

19th verse 2nd line : -e (Loc. sg. fm. used for Inst. sg.)

Bag. gharahi vasantēṃ bhajje sahiau

Śās. gharahi vasante bhajje sahiau*

Sāṃ. gahī vasantēṃ bhajjṃ sahiau

Bag.ST. grhe vasati bhāryayā sahitaḥ

Sāṃ.HT. grhī vasante bhāryā-sahitau

Sha.ET. he remains at home with his wife

(*variant reading : vasanti bhajjē sahiau)

14th verse 1st line : -esu (Loc. pl. mc. used for Inst. mc.)

Bag.	joesu	jeṇa	hoi	samtutṭho
Sām.	jō jasu	jeṇa	hoi	santutṭha
Com.	yo yena	dr̥ṣṭena	bhavati	santuṣṭam
Bag.ST.	yogeṣu	yo na	bhavati	santuṣṭaḥ
Sām.HT.	jō jāsu	jeṇa	hoi	santuṣṭā
Sha.ET.	he who is satisfied with a master in anyway			

(2.2.) -em and -w are most likely derived from -ena of OIA., which is an unique Inst. sg. ending form in Indo-European languages. Brugmann describes the Inst. forms of Indo-European languages in two categories : (A) forms based on *-bhi, *-mi (B) another formation. (cf. G. V. G. §186-§193)

(A) -bhi, -mi	Armenian	(ā-stem)	am < ama-v, skesur < skesra-v
		(i-stem)	srti-v
		(u-stem)	zardu < *zardu-v
		(n-stem)	amjam-b. jerman < jerman-b
		(r-stem)	mar-b < *majar-b = mātṛ- bhi, har-b < *hajar-b = *pātṛ-bhi
Greek		(o-stem)	theó-phi
		(ā-stem)	ágélē-phi
		(i/ii-stem)	I-phi, naū-phi
		(es-stem)	erébes-phi
Iranian		(n-stem)	anmimm < *-mṇ-bhi, anmimm < *-mṇ-mi
Balt-Slavic		(o-stem)	Old Church Slavic vl'ko-mi, uje-mi
		(u-stem)	Old Church Slavic vl'k'-mi, syno-mi
			Lithuanian sīnu-mi
		(ā-stem)	Lithuanian kalbu-mi

(B) another formation	(o-stem)	Ved. vṛkā, Av. vāhrka, Opres. kārā Skt. vṛkēṇa
	(ā-stem)	Ved. dhārā, Av. daēna OCS. rakoja, zmijeja
	(jā/i-stem)	OIA. bṛhatyā, gthAv. vahehyā (= OIA. vāsyasyā)
	(ēiē-stem)	Lat. fidē, faciē iLit. zemė
	(i-stem)	Ved. matī (fm.) Av. cisti (fm.) (=OIA. cittī) OHG. ensti
	(u-stem)	Av. mainyu, xratū gth. Av. vohu, daēnu (fm.)
	(ua-stem)	Ved. krátvā (mc.), iṣva (fm.) Av. xraθvwa (mc)
(other stems)	OIA. śúnā, nāmnā, kārmaṇā Av. barəṣna maēsmana, OIA. vṛtra-ghnā Av. zaθra OIA. divā, gth Av. frai-divā OIA. gāvā Av. gava OIA. rāyā Av. raya OIA. naptiyā, dhiyā, śvaśrúvā, bhruvā, Av. sraya (= sriya = OIA. śriyā) tanva = OIA. tanvā OIA. apā Av. apa OIA. viśā Av. vīsa Opers, viθā OIA. vācā Av. vaca OIA. sarvātātā gath Av. paurvatātā OIA. bṛhatā Av. bərazata OIA. padā Av. pāḍa OIA. mānasā Av. manasha OIA. vidúṣā Av. viḍuša	

Among all the Instrumental forms of I-E. languages listed above, we find, -ena is used as Inst. sg. ending only for o-stem of OIA—exclusively in classical Sanskrit and frequently used

in Vedic and Pali. In R̥gveda -ena is more frequently used than -ā especially in nt. (-ena 718 times, -enā 27 times vs -a 114 time) and in Pali also -ā is used besides -ena but it is rather archaic. (of. AG. p. 90)

(2.3) Then how did this form come into being? I am now trying to give a quite plausible explanation for it.

(a) Some mc. & nt. forms based on i-stem have got the secondary formation (i.e. adding -nā instead of the normal -ā) due to analogy to the inflectional formation of the forms based on n-stem.

OIA. stem	hastín-	ávi-(mc)	vāri-(nt)
Inst. sg.	hastín-ā	x ₁	x ₂
du.	hastí-bhyām	ávi-bhyām	vāri-bhyām
pl.	hastí-bhis	ávi-bhis	vāri-bhis
result		x ₁ = ávinā, x ₂ = vārinā	

In weak cases n-stem takes -in- form for sonant endings (e.g. Inst. du. -bhyam, pl. bhis).

Those forms having the secondary formation are : agninā, áṅghrinā, ádriṇā, asinā, áhinā, ūrmīṇā, kavīnā, kāsīnā, kiki-dīvinā, jamádagnīnā, devāpīnā, dhāsīnā, paṇīnā, pátīnā, pápriṇā, paridhīnā, pāṇīnā, pr̥ṣṇīnā, bṛhas-pátīnā, maṇīnā, yayīnā, rayīṇā, raśmīnā, vādhrīṇā, vavriṇā, vastīnā, vṛṣa-nābhīnā, vṛṣṇīnā, śucinā, śāśnīnā (mc); dhāsīnā, nābhīnā, pr̥tīnā (fm.); śucinā (nt. ?) (of. VG.p.281—2)

(b) Some adjective & neutral noun forms based on u-stem also have got the secondary form just as in the case of (a). In older stage u- and uen- appeared as variant form for each other in a few cases : e.g. tákū-, tákvan-, tákun- (swift); āyu-, āyun- (life); ṛbhvan-, ṛbhva-, ṛbhú- (skilled); etc.

OIA. stem	ádhvān-	sūnu-(mc)	mádhu-(nt)
Inst. sg.	ádhvān-ā	y ₁	y ₂
Acc. sg.	ádhvān-ām	sūnu-m	mádhu
Inst. pl.	*ádhma-bhis	sūnu-bhis	mádhu-bhis
	*ádhu-bhis		
result		y ₁ = sūnunā, y ₂ = mádhuṇā	

In weak cases n-stem takes -uen-, uon- form for sonant ending (e.g. Inst. sg. -ā) but it takes -un-, uṇ- for consonant endings (e.g. Inst. pl. -bhis).

Those forms having the secondary formation are : amśunā, aktūnā, an-āśūnā, a-bandhūnā, indunā, iṣuṇā, urūṇā, ṛjūnā, ṛtūnā, ketūnā, krātunā, cetūnā, jiṣṇūnā, tri-dhātunā, dhūmāketunā, dhṛṣṇūnā, paśunā, bhānūnā, mānūnā, manyūnā, ripūṇā, vagnūnā, vahatūnā, vāyūnā, vi-bhindūnā, viṣṇunā, vṛṣa-psunā, sādūnā, su-cetunā, sétunā, stanayitunā, snunā (mc); uruṇā, kṛdhunā, ghṛtā-snunā, jarāyuṇā, titaunā, tṛṣṇā, tri-dhātunā, dānūnā, druṇā, dhṛṣṇūnā, purūruṇā, pṛthunā, mādūnā, vāsūnā, sānūnā, svādūnā (nt) (cf. VG. P. 295)

(c) At the Indo-Iranian stage the in-stem formation had already influenced en- (>a-) stem.

OIA. parṇin- (winged)	AV. parənin- (feathered)
(paraṇā- 'wing')	(parəna- 'feather')
prajñān- (intelligent)	myezdin- (offering sacrifice)
(prajñā- 'intelligence')	(myazda- 'sacrificed food')
garbhīn- (pregnant)	saocahin- (flaming)
(gārbha- 'womb')	(*saocāh- 'flame')
vājrin- (thunderbolt)	sraośan- (obedient)

(d) uen-stem also seems to have influenced en-(>a)- stem.

OIA. śāhōvan- (powerful)	Av. hazahvan- (robber)
(śāha- 'power')	(hazah- 'force')
maghāvan- (generous)	darəzvan- (fetting)
(maghā- 'donation')	(dərəz- 'fetter')
ṛtāvan- (righteous)	myazdavan- (offered oblation)
(ṛtā- 'fixed order')	(myazda- 'oblation')
	vərəθravan- (victorious)
	(varəθrə- 'victorious attack')

(e) Pronominal formation is also supposed to be another influential factor for causing the analogical formation of a-stem.

Inst. sg. OIA. anēna, enā, tēnā Av. ana Oper. anā
It is quite doubtful whether these pronominal forms belong to n-demonstrative forms or not. But as 'kana' may be analysed

like ka-na, the other forms also got the analogical analysis (though it is etymologically not correct) like a-nā, ana-na, tē-nā.

(f) Vedic formation of Inst. sg. of an en-(an-) stem itself must have been one of the influential factors. (cf. VG. P.205)

Inst. sg. mc. řjī-śvanā, mātari-śvanā, vi-bhvānā ; śśnā, pūṣnā,
plthnā, majjñā, mūrdhnā, rājñā, vṛṣṇā ; śunā
nt. asnā, āhna, āsnā, udna, dadhnā, mahnā, yaknā,
yūṣṇā, vi-śīrṣṇā, śaknā, śīrṣṇa, sakthnā

(2.4.) Hitherto I have tried to explain how a-stem got influenced by other stem for its formation of Inst. sg. ending. The resultant form should be *priyanā as the following analogical condition indicates.

Inst. sg. mc.	avi-n-ā	sunu-n-ā	ahan-a	z
	(avi-)	(sunu-)	(ahan-)	(priya-)
	Resultant from=priya-n-ā			

But the actual form we get is not -priyanā but priyenā. So we must presume that Vedic Inst. pl. ending-ebhis is also another important influential factor for the analogical formation of Ins. sg. ending—'ena'.

Abbreviation

Bag...P. C. Bagchi's reading	Com....Commentator's Skt. translation
Śās....M. H. Śāstri's reading	ST....Sanskrit translation
Sām...R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana's reading	HT...Hindi translation
Sha...Shahidullah's reading	ET...English translation
Dar.. Mss in the Darbar library	
VG...A. A. Macdonell : Vedic Grammar, Strassburg, 1910	
AG...J. Wackernagel & A. Debrunner : Altindische Grammatik, Göttingen, 1930	
G.V.G....K. Brugmann & B. Delbrück : Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen, Strassburg, 1906	

Notes on some Gothic Words and their Old Indo-Aryan Equivalents

Subhadra Kumar Sen

The title, I hope, clearly defines the scope of this short paper. Here, I shall consider some important Gothic words and endeavour to trace their correspondences in Sanskrit.

Gothic is the oldest representative of the Germanic branch of Indo-European, and its written documents date *circa* 400 A.D. Somewhat conservative nature of Gothic language makes the task of comparison rather easy.

1. *ahwa*

Gothic *ahwa* =water, Old English *ea* (by compensatory lengthening), Old High German *aha*, is cognate with Latin *aqua*, and ultimately derived from Indo-European **aqwa*. In Old Indo-Aryan the word should have been **aka*-, but no such word is found to occur; instead we have the word *kam* (found in Vedic prose). It may be that *kam* is the aphetic form of OIA *aka*-. The OIA word *akūpāra*- (=sea) may be a full grade derivative of OIA, *aka*-, if it is not connected with *kūpa*- (=well, water hole).

2. *aihwa-tundi*

Gothic *aihwa-tundi* =thorn-bush which literally means 'horse tooth'. The first element of the compound is *aihwa*, Old English *eo*h (=horse) and the second word *tundi* is a cognate form of Gothic *tunthus*, Old English *toth*, Modern English *tooth*; *d* in *tundi* (OIA *danta*-) is due to the operation of Verner's law. In OIA the compound should appear as *aśvadanta*-. Compare Sanskrit *aśvagandhā* and *aśvadamṣṭrā* the names of two medicinal plants.

* For some of the Sanskrit words I am indebted to Professor Sukumar Sen.

3. *anda-nahti*

Gothic *anda-nahti* (=evening) means literally 'before night'. *anda*, variant of *and*, (Old English *and* Old Icelandic *and*, Old High German *ant*) is cognate with Latin *anti*. In Vedic Sanskrit we have the prefix *anti* (=towards, near). The second element of the compound is connected with *nahts* (Old English *niht*, Modern English *night*) which is cognate with OIA. *nakt-*, *naktam*, and Latin *noctis*. The exact OIA counterpart of the Gothic *anda-nahti* would be **āntinakta-* or *antinakti-*. Here we can compare the OIA *pradoṣa-* (=evening) of which the prefix *pra* means 'towards' and the second element *doṣa-* is from *doṣā* meaning 'night'.

4. *barn* and *barnilō*

barn and *barnilō* are two very interesting Gothic words.

Gothic *barn* (=child, Old English *bearn*, Old Norse *barn*) is derived from Indo-European **bhoronā* (literally, one who is to be reared, or who needs protection). With *barn* can be compared the Sanskrit words like *bhṛtya-* (=servant, underling), *bhrūṇa-* (=embryo) and *bhāryā* (=wife, literally, 'one who is to be maintained'). The word *barnilō* (=little child) is derived from the stem *barn* by the addition of the diminutive suffix *ilō*. *-illo*, or the variant *-ello*, is a common Italian diminutive suffix ultimately derived from the Latin suffix *-lo* (*-la*).

Another such word is *Attila*, meaning 'little father' (compare Gothic *atta* meaning 'father').

In this context we may discuss another Gothic word, *baur* (=son) which is from IE full grade-stem of the same root, **bhōr-*. Compare Albanian *bir* which is from the other full grade form *bher-*. Albanian *bir*, Gothic *barn* and *baur*, OIA *bhāryā*, *bhṛtya-* and *bhrūṇa-* represent the IE ablaut grades : **bher-* **bhor-* : **bhēr-* or *bhōr-* : **bhr-*.

On the Etymology of Prakrit **rukḥha** and **vaccha** meaning Tree.

Satya Ranjan Banerjee

The etymology of the Prakrit word *rukḥha*, meaning 'tree', has no connection, whatsoever, with the Sanskrit word *vrkṣa*, although Prakrit grammarians like Vararuci¹, Hemacandra², Kramadīśvara³, Mārkaṇḍeya⁴ and Rāmaśarma-tarkavāgīśa⁵ have always derived the word from the Sanskrit *vrkṣa*. Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya go a step further and add that *rukḥha* is used only in the Saurasenī dialect while *vaccha* < *vrkṣa* is used in all other dialects; *vrkṣa* has given rise to *vaśca* in Māgadhī⁶. In the canonical literature of the Jainas as well as in the Sanskrit drama, it is generally seen that the word *rukḥha*⁷ in the sense of tree, is used many times more than the word *vaccha*, which is hardly used in that sense in early literature⁸. So how far

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1. Prākṛtaprakāśa. 3. 31.
 2. Prākṛtavvyākaraṇa 2. 127.
 3. Prākṛtādhyāya of Saṃkṣiptasāra 2. 83.
 4. Prākṛtasarvasva, 3. 42. under *Kṣamādi*—class; cf. also IX 41. under Saurasenī dialect.
 5. Prākṛtakalpataru (rur veṇa vrkṣe saha vā niruktaḥ, 1. 1. 18) cf. also 1. 3. 6.
 6. Mārkaṇḍeya's Pkt. Gram. (vrkṣe vaśco, XII. 19). According to Rāmaśarmā (II. II. 15) kṣa should be changed into śka in Mg. dialect, e.g. yakṣa > yaśka. He has made this rule universal in Mg.; and so, according to him *vrkṣa* should be *vaśka*. cf. also Puruṣottama's "kkhasya śkaḥ" (12. 6)
 7. It is also used as one of the members of a compound; cf. kappa-rukḥha.
 8. In the Western Apa. *vaccha* (cf. Hema's Pkt. Gram. 4. 336) is used, while in the Eastern (mainly in the Avahaṭṭha) *rukḥha* is found. For the development of skt. *kṣa* in MIA cf. Mehendale, M.A. Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits § 402; Tagare, G. V. Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa § 61.

the statement of Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya is true, is a matter of wide discussion.

Semantically *rukḥa* is connected with Skt. *vrkṣa*, but etymologically it is connected with the Ṛgvedic word *rukṣa* (VI. III. 7) which again comes from the IE **rukso*. It will not be unlikely that *rukḥa* may directly come from the IE **rukso*, which has two developments in India: one *rukṣa*, preserved in the Ṛgveda and the other *rukḥa* found in MIA. To sum up, IE **rukso* (<w.g. of **leuq*; cf. Latin *lūx*) > OIA *rukṣa* (RV VII. 3.7) > MIA (Aśokan) *lukḥa*, Pkt. *rukḥa*, NIA *rūkha* (Old Bengali).

"In this case⁹, Prakrit, like Avestan¹⁰, differentiates between IE **qs* and **ks* which becomes *kkha*¹¹ and *xś* respectively as contrasted with *ccha* and *ś*, though both coincide in Sanskrit as *kṣ*"¹². On the development of this sound Pischel points out :

9. Gray, L. JAOS, 60, 1940, p. 367.

10. "IE **qs* appears in Avestan as *xś*. In skt. original *qs* and *ks* fell together in *kṣ*, but Av. still holds them apart as *xś* and *ś* respectively. The same distinction between the two original sounds is to be remarked in Prakrit and Pali"—Jackson A.V.W. Avestan Grammar, Stuttgart, 1892 § 158.

11. The development of IE **qs* > skt. *kṣ* > MIA *kkh*, is due to the ortheōpy of this sound in Indian soil. In the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya *ṣ* is pronounced as *ṣ* > later *kh*; so naturally *kṣ* becomes *kṣ* > *kkh*. (cf. Varma's Phonetic Observations etc. p. 34-35). So the view of Ascoli, as criticised by Pischel (Gram. Pkt. § 316) cannot be fully overthrown.

12. Briefly it is like this :—

IE	Skt.	MIA.	Av.	OP.
<i>*ks</i>	<i>kṣ</i>	<i>cch</i>	<i>ś</i>	<i>ś</i>
<i>*qs</i>	<i>kṣ</i>	<i>kkh</i>	<i>xś</i>	<i>xś</i>

"In the conjunction *tenuis* + *sibilant*, according to the grammarians the aspirate was dialectically pronounced in place of the *tenuis* in skt. : *kṣīra* beside *kṣīra* ; *vathsa* beside *vatsa* ; *aphsaras* beside *apsaras*. Prakrit presupposes this pronunciation universally in the case of *tṣa* and *psa*, in the case of *kṣa* originally only when it goes back to *śṣa*. The aspiration passed to the *sibilant*, which accordingly became *cha*. The phonetic groups thus originating, i. e. *ścha* (*kcha*), *tcha*, *pcha*, regularly became *cha*. In the case of original *kṣa*, on the other hand, the aspiration did not take place, the sounds were transposed as Māgadhi *śka*, *ḥka* points, and *ṣka* for *kṣa* became *kkha*.

The grammarians regard the transition from *kṣa* to *kha* as regular and they have grouped the words that show *cha* in the *akṣyādi* class. The words which have *cha* and *kha*, he gives in the *kṣamādi* class. The statement of the grammarian however, holds good only for Mahārāṣṭrī. In other dialects the sound oscillates, so much so that in one and the same dialect we find not seldom the words with *kha* beside those with *cha*, without ourselves being able to blame tradition in every case. The Avesta shows best the original relation."¹³

So it will not be unlikely, if we derive *rukḥha* directly from IE * *ruqso*.

rukḥha may also be derived directly from *vrkṣa* by means of metathesis. Just as the *√rudh* 'to grow' later *√ruh*, may come from the *√vr̥dh* with an interchange of sonant and consonant along with metathesis, so also *vrkṣa* becomes *rukṣa* and then in Pkt. *rukḥha*. This sort of interchange is also found in the vedic period. "In two roots in which *v* is followed by *r* an interchange of sonant and consonantal pronunciation, together with metathesis takes place, *vr* becoming *ru* ; hence from *dhvr̥* 'bend' are derived both *dhvrt* and *dhru*, *dhruṭ*, *dhruṭi* etc."¹⁴ Let scholars judge now how this explanation holds good in case of *rukḥha* < *vrkṣa*.

But the meaning of the word *rukḥha* < skt. *rukṣa* in the sense of tree is not an earlier one. Because in the

13. Pischel, Gram. Pkt. Spra. § 316—317.

14. Macdonell, Vedic Grammar P42 (§50).

Ṛgveda the word is used in the sense of *dīptah*, 'bright', 'radiant' as given by Sāyaṇācārya. Its cognates in other IE languages are Gk *leukos* 'clear'; Lat. *lux*, *lucēs*, *lucere* 'light', 'bright'; Goth *liuhath*, 'light'; Ger. *lioht*, *lieht*, *licht*, 'light'; Anglo-Sax. *leoht*; Eng. *light*, Middle Irish *luchair*; Old Church Slav. *luca* cf. Skt. *rukma*, *roca-ti* 'shines'; Hittite *lukzi* 'kindles' and IE **leuqe* 'bright'. In all these examples we find the meaning of 'brightness' 'light' 'whiteness' etc. If that is the original meaning of the IE word, then how do we account for the meaning of *rukkha*?

The semantic development of the word *rukkha* from 'light' to 'tree', it seems to us, finds parallels in Old Latin *loucos*, Latin *lucus* 'grove', Oscan *lūvkei* 'in a grove'. Just as the Latin word *lucus* meaning 'grove', primarily means 'clearing', so also the word *rukkha* originally denoted a special sort of bright tree, and then 'tree' in general ¹⁵.

So, in conclusion, it can be said that the Pkt. word *rukkha* has a direct connection with the IE **ruqso* (<**leuqso*), meaning 'bright', 'shinning', and whose Skt. form *rukṣa* is found in the Ṛgveda in its original meaning (Skt. *dīptah*) and the meaning 'tree' of the word *rukkha* (which meaning is absent in the early Vedic Lit.) must have a semantic development from the Old Latin *loucus*, Latin *lucus* meaning 'grove' and this extended meaning is found in the M I A languages.

The etymology of pkt. *vaccha* <skt. *vrkṣa* presents us no difficulty. Some derive *vrkṣa* from the $\sqrt{vrkṣ}$ 'to cover' with the suffix a(c); but it seems probable that the etymology of the word must be connected with the root $\sqrt{vraśc}$ ¹⁶ 'to cut' (cf. Pāṇini's Dhātupāṭha "ovroścu *chedane*") which has a descendant in Māgadhī dialect as *vaśca*. In the Ṛgveda ¹⁷ the word is used in its original sense, i.e. lit. 'that which stands after covering the earth', hence 'a tree'. The IE root is **vrk*, with s extension we have **vrkso* > Gk *rakōs*, 'a rag', Avestan *varəsa*, Phl. *vēśak*, Pers. *bēśah*, skt. *vrkṣa*; Aśokan *vracha* (Girnar), Pkt. *vaccha*, Mg. *vaśca*, Hindi, *brich*.

15. Cf. Gray, L, JAOS. 60, 1940, P. 367.

16. Cf. Nirukta XII 29. $\sqrt{vrt} + kṣa$. lit. 'that which stands after covering the earth' *vrkṣe vrtakṣayeva. vrkṣo vraścanāt*. etc.

17. RV. X 27.22 ; X. 135. 1.

The sound attribute in Assamese

Satyendra Narayan Goswami

Length

1. Consonants :—The length of consonants may be described as a conjunct, or double consonant ; a long consonant in its articulating manner. While, one utters an Assamese double consonant there is always observed an interval of silence for the least possible time in between 'stop-stage' and 'off-glide-stage' of those conjuncts ; but that silence is not more than the average interval of uttering a single consonant in Assamese. Hence these may be appropriately called 'Long Consonants'. The double consonant, or their length is sometimes significant in Assamese like Bengali, e.g.,

{ p ā k ā, পাকা, ripe,	{ p ā t, পাত, leaf ;
{ p ā k k ā, পক্ক, expert.	{ p ā t t ā, পাতা, trace.

2. Double consonant of "a plosive followed by the same sound aspirated like tth, kkh, ddh, etc. are very common" in Assamese like Bengali. (B. Ph. § 33). Moreover, the doubling is not actually phonetic in case of a conjunct with any consonant plus lateral or flapped alveolar sound, e.g.,

b h a' d r ā, ভদ্র, gentle ; p ā t r ā, পাত্র, competent man ;
x u' k l ā, শুক্ল, white ; m ā t r ā, মাত্র, only ;
a' m l ā, অম্ল, acid ; a' b h r ā, অল্প, mica.

In deliberate speech a consonant is lengthend for emphasis in some words, and this kind of doubling is rarely used in educated speech, e.g.,

p a t ā, পটা, slab on which spices etc. are ground ;
p ā t t ā, পট্টা, lease of land ;
e k ā b ā r ā, একবারে, once for all ;
e k k ā b ā r ā, একেবারে, once for all.

3. Vowels :—The length of vowels is not very significant in Assamese like Bengali, Hindi, Bhojpuri, Oriya, etc. The

quantity or the length of vowels mainly depends on rhythm of the sense-group. The quantity of vowels is not generally indicated properly in writings excepting some tatsama words. This vowel quantity has got different shades of length in most cases particularly long (:), half-long (˘) short (ˊ) and sometimes very short (ˋ) which are generally heard in the pronunciation of the words having conjunct with a consonant + palatal semi-vowels (and sometimes other consonants). These marks will appear as i:, i˘, iˊ, iˋ. Except —Λ— all vowels have these three qualities while ə, e, u, a, have not got 'very-short' sound.

4. Sometimes the double length of vowels like consonants causes some semantic variation in Assamese and most probably this tendency is also present in Bengali, e. g.,

jā n ð জানো (I) do not know ; jā : n oː, জানো (I)
definitely know ;
l ð w ā লোৱা (please) take ; l o : w āː লোৱা (you) do
accept.

5. Monosyllabic words either native, or foreign are generally articulated as separate words with a long vowel, e. g.,

k aː, ক, the letter k ; ə:k এক, one ; k a:l, কল, plantain.

Like Bengali in Assamese also naturalized foreign monosyllabic words obtain the long quantity. (B. Ph., § 55). e. g.,

p h uː t, ফুট foot, <Eng. foot ;
t.iː n টিন tin, <Eng. tin ;
k h aː n ঝং anger, <Khasi. k h o n g, irritated.

But when these monosyllables occur in a sense-group in composition the long quantity is usually curtailed, e. g.,

d u˘ p h ũ t দুফুট, two feet ; e t ā˘, এটা, one piece.

6. Disyllabic, or polysyllabic words are articulated making the final vowel a bit longer than the preceding vowel.

7. Final syllable in a polysyllabic word is slightly long if the vowel is closed by nasals or lateral sounds.

8. Preaccentual vowel is generally short or very short as the vowel in the initial syllable is always short in standard colloquial.

9. Preceding vowel of conjunct consonant is invariably short, but in articulation of a conjunct particularly with any consonant.

(other than flapped alveolar) plus palatal semi-vowel a very short vowel generally -i- is heard and sometimes it is articulated like a half-long sound. Orthographically this 'very short' or 'half-long' vowel is not accepted in tatsama words, but heard even in the educated speech and that 'very short' or 'half-long' vowel is established in semi-tatsama words, e. g.,

xãitte xãitte tĩnĩ xãitte; সত্যে সত্যে
তিনি সত্যে, dam truth, (Lit. truth truth three times truth).
dã nã ra: r bã i k kã xũ nĩ bã, ডাঙৰৰ বাক্য শুনিবা,
(always) listen to (the) elder's saying.

Stress

10. Word-stress :—Stress is not very significant in Assamese as its presence, or absence causes little semantic variation. In standard colloquial the stress is primarily medial while dialectally in Western Assamese (Kāmarūpī, Rājabañśī), stress is always initial. Vowels in a monosyllabic word is stressed like other Magadhan languages, Eastern and Western Hindi and Rajastani etc. It should be noted here that 'the stress in the standard colloquial seems to fall in a line with the prevailing Pan-Indian system in being placed on the penultimate. The initial stress of Kāmarūpī dialect has in some instances influenced the phonology of the standard colloquial.' (A: F. D., § 124). As a matter of fact the long vowel gets the stress in a word, or if all vowels in the word are short then stress falls on the penultimate, and if the penultimate is short and antepenultimate is long then stress falls on the antepenultimate. As Dr. B. K. Kakati has elaborately discussed 'Stress-shift' in Assamese, (A.F.D. §141-§152) it is not essential to examine exactly the same question more than indicate a few of the general but prominent principles. Stress shifted in Assamese for the followings :

(i) for analogy, (ii) for the importance of the syllable in the word and (iii) for the influences of the other dialects, e.g.,

mũ nĩ d rã, মুনীন্দ্র, a superior sage ; m u nĩ: n, মুনীন, name.

ã pã rã: j i tã, অপবাজিতা, a name of a flower.

ã pã: rã j i tã, অপবাজিতা, unconquered lady.

ã lã: g i, অনাগী, wife to whom husband is not attached.

ā:l ā g i, আশাশী, wife to whom husband is not attached.

ā b i: (y) a i, অববৈয়ে, unmarried; ā: b i (y) a i, অববৈয়ে,

unmarried.

k ū m ā: r, কুমার, prince; k ó: w a' r, কোঁৱৰ, prince.

ā k ā: j i', অকাজী, unskilled in work.

ā: k ā j i', অকাজী, unskilled in work.

11. Sentence-stress:—Sentence-stress is predominated by the word-stress. The sentence is generally divided into almost equally with proper bit, or interval of time while one read out the speech with average style of reading. Each division may be called a 'sense-group', or 'breath-group' and ordinarily the first sense-group gets the stress while the other words lose it. Moreover, the equal intervals of stress give a marked rhythmic character to the language, which is specially noticeable in reading aloud. Most probably this is a common nature of all Magadhan languages and Eastern and Western Hindi.

Few lines in phonetic transcription with the sentences split up into natural 'sense-group' in average reading is given below. The 'half-stops' and 'full-stops' are indicated by | and || marks respectively. While long pause is taken after a half-stop then the next word takes stress. (O. D. Bh. § 75), e.g.,

Dāxāra:thlayo'iddhār|rajā āchil||
 teo:rtitnija'ni:|rānir bhitarat|
 Kaikōyī'|(y) āchil|dustā: prak(r)itir||
 ke'wa:l|Kaikōyir kārānō|Daxarathar|
 jye'stha pūttar|Rām|banalai yābalāg-
 iyā haichil|Rāmar laga't|bhāye'k
 Laikkha'n|ārū patnī Xitāō|banalai
 gaichil||xei banarparāi|Lañkā'r
 rajā|Rāvanō|Xitā'k|haran kariilai
 yāy||tār pācha't|Xūgriv|ārū Hanūmānar
 xahāyat|Rāme Rāvanak badhkarī|
 Xitā'k|ūddhār karō|ārū Bibhixana'k|
 Lañkā'r|rajā pātō||panditxakala'matō|

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Rā m - Rā v a n a r y ũ d d h a | ṛ y a | ā r ũ
 a n ā i r y a r | m ā j a t h ṛ w ā | x a ṁ g h a r x a r |
 ' s t ā l c a m a t k ā r c i t r a ||

দশৰথ অযোধ্যাৰ ৰজা আছিল। তেওঁৰ তিনিজনী ৰাণীৰ ভিতৰত
 কৈকেয়ী আছিল দুষ্টা প্ৰকৃতিৰ। কেৱল কৈকেয়ীৰ কাৰণে দশৰথৰ জ্যেষ্ঠ
 পুত্ৰ ৰাম বনলৈ যাব লগীয়া হৈছিল। ৰামৰ লগত ভায়েক লক্ষ্মণ আৰু পত্নী
 সীতাও বনলৈ গৈছিল। সেই বনৰপৰাই লক্ষ্মণ ৰজা ৰাৱণে সীতাক
 হৰণ কৰি লৈ যায়। তাৰ পাছত সুগ্ৰীৱ আৰু হনুমানৰ সহায়ত ৰামে
 ৰাৱণক বধ কৰি সীতাক উদ্ধাৰ কৰে আৰু বিভীষণক লক্ষ্মণ ৰজা পাতে।
 পণ্ডিতসকলৰ মতে ৰাম-ৰাৱণৰ যুদ্ধ আৰ্য্য আৰু অনাৰ্য্যৰ মাজত হোৱা
 সংঘৰ্ষৰ এটা চমৎকাৰ চিত্ৰ।

Dasaratha was the king of Ayodhya. Among his three queens Kaikeyi was of wicked nature. Only for Kaikeyi Rama, the eldest son of Dasaratha, had to go to the forest. With Rama brother Lakhmana and wife Sita also went to the forest. From that forest Ravana, the king of Lanka kidnapped Sita. Afterwards, with the help of Sugriva and Hanumana, Rama killing Ravana rescued Sita, and made Bibhisana the king of Lanka. According to the Pandits the battle between Rama and Ravana was an excellent picture of the struggle between Aryans and Non-Aryans.

12. The relative stress of the words in a sequence depends on their relative importance. The more important a word is, the stronger is its stress. Pronominal words, conjunctions and other particles are not stressed even when they begin a sense-group, and an adjective before a noun is generally takes the stress as in Bengali. (B. Ph. R., § 58).

13. A particular word obtaining much emphasis in a sentence gets usually the primary accent and in such case it may cause some semantic variations too, e.g.,

'm a i t ā l a i y ā m n ṛ ? মই তালৈ যামনে ? Shall I go there ?
 m a i ' t ā ' l a i y ā m n ṛ ? মই তালৈ যামনে ? Shall I go there ?
 ' t ṛ : o ' g h a r a l a i ā h i c h i : 1, তেওঁ ঘৰলৈ আহিছিল,

He (indeed) came home.

t̥əo'g̥hara: lai āhīchi:l, তেওঁ ঘৰলৈ আহিছিল,

He came home.

'D̥əva:r mā:k dhukā:l, দেৱৰ মাক ঢুকাল,

Deva's mother has died.

Deva'r 'mā:k dhūkā:l, দেৱৰ মাক ঢুকাল,

Deva's mother has died.

Similarly the word having stress in isolated speech may lose their stress while they occupy the place in the same sentence as the important one will get stress, while, on the other, the unimportant one will appear as an important will get the stress, e.g.,

xi: to mā:k | kiya māti'chi'l || সি তোমাক কিয় মাতিছিল ?

Why did he call you ?

t̥ə mā:k xi' | kiya:m āti'chi'l | তোমাক সি কিয় মাতিছিল ?

Why did he call you ?

t̥ətiyā 'etā | hāti:(y) ōlāl | তেতিয়া এটা হাতী ওলাল,

Then an elephant came.

t̥ətiyā | ōlā':l 'etā | hāti, তেতিয়া ওলাল এটা হাতী,

Then came an elephant.

ājiteo' | kalī:katālaiyāba || আজি তেওঁ কলিকতালৈ যাব,

To-day he will go to Calcutta.

t̥ə: ō | ājī kalīkatālai || yāba, তেওঁ আজি কলিকতালৈ যাব,

He to-day will go to Calcutta.

Intonation

14. Intonation, or Pitch of the voice is not very significant element like other NIA languages excepting Punjabi where intonation has got some importance. But it is highly significant in various languages of Tibeto-Burman stock. In Chinese intonation has got probably the largest extent of significance. But in Assamese like other NIA languages intonation is not at all significant excepting a few cases of common NIA inter-

jections where this pitch has a significant value ; such words having different significance owing to difference in pitch are not more than two syllables.

Although it is accepted that intonation is employed to a great extent in the sentence to indicate subtle shades of meaning, but here we cannot ignore the importance of stress at all, e.g.,

—ā; অ, yes, with level tone=yes.

‘ā, (hā/hā), অ, (হাঁ/হাঁ), yes, with high-rising tone=simple query.

ā; অ, yes, with mid-rising tone, with abrupt ending, indicates disgust=So I read.

—ā; অ, yes, with falling tone—I see.

‘ā; অ, yes, with mid-falling tone=yes, it may be so but—

ā; অ, yes, with high-falling tone (in threatening used to make joke, or seriously)=alright, I shall see.

15. Intonation is probably a high expressive speech attribute in sentence in a language. The laws of intonation of Assamese is not studied at all, and therefore, following Dr. S. K. Chatterji, (B. Ph., § 63) few sentences are indicated below as illustrative of Assamese intonation, e. g ,

a x a m i' y ā b o: r | k i: b h a y ā: n a k |
y o d d h ā || k i: x ā h a: x i' | b i: r ||
x a k a l o k ā r y y a t e | n i' p u' n ||
m a' i t o d e k h i | t ā i j a p | m ā n i l o ||

অসমীয়াবোৰ কি ভয়ানক যোদ্ধা ! কি সাহসী বীৰ !

সকলো কাৰ্য্যতে নিপুণ ! মইতো দেখি 'তাইজপ' মানিলোঁ !

(Speech of Ramsingha from the drama, Chakradhvaj Sinha by L. N. Bezbarua). How valiant fighters the Assamese are ! How brave heroes (they) are ! Expert in every affairs ! I am amazed to see (it).

16. Intonation is well represented by dots and dashes placed between two lines indicating the upper and lower limits of the speaking voice in deliberate speech on approximation. The dots marked here represent the level pitches while the

lines are used to represent the rising, or falling pitches. Each minor dot refers at least to one syllable while each major dot refers to a stressed syllable.

17. In simple query generally high (falling, rising, level) pitch falls at the end while in case of specific, or important query, where emphasis is given, low or high-falling pitch falls. In this case Assamese shows its close-affinity with not only Bengali but also to Hindi, (B. Ph. R. § 63), e.g.,

Simple statement generally ends in low pitch :—

ma'i ājī 'kālī:kātālai yām, মই আজি কলিকতালৈ
যাম, I shall go to *Calcutta* to-day.

tūmī 'kā:ilai āhibā, তুমি কাইলৈ আহিবা,
You will come *to-morrow*.

Or,

tūmī 'kā:ilai āhibā de:i, তুমি কাইলৈ আহিবা দেই,
You will (do) come *to-morrow*.

mok 'ka:fi hāucat pābā, মোক 'কফি হাউচ'ত পাবা,
(you) will get me at *Coffee House*.

In simple queries there is generally high pitch at the end like Bengali e.g.,

tūmī (y) 'āhibā'ne? তুমি আহিবানে?
Will you come?

tōmār dādā 'āhibāne? তোমাৰ দাদা আহিবনে?
Will your elder brother come?

.....

Or,

• • • • •




• • • • •

'kene: camatkā:r kathā xunilo! কেনে
চমৎকাৰ কথা শুনিলোঁ! How excellent (it was that) I heard!

· ' · · · Or, · · · · ·

ā hā 'ke:ne xūnda:r! ā hā kene 'xūnda:r!

আহা, কেনে সুন্দৰ!

আহা, কেনে সুন্দৰ!

Ah, how lovely!

Ah, how lovely!

18. In deliberate or quick speech, however, the average pitch is very low, but under emotion there is great variety of pitch for the emotional rendering of the sentence, e.g.,

· · · · ·

'tewo: Bhārata'r 'sja:n 'sre'stha dārṣanik.
তেৱোঁ ভাৰতৰ এজন শ্ৰেষ্ঠ দাৰ্শনিক, He is also one superior
philosopher of India.

· · · · ·

kintū 'xa'ka:lo kathāre(i) etā 'xe:x āche.
কিন্তু সকলো কথাৰে এটা শেষ আছে, But to every speech there is
an end.

· · · · ·

'xakalore e'itō bhāl 'nālā:gibaō pāre.
সকলোৰে এইটো ভাল নালাগিবও পাৰে, It may not strike as nice to
everybody.

19. A normal Assamese sentence with more than one sense-group shows the intonation curve of the type noted below.*

· · · · ·

* This study is based on Gauhati (Standard) dialect.

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South Western Bengali and the Language of Srikr̥ṣṇakīrtan

Sudhir Kumar Karan

[*S. W. B. (G) South Western Bengali of the
Midnapore-Orissa border area*]

The sub-dialect of South West Bengal has a clear resemblance and affinity with the language of Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtan. This book is no doubt very important for linguistic study as it has preserved a good picture of the early Middle Bengali language.

It is known to us that Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtan was discovered at the village of Kāṅkilya near Ban-Viṣṇupur in the district of Bankura, but it is not known when and where the book was written. Its author Caṇḍidās is claimed by the districts of Bankura and Birbhum. The present-day language of these districts however does not show much resemblance to the language of Ś. K. K. but the same cannot be said about S. W. B. (G). The latter has preserved its M. B. characteristics to such an extent that it is not difficult to point out resemblances between Ś. K. K. and S. W. B. (G), and establish a relation between them. It can also be easily proved that S. W. B. (G) has preserved the morphological and phonetical system of M. B. which was prevalent dialectally, perhaps, in Western Bengali of the sixteenth century or earlier.

(1) Phonetically Ś.K.K. may be compared with S.W.B. (G) in
the following points :

- (a) S. W. B. (G) preserves the cerebral sound of ṇ and ḷ which was probably present in Ś. K. K.. In support of this it may be pointed out that in majority of occurrences ṇ* and ḷ rhymes with ḷ in Ś. K. K.

* Examples : 1. বোলহ রাধারে মোর বাণী । স্নেহে নেউ যমুনার পানী ॥
2. মোর বাণী ত্রিভুবনে জানী । শিকিল মাণিকে হীরা মণি ॥

- (b) Preservation of the aspirated sounds (ṛh, nh, mh) as in (burhī, kānhāñi, āmhār* etc) ;
 - (c) Shortening of the medial 'a' in the diphthong ai : eg : বড়াই : baṛai > (baṛāi) ;
 - (d) Weakening of the 'i' in the initial diphthong āi : eg : in āisa > (aiṣṭ, with weak i) ;
 - (e) Preservation of a prothetic 'a' : (amanda)
- (II) Morphologically, S. W. B. (G) has clear and definite affinity with the language of Ś. K. K. and that may be shown in the following way :
- (a) rare use of রা : rā as a plural affix ;
 - (b) affix 'ke' : কে in locative case† ;
 - (c) preservation of post-positional ward ṭhāe : ঠাএ (সক্ষেই চিহ্নিতা বৃহৎ ব্রহ্মার ঠাএ) which is same as S. W. B. (G) ṭhe : ঠে ;
 - (d) preservation of M. B. pronouns like মুখি, মোর, মোকে (মোক), আক্ষার, তুম্বার (S. W. B. (G) : ām'ār tum'ār etc though having a tendency to drop the medial 'h' ;
 - (e) verbal forms like : khāō (খাও), jāō (যাও), karō (করো), āilā (আইলা), gelā (গেলা), olāhā (ওলাহা), jāu (যাউ), khāu- (খাউ), āisu (আইসু), paṣu (পশু), jāitō (যাইতো), karitō (করিতো), etc.
 - (f) conjunctives like : bāṛhi (বাড়ি), kari (করি), khāi (খাই), bhāṅgi (ভাঙ্গি) etc.

(Ś. K. K. দখি খাই, ভাঙ ভাঙ্গি দুখে দেহ পানী) ;

* কাহাঞি and আক্ষার are pronounced in S. W. B. (G) by the most illiterate people even now askānhāñi and āmhār.

†1. এহা তস্ব জাগি কর ঘরকে গমণ ।

2. খাই যমুনার পাণীকেআইস মোর সঙ্গে ।

(gharke jāōā pāṇike jāōā etc are frequently used in S. W. B. (G)).

- (g) the words *gelānta* (গেলান্ত) *dilānta* (দিলান্ত) *karilānta* (করিলান্ত), of Ś. K. K. etc. used as *gelān* (গেলান্), *dilān* (দিলান্), *karlān* (করলান) in S. W. B. (G) honorifically or in plural number of third person in simple past ;
- (h) post-positional word 'kari' (করি) Ś. K. K. (হাধে খড়ি করি বলোঁ মো কাহ) ;
- (i) adjectives formed with the help of 'ila' and 'ilā' affix as *Pākila* (*dāṛhī*) (পাকিল দাঢ়ী), *Mailā* (মৈলাক মাইনে কোন মহাসিদ্ধি হএ), *bhukhila* (ভুখিল) etc.¹.
- (j) 'uā' as a secondary effix eg. জ্বরুয়া, হাড়িয়া etc ;
- (k) The words like *daibakiā* (এবে দৈবকীঞ বত গৰ্ভ ধরিব) may be compared with S. W. B. (G) *bhāiśūrē* (ভাই-শুরেঁ), *śuśrāy* (শুশরায়), *mālāśūrē* (মালাশুরেঁ) etc (e.g. ভাই শুরেঁ ভাত খাইছেন etc.).
- (III) A list of words found in Ś. K. K. which are in vogue in daily speech of S. W. B. (G) speakers is given below :—

dāṛhī (*dāri*), *buṛhī* (*buṛi*), *paśi* (=prabeś *kariā*). *sat* (<*satya*), *sapan* (<*swapna*) *guā* (=supāri), *bāṭiā* (=a kind of rope) *bāṭ* (<*bartma*), *hāle* (used as 'hale' in S.W.B. (G)=*naṛe* :) *olāhā* (pronounced as *olhā* or *alhā* in S.W.B. (G) which means 'keep down' or 'get down') *budhi* (<*buddhi*), *po*=(*chele*), *jhi* (=meyer), *nīd* (<*nidrā*), *kuili* (*kokila*), *śuā* (<*śuka*), *āṇḍiā* (=bull ; pronounced as *āṇiā* in S.W.B. (G), *śāśu* (<*śwaśru*), *bāi* (<*bātika* ? =mad : headstrong), *bahu* (<*badhu*), *dahi* (<*dadhi*), *biha* (<*bibāha*), *bāhuk* (=a piece of bamboo used for bearing something on the shoulder ;=bāḥk), *śolā* (<*amalaki*), *ghasi* (*śuṣka gomay*), *bīda* (=chidra), *ujhōṭ* (pronoun-

(1) In S. W. B. (G) these are pronounced as *pāklā* (*dāṛhī*), *bhuklā* (*bāgh*) *pāilā* (*dhan*) etc.

ced as *jhūṭ* in S.W.B.(G)—stumble, *hōcoṭ khāōā*, *curṇi*, (<*coriṇī*, a female thief), *bicṇi* (<*byājanī*, pronounced *bīcṇī*), *mauhāri* (pronounced as *mohri*, —a kind of flute), *māusi* (= *māśī*), *bhokh* (= *kṣudhā*), *śoṣ* (= *trṣṇā*), *bhine bhine* (= *bhinnabhinna*), *bhāī* (=one who bears a weight), *pahra* (=wear ; para), *kāhro* (=S. B. *kāro*), *āhro* (pronounced as *ārho* = *āro*), *āi* (<*āryika*, user in the sense of maternal grandmother), *baṛāi* (*baṛa* + *ai*), *taṇḍi* (=noise,), *āsār* (=fruitless ; used as *asār* in S.W.B. (G), *tuṇḍa* (=mouth pronounced as *tūr*), *kahaō* (=bali), *kahira* (=kisera, of what ; pronounced in S.W.B. (G) as *kāhir*), *rā* (<*raba*), *māhābir* (<*mahābīr*), *bhādar* (*bhādra*) *bhoḷ* (=ghor ; *nīd bhoḷe*=ghumer ghore), *jaṅghā* ; (<*jaṅghā* ; pronounced as *jaṅ* in S.W.B. (G), *battiś* (<*batrīś*), *ohāṛaṇ* (a covering, veil, pronounced, veil, pronounced as *uṛhṇā*), *nehāli* (=seeing there, is a phrase in S.W.B. (G) as *nihāli dokha*'=to see, to peep etc) *puchō* (may be compared with *pacrāō*=I ask, of S.W.B. (G) which may come from *puchā*+*karō*), *kūrhi* (*kāṛhi* of S.W.B.(G)=a bud of a flower, *kahibō* (compare with *kahimu* or 'kaimu' of S.W.B. (G), *bidare* (*bidre* of S.W.B. (G) ; splits up), *mālhi* (<*mallikā* ? may be compared with *mali* : a kind of white flower), *kenhe* (=kene of S.W.B. (G) why) *ābaśi* (<*abaśi* (<*abaśya* ; must S.W.B. (G) : *abiś* (used by women class), *khbhō* (=kabho of S.W.B. (G)=kakhana), *mahul* (=mahuātreet), *sāṭihār* (<*ṣaṭṭivigṛha* of *saṭigharā* of S.W.B. (G)), *māulāṇi* (<*mātulāṇī*), *siāṇi* (=clever woman), *telāṇi* (compare with *telāṇ* of S.W.B. (G)=a kind of earthen pot), *udāō* (<*uddāma* ; wreckless ; S.W.B. (G) *udmā*), *bajar* (<*bajra*), *chenārī*=*chinārī* (S.W.B.—G), *bauḷ* (<*bakula*), *sākhi* (<*sākṣī*), *kona bāṭe* (=kā bāṭe : whither, in which way), *ghaṛi* (<*ghaṭikā* : a small earthen pitcher), *pahar* (<*prahar*), *pahri* (=wearing), *nilaj* (<*nirlajja*), *bāhā* (=bāo ;), *bahāe* (=makes to bear ; *bahāy* :

S.W.B. (G)), rāṅkā (S.W.B.G = rāṅkā = greedy, poor),
tuti (<stuti ; S.W.B. = tusti), ruhi (<rohita matsya),
nacuṇī (S.W.B. = nācṇī), naṭha (-S.W.B.(G) naṭa),
mudṛī (<mudrā ? = a ring for wearing, may be
compared with S.W.B.(G) mudī), nāch (<rathya ;
front door), śāguṇī (<śakunī ; S.W.B. (G) sāguṇā ;
vulture, ohāṛīā (= covering, may be compared with
S.W.B. (G) uḥāṛ = to keep disclosed, sometimes
kāśī pronounced as āhur also), ḍāhuk (= a kind of
bird), kāś = a kind of grass),

IV. (*name of some fruits and trees found both in Ś.K.K. and
S.W.B. (G)).*

mahul = (S.B. mahuā) ; banakēdu ; bahaṛā (S.R =
bayṛā)

śoḷā (S.B. : amlakī) ; guā (S.B. supārī) ; śāhāṛā ;
śāhāṛā (S.B. śeorā) etc.

V. *some phrases etc and typical uses :*

The following idioms and phrases from Ś.K.K. are
current in S.W.B. (G)

Ś. K. K.

S. W. B. (G)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. āilā debera sumati suṇī kaṁsera
āgaka nārada munī | āilā deber sumati suṇī
kaṁser āghuke nārad munī |
|---|--|

('āgaka' of Ś.K.K. is typically used in S.W.B.(G)

as āghuke ; to, before, in front of.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 2. rādhikā mānāyā deha more | mānei deoā (to propiciate
for another is a phrase
in S.W.B.(G). |
| 3. phula pindhile se khāibe
tāmbula | phul pīdhne (to wear
flowers) se pān khābe. |

('phul pīdhā' is still in vogue).

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| 4. tomhāra dehata kānhāñi nā
base ki pita
(Is there o, kānhāñi, no shame
or disgust in you ?), | tor dehe kī ris pit nāi ? |
|---|---------------------------|

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>5. je thāne suci nā jāe tathā
tathā bāṭiā bahāe
(Where a needle does not
penetrate he pushed in a rope)</p> | <p>jeṭhe chūc jābeni seṭhe
bāṭiā galeibe.
(This proverb is much
in use).</p> |
| <p>6. āgolasi bāṭe</p> | <p>bāṭ āglā (to stop one's
way).</p> |
| <p>7. bhoḷe paṛi gelā tāta nānder
nandana
(bhoḷe paṛā = to be puzzled)</p> | <p>'bhoḷe paṛi' gelā tāhe
nander nandan</p> |
| <p>8. pāṇir phōṭā</p> | <p>pāṇir phōṭā (drops of
water)</p> |
| <p>9. sabakhana goṭha unāo bule</p> | <p>sabubelā goṭh udmā
(reckless) bule.</p> |
| <p>10. sodar bhāginā hayā hena tara
kāje</p> | <p>'sodar' is still used as
'sodar guṣṭi (=closely
related)</p> |
| <p>11. puruṣe ādhika tiri āṇḍiā</p> | <p>āṛiā cuṛi (a quarrelsome
or challenging woman).</p> |
| <p>12. somukha diṭhe paṛile bānata
bhukhila bāgha nā khāe
(Even a hungry tiger does not
eat one that it faces directly)</p> | <p>āghura bāṭe paṛne baṇe
bhuklā bāgh nā khāy
(bhukhila of S.K.K. (= hungry)
has become 'bhukalā' in S.W.B. (G)
and due to semantic
change it has got a mean-
ing which is 'big').</p> |
| <p>13. jāi jamunāra pāṇike āisa sakhi
mor saṅge</p> | <p>jāi jamunār pāṇike āisa
sakhi mor sage.
(pāṇike jāoā (to fetch
water) is to be found in
daily speech.</p> |
| <p>14. hena durujana se kānhāñi māmi
māusi tāra ṭhāi nāhi
(He does not respect the rela-
tion a woman bears to him)</p> | <p>tār ṭhe māmausi nāi</p> |

- | | |
|--|--|
| 15. kamana karane rādhā nā
kāṛhasi rāe | rā kāṛhā (to speak) is a
phrase. |
| 16. nahe pāca ābathā kariba āmhe
tumlāra | pāc ābasthā karā (to
deal drastically) |
| 17. tāhāra ṭhāikajāite lāge baṛa
ḍare
(to, before, near, = ṭhāikā) | tār ṭhike jāite baṛa ḍar
nāge |
| 18. o kulata gele jadi lāga pāe
kāmhē | se kuḷe gene jadi nāg
pāy kānu
(nāg pāoā = to reach
upto) |

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Syntax of the Mood in Hindi

Dayanand Srivastava

(A)

The Optative

1. The optative has no separate form and is expressed either by the subjunctive or the imperative. The optative in Hindi has the following forms: (a) the simple optative (b) the optative with the pronominal adverb *jis*, *jo*, etc. (used as conjunctives), (c) the periphrastic optative with the auxiliaries *pā* and *sak* (and it is) the survival of the historical potential), and (d) the adverbial or the conjunctive particle implying condition used with the optative force. (It is to be noted that the adverbial or the conjunctive does not always convey the optative sense. The optative sense in this case is determined only by the context). The following are the examples:—

(a) The simple optative:—*hamahū brāhmaṇa ṛṇa te ehū tē*—I may also be free from the debt of the 'Brāhmaṇa'. CV 173. *maī tere nāśa kā kāraṇa hoū*—may I be the cause of your death. pp. 609. (b) With the pronominal adverb *jisase*, *jo* etc:—*jisase aisā gānā gāū*—So that I may sing such song. *ki jis se sansār ke āvāgaman ke dukh se chūṭē*—so that I may be free from the misery of (the cycle) the birth and death. NKP. 34. *jo mere jī kā khaṭakā jāy*—so that the fear of my heart may go. PS. (c) The periphrastic optative with the auxiliaries *pā* and *sak*:—*jisase maī jinendra ke darśana kara pāū*—so that I may have the 'darśana' of Jinendra. ĀP. 210. *maī śatru vijay kar pāū*—may I win (over) my enemy Rc/Mss. *jisase maī bhavasāgara pāra kara sakū*—so that I may sail across the 'bhavasāgar' pp. (d) With the adverbial or conjunctive participle—*vahā jāya darśana hoyā*—having gone there may 'darśana' be possible BYB. *aisī kathā sun mukti hoy*—having heard 'kathā' may the salvation be obtained, NRTUB/Mss.

2. The adverbial *jani* and *jin*, the prohibitive *mat* and the negative *na*, are regularly employed to express the negative of the optative mood. e.g. *gupta Mārtā śatru ke jana jina sunē—*may the men of the enemy not hear (our) secret talks pp. vo aisi mithyā kathā mati kahē—may he not say such false story ĀP.610. mere praṇaya kī carcā na cale—may the secret of my love not spread. RC/Mss. nanda mahari añcal kī oṭ kiye khilā rahī thī isaliye ki mat kisī kī dīṅh lage. Ps. 23.

3. There are instances where the imperative is used in the sense of the optative mood e.g. *mārga kau siddhānta tere hṛdaya mē āve—*may the principle of the sect (i.e. vaiṣṇava) come in your heart. CV. 13. *tū tīkṣṇa bāṇani kara śatrūna ke samūha ko jīta—*may you win over (your) enemies with sharp arrows. pp. 787 *nāvaṇa mere paraṇāibe kī vāñchā choḍa de* may Rāvaṇa abandon the idea of marrying me. PP. *tvma ananty kāia taka jīvita raho—*may you live for the unlimited time (to come). ĀP 310. *dono netra sudhā kī dhārā se siñce—*may the two eyes be bathed with the flow of ambrosia RC/Mss. *sedhā kū varsā saū siñcau—*may you be drenched with the rain of ambrosia. NṚTUB/Mss. etc.

4. The use of the optative generally occurs in the apodosis and less frequently in the independent clause or sentence e.g. *jo maī mithyā darśinī deha dāba ko prāpta ho—*If I see the evil and (if I) am unchaste may my body be consumed by the fire. pp. 880. *jo maī prabhu kī ājūā pāū to candan apāne hāthō carcū—*if I get 'prabhu's consent I apply the sandal with my hands. PS. XLIII. 173. etc.

5. In the following the optative and imperative ideas are contaminated ;—*kis kā mūh hai jo yah bāt hamāre mūh par lāve—*who is such person who can bring such narration before me. RKK. II.

6. Of the various tenses, the future form very often is used for the optative mood. e.g. *tāhi dina te padmarāvala ko āturatā bhai jo kaba maī jāū aura kaba darśana pāū—*since that day Padmarāval was anxious 'when I would go and have the 'darśana' CV *kab tarun. avasthā pāūgi our kab bhog karūgi—*when I would

attain the puberty and I would enjoy, PS. *kachū din bīte hamase tumhārā yuddha hoy*—some days having past let there be your fight with me. RC/Mss.

7. The optative in co-ordination implying contrast is a very regular and interesting feature to be discussed. e.g. *tarunō kā mana rati imē ho para vṛddhō kā kyō ho*—the hearts of the young may be in 'rati' but why the old men's (hearts) are attached in 'rati'. ĀP. *rāvaṇ kī aisī abhilāṣā hoy par mer abhilāṣā aisī kyō hoy*—may the desire of Rāvaṇ be such but for what reason I desire such RC/Mss. *sparśa to dūr darśana mātra se ānanda āve hai*—what to say of touching (lit. touching may be away) even a sight provides pleasure. NṚTUB/Mss.

8. The following idioms present some of the very interesting examples of the passive optative—so *ve puruṣottama jōsī ācārya jī mahāprabhūna ke aise kṛpāpātra bhagavadēya hai tāte inakī vārtā kahā tāī kahiye*—cv. 143. *brahmā kahiye viṣṇu kahiye, nirguṇa kahiye saba māī hī hū*—say me 'Brahmā' (or) say me 'viṣṇu', (or) say me 'Nirguṇa' (or) say me 'Saguṇa'—I am all BYB. etc.

9. The following are the idioms of the periphrastic optative :—*yākī itanī maryādā rākhī cāhiye*—he should be honoured so much. CV. 60. *merī bhī sunī cāhiye garība paravara*—my lord! attention should also be paid to my (statement). CCHVM/Mss. *vyaupārī kau itano dravya diyau cāhiye*—trader should be given this amount. CV, *tinakā uddhār kiyā cāhiye*—he should be rescued. PS. 11.23.

(B)

The Subjunctive

10. The subjunctive has no separate form and the subjunctive idea (*sambhāvanārtha*) is expressed by either the indicative or the imperative. The subjunctive, which is mostly conditional, in the protasis clause is accompanied by the pronominal adverbs like *yadi, jo* etc. The subjunctive with *yadi, jāī*, was a common idiom in Apabhraṃśa and Avahaṭṭa, and is regularly inherited by NIA. e.g. *sēra ekka jāī pāvau ghittā*—if I could get a seer of

ghee, jāi ettha digantara jāhi kantā-if the beloved one were to go to a foreign land even now. p. 430. jāi jadḍā rūsaī, cittā hāsaī pēṭe aggi thappiā-if cold reges, the heart contracts and fire is put on the stomach. Prākṛta Paṅgala from ODBL. §646.302.

The following are the examples-jo tuma pīche phiroge to tumhe lāja āvegī aura loga mujhe bola mārēge-if you will turn back (flee away from the battle) infamy will come to you, and people shall taunt at me. CCHVM/Mss. yadi māi mithyā darśinī vabhicārinī hoū-if I perceive the evil and am unchaste. PP. 880. yadi svapna mē āj tak kiś puruṣ. kā mūh na dekhā hoy-if (I) have not seen the face of a man even in the dream. NKP/Mss. etc. of. OB. jāi tumhe loa he hai be paragami tu catila anuttara same-if you O men I be desirous of crossing over, do then ask Catila the master. ('Syntax of Early And Middle Bengali' Mss/255.) Examples are not lacking where the pronominal adverbs yadi or jo are suppressed. e.g. merā putra rāma āve to tohi khīra kā bhojana dū-I shall offer you (dishes of) 'khīra' (if) my son Rām will come back. PP.

The idioms illustrated above may rightly be termed as conditional. The following are the idioms of non-conditional or simple subjunctive :—koū chalibe ko āyo hoy-a-some one might have come to deceive. CV. 153. kahī mujhe kansa kā dūt na sumajhē-perchance they may not, take me as the messenger of kansa. PS. 39.66.

11. A kind of past subjunctive or conditional (as well as habitual past) has developed out of the various uses of the present participle. In facts this is the common trait with all the NIA (except Assamese) ODBL§640.401. and 'Syntax of Early And Middle Bengali' Mss/374.257. e.g. yadi māi prabhāta hī gamana karatā-if I would have proceeded at the dawn. PP. 310. jo mō nitya ved pāṭh karatā-if I had recited the Vedas everyday NRTUB/Mss.

12. The negative use of the subjunctive in the figurative sense is attested in the following :—kon so pāp hai jo śrī rām candra jī ke nām sū na jāy-what is the sin which may not go

by the name of Rāmacandra (i.e. by uttering the name of Rāmacandra meaning-will certainly go). RC/Mss.

13. The idiom of the potential subjunctive i.e., the contaminated form of the potential and the subjunctive idea, in the figurative sense is illustrated in the following-kadācit maī bhāg sakū~perchance I may flee. PP. 402. koī ghoḍā usako pā sakatā thā-was it possible for any horse to reach him (i.e. it was not possible) RKK.4.

14. The subjunctive (conditional) if closely allied to the future tense, and therefore, the future indicative is very often used as the subjunctive. e.g. yadi tumakū dekhibe kī bāñchā hogī-if you will have the desire of seeing (me) PP. 610. jo jagata guru bharata putra ko rājya deya vairāgī hoyā-if Bharat, the teacher of the universe having enthroned his son, will adopt hermitage PP. 774. jo ghrāṇa indriya apane ko madhya tere rāsegī-if the smelling organ will keep itself amidst you (all) NRTUB/Mss.

15. The following idioms deserve some special attention. They are really subjunctive-optative contaminating with the imperative-vo chalo na jāy-let him not be deceived. BYB. tuma mṛtakō se pūjya hova-let you be honoured by the mortals. PP. vah ādar sammān pāve-let him be honoured and respected. RC/Mss. etc.

(C)

The Imperative

16. There is no clear third person imperative in Hindi, and clear imperative appears with the second person only. The historical imperative cannot be used in the modal or conditional sense. The third person imperative (as well as the optative and the subjunctive) depends upon the context or on the intention of the speaker, which cannot be morphologically gathered. Simple imperative needs little-illustration. The various other remarkable features of the imperative are illustrated below.

17. Since the early strata of the language the negatives *na*, *nahī*, and the prohibitives *jin* and *mat* are used when implying the prohibition of the imperative (both in the present and the future). e.g. *vaiṣṇavana kau thāra kau mahāprasāda jina deva-* (you) do not distribute the 'mahāprasād' of this 'thāl' among these 'vaiṣṇavas'. CV. 167. *vā brāmaṇa kau mati utārau-do* not ferry this 'brāhmaṇ'. BYB. (Nanda Dās kī Vārtā). *rāma ke subhāva ke kathānaka kā ārambha kiyā tisakā tyāga na karanā-* do not discontinue the 'kathā' of Rām that you have commenced BYB. 3. *jagata ke kalyāna viṣai rāvaṇa se śighra hī kaho nyāya ko na ulaṅghe-for* the good of the creation ask Rāvaṇa not to traverse the justice. PP. 608. *jo bāt kisī kī akla mē na āve aur koī bāvar na kare vaisī bāt na kahiye-BP.* 11. *aur unase manah kiyā ki usakī kisī se na kahe-and* he charged that they should not tell of him to any one. NT. 8.30.168. *puni rājā kahyau, pāchalī bāt jin karau-again* the king said do not talk of the past incident. Sāj. 65.

18. What is generally regarded as the respectable imperative or honorific in Hindi, is historically related to the precative or optative form-*yā* and which becomes MIA-*ējja*, -*ijja*, Hindi-*ye* (and-*yo*). (Vide. ODBL. § 644.900). In Hindi the respectable or honorific imperative is really passive imperative in sense, but indicative-optative in form. e.g. *aura patra mē mauharana kī pahūca likhiye-and* write in the letter about the remittance of the money. CV. 37. *prathamānuyoga kahiye, uttama puruṣo kā kathana karaṇānuyoga kahiye tina loka kā kathana caraṇānuyoga kahiye, aṣṭa dravya sapta nava padārtha kahiye* PP. 906. *ab dayā kar śrī kṛṣṇāvatāra kī kathā kahiye-be* pleased to relate the anecdote of 'śrī kṛṣṇāvatār'. ps. 1.5.

19. The precative idiom is illustrated in the following :—*mujhī par dayā mayā karate rahiye-gā—*(I pray) you shall be bestowing mercy to me. PS. *merī sudhi lete rahiye-gā, RC/MSS.*

20. In the following the negative-*na* is used with the verbal noun in the injunctive sense-*dekho re bhāī strī jan kā viśvās na karanā-look* brothers? do not (never) believe a woman. NKP. *par mere us likhe ko mere mūh par na lānā-but* never

utter before me that which I have written (in the letter). RKK.9.

21. Sometimes, however ; the negative na is used with the indicative or with the simple imperative implying prohibition-e.g. dhanuṣ kâ todanā na samajhiyo-do not think of the breaking of the bow-(do not think it an easy task like that of the breaking of the bow). PS. XLIV. 76,

22. The -hu or -u imperative in the following is the survival of the archaic second person plural imperative-āpa merā aparādha kṣamā karahu-kindly pardon me for my offence. PP. 445. aru vāste rakṣā merī ke kachu ājñā karau-and for my protection (safety) command (your men). NR.TUB/MSS. cf. Koṣi manoj lajāvana hāre, sumukhi kahahu ko āhi tumhāre—Tulasī (Kavitā Kaumudī. page. 538). cita dai sunahu śyāma sundara chabi rati nāhī anuhārī-Sūrasāgara. 970, etc.

Abbreviations :

CV = Caurāsī Vaiṣṇavanakī Vārtā.

N.K = Nāsiketopā khyān

PS = Prem Sāgar.

NR.TUB = Nṛsingha Tāpanīya Upaniṣada Bhāṣā

RC = Rāma Carita.

RKK = Rānī Ket

ĀP = Ādipurāṇa.

BYB = Bhāṣā Yoga-Bāṣiṣṭha.

CCHVM = Canda Chanda Varṇana Kī Mahimā.

ODBL = Origin and Development of Bengali Language.

Slangs of the Underworld in West Bengal

Bhakti Prasad Mallik

Within the limited space of this paper an attempt has been made to outline the pattern of the Underworld language of West Bengal. The Underworld language embraces a vast field and offers scope for an elaborate study. Linguistic studies of the Underworld has so far remained neglected in India, although in the interest of linguistics, cultural anthropology and social history there is ample opportunity for research into this aspect of the language. The present discourse is restricted to the study of Cant and Slang prevalent amongst the various types of criminals and anti-socials of the present day.

Julian Franklyn says "Cant is for the purpose of hiding and slang by the young in years for the purpose of creating a humour and to be picturesque". He says again, "The evolution of slang words, or phrases, or systems of usage, is as mysterious as is that of standard language." They originated from the colloquial speeches, so their etymology is to be traced in colloquialism. The formative process of Cant and Slang may be of different types viz. ; 1. by change of meaning of a particular word ; 2. by naming a familiar word or phrase ; 3. by inventing a new order. Categories under 1 and 2 can be explained by semantic and etymological processes respectively.

The derivative sources of these Underworld usages are traced to the standard and dialectal forms of the Bengali and other Indian languages particularly Hindi. They have also their sources in some foreign languages but primarily in English. Indo-Aryan words are generally of the *tadbhava* type. Around a nuclear meaning a number of peripheral meanings may grow and they are used sometimes as sentence-word or phrase-word,

Cant has become the usage of the Underworld by a process of personal communications within their own fold and thus forms the basis of its learning. The users, having full regard to its secrecy, very often change the forms and their meanings, as soon as any apprehension is felt for being exposed to the outside world. Accordingly the modification or transformation of the terms are usually abrupt. Thus the sudden change is due to the display of certain psychic phenomenon namely fear or resistance and they may be of some meaning or other corresponding to the object. While these left off forms and expressions are often retained intact or deflected by the non-criminals or anti-social elements as Slangs.

Psychological treatment of the language is another important matter for study. It is observed that Slangs being of more humorous character than the Cants, have better influence than the latter. Further, it is observed that there is a close psychological affinity between the different criminals and anti-socials of the different parts of the world. I have, in support of this, put up some examples from a few foreign languages. Creative basis of linguistic innovations like analogy, shifting of meaning etc. has an approach from the individual psychosis leading to their subsequent transformation in the society. The same thing also takes place well in the field of the Slangs of the Underworld. Cants used by a gang of operators will explain the *modus operandi* of a specific crime.

Frequency of use are of much variations ; some expressions are of high frequency while others are of moderate or low frequency. Some of the words are in limited use, being restricted within a very few individuals only.

Of the Underworld vocables, phrases and idioms, some are in general use and often covered by the multilinguistic phases of the whole population. In some instances it will be found that a particular form has more than one meaning while certain expression are subjected to variable forms. Some of these forms are found to have their origin in this province while

others might have their roots of origin in the process of inter-state criminal operations.

There are three categories of Underworld forms those

1. originated in Bengal by Bengalis ;
2. originated in Bengal by non-Bengalis ;
3. brought in to Bengal by inter-state criminal operators.

Determination of actual seat of origin of the whole group of forms under the categories 2 and 3 are subject to extensive research on an All India basis.

Here are a few forms, words, phrases and sentences which are in common use by criminals in West Bengal. Mention is made of professional and linguistic communities.

Abbreviations

[Ar=Arabic. Beng./B=Bengali. c=cant. Eng./E=English. H=Hindi. n=noun. pl=plural. s.=slang. St. B. = Standard Bengali. U. W. = Underworld word/s. v.=verb. W. B.= West Bengal]

andherā, n.	darknight in the new moon : burglars' : H. contraction of meaning from 'darkness'. B. U. W. andhokar : do. indhār : do. i<a ; deliberate mutilation of a vowel. Used by the Oriyas. <andhār. cf. Eng. darks : night
āynā, n.	specks, cf. eye-glass, looking-glass : pick-pockets' : a case of semantic change. It is on the borderline between s. and c., but rather the latter than the former.
ākḥ, n.	specks : pickpockets' <ākḥ : eyes. ākheyā : eyes : rowdies' ; B. cf. Germ. Akh : do. obhisār āynā : seductive eyes. learned adoption cf. E. comehither eye : do. 2. ākh : a torch : H.
akhārā, n.	window breaking instrument : burglars', <ākḥrā : a place for physical culture with its instrumental equipments : burglars' ; B.

- āgun, n. cigarette lighter ; may originally have been c. but gradually became s. 2. danger : s. cf. E. fire : do.
- āggāl, ag (-) gal in front : pickpockets' agga < agra : front. aggale jāyke chop denā : go in front (and) create obstruction.
- āñul, n. ring 2. typewriter : burglars'
- āñli, n. pickpockets : H. cf. E. fingers : do. rowdies' : B.
- āṭkāno, v. to stare. ei khemaṭkel āmār dike āṭkācche : this man is staring at me. A transferred sense of Beng. āṭkāno : to obstruct. It is evolved from existing underworld form : āṭkā : park
- ātap, n. a widow ; s. Widows in India take sunned rice instead of boiled.
- āṭi, v. to create obstruction.
 <H. and B. : āṭ ; objection, curtain, shade. Used originally by Bengali but now adopted by the Hindi speakers also. āṭi denā : to create obstruction ; to divert attention. picchalse āṭide : obstruct from behind.
 2. to wink : by the process of semantic change. āṭiāneā : to stare at a girl.
 3. pilfering from a ship <Ar. 'arīyat : anything of which the proprietor allows others to partake.
- āroā, n; also in pl. hidden pocket (s) used by the thieves : H. pickpockets'. <aṭ : screen, shelter, prevention.
- uṭhāban an act of allurement for the purpose of cheating a person : gamblers' : H. <uṭhāno : to pick up ; to lift. uṭhāobāj : luggage lifter. cf. Eng. lifter, pickman : do. uṭhāubājābābu : a pimp. uṭhāi giā : one who has no

- residence : vagrants' cf. St B. *uṭhejāoā* : to be dislocated. *uṭhāigiro* : do. vagrants' and beggars'. *oṭhā* : room : burglars' cf. Germ. *absteige* : do.
- uṇḍā*, adj. a fair looking girl : pimps' ; used especially by the North Indian Muslims.
 <Ar. 'umda (h) : good ; noble.
- airanch*, n. steel almirah ; safe : burglars' : H. <Eng. iron. cf. Eng. *iron worker* : a specialist in robbing safes.
- āoāj*, n. knife : rowdies' : B. It is a police slang, indicates revolver but to the criminals it is a cant.
 2. *āoājdeā* : to haunt after girls.—*mārā* : indecent gesture, especially after girls.
- kak*, n. sputum. <kaph : phlegm ; cold. s : tramps'
- kac*, n. torch light. *kacersāmianā* : illumination from a torch : burglars'. <ṭac < torch. *kac* used by the Muslims of Bengal.
- kalam*, n. thin house-breaking instrument of smaller size : burglars' : B : having descriptive similarity with the pen.
- kallā*, n. stud (worn in shirt-front) 2. neckchain 3. neck 4. collar <Eng. collar : pickpockets' 5. 'Singer' sewing machine. <kal : machine 6. finger ; thieves' 7. ring. *kallāy māl āche* : there is stud in the collar or the shirt-front. *kallā bānāno* : to steal stud from collar. *kālodā* : stud. Connected with *kallā*
- kaṛi*, v. to shut up, to close up : rowdies' <H. *kaṛi* : chain
- katrān jāoā*, v. to run away. cf. Ar. *qitār* : coming and going. Originally used only by the Hindi

- speakers but now it is a common term to the criminals of W. Bengal.
- karkā, n. a want ; danger ; trouble : rowdies' and burglars' <kharcā : spending, expense.
- karcā, n. servant, especially a domestic one : burglars' <cākar : do. By syllabic metathesis. karcāni : maid servant <cākrāni : do.
- karmu, n. an associate ; an ordinary pickpocket : H. <karmī : worker.-*mu*-indicates ordinary and-*ru* stands for superior sense ; viz. *karru* 'leader' of a gang of pickpockets. cf. Eng. worker : a criminal especially a thief.
- kācci, n. silver ; imitation gold : c.>s. <kācā : raw. similarly, pakki : gold : c.>s. from the transferred sense of 'ripe'
- kājli chāi darknight : burglars' : H. <kajjal chādan : do.
- kāṭāri, n. pl. attractive eyes : B. kāṭeli : do : H. <kāṭākṣa : staring.
- kāṭāle, v. to talk : pimps' : H. it may be a shortened and distorted form of *kathā kaye ne* : have a talk
- kāpuruś, adj. an impotent : prostitutes'. A learned adoption.
- kālā, kāli, n. opium : drugtraffics'. cf. Eng. black silk, black smoke, black stuff : do 2. darknight : burglars' and dacoits' cf. Eng. black and white : to-night. 3. caṇḍu, a strong preparation from opium. kālācāḍ ; kālomānik : opium
- kāli billi, n. a taxi cab : burglars'. toron kare saodā lie kāli billite phuṭe jao : break open (rob of) goods (and) run away in a taxi. cf. E. wild cat : an unlicensed cab.

kālu, n.	one who prepares burglary instruments : burglars'. <kāloār : a blacksmith ; a hardware merchant. kālur kāche gāmchā sāptās : prepare house-breaking instrument from a blacksmith.
kāṭi, kṣṭi, n.	a false key : burglars' <cābikāṭi : key 2. cartridge : rowdies' : abbreviation of Eng. cartridge. 3. match : s. shortening of deślāikāṭi (match stick) 4. bidi : s. connected with an associated object. 5. knife. <kāṭā : to cut. cf. Eng. sticker : knife 6. arrest <Eng. cut off. kāṭir gāṭi ; a police van. Associated with 'cut off'.
kākan, n. pl.	handcuffs : convicts' : B. Learned borrowing cf. E. bracelets : do.
kāṭā, n.	police sergeant. 2. v. to hide. ṭhokare kāṭā holum : (I) concealed inside the shoe. kāṭay thākā : conviction. cf. Eng. pin : to arrest (a person)
kicāin, v.	to expose ; to make hue-and-cry : s : onomatopoeic.
kupīā, n.	prison cell : convicts' : H. <kupi : small oil-pot ; casket ; can. cf. Eng. can : do.
kulphi, n.	burglar <kulpi karā : to hide, connected with kulpi barap : icecream in a tin or cup. cf. E. on ice : (of a criminal) in hiding.
kulsi, v.	to be out for theft. Connected with 'kulphi'
kodān, n.	a shop. <dokān : do : a case of metathesis.
kharcā, n.	arrest : B. transferred sense of 'expense'.
khaṛpā, n. pl.	sandal slippers. <khaṛampā : wearing wooden slipper. 2. door and window : burglars' <khaṛkhaṛi : window shutters.
khāṭiā, v.	to murder : rowdies' : B. <khatam : end ; finish. khatamkarā : to kill or may be from the sense of a cot for carrying a deadbody.

khāṭṭās, n.	typewriter : 'thieves' : B. onomatopoetic.
khābbis, n.	old woman. <khābis/khābis : irritated and angry.
khābbus, n	prison meals : convicts' : H. <khānā : meal 2. food for a prostitute's petman. khābbus karā. to eat. 3. a packet of hemp.
khārā kār	eavesdropper : burglars' : B. cf. Eng. big ear : do.
khārelā	a person who is standing in an uncongested place and on whom an attempt will be made : pickpockets' and snatchers'. khārā : to stand alone. rahelā khārelā dhur : a standing person. dhur khārelā, bharle : a person is standing, (so) snatch (him). khārite saodā bāniye ne : to pick pocket or snatch when (a person) is standing.
khilli khāoā	to laugh : s. : Idiomatic use. cf. St.B. khil khil : sound of laugh. Onomatopoetic use. khilli ler (h) a : the proper sense is "when a girl laughs with the motive of attracting a man"
khukri, n.	instrument for opening the door. khukri die cāe mārā : to break the hinges by the breaking instruments.
khume neā, v.	to take food. <mukh : mouth. khūpe neyā : do. khōpā : mouth. khamā, khomā : face. khumbā : to eat. lido khumbā : to eat. lido khumbo : I shall drink wine : drugaddicts' : B. khōmā ēke ne : mark the face. khomā chappar deā : to cover the face. khamālilā : a known face. khomāri : food : convicts'.
khecki, n.	small coins. <rejki : do. naykā cākāy kheckibāj : apprentice pick-pocket in a tram or bus for (picking up) small coins,

- gaccā, n. arrest. <gacchit : deposited ; placed in one's custody. gaccā khāgeā : has been arrested.
- gaj, n. hundred rupee note. gajer pāttā,—pātti : do. ādhā gaj : rupees fifty only. 2. knife <gajkāṭi : measuring scale, generally of one foot ; a measuring unit. 3. dagger. gaj camkāno : touching the body with the knife to frighten a person. 4. revolver
- ganjām, n. disruption within the gang. <bāṅgām : affray, riot.
- gābbā, n. room ; house : burglars'. 2 illicit liquorshop. <ḍābbā : tuḥ, pan etc.
 gabbā jhere āsā : to survey the place of theft.
 gabbābāj : burglar. gabbābāji : burglary.
 gabbābharā : to rent a room for the purpose of gambling. gabbār billi : one who is pressed in through a closed door or window for thieving.
 gabbātor : abortion : rowdies'.
 gabbāy pelā : to hide. gabbāy pil jao : enter within the room or house.
 āmi gabbāy helechilum : I entered the room.
 pil and helā for 'to enter' but the former is used for the 2nd. and 3rd. persons while the later always stands for the 1st person.
- galtā, n. a narrow thoroughfare ; an alley.
 galtāmār : entering an alley.
 2. criminal's den. <galāno : to make enter.
 Rohimer galtāy Sāhā thek nicce : Saba is attending Rahim's den.
 3. galtā : side pocket. galtā bharā : to pick up small coins from side pocket. : pick-pocket's.
- gāḍḍākhānnā, n. poor : H. <gāḍḍā : small hole. <khānā : do. Descriptive similarity of the use. cf. E. be box in ; in a or the hole : ḍo,

gālā, n.	bangle : snatchers' <bālā : do. du ḍajon gālā : two bangles.
gālā, n.	a guarded room. <garta : cavity.
gābhāk,	a prostitute's patron : pimps' : H. <grāhak : customer.
gāiā, gāippā	waist. 2. long cotton bag tied around the waist ; belt purse. 3 particular belt zone used for concealing money. <gāt, gāit : knot, tie. cf. colloquial B. tæk.
gilli, n.	fountain pen. <gelā : to devour ; to swallow.
gumcākkā, n.	a private car. <gopan : private. Any type of vehicle is a cākka, it may be train, tram, bus or small automobile.
gulguliā, n.	bomb : rowdies'. <guli : cartridge
gulḍug, n.	a dog : s. <E. bull dog.
gecure, n.	gardener : s. <gāch : tree.
gedā, n.	bomb : Bengali Muslims'. <√gādā : to fill
genā, n.	bomb <√gedā : to fill
gothni, n.	a sister : eunuchs'. <goṣṭhī : lineage ; kin.
gæn, n.	a prostitute. gænbhæn : prostitute quarters. Connected U. W. gināi : wine.
gaynā, gaunā, ganā, n.	a hidden cavity inside the throat : pick pockets'. <gahan : deep. gaunā par lāgāle : keep inside the cavity in the throat.
	2. bomb. Connected U.W. gan : inside pocket of a coat. ganbāj : inside-pocket picker.
ghaṭok, n.	broker engaged in selling girls for immoral traffic ; girl-hunters : pimps' : c > s <match-maker. cf. Germ. Ammenmacher : girl-hunters.
gharbandho	a prostitute when attending a visitor : s. ; prostitutes'.

ghaṛi, n.	wheel cap of a car ; car-thieves'.
ghāṭi, n.	a site for a proposed burglary. <sense of centre.
ghurippā, v.	to move about ; to loiter. <ghorā : do.
ghurni, n.	electric fan : B.
ghuṛi, n.	a letter : convicts'. ghuṛi orāno : to pass a letter outside the prison. cf. E. kite : do.
ghorāno, v.	to steal. <sarāno : to remove. cākā ghorāno : to steal a car or cycle.
ghorkā, n.	room <ghar : do. Used by the Dravidian burglars.
ghōṭ, v.	to swallow anything to avoid detection. <ḡhōk : do.
gheuā, n.	a dog. : H. : onomatopoetic. cf. E. barker : dog
cakmā, v.	to bluff. c.>s.<camkāno : startled.
cagmā, n.	wristwatch. burglars' and pickpockets'. Connected with cakmā. cagmā jiniś : a dangerous thing. Used with a different connotation, e. g. cagmā jāyḡā : Calcutta Police Head quarters at Lalbazar.
caḡḡā, coḡḡā, n.	a burglar. Used by the Muslims coming from East Bengal. cor+ṭā (the thief) >cor+ḡā> coḡḡā or it may be from caṛā> caḡḡā. caṛāibāj : cat burglar <caṛā : to climb.
cappoki, n.	hidings. H. Onomatopoetic use.
campalu, n.	a pickpocket. B. c >s. <campat : slip off.
caṛāibāj, n.	well-dressed person. s. <carāno : with the sense of dressing.
calti, v.	to disperse the mob by throwing a gasbomb. Used by the robbers of W. B. <cause to quit,

calbāj, n.	old shoelifter. H. Here shoes stand for walking.
cākāllās	majlis; merry-making: s. Beng. May be from cakrākār+ullās or cāk bēdhe ullās: revelry.
cāplā, n.	an associate: burglars'. H. <cāpo: going together.
cāmar, cāmor	good looking. cāmorca ⁴ mā: good looking or new shoes. 2. good looking or fair girl, usually from fifteen to nineteen years old. c.>s.<white. cf. Eng. bleached mort: do.
cāmā, n.	bribe. khocarko kuch cāmā de: give some money to the police. 2. stealing of luggage 3. a share from the customer of a prostitute: The last one is pimps'. cāmāno: to pass stolen money. <kāmāno: to earn.
cālu	theft committed quickly. 2. long term imprisonment: convicts'. Indicating clever and active sense.
ciṭ, n	blade <scrap 2. caṇḍu, a preparation from hemp. <caṭcaṭe, ciṭciṭe: sticky.
ciṭṭā, n	a person visiting a brothel only to be amused in the association of girls. <ciṭ lāgā: to be intoxicated. cf. ānondokarā: to enjoy the non-mating association of girls. 2. money 3. blade.
cauāni kamti	eunuch. H. <joyāni: vigour
chaṭṇāi, n	shoes: burglars'. <choṭā: to run
chalāno, v	to speak: s. rowdies'. bilā chalāsnā: don't talk nonsense. <balā: to say.
challā, n	necklace, ornaments, ring. It is after the analogy of kallā. 2. teenaged girl <chūrī: a vulgar term for a young girl.

chāpā, n	postal stamp : cheats' : Beng. Connected with the sense of <i>stamped</i> . 2. buttock : s. <pāchā : do. It is a case of syllabic metathesis. 3. a woman. Here part 'pāchā' stands for the whole. chāpāi : hip pocket. pickpockets'. <pāchāi : at the hip region.
chābā, n	a boy, an agent for sodomy, aging from fourteen to eighteen. cf. E. birdie, baby : do. chābābāj : a sodomite. cf. E. bird-taker : do. chābki : a young girl, also a school or college girl behaving coquettishly. 2. a girl friend. s. Beng. chābkibāj : one who follows or teases a girl. chāmi, chābi : teenaged girl upto fourteen. Connected with chābā are chābki. chāmiā : a smart girl. H.
chārpokā, n	fiftynaye paise. Indicating diminutive money unit.
chiltar, n	snatcher <chintāi : snatching.
cheṭki, n	cartridge. rowdies'. Beng. <chaṭrā : do. *

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* I am indebted to the prison and the police authorities for allowing me to interrogate a number of convicts and persons remanded to their custody.

Dravidic-Indo-Aryan Parallel Words

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Borrowed words in Indo-Aryan fall into two categories : 1. Indian & 2. Extra-Indian. Words of extra-Indian origin began their invasions right from the Old-Indo-Aryan times. They came from the languages of people with whom the Aryans came into touch like the Chinese, Greek, Persian, Arabs etc. For historical reasons Persian made another subsequent inroad to our New Indo-Aryan languages.

Loan-words from Indian languages other than Indo-Aryan were almost inevitable acquisitions from speakers with whom the Aryans commingled. Though non-Aryans, they became part and parcel of Aryandom in a fusion of race, language and culture whence the composite Indian nation came into being. These Indian languages belong to the following language families :—

1. Dravidian, 2. Austric, 3. Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto Chinese. Of these, the Dravidian has, perhaps, contributed vitally, the Austric or Kolarian speeches also have not inconsiderable share, while the Sino-Tibetan did not offer any very substantial amount save to a little extent to Assamese and some North-Eastern dialects of Bengali. I propose to deal with some likely Dravidic elements in Indo-Aryan.

[A] Sanskrit-Tamil-Equations :—

The following word-studies have been based on Monier-Williams' Sanskrit English Dictionary for words lacking in Indo-European derivation, while Tamil words have been collected from the excellent Tamil Lexicon of Madras University, supplemented and supported by corresponding examples, whenever possible, from other Dravidian speeches particularly from Kittel's Kannaḍa Dictionary which very fully discusses Dravidic borrowed elements in Sanskrit. The possible Dravidic

origin of the following words have been tentatively advanced which, it is hoped, may lead up to a more detailed and systematic investigation that alone can postulate the provenance with definite conviction. (Ta=Tamil, Te=Telugu, K=Kannada, M=Malayalam, Tu=Tulu, To=Today).

kaṅkata, kaṅkatikā : comb, cf. Ta. kaṅkam, kaṅkatakam ; M. kaṅgadam, k. kaṅkata—all denoting comb. (Beng. kākai, Hindi, kaṅghi (the aspiration is of interest), cf. Skt. jambh—.

kaṅkāla : skeleton cf. Ta. kaṅkālam, but Mod. Greek *κωκκαλον*.

kangu (ni) : a kind of Panic seed forming an article of food for the poor, cf. Ta. kaṅku. black millet, *Panicum Indicum*.

kacākn : ill-disposed, wicked ; intolerable ; difficult to be attained, cf. Ta & Te. kacaku—be unwilling, reluctant, have misgivings, show hesitancy.

kacu, kacvi : plant with a bulbous, esculent root. cf. Ta. kacavu, Te. kasavu, k. kasa, also Tamil, kaccu, kacā : garden let tuce (Beng. kacu).

kacca : hem or end of a lower garment tucked into the girdle or waist-band, cf. Ta. kaccam, the end piece of a garment, kaccatṭam, folds in the garments of a Hindu (Beng. kāchā) strip of cloth worn over a man's private parts. (The same, root also conveys a particular part of : a tortoise whence (cf. Beng. kāṭhā—big tortoise) kaccapa treated below. Also cf. Skt, kakṣa>MIA. kakkha> (Beng. kākḥ) with its variants kacc(h)a.

kacchapa : tortoise, turtle. cf. Ta. kaccaṇ, kaccam, kaccapam—ibid. Ta. kaccap—k—kaṭṭay—tortoise-shell. Skt. kamathā, kamathi-kūṭa.

- kaccu : itch, scab. cf. Ta. kaccai, scar, cicatrice (E. Beng. khāusāna) Beng. khoṣ : a kind of excessively itchy sore.
- kañcuka : a close fitting dress for upper part of the body ; armour, mail ; bodice. cf. Ta. kaccu, Te kaccu, kurukh-gujji : a coat of mail, a kind of corset.
- kañjaka : with variants kañjana, kañjala, and aspirated khañjana—a kind of bird, Gracula Religiosa. cf. Ta. kañcaṇam—king crow, pied wagtail.
- kaṭa : to surround, encompass, cover or screen, Ta. kāt-ibid (See below).
- kaṭa, kaṭ : to go ; a twist of straw or grass ; temples of an elephant ; (at the end of some compounds) much, excessive ; a corpse ; a bier, bed, place where dead bodies are burnt or buried. These varied meanings conveniently centre round two simple phonemes 'k' & 't'. cf. Ta. kaṭa, Te. kada (tsu), Ma. kāda, Tu. kaḍa : to pass through, traverse, cross, proceed, pass (time, cloud). Ta. Kaṭa : to exceed. excel, surpass, transcend ; kaṭṭaṇam, Ka. kaṭṭaṇa ; building (Skt. pra-koṣṭha, Beng. koṭhā, Hindi koṭhri), doolie, litter, bier. Ta. kaṭam, a corpse, burning or burial ground ; elephant's temple.
- kaṭaka : string ; ornamental ring on elephant's task (cf. Beng. kaḍā) ; bracelet of gold or shell etc. ; link of a chain ; side or ridge of a hill, house or dwelling, circle, zone ; metropolis ; army. (cf. Oriya 'kaṭaka'). Ta. kaṭam : rope ; kaṭakam, kaṭayan : armlet, circle, ring, shield ; army ; fortified wall ; mountain side or ridge of a hill, troops of elephants. Also Ta. kaṭṭakan : artistic design ; decoration,

- kaṭakola : vessel, spittoon. cf. Ta. kaṭakal, bucket, cylindrical vessel. (Hindi kaṭorā), Can ghaṭa (Beng. ghaṭā) be cognate ?
- kaṭaṅkata (also kaṭakaṭa and kaṭaṅka) : an epithet of Śiva or Gaṇeśa. cf. Ta. kaṭṭataṅka : elephant's temple ; kaṭṭankam : battle-axe of Śiva ; kaṭṭaṅkan : Śiva who carries a battle-axe.
- kaṭaṅkaterī : turmeric. cf. Ta. kaṭam : turmeric & kateri ; tree turmeric. An example of polyglottism is met with in the Sanskrit translation—compound 'kaṅketerī' meaning 'turmeric'.
- kaṭana : roof or thatch of a house. The Dravidian kaṭ/kuṭ—base has yielded many words relating to 'abode', 'house'—some of which have been discussed above. cf. also Ta. kaṭakāl : excavated space for the foundation of a building ; kaṭampu—household, family relations, kuṭi (kai), kuṭical, kuṭicai &c., with congeneric Sanskrit words kuṭa—, kuṭīra, kuṭikā, kuṭuṅgaka, kuṭumba (relatives), kuḍya. Hindi koṭhī, Beng. kuṭhi, kūḍe (with spontaneous nasalisation which, incidentally, has nasalised kūḍe—idle, by analogy).
- kaṭambarā : a medicinal plant ; also kaṭu-rohiṇī [cf. Ta. kaṭuro (ki) ni] : Helleforus Niger. cf. Ta. kaṭu-maram : medicinal Chebulic Myrobalam, Strychnine tree. Ta. kaṭar-koṭi (Skt. kaṭu, bitter)—a bitter medicinal herb. Perhaps we have here in the Skt.—barā, the Dravidian √ver=root ? Also cf. Skt. kṛkarā : long pepper with Ta & Te kākari-ibid.
- kaṭāha : frying pan ; young female buffalo whose horns are just appearing. So also kaṭāka—pan, pot. cf. Ta. kaṭāy. Ka. kaḍāyi. Te. kaṭāram : cauldron. Ta. kaṭākam : brass boiler. Tu. kaṭā : shallow iron boiler (Beng. 'cāṭu' by

- palatalisation?); young he-buffalo : Beng. (dialectal) *kāḍā*, he-buffalo. Ma. *kidāvu*, Ta. *kaṭā-k-kanru*, the last element almost echoing the dialectical Bengali form.
- kaṭu* : pungent, bitter ; disagreeable ; fierce ; hot, envious ; sharp. cf. Ta. *kaṭu*, Ma. *kaḍu* : throb as from a sting, venomous bite, to ache be highly seasoned, pungent, be angry, poison, bitterness ; thorn—all emanating from the idea of something 'unpleasant' ; cf. the reduplicated form *kaṭu-kaṭu*, as well as *kaṭukam*, *kaṭuka*. Ma. *kaḍuhu* : Indian mustard (Hindi *kaḍuā* tel-mustard oil). In Dravidian 'kaṭu' also means 'to detest', abhor, dislike in its basic sense, taken over by Sanskrit, cf. Beng. *kaḍā*-strong, pungent and its palatalised variant *caḍā*.
- kaṭola* : pungent flavour ; man of an inferior and degraded tribe.
- kaṭvara* : despised. Ta. *kaṭai*, Te. & Ma. *kaḍa*, Ka. & Tu. *kaḍe*, all signifying a degraded person, man of low caste.
- kaṭṭāra* : a weapon, a dagger. cf. Ta. *kaṭṭāri*. Te. *kaṭāri* : cross-hilted dagger. Also Trident of Śiva, New Indo-Aryan *kātāri*, *kātān*, $\sqrt{\text{kaṭ}}$ (to cut). Prakritism $\sqrt{\text{kaṭṭ}}$ has perhaps been Sanskritised into $\sqrt{\text{kart}}$, though we have Slavonic *kartus* (Lithuanian) in the sense of 'cutting.' (cf. Hemacandra's *Deśināmamālā-kaṭṭāri*-a knife : II. 4. cf. Skt. $\sqrt{\text{kṛt}}$)
- kaṭhina* : hard, stiff, inflexible, violent ; an earthen vessel for cooking. cf. Ta. *kaṭṭnam*, hardness, firmness, cruelty ; difficulty. Incidentally we may note the Greek *kóphivos* and Latin *catinum* in the same sense,

- kaṭhera** : a needy or distressed man, a pauper. cf. Ta. kaṭṭar-unfortunate man destined to suffer.
- kaṭhora, kaṭhola** : hard, solid, stiff, cruel, severe (also kaṭhina q. v.) cf. Ta. kaṭuran : hardness, severity, solidity, cruelty. Often, we may note in passing, the Dravidian counterpart happens to be a noun in a more or less abstraction whereas OIA goes in more for the qualitative adjective, as can be seen also in 'kaṭhina' above. Can this be an indication of the mental characteristic of their speakers?
- kambula** : name of the eighth Yoga. Ta. Ibid. But according to Monier-Williams <Arabic qabl.
- kam** : (not used in the conjugational tenses) : to wish, desire, love, have sexual intercourse with. cf. Ta. kāṅkai. Te. kāka. Ka. kaṅke : heat, feverishness, pyrexia. Ta. kāṅkicai : desire <skt. (ā) kāṅkṣā : yearning, longing.
- {kakud(a)** : peak or summit, hump on bull.
{kakubh : peak, region or quarter as east, west etc.
{kakubhā (Vedic) : Terminalia Arjuna. Cf. Ta. kakuttu : hump, kakupam : Terminalia tomentosa ; region, any of the eight points of the compass. (We may note, however, Latin cacūmen <*cacud-men).
- kakkaṭa (Vedic)** : a species of animal, a kind of bird. Cf Ta. kākaturan, Ma. kakatuva : cockatoo. also obtaining in many languages. There is a strong suspicion of onomatopoetic origin for the word.
- kaṅka** : a heron (a bird of prey ?) cf. Ta. kaṅkaṇam. Te. kaṅkaṇamu, kaṅka, a water fowl. Ta. kaṅkam, kaṅku : eagle, common kite. Also Skt. kaṅkeru : a kind of crow. (Beng. kāk. Can 'kāk' be a de-nasalised variant rather than an echo-word of the bird's cry ?)

[B] **Some Dravidian Suspects in NIA. vocabulary :**

Ta. *kacakku*. Ma. *kaśakku* : to rub ; soften as cow's udder ; squeeze as lemon. Beng. *ghasā* (Skt. *gharṣaṇa*), *ghasāṇa*, *ghasṭāna* ; *kac(h)lāna*—all conveying 'rubbing', squeezing. Also Ta. *kacakkal* : crushing, bruising between the fingers or hands.

Ta. *kaccal*—*āṭṭam* : strife, quarrel. Beng. *kacāl* : quarrel ; *kac-kaci*.

Ta. *kaccal*. Ka. *kacca* : very tender, unripe or green fruit. I-Ar. *kācā* (Beng.), *kaccā* (Hindi), *kañcā* (Oriya) etc. green ; raw.

Ta. *kaca* : to taste bitter. Beng. *kaṣā*, Skt. *kaṣāya*, Pali *kasaṭa* : bitter, acrid.

Ta. *kaçaṭan* : base, wicked, low minded, Beng. *kucuṭe*. Also we have Ta. *kaccatā* < *kaccara* : baseness, meanness, knavery. One is tempted to connect it with NIA. *kaccara*, *khacḍā* (slang for a wicked fellow).

Dr. *āḍam* : depth (< '√*āḍ* : to be deep) ; land ; cf. *malayaḷam*, *malayāṭan* (Skt. *malaya* < Dr. *mala*-mountain, Ma. & Ta. *malei*) where *āḷam/āṭma* > *āl* = to possess ; mountain region. cf. Beng. *āḍā* meaning both 'depth of water' as well as 'land' and opposed to water.

Ta. *cilai*, Ma. *cilikka*, Te. *celāgu*, Ka. *kele*, *sele* : to sound, roar, noise. cf. Beng. *cellāna*-to shout out loudly and noisily.

Ta. *kuruṭi* : blindness ; *kuruṭan* : blindman, *kuruṭi* : blind-woman, Tu. *kuruṭe* : blind. cf. Beng. *kuruṭe*, in the translation-compound *kānā-kuruṭe* totally blind.

Ta. *kōṟu* : bud ; *kōṟa* : first sprout ; *koṟgari*, Beng. *kūḍi* : bud, *koḍā*-tender sprout of bamboo. (cf. Skt. *kuṭmala*-bud). Within the same base-formation we have Ta. *kuḷai* : tender, leaf, sprout ; to shoot, *koḷuntu* : tender twig,

- tendril; koḷumat=freshness as of shoots. cf. Skt. Beng. kali (kā) : tender twig or shoot of plants.
- Ta. kaḷul : to be agitated, turbid; Kaḷuli : puddle. cf. Skt. kaluṣa, Beng. ghol (ā) < Skt. ghora, turbid.
- Ta. kaḷavu : deception; kalla : deceit. cf. Beng. kal(l)ā, chalā-kalā :—deceptive gestures. But are *chalā*, *chalanā* variants thereof?
- Ta. kīru : to slit, tear, scratch, cut. Te. cīru : to slice, Ma. kiru, Ka. rind, Gondī, kīr : wound (Mtlso : kithre : to split, Tu kīru : split wood-reminding one of Skt. kuṭhāra : are) Ta—kuni : to split, scratch. We have roots like cirā, cerā : to split, ciḍ : a rift, split, korā—to scratch out kernel of fruits, kuruni, instrument for scratching out in Bengali. Can the word ciruṃi, comb, be a cognate word?
- Ta. koḍa : hallow vessel. Cf. Beng. kēḍe, hollow vessel, The Dravidian root kuḷ, be hollow, Burrow says, has given a family of words : Dr. kuṇḍa : a hole in the ground, pit; pond; pot, pitcher. Also koṇḍa, guṇḍi; hole, pit of the stomach. cf. Skt. kuṇḍa : well, pit, hallow; nābhi-kuṇḍa, navel. Beng. gōḍ navel, the companion words kōḍ, kūḍi going with hāḍi and bhāḍ : pot, cf. Hindi kulhā, pot.

Undoubtedly most of the borrowed elements appertain to objects which the Aryans first came across on the soil of India and for which naturally they had no designations in their speech. Many place-names are of indigenous origin as well. Bengali *pāḍā* < Skt. *pallī*, signifying a particular quarter of a community', the word-hāṭi in place names like nai-hāṭi, kāmār-hāṭi—I do not know if they have anything to do with *hāṭa*(ka) : market (place); the word paṭṭi also denoting 'a section or quarter' as in *Sindurā-paṭṭi* in Calcutta, *Śākhāripaṭṭi* at Dacca have

Dravidic equivalents in Ta. *peḍu* as suffix to village names, *petti*, a suburb; *pāḍus*, *pāḍi* a place, settlement: *√paḍes*, settle down; *poṭṭi*: a ford for a cattle, a pound; a small village; Ka. *haṭṭi*, eg. *Dimhatty* area.

I close with a note of warning, however, that in our quest of borrowings the path is set with various pitfalls. The mere identical look and ring of words do not, by any means, convey the true etymology, and since the Aryan-Dravidian inter-change was natural it is difficult, unless fully substantiated by scientific linguistic tests to pronounce any ultimatum in a branch of knowledge like philology which, after all, being a human science, is subject to vagaries.

Compound Verbs in Jaisi's Padmāvata*

Ramesh Mathur

The evolution and establishment of compound verbs is a distinct characteristic of the New Indo-Aryan languages. The present frequent use of the compound verbs can easily be traced back to the earlier stages of the development of the NIA languages. The language of 'Padmāvata', composed in the early 16th century, by Malik Muhammad Jāisī, a well known Sufi poet, definitely contributes to the historical study of the compound verbs in the NIA languages. The Old Kosali language of 'Ukti-Vyakti-Prakaraṇa' (UVP) by Paṇḍita Dāmodara, belonging to the first half of the 12th century, has the rudimentary elements of compound verbs such as karaṇa cāha 12/26 'wishes to do', lai-lai palā 11/18 'ran away with' etc. (See UVP Linguistic study by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, P. 66). Awadhī, the language of Jāisī's Padmāvata, is also belonging to the same lineage of Old Kosali language of UVP. But during the intermediary period the language had brought large variety of compound verbs under its fold.

The compound verbs are formed by combining two, sometimes more than two verbs. One member of the compound verb communicates the main idea and the other functions as an auxiliary, to modify the nature of the action or state. Though the second member of the compound usually has its independent semantic value in the language, but in a compound verb it merges its identity, completely or partially, with the main verb and so "the two parts combined, form one idea" as so appropriately being put by Dr. S. K. Chatterji, in Origin and Development of Bengali Language, p. 1049.

The numerical strength of the subsidiary verbs, found in Padmāvata, is restricted but it has enriched the language in

* Examples are from, 'Padmāvata' by Śrī Vāsudeva Śaraṇa Agarawāla's edition.

expression and has provided an alternative to the fast dying out inflected conjugation pattern of Old Indo-Aryan language. The subsidiary verbs used in the text, with the main verbs, express various aspects of an action or state such as Intensive, Completive, Potential, Desiderative, Inceptive, Permissive, Progressive, Statical etc. The following are the verbs used as subsidiary verbs to form compound verbs :— āba 'to come', uṭhaba 'to rise', calaba 'to move', cahaba or cāhaba 'to wish', jāba 'to go', dēba 'to give', parabā 'to fall', pāra-ba 'to be able to', pāvaba 'to obtain, to be allowed to, to be able to', baiṭhaba 'to sit', rahaba 'to remain, to live', rākhaba 'to keep', lāgaba 'to begin, to appear', lēba 'to take', sakaba 'to be able to'.

These subsidiary verbs are combined with the main verbs, which are either in the absolutive participle form or in the infinitive form or in the participle form and accordingly these may be divided into the following four classes :—

(1) The main verb in the absolutive participle form e. g. cali āī 'came down', uṛi gā 'flew away'.

(2) The main verb in the infinitive form e. g. dēkhaī lāgē 'began to look', jarai lāgā 'began to burn'.

(3) The main verb in the present participle form e. g. pukārata rahī 'kept on crying', jarata rahai 'keeps on burning'.

(4) The main verb in the past participle form e. g. caṭhā āvai 'he is advancing', calī āvabī 'they have come along'.

These four types of the main verbs, in combination with the subsidiary verbs, modify their significance into the following aspects :—

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| A. Intensive and Completive. | F. Desiderative. |
| B. Abilitive or Potential. | G. Continuative, |
| C. Inceptive. | H. Progressive. |
| D. Permissive. | I. Statical. |
| E. Acquisitive. | J. Proximative (i. e. |
| | imminent futurity). |

(A) Intensive and Completive aspect is expressed by compounding one of the subsidiary verbs, with the main verb, which is found to be in the absolutive participle form, which is identical

with its root form. The subsidiary verbs found used are as follows :

- A. 1. āba 'to come', partially retains its own meaning, while showing completive as well as intensive aspect e.g. jaba lagi rājā chūṭa na āvā 618/3 'until the king is released', saravara sāvari haṃsa cali āē 347/6 'remembering the lake, swans have come down', utari āu 371/1 'come down' nisari āē 607/3 'came out'.
- A. 2. uṭhaba 'to rise', expresses suddenness of an action e.g., uṭhā rōi hā gyāna so khōvā 121/2 'he wept out, "Alas, I have lost the knowledge", jāgi uṭhiū 197/9 'I woke up', uṭhā jari 489/1 'blazed up i. e. got angry'.
- A. 3. jāba 'to go', indicates completion with intensive aspect. It is very frequently found in our text e.g., dui ghaṭa mili ēkai hoi jāhī 339/7 'as two hearts, having united, become one', khāi gā 262/8 'has eaten up', chapī gā 283/5 'has hidden' cali gaeu 455/4 'went away', baiṭhi gaeu 497/9 'sat down', lai jāū 626/7 'I take away'.
- A. 4. dēba 'to give', denotes completion of an action 'for some one else' e.g., kahi kai suai chāṇi dai pātī 230/1 'having said this, the parrot unfastened the letter', aratha daraba saba dēi bahāi 320/5 'he throws away all his wealth and property', jarāi dīnha 335/6 'burnt down', chaṇi dēū 533/7 'I will give up'.
- A. 5. paraba 'to fall', expresses 'suddenness or chance', e. g., cahū khāḍa chiṭaki parī vaha āgī 365/5 'that fire spread (suddenly) in all the four quarters', uṇi paraū 366/7 'I fly away', samujhi parā 398/5 'it appeared'.
- A. 6. baiṭhaba 'to sit', pure intensive, very rarely used, e.g., kāvala mājha janū kēsari dīṭhi/jōbana huta so gāvāi baṭhī 322/7 'She appeared pale like the filament in the centre of a lotus, she has lost the youth she once had'.
- A. 7. lēba 'to take', denotes completive aspect also, e.g., māgi lēhu kachū bhikbyā khēli anata kahū hōhu 218/9

'Ask for some alms and go roving elsewhere', *kāpi kāpi maraũ lēhi hari jū* 454/4 'I am dying from shivering, it takes away my life' (note the invert order), *bhari mūha līnhā* 494/7 'has filled up (his) mouth', *lēhi kārhi* 631/6 'drag out' (inverted order).

(B) Abilitive or Potential compound verbs are formed by adding, *pāra* 'to be able', *pāvā* 'to be able' and *sakā* 'to be able' as subsidiary verbs to the absolutive participle form, used as the main verb. The abilitive aspect is also expressed by the subsidiary verb *jā* 'to go', when combined with the past participle form. It forms a kind of impersonal passive.

- B. 1. *para* 'to be able' e.g., *ghaṭatahi ghaṭata khīna bhā kahai na pāraũ kāhu* 172/9 'I have been consumed by gradual wasting, I cannot tell anyone', *puni kata mīcu, ko mārai pāra* 216/6 'What is death to him? Who can slay him', *sahai na pāra* 439/6 'could not bear', *mēṭai pāra* 537/7 'could efface', *gahai na pāre* 590/7 'They could not hold him'.
- B. 2. *pāvā* 'to be able', e.g., *camdana rahai na pāvai saṃgā* 337/4 'The sandal paste cannot remain with them', *pāvē hēri* 256/9 (inverted form) 'able to search', *āchari jahā Ṛndra pai rāvā/auru jo sunai na dekhai pāvā* 489/5 'Where nymphs are, only Indra may enter there, and if anyone could hear about her but could not see her'.
- B. 3. *sakā* 'to be able', occurs very frequently, e.g., *u hai sāvāri sakai asa rājā* 48/2 'only such a king can decorate it', *sahi na sakahu* 323/3 'you cannot bear', *sakesi na sātha nibāhi* 401/8 'He could not endure company', *dekhi na sakai* 464/4 'She cannot see', *chui sakai* 480/9 'can touch', *pahūci na sakā* 572/6 'could not reach'.
- B. 4. *jā* 'to go', denotes ability to do an act, e.g., *hēri na jāi* 16/6 'cannot be seen', *sahi na jāi* 172/2 'cannot be borne', *kahi na jāi biraha kai jhārā* 365/3. 'The sorrow of separation cannot be described in words', *jāhi na kārhe* 444/7 'could not be withdrawn', *mēṭi na jāi kālā kī*

gharī 646/2 'The hour of the fate cannot be effaced (cancelled)'.

- B. 5. āba 'to come', similar sense is expressed, e.g.,
 pahiri jarāū ṭhāṭhi bhau barani na āvai bhāu 297/8
 'Having put on, bejewelled ornaments she was standing
 and the style of her pose cannot be described.'

(C) Inceptive compound verbs are formed with the help of the subsidiary verbs lāgaba 'to begin' and calaba 'to move', which is combined with a main verb in the infinitive form in -ai, which is usually an inflected form, e.g.,

- C. 1. lāgaba 'to begin to...' e.g., sakala dēvatā dēkhaī lāgē 190/2 'All the dieties began to look', jarai haū lāgā 206/7 'I began to burn', bināu karahī rājā saū lāgē 276/2 (intervened by many words) 'began to make requests to the king', bujhāvai lāgi 403/1 'began to comfort', lāgē marai 632/3 (inverted form) 'They began to die'.

- C. 2. calaba 'to move', used as a subsidiary with an absolutive participle also denotes the beginning of an action. Cf. Modern Hindi ādhērā ho calā 'darkness began to creep in'.

dēkhi sīgāra anūpa bidhi biraha calā taba bhāgi 298/8
 'On seeing her matchless adornments, separation then fled away', rēgi calī 345/3 'began creeping', chāṛi calā hiradai dai dāhū 620/6 'Having given burning in the heart, he left her behind', hoi calā 639/4 'began to become'.

(D) Permissives are formed with the subsidiary verb dēba 'to give', combined with the main verb in inflected infinitive form, to denote 'to permit to, to let to', e.g.,

dārūna sasura na āvai dēhī 60/7 'the stern fathers-in-law would not allow us to come', rahai dēhu jāū gaṛha tara mēlē 222/7 'let them remain, if they have assembled beneath the fortress', kō khōlai kō bōlai dēi 534/6 'who will release it? who will allow you to speak?'

(E) Acquisitives are the exact converse of the Permissive and are formed in the same way, only by substituting pāvaba 'to get' for dēba 'to give', e.g.,

kō dēkhai pāvai vaha nāgū 115/7 'Who can be allowed to see that serpent', pavana na pāvai saṃcarai 169/8 'where the wind is not allowed to enter (move)', chuvai na pāvai 291/8 'not allowed to touch', thira hoi rahai na pāvai kōi 522/6 'none was allowed to remain idle (motionless)'.

(F) Desideratives are formed with a main verb in infinitive-ai or in past participle form, combined with the verb cahaba or cāhaba 'to wish', as a subsidiary verb. A most significant fact of this compound verb is that the subsidiary retains its meaning and considering this looseness of the compound verb, it hardly comes in the category of a genuine verbal compound. (A sense of immediate futurity is also expressed with these subsidiary verbs, which is discussed under Proximative aspect). tehi para biraha jarāi kai cahai uḍāvai jhōla 83/8, 'Padumāvati' edited by Lakṣmi Dhar but 'Padamāvata', VSA edition 351/9, has... cahai uṛāvā...i.e. LD has infinitive form and VSA has past participle form, 'On that, separation, having consumed (her), wishes to blow away her ashes', cāhai uṛā 176/3 'wishes to fly', cāhai piya hanā 464/3 'wishes to kill her husband' (intercepted by piya), auru jo kīnha cahai so hōi 537/2 'And whatever he wishes to do, that happens'.

(G) Continuative aspect is expressed when the main verb in the present participle form is combined with the subsidiary verbs rahaba 'to remain', and rākhaba 'to keep' with the absolutive form, e.g.

- G. 1. rahaba 'to remain,' kōili bhai pukārata rahī 358/6 'I have become a Koel and kept on crying', kāpata rahahī 479/5 'they keep on shivering', jarata rahai 494/2 'he keeps on burning'.
- G. 2. rākhaba 'to keep' kuhū kuhū koila kari rākhā 29/5 'the koel keeps on cooing'. (see : kuhū kuhū kai kōila rākhā 'the cuckoo went on cooing', Evolution of Awadhi by Dr. Baburam Saxena p. 298.)

(H) Progressive aspect is conveyed with the combination of the present participle and jāba 'to go' e.g.,

jiyana ki gharī ghaṭata niti jāhī 371/7 'The moments of life are ever diminishing', ghaṭata niti jāī 354/6 'shrinking daily.'

(I) Statical aspect denotes motion, while in the act or state of doing anything. They are formed by combining a verb of motion with a present participle, which is actually adverbial, e.g., (See 'A Grammar of the Hindi Language' by Rev. S. H. Kellogg).

āvā maṃcha kara karata ahērā 390/I 'he came hunting, for fish', mēgha ghatā jasa garajata āē 497/I 'like black clouds they came, thundering', caṛhi so sīghāsana jhamakata calī 612/6 'she mounted the royal litter and went radiating brightness'. kahata calē 622/5 'they setforth, saying'.

(J) Proximative aspect (i.e. showing imminent futurity) is identical in formation with the Desiderative. In the language of Jāisī, while the difference in expression may be understood by the context and not by the form, whereas in Modern Hindi the distinction is shown by two different forms, e.g.,

Desiderative aspect with infinitive form combined with cāhnā 'to desire', e.g., vaha hāsnā cāhtā hai 'he desires to laugh'. And the proximative with past participle form combined with cāhnā, e.g., vaha hāsā cāhtā hai, 'He is about to laugh'. Jāisī e.g., āju kālhi bhā cāhia asa sapane ka sājōga 198/9 'this is about to happen today or tomorrow, such is the forecast of your dream', lāgai cāhai aṃga mohi chāyā (LD35/6) 'an eclipse is about to seize my limbs', cāhai bōlā 481/3 'about to speak', āju kālhi cāhai gaṛha ṭūṭā 536/7 'today or tomorrow the fortress is about to be broken'.

Verbs Compounded With Substantives : When a substantive in combination with a verb loses its functional independence to express a single verbal idea, is then called a Nominal Compound. Following are the verbs most frequently found to be combined with substantives, in this text :-āba 'to come',

karaba 'to do', khāba 'to eat', dēba 'to give or issue', lēba 'to take', lāgaba 'to attach', hoba 'to be'.

- A. āba 'to come'. e.g., diṣṭi na āvā 372/2 'was not seen' (Passive), āva mohi lājā 640/1 'I felt ashamed'.
- B. karaba 'to do' is the most frequent used verb in the text, e. g., anhānu-297/2 'to bathe', ādara-66/3 'to respect', ārati-'to do oblation', āsa-313/5 'to hope', upāsu-414/7 'to fast', uṭhaunī-630/7 'to attack', kalōla-519/5 'to sport', kiripā-257/9 'to show compassion to', kēli-339/8 'to play', khōja-295/3 'to search', gamana-127/1 'to go', garaba-81/3 'to proud', giānu-8/1 'to know', chara-558/4 'to cheat', chāpa-329/5 'to print', jūjhu-122/1 'to fight', dāḍavata-577/6 'to salute' paisāru-191/1 'to enter', payāna-372/4 'to setoff', pirīta-123/1 'to love', pukāra-340/5 'to appeal', pūjā-568/6 'to worship', binati-565/3 'to pray', bināsa-86/9 'to destroy', biyāha-519/3 'to marry', bisarāmu-567/2 'to rest', bhōga-336/6 'to enjoy', mayā-211/7 'to be kind', merāu-408/1 'to unite', rasōi-540/8 'to cook', rāju-287/5 'to rule', rōdana-70/2 'to weep', lōbha-78/7 'to covet', sādha-619/9 'to long for', sīgāru-292/2 'to dress', sēva-502/1 'to serve'.
- C. khāba 'to eat', a solitary instance has been found in the whole text, e. g., ḍara khāba 69/2 'to be afraid'.
- D. dēba 'to give', e.g., āesu-140/4 'to order', anhāna-328/8 'to bathe (someone else)' Transitive use., ādara-344/4 'to honour', utara-490/3 'to answer', sobha-598/6 'to display beauty', dēkhāi-612/5 'to be seen' (It is the combination of an abstract noun, derived from verb).
- E. paraba 'to fall', e. g., ḍiṭhi pari 201/3 'came into view'.
- F. lēba 'to take', e. g., sāsa lēba 98/1 'to breathe'.
- G. lāgaba 'to attach' and lāba 'to set', e.g. risa lāgaba 268/9 'to be angry', jhari lāi 630/1 'to rain continuously as in storm'.
- H. hoba 'to be' also forms a large number of compounds, e. g., asta-67/3 'to set', abhimāna-179/3 'to be proud', ujāri-360/8 'to be deserted', chōhu-295/5 'to feel compassion', ṭhārha-556/2 'to stand', pāra-202/4 'to cross', hulāsu-279/2 'to be happy'.

Reduplication in the Tibetan Language

Birendra Nath Mukherji

In the examples, all Tibetan Syllables are printed in the Roman Script. Spellings are given first, pronunciations and meanings in English within () and [] respectively.

Types of Reduplication

In the Tibetan Language, reduplication is of three types. They are as follows :—

(a) Simple Reduplication.

In this type of reduplication, a monosyllable (monosyllabic word) is reiterated to form one word.

Example : tan-tan (tẽ-tẽ) [certain]

(b) Compound Reduplication.

In this type of reduplication, component syllables of a word are repeated to form one word.

Example : ga-le-ga-le (ka-le ka-le) [slowly]

(c) Double Reduplication.

In this type of reduplication, two different simple reduplicated words are compounded to form one word.

Example : khag-khag-so-so (kha-kha so-so) [separate parts, different]

Orthographic and Orthoepic Changes

In the Tibetan Language, reduplication of syllable is either partial or complete :—

(a) Partial type occurs both in simple and compound reduplications.

(1) In partial and simple types, two syllables do not remain identical and there are both orthographic and orthoepic changes in the second syllable. The change is from a > i, u, e or o.

Examples : (i) rab-rib (rab-rib) [mist]

(ii) khrag-khrug (thak-thuk) [complicate]

(iii) sang-seng (sang-seng) [hiding place,
crevice]

(iv) gtsang-gtsong (tsang-tsong) [awry]

(2) In partial and compound reduplications, there are both orthographic and orthoepic changes in the repeating syllables. In the first syllable, the change is from $a > u$ or o and in the second syllable the change is from $a > e$. If, however, the second syllable ends in i or e , then the repeating second syllable remains unaltered.

Examples : (i) mal-la-mul-le (me-la mu-le) [lukewarm]

(ii) chhag-ga-chhog-ge (chha-ga chho-ge)
[medley]

(iii) ha-ri-hu-ri (ha-rí hu-ri) [hasty action]

(iv) ha-be-ho-be (ha-bi ho-bi) [to gobble]

(b) Complete reduplication occurs in simple and compound reduplications and there is neither orthographic nor orthoepic change. Examples cited in types of reduplication are instances of this group.

Grammatical Classes of Words

In the Tibetan Language, reduplicated words may be noun, pronoun, adjective and adverb.

Examples :—

(i) Noun—khrung-khrung (thrung-thrung) [crane]

(ii) Pronoun—su-su (su-su) [who]

(iii) Adjective—leb-leb (leb-leb) [flat]

(iv) Adverb—mtshams-mtshams (tsham-tsham) [occasionally]

Functions

In the Tibetan Language, reduplicated words perform amongst others one of the following important functions :—

(a) Completion of an incomplete syllable.

Example : rtsi (tsi) [mouse] an incomplete syllable forms a word rtsi-rtsi (tsi-tsi) [mouse] by reduplication.

(b) Naturalisation of a foreign word.

Example : had (he) [shoe] is a Chinese word forms had-had (he-he) [shoe] by reduplication.

(c) Change of meaning.

Examples : (i) jo (jo) [venerable] forms a word jo-jo (jo-jo) [elder brother] by reduplication.

(ii) ma (ma) [mother] forms a word ma-ma (ma-ma) [nurse] by reduplication.

(iii) krog (tok) [life, strength] forms a word krog-krog (tok-tok) [hasty, restless, gaudy] by reduplication.

(d) Contemptuous in psychological tone.

Example : kyang-kyong (kyang-kyong) [lazy]

(e) In case of interrogative pronouns, reduplication means plurality.

Example : khyod-su-yen (khyö su-yĩ) [Who are you ?

Singular]

khyod-su-su-yen (khyö su-su yĩ) [Who are you ?

Plural]

(f) Augmentation of adjectives.

Example : kyog-kyog (kyok-kyok) [very crooked].

(g) Formation of nouns and adjectives.

(i) Formation of a noun from a noun.

Example : jo-po (jo-po) [elder brother]

jo-jo (jo-jo) [do]

(ii) Formation of an adjective from an adjective.

Example : kyar-po (kyar-po) [flat]

kyar-kyar (kyar-kyar) [flat]

Aspiration and Deaspiration in Dakhinī

Om Prakash Srivastava

Aspiration and deaspiration are the important phenomena attested in almost all the NIA languages. A detailed account of these phenomena has been given by Jules Bloch and Dr. Chatterjee. (ODBL. § 236-243. pp. 437-445). In this paper I would discuss the phenomena of aspiration and deaspiration as they are attested in Dakhinī. This language has been separated from its other sister NIA languages to far south in Deccan, in a non-Aryan surrounding. My analysis is based upon the two works, viz. SABRAS and KUTUB MUṢṬARĪ, of Mullā Wajhī, the great Sufī poet and prose writer of Dakhinī.¹

Aspiration

In all the NIA languages we find that in quite a good number of words the phenomenon of aspiration is attested, though their OIA counterparts do not show any trace of aspiration. It has been suggested that the aspiration in such cases appears due to the contamination with other forms, and a vague sense of onomatopoeia is also responsible for this phenomenon. In Dravidian languages, i.e., in Tamil, in Malayālam, in Kannaḍa and in Telugu, the stops are slightly aspirated when pronounced. It has also been suggested that this Dravidian tendency has influenced, to some extent, the tendency of aspiration in MIA and NIA languages. (ODBL. § 236. p. 438.). Dakhinī having a very close association with the Dravidian languages, might have imbibed this tendency from the neighbouring languages.

Following are the special features of aspiration in Dakhinī :

1. Aspiration in the interior of a word. This tendency is regularly attested in the language. In such instances we get aspiration in words where there is a conjunct with sibilant as

1. KUTUB MUṢṬARĪ and SABRAS were completed in 1610 and 1636 A. D. respectively.

one of the members in the body of the word. In MIA the conjunct is assimilated. In the development of the word, from MIA to NIA, the metathesis of the aspirated sound takes place. This results in the initial aspiration in Dakhinī. Thus, the word phattar 'stone' (as in phattar pighale- 'the stone melts'. SR. p. 7.; wo ādmī naī phattar- 'he(is) not man but stone', SR. p. 12.) goes back to OIA prastara-, which in MIA becomes patthara > Hindī patthar, Beng. pāthār etc. It is to be noted here that there is no aspiration in the initial syllable, both in the OIA and MIA forms, but the word appearing in Dakhinī as phattar has the initial aspiration (i.e. OIA p-> MIA p-> Dakhinī ph-). Here the metathesis of 'h' takes place. Similarly we may take the word phaṅkaṛiyā (as in kāwal ke phūl ke phaṅkaṛiyā jaise hāt- 'hands like the petals of lotus'. SR. p. 69.; āguliyā phaṅkaṛiyā, hāt kā pañjā kāwal- 'the fingers (are) petals, (and) the palm (is) lotus.' SR. p. 71.) which is derived from OIA* pakṣa-puṭikāni > MIA pakkhaḍḍiā > paṅkhuṛiyā, Dakhinī phaṅkaṛiyā. In the development of this word Pañjābī also shows aspiration in the initial syllable. Thus, Pañj. phaṅgh, cf. Hindī paṅkharī.

2. A very interesting category is the aspiration of OIA-śr-conjunct. The real conditions under which this aspiration takes place can not be explained. Thus, OIA aśru-> Dakhinī añjhā and plural ājhawā/ājhuwā (as in āśiq ke ājhawā mē hai- '(it) is in the tears of a lover.' SR. p. 43.; hor ākhiyā ke añjhā pī- 'and drink the tears of eyes'. SR. p. 39.; ājhuwā sū mū dhoyā- '(he) washed (his) face with tears'. SR. p. 46.) cf. Pañj. iñjh(u) and hañjh. This development of -śr- into an aspirate sound is attested in the Hindī word mūch, Pañj. mucch < MIA maṃsu < OIA śmaśru.

3. The case of aspiration appearing in the body of a word is that where voiced stop is aspirated generally on account of a sibilant in the initial position of a word. e.g. sīghār (OIA śṅgāra) as in kahe śāh ke ai gunawantā gun sīghār- 'the king told, 'O (thou) possessed with qualities and well decorated'. KM. p. 100.; dīdār sab khubī kā sīghār hai- 'the 'Darśana' is the decoration of all the qualities. SR. p. 67.; so is dilrubā nār kū

dīdyā ke sīghār kũ ek sahelī thī- 'that charming lady, the decoration (i.e. object) of eyes had a companion'. SR. p. 70)

4. The aspiration of the voiced and unvoiced stops, both initially and medially, due to the phenomenon of syncopation and sometimes syncopation and metathesis both, is a well attested feature in the language. Following are the examples ;

pachān : (as in na apas kũ jāne na dusare kũ pachāne- 'neither (he) knows himself nor recognises others'. SR. p. 10. ; agar āśiq ko āśiq nā pachāne- 'if a lover does not recognise another lover'. SR. p. 24.) goes back to OIA pratyabhijānāti > MIA paccahiāṇāi, cf. Hindī pahcāne, Pañj. pichān. bhār : (as in are dil tũ gafalat mẽ te bhār ho- 'O heart, do thou come out of the idleness.' KM. p. 11. ; wale rāz koī bhār naī āyā- 'but no secrecy came out i.e. disclosed'. SR. p. 29.) <OIA bahis- cf. Hindī bāhar. Here OIA bahiḥ + vāhya > bāhara > *bāhra (syncopation). > bhār (metathesis). bhaut/bhot : (as in bhaut muj kũ lagatā hai yo ajab- 'it appears too much strange to me.' KM. p. 87. ; khelā bhot khelanhār ek- '(there are) many games but the player (is) one.' SR. p. 5.) <OIA bahutva, cf. Hindī bahut, Pañj. bhaut/bhot. bhāne ; (as in agar māgatā hai ran mẽ ghorā bhāne to śarāb. pī- if (you) want the horse to go ahead in the battle, drink wine. SR. p. 25.) <OIA √vah- or √vṛdh- ? cf. Hindī baṛhānā. thār : (as in gunāgār bande hamī thār the- O my lord ! we were your sinners i.e. we were at fault. KM. p. 8) goes back to Apabh. tuha + kerāo, cf. Braj. tihāro, Rājasthānī thāro, Hindī terā.

Some emphatic forms also show aspiration due to reasons discussed in the preceding para. Thus, we have Dakhinī ajhũ (as in aise phālā ajhũ kise naī mile- nobody could get such flowers as yet i.e. upto this day. SR. p. 9. ; nabī the ajhũ āpane ghar mane- 'the prophet was in his house upto this time'. KM. p. 17.) <OIA adya + api + hi, Apabh. ajjahũ ; Hindī ajahũ. kadhī : (as in kadhī rāt howe kadhī howe dīsa- 'somewhere it is night (and) somewhere day'. KM. p. 4. ; kadhī kuc hai kadī so kuc kā kuc- '(it) is something somewhere and something somewhere else'. SR. p. 4.) <OIA kutra + api + hi, cf. Hindī kahī Bhoj. katahī/katabũ. bī : (as in idhar bī apai udhar bī apai-

'here as well as there (is) He.' SR. p. 4.) <OIA api-hi, cf. Hindī bhī.

5. The aspiration of the initial vowel in the word 'hor' is a notable feature in the language. In this respect it bears a close resemblance with Pañjābī. The aspiration of the initial vowel is also attested in early MIA, i.e. Aśokan e.g. hevam <evem; hida<idha, iha; hura<aparam. Thus, hor/haur (as in jo kuch āsmān hor zamīn mē hai-whatever is in the sky and on the earth. SR. p. 9.; subā hor śām- morning and evening. SR. p. 21.; ujālā so dīs hor rāt andakār- 'when (there is) light it is day and (when there is) darkness (it is) night.' KM. p. 15.; agar koī kūṛa haur jahālat sū bāt kare-'if somebody talks with foolishness.' SR. p. 10.) <OIA apara-, cf. Hindī aur, Pañj. hor/haur. Similarly we get hole ('hails') cf. Hindī ole (as in lagyā hole te thaṇḍā mūj rahyā thā jo aṅgārā- it seemed to me colder than hail, what was like blazing fire. KM. p. 4.). Here this h- may be accepted as prothetic. The comparative particle 'the' (as in gunā kī girāftārī the dūr kar- 'keep (me) away from the clutches of evils.' KM. p. 8.; yo bāt akla kī had the aṅge hai-this thing is beyond the limit (i.e. imagination) of the mind. SR. p. 81.) cf. Braj. te, also shows a case of spontaneous aspiration.

6. In some semi-tatsama words with the conjunct -nd- in the interior of the word, aspiration is attested in Dakhinī. e.g. sundhar, sundharī, sundhariyā (as in tujhe kaun kah sundharī bhāī hai- 'tell me which beautiful damsel you have liked?' KM. p. 65.; jabā khūb khus śakla dekhe sundhar-where (he) sees a beautiful face. KM. p. 64.; phire cād sayā sundhariyā- us mane- there roam damsels of moonlike beauty. KM. p. 47.) <OIA sundarī, cf. Hindī sundarī, Bhoj sunnari. Similarly, mandhar (as in ke mandhar haqīqat hai sīṛī mazāz- that temple is the reality (end) and steps (leading to the temple) are means. KM. p. 81. tā mandhar mē jā jīwa māgatā jahā-inside the temple where you go and ask for life. KM. p. 81.) <OIA mandira.

Deaspiration

The phenomenon of deaspiration, in Dakhinī, is much more frequent than that of aspiration. For the deaspiration of the

aspirate sounds in Dakhinī the Non-Aryan influences, stress and the tonic effects may be accepted as the plausible causes. They have played a very important part in the history of the development of all the NIA languages. The cases of deaspiration in Dakhinī are discussed below :

7. The OIA aspirate sounds in the medial position are deaspirated in most of the words in Dakhinī. For instance, *būjatā* (as in *chupī bāt naī būjatā śah chupāya*-the king understands (that) the thing (could) not be concealed; KM. p. 78.) goes back to OIA *budhyate*, which in MIA becomes *bujjhaī*, Hindī *būjh(nā)*, Pañj. *būjhnā*. *samaj* : (as in *so alī ko samajāyā*-(he) made Ali understand. SR. p. 6. ; *mā bāp kaun samaje*- who cares for mother (and) father. SR. p. 3.) <OIA *sambudhyate*, MIA *samujjhaī*, cf. Hindī *samajh(nā)*. *parate* : (as in *jo koī paṛegā*- whosoever reads. SR. p. 9. ; *sab kũṛ parate āwe hawas*-(while) reading, everyone is possessed with a longing for it. SR. p. 8.) <OIA *paṛhati*, cf. Hindī *paṛhanā*. *sūgate* : (as in *sūgate dil mẽ bhare usās*-(one feels) respiration having smelt it (i.e. flower). SR. p. 9.) <OIA **śrakhati* (-*siṅghati*) cf. Hindī *śūṅghanā*, Assamese *xuñ*.

8. In some words deaspiration is attested in the initial syllable owing to the shift of the accent on the following syllable. e.g. *gulā* (as in *is chanda sũ nazma hor nasra milā kar gulā kar yũ naī bolyā*-(nobody) could speak, mixing the prose and poetry in this (particular) 'chanda'. SR. p. 10. ; *samad pānī gul kar huā lāj te*- the ocean melted into water with shame. KM. p. 28.) <MIA *ghōllā*, OIA Lex. *ghōlayati*. Similarly, *gumatā* (roams) : (as in *na jānũ ke gumatā hai śah kis sāgāt*-(I) do not know with whom the prince roams. KM. p. 153.) <Pkt. *ghummaī*, <OIA **ghūr-ma*=OIA *ghūrpati* cf. Hindī *ghūmanā*. *julanhār* (noun of agency) : (as in *malāyak use jam julanhār haī*-the prophets always cradle him. KM. p. 38.) cf. Hindī *jhulānewālā*, *jhulāwanhārā*.

9. In quite a good number of Dakhinī words the MIA aspirate sounds occurring in the final syllable have been deaspirated. For instance, *jīb* : (as in *harek bāl kũṛ gar sau hazār jīb lāwe*-if every hair is given one lakh tongues. SR. p. 1.) <MIA

jibbha <OIA jihvā, cf. Hindī jibh. Here it is to be noted that the weakening of the final syllable results in deaspiration. Following are the examples :

hāt: (as in sar par hāt dharyā-(he) put (his) hand on the head. SR. p. 7.) <MIA hattha, OIA hasta, cf. Pañj. hattha, Hindī hāth, Beng. hāt. bād: (as in hāt bād kar- with closed hands. SR. p. 3. ; uno ke kānā qudarat sū bād kar gafalat kī dī girah- having tied their ears with nature, gave a knot of carelessness. SR. p. 11.) <OIA √bandh-, cf. Hindī bādhanā. hattī: (as in cimaṭī hattī kā bhār uchā sakatī hai- can an ant bear the weight of an elephant ? SR. p. 28.) <OIA hastī, MIA hatthī, cf. Hindī hāthī, Pañj. hatthī. sāt: (as in karū jāke wo bāt kis sāt maī- with whom should I go and talk ? KM. p. 53. ; hai terī nazar sab pai ek sāt —at a time your eyes are equally on all. KM. p. 7.) <OIA sārthe, cf. Hindī sāth.

10. When there are two consecutive aspirated syllables in a word, one of them, generally the second is deaspirated. Following are the examples : ghūgaṭ: (as in ghūgaṭ mē mū chipā kar-biding the face in the veil. SR. p. 19.) cf. Hindī ghūghaṭ. dhūrati: (as in ke dhūrati thī lai din sate jā tabā- that (she) was searching here and there since many days. KM p. 129.) cf. Hindī dūḥḍhanā. thāb: (as in na mūj joṛa nā thāb asmān kū- neither (there is) anybody equal to me i.e. I am matchless, nor (there is) pillar (i.e. base) for the sky. KM. p. 34.) <OIA stambha. ghūgarwālī: (as in raṅga kū kālī ghūgarwālī- the 'ghūgarwālī' is dark -complexioned. SR. p. 70.) cf. Hindī ghūgharwālī.

Loss of Aspiration

The OIA intervocalic aspirates were reduced to mere aspiration in MIA. This residual of aspiration is retained upto the third phase of MIA. But in Proto-NIA this aspirate generally becomes a feeble sound. The result being that in many of the cases it is lost. In Dakhinī this loss is a well established phenomenon. In this respect it appears that it bears a close resemblance with Marāṭhī. Dakhinī being closely

associated with Marāṭhī might have inherited this special feature from it.

The cases of the loss of aspiration in Dakhini are discussed below :

11. Loss of medial aspiration :

√kai / √ka : (as in ketā kainā- how much to say ? SR. p. 79. akla kũ khudā bi kainā kuc dūr naī-(it is) not difficult to call wisdom, the God. SR. p. 15. ; arab mẽ katā hai- (he) says in Arabia. SR. p. 2.) goes back to OIA √kath-, Pkt. kaheī, Apabh. kahei/kahai>kahai>ka'ai>kaai>kai : kaitā, kainā ; cf. Pañj. kaiṇā. rai <OIA √rah- (as in śarāb bagair naī raitā yak til- (he) does not live without wine (even) for a moment. SR p. 23). paile : (as in rahe paile asmān mẽ āya kar- at first (He) came and dwelt in the sky. KM. p. 17.) <OIA pratha-illa, Apabh. pahilla, Hindī pahalā/pahale. ṭhairnā : (as in na rahe ṭhair nau āsamā mẽ nabī- the prophet did not stay in the nine heavens. KM. p. 19.) <OIA √sthā, cf. Hindī ṭhaharnā, Pañj. ṭhairnā.

In loan words from Arabic and Persian also this tendency is attested. e. g. śāb (as in agar nūr terā sate cak pai śāb, ajab naī jo kaṅkar hoyā āstāb- if a part of your divine light falls on, it is no surprise that the stone would become sun. KM. p. 8) <Arabic. śahāb.

12. Loss of final aspiration. The aspirate (<OIA aspirates and sometimes -s-) in the final syllable becomes a feeble sound and is ultimately lost. e.g. mũ : (as in usakā mũ kālā- his face (is) black. SR. p. 13. ghũgaṭ mẽ mũ chipā kar- hiding the face in the veil. SR. p. 19.) <OIA mukha-, cf. Hindī mũh. saũ/sawā (plural) : (as in musahif kī saũ wo hamānā bhot mānega-by Quran he will respect us much. SR. p. 13. kahī śāh tũ yū sawā khāy kar-(she) told (the prince) you have taken these vows. KM. p. 84.) <OIA saugandha, cf. Barj. saũh. ajũ/ajũ : (as in yū hikāyatā caliyā ājũ-these stories are current even now. SR. p. 33. ; farhād koh mẽ āh bharatā hai ajũ-Farhad sighs in the cave upto this day i.e. till now. SR. p. 54.) goes back to OIA adya-api-hi, cf. Apabh. ajjahũ, Hindī ajahũ. bārā and aṭhārā : (as in tamām is kiyā dīsa bārā mane, san yak hazār hor aṭhārā mane-(I) completed it (i.e. the book) within twelve days, in

the year one thousand and eighteen hundred (i.e. Hizarī. 1018.) KM. p. 195.) <OIA dvādaśa, Pāli bārasa, Pkt. bāraha; and OIA aṣṭādaśa, Pkt. aṣṭhāraha. sarāwū; (as in kise maī baṛā kaī kise maī sarāwū-whom should I call great (and) whom should I praise. KM. p. 65.) <OIA ślaghā cf. Hindī sarāhū/sarāhanā. kaī; (as in bure lokā kū sab kaī ṭhār hai- everywhere bad persons have got place. SR. p. 39.) <OIA kutra-api-hi, cf. Hindī kabī. yā; (as in yā kyā śikāyat khudā bhot baṛā- what complain (will be) here, God is great. SR. p. 13.; bicāre insān yā bī hairān-the poor people (are) troubled here also. SR. p. 16.) <OIA atra, Pkt. ettha, cf. Hindī yahā.

In loan words from Arabic and Persian also the final -h is lost in Dakhinī. e.g. jāgā; (as in use sab jāgā kī khabar-(he has got the information of all the places. SR. p. 5.) <Persian. jāygah. subā/sabā; (as in sabā ke waqta baiṭhe takhta- in the morning (he) was sitting on a wooden cot. SR. 7. naī to kā thā subā hor śām-otherwise where were morning and evening. SR. p. 21.) Arabic. subāh.

Abbreviations.

- Apabh. = Apabhraṃśa.
 Beng. = Bengali.
 Bhoj. = Bhojpurī.
 Braj. = Braj-Bhāṣā.
 KM. = Kutub-Muṣṭarī.
 ODBL. = Origin and Development of Bengali Language.
 Pañj. = Pañjābī.
 Pkt. = Prākṛta.
 SR. = Sabras.

Semi-onomatopoetic phrases with balanced vocables in modern colloquial Bengali.

Bhabataran Datta

In modern Bengali there are quite a number of reduplicated or repeated words where the first component is repeated in the second which differs from the first in the initial syllable, vowel or consonant and the result is a jingle. These are distinct from the echo-words in as much as both the components when used separately are, very often meaningless, and when they have any meaning, it is quite different. That is when used jointly the components express a meaning which is distinct from the meaning of the individual component when used separately. They may be considered as balanced words, in the sense that both the components help each other in maintaining a balance of jingle and also in building up the intensity or wholeness which the speaker intends to express.

A full list follows.

agaṛ bagaṛ	this thing and that, worthless, confused speech.
abar sabar	once in a while ; sometimes. Has it anything to do with <i>saber</i> and <i>aber</i> ?
āi qhāi	a feeling of extreme restlessness on account of pain etc.
āgrom bāgrom	this thing and that, worthless.
āje bāje	meaningless, sequenceless, nonsensical etc.
āṭ kāṭ	holding firmly on all sides.
āṭ ghāṭ	secret.
āṭ moṛā	act of stretching the body to its full length and rolling over the bed.
āre ore	indirectly as of looking.
āthāli pāthāli	in a dishevelled state, helter skelter.

an cān	a feeling of restlessness on account of pain etc.
ābol tābol	foolish, meaningless, nonsensical talk, speech etc.
ālu thālu	detached, loose ; confused, disordered, dishevelled as of clothings or hair.
āṭ sāt	compact, close, tight.
āṭi sūṭi	compactness, selfishness.
āṭu bāṭu	shortage, insufficiency (especially of means).
āṭul bāṭul	the name of baby's game in which an elder person lies on his back and takes the baby on the feet, then he sets his legs move up and down with the baby too, while reciting a rhyme beginning with the words.
āt ghāt	the depth of the belly.
āti pāti	nook and corner.
ikir mikir	a childrens' game which two or more of them sit together in a circular form. Then one of them begins by touching the knees of themselves uttering the rhyme beginning with the words <i>ikir mikir</i> .
iti uti	this side and that side.
utal pātāl	the rising and stirring of water or other liquid, adverbially up and down.
uṣ khuṣ	a stirring in and restless manner, a fidgetting.
uṣko khuṣko	rough, untrimmed, dishevelled.
ūki jhūki	a continuous or repeated prying or peeping by this side and that.
ebro khebro	rough, uneven.
ele bele	confused, meaningless as in children's game.
elo melo	confused, disordered, dishevelled.
ēri gēri	various sizes especially as of a man having so many children of different ages.
kaṭ maṭ	rudely, roughly, intently especially of looking.
kaṭ maṭ	to grate. to grind or gnash.
kal bal	to babble, to talk gibberish,

kātu kutu	a tickling.
kācu mācu	a twisting, writhing or contortion (as of the face) ; hesitation, wavering.
kic mic	variation of <i>kis mis</i> .
kiṛ miṛ	diminutive of <i>kaṛ maṛ</i> .
kis mis	a raisin; a grape.
kuc muc	crumbled.
kuṭi nāṭi	state of being reduced to small fragments or cut into tiny bits.
kūkre mūkre, kōkrāno mōkrāno	contracted, shrivelled up, chilled as with cold.
khāṭa maṭa	complex, difficult to solve.
khāoā dāoā	meals.
khic mic	fretfulness, a disputing about trifle.
khiṭ miṭ	peevishness, disputations over trifles.
khūṭi nāṭi	trifles.
khūt mut	reluctance, unwillingness.
gaṛ baṛ	disorder, confusion, tumult.
galpa salpa, gappa sappa	chit-chat, tittle-tattle.
gāṇḍe piṇḍe	the act of eating up to the cheek.
gāḍe sāḍe	in connection of relation very distant.
gūṛi sūṛi	a crouching, a stooping low, a crawling, a creeping.
cak mak	a sudden flash of light, lustre, glare, brilliancy.
cañ bañ	restlessness, fickleness, inconstancy.
caṭ paṭ	activity, adverbially quickly, speedily.
can ban	vivacity, liveliness, restlessness, fidgety.
can man	see <i>cañ bañ</i> .
cākar bākar	servants and the like.
cākrī bakrī	service, employment.
cāṭi puṭi	eating up of everything, without leaving a crumb.
ciṭ piṭ	a twinging or throbbing sensation.

cīṛ bīṛ	a twinging or throbbing sensation ; the sensation caused by tasting a very arid substance.
cokā bokā	to be finished.
cur mār	a breaking into tiny bits or fragments, a crumbling.
cul bul	restlessness, fickleness, inconstancy.
coṭ pāṭ	blunt, rough, brusque ; bold, over bold.
cācā meci	a crying or speaking aloud ; screaming or bawling as of several persons simultaneously.
chaṭ phaṭ	a tossing about, a struggling (as from pain or in order to get free).
chīṭ phīṭ	diminutive of <i>chat phat</i> .
chini mini	the play at ducks and drakes.
chuta nātā	a pretext, an excuse.
chele pi/ule	children.
jaṛa saṛa	gathered, collected ; contracted, shrunk.
jabu thabu	wornout, decayed or disabled due to old age or illness.
jāri juri	a display or vaunting of power or influence.
jogār sogār	to collect, to procure.
joṭ pāṭ	a bringing or coming together.
joṛā tāṛā	union, joint; a joining in a way.
jor jār	force, strength, might, pressure.
jhāk māk	glare, lustre, brightness.
jhaṭ paṭ	very quickly or speedily.
jhaṭā paṭi	a fluttering, a strife.
jhal mal	dangling, glaring.
jhālā pālā	the disagreeable sensation produced in the ear by a shrill sound ; (any unpleasant sensation).
jhik mik	glistening.
jhil mil	a shutter, diminutive of <i>jhal mal</i> .
jhuṭ muṭ	falsely.
jhākṛa mākṛā	shaggy, bushy, sometimes <i>jhākkor</i> .
ṭai ṭumbur	to be full to the brim.
ṭag bag	gallop as of a horse ; to boil violently.

ṭal bal	an unsteady tossing motion, vascillation.
ṭal mal	see <i>ṭal bal</i> .
ṭae ṭoe	without loss or diminution ; number for number.
ṭāl māṭāl	a pretext, an excuse ; a dodge ; a prevarication.
ṭæ phō	the least noise ; the smallest expression of discontent or objection.
ḍag(o) mag(o)	overcome or overwhelmed as with joy.
tac(h) nac(h)	destroy.
tar bar	quickness, haste, hurry.
tarik gharik	instantly, immediately, at once, forthwith.
tarās marās	fright, dread, fear.
tiṛ bir	diminutive of <i>tar bar</i> .
tiṛih birih	sudden jumps or frisks ; fidgets ; a state of being suddenly startled.
totāno pātāno	coaxing, or cajoling, by humoring.
tuk tāk	a spell or charm, an incantation especially to procure another's injury.
tum tarāk	magnificence, pomp, splendour.
teṛi meṛi	a display of hot temper, use of angry words (cf. Hindi <i>teri</i> and <i>meri</i>).
tol pār	agitation, commotion.
thata mata	a state of perplexity or bewilderment, hesitancy.
dar bar	firm, stiff, strong, doughty.
dat pat	authority and influence.
dhar phar	a writhing, a struggling, a fluttering, a hurrying.
dhānai pānāi	unmeaning, sequenceless as of thinking.
dhuk puk(uni)	a beating, palpitation ; a panting, a gaping ; a perpetual solicitude or anxiety.
dhum dhārākkā	a great show, pomp, a great tumult or uproar.
naṭ khaṭ	an intricate affair, a perplexity ; a troublesome affair.

naṛ caṛ,	
laṛ caṛ	unstableness, wavering.
naṛ baṛ	a loose shaking, a tottering ; shakiness ; a dangling.
nad gad	a softness like that of soft mud or quagmire.
ṇākāni cobāni	a ducking, a dip.
nāṛā cāṛā	a moving and stirring about ; moving any thing from place to place ; to handle.
niṭ piṭ(e)	procrastinating, dilatory, sluggish.
nīṛ biṛ	a delaying.
nili bili	solitary especially of place.
nis pis	restlessness of the hands especially as in the case of an extreme feeling to thrash others.
nuṭur puṭur	diminutive of <i>laṭor paṭor</i> .
nuṛ buṛ	a dangling, a delaying, oscillation.
nur kur	helping hand.
næṭ ghæṭ	dishevelled creaseless.
neṭi peṭi	pet.
phaṣṭi nāṣṭi	jokes, jests, playful tricks.
buṛo hābrā	old man.
miṭ māṭ	decision or termination of an affair.
moṭā soṭā	thick, heavy, bulky.
raṇ caṇ	colour etc.
rānnā bānnā	act of cooking and doing things connected there with.
rog ghog	ailment.
lak pak/poke	soft and flexible.
lag bag	soft and flexible.
laṭ ghaṭ	an unlawful love affair, a secret amorous affair.
laṭ paṭ	a loosing or tumbling about ; a floundering : a flapping.
laṭor paṭor	rolling or tumbling about ; a wallowing.
laṛ baṛ	unsteady, unstable, moving, weaving.
laṇḍa bhaṇḍa	utter confusion, topsy-turvy, higgledy-piggledy.

lap cap(āni),	
lapar capar	vanity and conceit.
luṭ pāt	a ransacking, loot, pillage, sack.
luṭi puṭi	rolling about, wallowing.
luṭ buṭ	see <i>nur bur</i> .
sāj goj	dress, equipage.
hak cak(āna)	to be confounded, to be bewildered.
haṭ paṭ	a hurry.
haṭ bar	abruptness, rashness, suddenness.
haṭ maṭ	see <i>haṭ bar</i> .
hadda madda	last, final as of talking.
hanta danta	with quickness, swiftness.
hāt pāt	eagerness, impatience.
hāu māu	a scream, as through fear etc.
hābā gobā	foolish and simple.
hābjā gobjā	refuse, trash, coarse vegetable food.
hāi phāi	hurry, eagerness, impatience.
hāk pāk	see <i>hāi phāi</i> .
hākaṭ pākaṭ	a state of topsy turvy, sickness, nausea.
hāku pāku	same as <i>hāi phāi</i> .
hāṇi kūrī	earthen pots of various sorts. (especially of cooking).
hās phās	a violent panting, violent exertion.
hiji biji	jumble writing.
him sim	extreme tiredness due to heavy work.
huṭ muṭ	diminutive of <i>haṭ maṭ</i> .
hācor pācor	great eagerness.
hēji pēji	low status as of a man.
hai cai	furore.
hōs phōs	a violent panting as from cold and fever.

The Names of the Samasas in Panini's Grammar

Sukumar Sen

Pāṇini mentions these Samāsas : *Avyayībhāva*, *Tatpuruṣa*, *Dvigu*, *Dvandva* and *Bahuvrīhi*. Of these only one name, *Avyayībhāva* is indicative of grammatical function and the remaining names are examples of the *samāsas* typified.

Tatpuruṣa (Determinative compound) includes many subtypes of which a common feature is that the second member is semantically more important than the first (*uttarapadārthapradhānaṣ tatpuruṣaḥ*).¹ The main subtypes are four : (i) 'the first member is governed in an oblique case by the second member which is either a root noun, or a primary derivative not used as an independent word in the same sense ; (ii) that first member is governed by the second which is either a noun or an adjective (primary or secondary) ; (iii) the first member indicates a part of the second, and (iv) the two members are in apposition.

The first subtype is covered by the *sūtra* 2.2.19 (*upapadam atīti*, "a prepositional word is compounded with a word which is not a finite verb".) Compounds of this type are frequent in Vedic.² In classical Sanskrit the use of this subtype is comparatively rare.

The second subtype is the typical *Tatpuruṣa* in cl. Sanskrit, which in early Vedic is not at all frequent. *Tatpuruṣa* with ordinary (i.e. non-verbal) substantives as second member (e.g. *rājaputra-*) hardly exceeds three dozen examples in the first nine

1. Pāṇini does not define *Tatpuruṣa* but merely names it as a type (*tatpuruṣaḥ* 2.1.22). But the comparative importance of the second member is indicated in another *sūtra* (2.4.26)

2. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar* † 274-76.

books of RV.³ By taking an example of this type (*tatpuruṣaḥ* "his man") as the name Pāṇini only points out the predominance of this type in the literary speech analysed by him.

The fourth subtype is subdivided into two groups of compounds. In one group the first member is a numeral. If such a compound is treated as a collective noun Pāṇini calls it *Dvigu*⁴ (an example, meaning "two cows,—a unit"). In the other group the two members are in apposition, the first member being an adjective⁵ or a pure substantive, and Pāṇini calls it *Karmadhāraya*.

No satisfactory explanation or interpretation of the name *Karmadhāraya* has been given. The accepted meaning is "subject sustainer".⁶ But then this meaning would make it an example of the Upapada subtype of *Tatpuruṣa*.⁷ It can not indicate the appositional subtype. If it is an example of the appositional subtype, as I think it is, the meaning would be "act of possession or holding" (*karma caitat * dhārayam* or ** dhārayā* or *dhārayaḥ ceti*), *dhāraya-* denoting not agent but action. Originally, therefore, *karmadhāraya* indicated compounding of two nouns standing appositionally. It appears that Pāṇini extended the scope of the original *karmadhāraya* to include compounds where the first member is either an adjective or a noun having the force of an adjective (such as *candramas-*, *naraṣabha-* etc., the so-called *upamita* and *upamāna* groups.)

3. Macdonell ‡ 279.

4. *Samkhyāpūrvō dvigulī* (2.1.52).

5. It is however not clear whether Pāṇini considered adjective *plus* noun as *Karmadhāraya* compound. The name occurs in a covering *sūtra* (1.2.92) outside the Samāsa rules. The rule *viśeṣaṃ viśeṣyeṇa bahulam* (2.1.57) comes under *Tatpuruṣa*.

6. See Wackernagel II i p.140. 7. Cp. *Janamejaya-* (name); *viśvamejaya-* "exciting all", *vācamīṅkhaya-* "stirring the voice" (Macdonell ‡ 272); TS. *amṛdaya-* "unmerciful". (Wackernagel II i ‡ 21B).

The name *Dvandva* is not an example of the copulative compound⁷ *Dvanda-* "pair" is a late Vedic word⁸ coming out of an Iterative (*Amreṣita*) compound *dvam-dvam* "pairwise".⁹

The original implication of *dvandva-* was probably reciprocity. After the final change of meaning it was taken as the name for the copulative compound.

*Bahuvrīhi*¹⁰ is an example of the possessive compound which is fully satisfactory as the name for it.

7. *Sūtra* 2.2.29 (*cārthe dvandvah*).

8. *etāni vai dvādaśa dvandvāni* (*Taittiriya-Saṃhitā* 16.9).
Wackernagel II i ‡ 10 a.

9. *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā* 1.7.3.

10. Pāṇini refers to *Bahuvrīhi* as the residual compound (*śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ* 2.2.23). In the next *sūtra* however he mentions that a *Bahuvrīhi* compound may have more than one initial component and it indicates a meaning outside the components (*anekam anyapadārthe*).

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