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THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE  
BENGALI LANGUAGE



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THE  
ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF  
THE BENGALI LANGUAGE

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BY  
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With a Foreword by  
SIR GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON, K.C.I.E.

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In Two Parts  
Part I : Introduction, Phonology

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## FOREWORD

It gives me great pleasure to have this opportunity of publicly wishing God-speed to Professor Chatterji's admirable work and of recommending it to all students of the modern languages of India.

There are two possible lines of investigation of this subject. In one, we can follow the example of Beames and view all the forms of speech as a whole, comparing them with each other, and thence deducing general rules. The other is to follow Trumpp, Hoernle, and Bloch, in taking one particular language as our text, examining it exhaustively, and comparing it with what is known of the others. Professor Chatterji, in taking Bengali as the basis of his work, has adopted the latter procedure and, if I may express my own opinion, the more profitable one. The ultimate object of all students must, of course, be to follow the lines so excellently laid down by Beames, and to give a general comparative grammar of the Indo-Aryan languages; but such an attempt,—admirable though Beames's work was,—cannot be really successful till each of the different languages has been separately and minutely dissected under the strictest scientific rules. The palace of comparative grammar cannot be built without bricks, and the bricks are made up of the facts of each particular language.

For many reasons, Bengali, in itself, is specially deserving of careful study. With a literature going back for several centuries, and preserved

with some care, it gives opportunities for the study of its history that are wanting in some other forms of Indian speech. It is a typical descendant of the great language that, under the name of Māgadhī Prakrit, was the vernacular of eastern North India for many centuries. This was the official language of the great Emperor Aśōka, and an allied dialect was used by the Buddha and by Mahāvīra, the apostle of Jainism, in their early preaching. With the shifting of political gravity at a later epoch, it became superseded as a literary form of speech by dialects current farther to the West, but as a spoken language it has developed into the modern Bengali, Oṛiyā, Bihārī, and Assamese.

Hitherto the ordinary Bengali grammars have been silent about the history of the language and the origin of its forms, and in popular books published in India, the wildest theories about these have occasionally been put forth without a shadow of justification. On the other hand, Beames, Hoernle, and Bhandarkar have written much that is illuminating in regard to it, but sufficient materials were not available to any of them for dealing with the many points of phonetics, accidence, and vocabulary that present themselves on closer examination. For this reason we can heartily welcome the ripe fruits of Professor Chatterji's labours that are to be gathered from the following pages. Endowed with a thorough familiarity with Bengali,—his native tongue,—he has been able to bring together an amount of material which no European could ever have hoped to collect; and he has had the further advantage of pursuing his theoretical studies under the guidance of some of the greatest European authorities on Indian philology. This work is accordingly the result of a happy combination of proficiency in facts and of familiarity with theory



and exhibits a mastery of detail controlled and ordered by the sobriety of true scholarship.

In a work of this kind, necessarily offering conclusions here and there on points which in the present state of our linguistic knowledge cannot be decided with absolute certainty, it is not to be expected that all scholars will agree with every statement contained in it; and, as regards myself, I must confess that he has not convinced me that I am wrong in one or two matters in which he has lucidly expressed his disagreement. But, unless we searchers after knowledge sometimes differed, learning would not progress, and there would be the less chance of arriving at the ultimate truth. I therefore welcome his criticisms, and if his arguments, on further consideration, prove that he is right, I shall be among the first to congratulate him. These points are, however, of minor importance, and in no way affect the main thesis of his book,—to give a clear and accurate account of the origins and growth of the Bengali language. In this respect, every one who reads it will admit that the author has succeeded and that his volume is a fine example of wide knowledge, and of scholarly research.

RATHFARNHAM,  
CAMBERLEY (SURREY),  
OCTOBER, 1925.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

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idān nāma ṛṣibhyaḥ pūrvajēbhiah  
pūrvēbhyaḥ pathikṛdbhiah

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āvīr āvīr ma ēdhi

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utá tvaḥ páśyan ná dadarśa vācam  
utá tvaḥ śṛṇvān ná śṛṇōti ēnām  
utó tuasmāi tanúam ví sasrē  
jāyēva pátyē usatí suvāsāḥ

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## PREFACE

In 1921 the University of London accepted my thesis on 'the Origin and Development of the Bengali Language' for the degree of 'Doctor of Literature.' The present work is substantially the same thesis, but it has been entirely re-written and in some portions re-arranged, and has also been considerably augmented by the inclusion of some new matter.

The idea of systematically investigating the history of my mother-tongue first struck me over twelve years ago when I was at college in my native town of Calcutta reading for the Master of Arts examination in English with Old and Middle English and History of the English Language and a little Germanic Philology as my special subjects. The modern methods of linguistic investigation which I saw applied to English filled me with admiration and enthusiasm; and as the problem of Indo-European is equally connected with my own speech, my interests naturally began to turn wistfully in that direction. From Morris and Skeat, Sweet and Wright, and Jespersen and the rest, and from Helfenstein and Brugmann,—masters of Indo-Aryan philology like Uhlenbeck and Wackernagel, Whitney and Pischel, Beames and Bhandarkar, Hoernle and Grierson and others were naturally approached and studied for guidance and light: and I began also to look round myself, to observe facts in the words as written and as actually spoken. A few years of haphazard reading and observation, and taking notes, and stumbling on in this way, while working as Assistant Professor and Lecturer in English and in Comparative Philology in the University of Calcutta; and then in 1916 I presented as a three years' research programme for the Premchand Roychand Studentship of the Calcutta University a scheme for 'an Essay towards an Historical and

Comparative Grammar of the Bengali Language,' with a specimen of my work embodied in a thesis on 'the Sounds of Modern Bengali' as a preliminary to the investigation of Bengali Phonology. My programme and my thesis were approved by the adjudicators, the late 'Principal Rāmēndra Sundara Trivēdi and Mahāmahōpādhyāya Paṇḍit Haraprasāda Śāstri, M.A., C.I.E. For the University Jubilee Research Prize for the following year the subject was announced as 'Comparative Philology with special reference to the Bengali Dialects,' and this allowed me an opportunity to put into shape my notes on the dialects of Bengali, while winning me the prize. The three years' work as Premchand Roychand student consisted of a monograph on the Persian element in Bengali, a study of the Bengali verb and verb-roots, and a study of the language of the Old Bengali Caryā poems, combined with further notes on Bengali Phonetics.

In 1919 I was selected for a Government of India linguistic scholarship for the scientific study of Sanskrit in Europe. My three years' stay in Europe, during 1919-1922, at the Universities of London and Paris, has naturally enough been of the greatest value for me in my work. It enabled me to come in touch in London with scholars like Dr. L. D. Barnett, with whom I read Prakrit, and who supervised my work in London; Dr. F. W. Thomas, who as lecturer in Comparative Philology at University College guided me in my study of Indo-European Philology; Professor Daniel Jones, under whom I studied Phonetics, who was not only my « śikṣā-guru » but also a warm friend and helper; besides Sir E. Denison Ross, Director of the School of Oriental Studies, and most sympathetic of men, and Professor R. W. Chambers (of University College), and Messrs. E. H. G. Grattan and Robin Flower (also of University College), whose classes respectively in Persian, Old English, Gothic and Old Irish I attended; and in Paris, I had the privilege of sitting at the feet of a master like Professor Antoine Meillet for different branches of Indo-European linguistics, and of studying Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan philology under Professor Jules Bloch, besides meeting other eminent scholars like Professors Sylvain Lévi, Paul Pelliot and Jean



Przyluski. While I was in England Sir George Grierson took a personal interest in my work, an interest which manifested itself in many ways and which he in his kindness and his love of science still retains. This has benefited me to the greatest degree imaginable; and the fellowship of common studies with this *doyen* of Indo-Aryan Linguistics which it has been my very great fortune to enjoy, has been, along with my coming in similar personal touch with Professor Jules Bloch, an inspiration in my studies and my labours; and I may say the same of my coming to know Professor Meillet, the *savant* and the teacher. To all these gentlemen I have to convey my most grateful thanks for all their kindnesses and for all that I have received from them as their pupil.

The work, while it was being prepared in London in 1920-1921, had the advantage of being looked over in its first draft (except in some sections relating to the verb) by Dr. Barnett: and I am very grateful to him for much helpful advice in suggesting improvements in arrangement and in the general treatment, as well as for some references. After it was approved by the University of London, Sir George Grierson, in spite of his very heavy and urgent scientific work, honoured my book, in MS., by a careful perusal, and his criticisms and suggestions he embodied in several pages of notes. Professor Jules Bloch also did the same thing. These notes I constantly kept beside me in re-writing my thesis. Everywhere I have profited by their criticisms, and in most cases I have accepted their suggestions. I have also received some references and one or two suggestions from my friends in Calcutta while finally preparing the work for the press, and these have been acknowledged in their proper places. I have to mention here specially the names of Professor Hem Chandra Rāychaudhuri, my old college friend and colleague in the University, and of Professor Satyendranāth Basu of the University of Dacca, for some suggestions in the earlier part of the work.

In preparing the present work, the plan adopted by Professor Bloch in his 'Formation de la Langue marathe' has given me the clearest notions about what a book on the origin and development of a modern Indo-Aryan language should contain: and Professor Bloch's work, which



Sir George Grierson has described as 'without any doubt the most important book dealing with the Modern Indian languages that has appeared since the publication of Hoernle's *Grammar of the Gaudian Languages* in 1880,' has, in the clarity of its exposition and in the width of its erudition as well as in the sureness of its judgment, offered me the best model that I could have. But in my own book, as I find, I had to discuss many points, some of them side-issues, especially in the *Introduction*, which should be but merely touched upon in a work of a professedly linguistic character, not being immediately *à propos* for history of language; and perhaps, I had to be fuller in detail; and at times, repetition became unavoidable. That was due partly to the fact that an appreciation of the racial, historical and cultural background was thought to be helpful in following the linguistic development; and the reason of the repetition is that the work of re-writing and printing my book went hand-in-hand (so that I had no opportunity of surveying the present work as a whole before the printing of it was finished), and that the same phenomenon had to be viewed from different aspects, and a repetition of a fact or an argument was felt to be necessary where a mere reference was not enough. I hope, however, that the general unity of the work has not suffered thereby. I have tried my best not to be dogmatic, and although I had to speculate and hypothesize at times to explain facts, I hope I have not let loose my fancy to roam freely, unchecked by the restraints of science. In my book no great points have been raised, no remarkable theories advanced: and fortunately there is hardly any scope for that. I have simply tried to apply the methods of Comparative Philology, as accepted by the present-day masters of the science, in working out the history of Bengali. A number of things have come into my notice as one of the first workers in the field along what may be called scientific lines, at least among Bengali speakers: and these would strike any other observer. Many of the views expressed may ultimately prove to be wrong, with the accession of new facts—as, for instance, from the systematic study of the dialects of Bengali and of the cognate speeches. The work here submitted, however, is the outcome of sincere labour in a subject for which I have the greatest love,

and it is here presented as an Essay towards an Historical and Comparative Grammar of Bengali, and as a contribution towards the scientific study of the Modern Aryan languages of India.

Linguistics as a modern science is still in its infancy in India, and the meagre dose of 'Comparative Philology' or 'Historical Grammar' which our college students reading advanced courses in Sanskrit or English, not supplementing it by any acquaintance with another cognate language of equal importance, most unwillingly gulp down, is hopelessly inadequate to create an intelligent interest in the subject. Added to this initial difficulty, Indo-Aryan linguistics both of the classical and modern periods has formed the favourite haunt of mere amateurs who seek to compensate for their want of knowledge of the principles of historical grammar and of the modern science of language by professing utter contempt of it; and the professed student of literature who knows the language but not its history shares in this contempt. To make confusion worse confounded, the spirit of scholasticism is not yet dead: we have elaborate grammars of Sanskrit masquerading as Bengali grammar, in which the genuine Bengali forms have been branded as vulgar (*asādhu*) beside the so-called 'polite' (*sādhu*) forms borrowed from Sanskrit. The first professedly historical grammar and etymological dictionary of Bengali (by that erudite and versatile scholar Rāi Bahādur Yogesh Chandra Rāy Vidyānidhi, published by the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Bengali year 1319-1322), for instance, has not been able to shake off the Sanskrit idea by appreciating the true line of linguistic development. A historical grammar of Bengali in the true sense of the term there has never been in Bengali; and there has not been a work exclusively on Bengali by any European scholar, on the lines of Trumpp's *Sindhi Grammar*, or Kellogg's *Hindī Grammar*, or C. J. Lyall's *Sketch of Hindustani*, to guide the Bengali scholar in acquiring a true perspective which the too near presence of Sanskrit and the fact of the language being his mother-tongue generally blur for him. But there have at times been refreshing manifestations of common sense in writing grammars of Bengali. The first Bengali to write a grammar of his mother-tongue was the Father



of Modern India, the great Rājā Ram Mohun Roy, whose work was published in English in 1826, and in Bengali in 1833; and he knew what we should mean by 'Bengali.' Chintāmaṇi Gāṅguli's book (published in the early eighties) is a great advance on the so-called Bengali grammars of the period, and in recent times we have Nakulēśvara Vidyābhūṣaṇa's little book (first edition Bengali year 1305, fourth edition 1315), and mention may be made of Hṛṣīkēśa Śāstri's book (Bengali year 1307 = 1900). But the first Bengali with a scientific insight to attack the problems of the language was the poet Rabindranath Tagore; and it is flattering for the votaries of Philology to find in one who is the greatest writer in the language, and a great poet and seer for all time, a keen philologist as well, distinguished alike by an assiduous enquiry into the facts of the language and by a scholarly appreciation of the methods and findings of the modern western philologist. The work of Rabindranath is in the shape of a few essays (now collected in one volume) on Bengali phonetics, Bengali onomatopoeics, and on the Bengali noun, and on other topics, the earliest of which appeared in the early nineties, and some fresh papers appeared only several years ago. These papers may be said to have shown to the Bengali enquiring into the problems of his language the proper lines of approaching them.

Two works, however, though not on historical grammar, have been specially useful in writing this book, and I cannot be too grateful to the scholars responsible for them. These are the Bengali Dictionary of Jñānēndra Mōhan Dās, and the edition of the 'Śri-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana,' our most important Middle Bengali text, by Basanta Raṅjan Rāy Vidvadvallabha. The former work presents the richest collection of material for phonology and for the study of the formative affixes of both New Bengali and Middle Bengali; and the latter with its excellent commentary and word index, especially the latter, has been an invaluable help for both phonology and morphology. For the rest, stray papers and monographs on points of vocabulary and grammar, in the Journal of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad and in periodicals like the 'Prabāsi,' have at times been requisitioned. These latter of course are not always

up-to-date in their methods, but have nevertheless been very useful. My obligations in each case are indicated at the proper place. In connexion with the chapter on the Phonology of the Persian Element in Bengali, I have to acknowledge gratefully the assistance I received from my friend Khān Bahādūr Shamsu-l-'Ulamā Maulavī Muḥammad Hidāyat Husain, Ph.D., of the Presidency College, Calcutta, with whom I went through my list of Perso-Arabic loan-words in Bengali in relation to their original forms.

I have not given a bibliography separately, as all the books consulted or referred to have been sufficiently described in the text.

To indicate the pronunciation I have given phonetic transcriptions [within square brackets] in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association slightly modified for Bengali. This has been noted in a special section immediately before the list of *Contents*.

The book is now placed before the public, and while I do so I recall with the greatest sorrow that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is no longer in our midst to see it completed. Sir Asutosh's services to his University and to his people and his towering personality are well known in our country, and I need not dilate upon them here. For the foreign scholar interested in Indian Philology and in the spread of modern science in India to form some idea of the work of Sir Asutosh in the University of Calcutta, I would refer to the obituary note on him from Professor Sylvain Lévi, who had occasion to know the man as well as his ideals and achievements, in the 'Journal Asiatique' for 1924. In his sudden and untimely death in May 1924, I mourn the loss not only of a great national figure but also of a personal friend, and especially of one who was keenly interested in this work. Those of us who were privileged to come in intimate touch with his personality and followed his lead in university matters can say wholeheartedly that his indeed was a « svādu sakhyam » as well as a « svādvi praṇītiḥ ». After my return from Europe late in 1922, I was at a loss how to print my book, and naturally I turned to Sir Asutosh, my patron, my friend, philosopher and guide. Sir Asutosh had watched my career abroad, and he at once offered to publish my book through my *Alma*



*Mater.* For over a decade before that time, Sir Asutosh had been actively engaged in establishing and furthering the study of Bengali and other Indian Modern Languages in the University of Calcutta. He was responsible for the foundation of the first post of research-lecturer for an Indian language in an Indian University—the Bengali research fellowship established in 1913. After creating the University Departments of Post-graduate Teaching and Research in Arts and Science in 1916, which formally transformed Calcutta University from an examining body (teaching but indirectly through affiliated colleges) into a teaching and investigating one, he instituted the study of Indian Vernaculars as a subject for the M. A. examination in 1919. He made provision for the teaching of all the important vernaculars of India, Aryan and Dravidian; and at his instance important volumes of typical selections from the different North Indian languages were undertaken and published. In 1922, he founded the Khaira chair of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics with the endowments furnished by the late Kumār Guruprasād Singh of Khaira, and selected me as its incumbent. Sir Asutosh's idea was to establish in Calcutta a school of Indian philology, in the widest sense of the term. He had a number of well thought-out plans, but death has put a stop to all of them. When my book was taken up by the University Press, Sir Asutosh showed a personal interest in it, and after the initial difficulties in preparing the necessary types with diacritical marks were overcome, thanks to his solicitude, he watched the progress of the work, and was at times impatient at the delay. It was a most cherished hope of mine that he would see the completion of the work, and it is my greatest regret that this hope remains unfulfilled.

While carrying the book through the press, I have received uniform kindness and encouragement from everybody concerned, and I cannot be too grateful to them. I have to express my thanks especially to the Assistant Registrar of the University, Bābu Yogesh Chandra Chakravartti, M.A., whose unfailing courtesy and prompt action have been of great help; to Bābu Atul Chandra Ghaṭak, M.A., Superintendent

of the University Press, who took a keen interest in my book, and granted me every facility that the University Press could offer, and allowed me many special privileges : his kindness has been constant during the three years that the book took to print—the first forme was printed early in 1923, and the last ones in 1926 ; to Bābu Kālīpada Dās, B.A., Chief Assistant in the University Press, whose expert proof-reading and whose most intelligent interest have saved me from many a typographical error and many a *lapsus calami*. I have also to record that the compositors in the University Press, Bengali young men all of them, appreciated my labours and gave their most cheerful coöperation. A number of typographical errors nevertheless will appear. For these I am to a large extent responsible, as all the proofs from first to last (there were sometimes five or six proofs to read before one forme could be printed) were corrected by me. In the *Additions and Corrections* at the end of the book I have pointed out such typographical and other errors as have come to my notice, but I fear some more, though I hope they are of a trivial sort, have escaped my scrutiny, and for this I crave the indulgence of the reader.

For the *Index*, I am indebted to Bābu Sukumār Sēn, M.A., Lecturer in Comparative Philology, formerly pupil and now colleague in the University. He very kindly volunteered to prepare an index of all the Bengali words, and thus relieved me of a great burden. As he has been one of the very few serious students of Comparative Philology in our midst, whose enthusiasm for the subject is as great and as sound as his conscientious industry and his scholarly outlook, and who is himself engaged in philological researches, I could not wish this part of the work to be entrusted into better hands. He has the best thanks of his whilom teacher and friend.

I have indicated the scope of my work in a detailed list of *Contents*, and a further index of the topics discussed, as well as of the names, would have increased the bulk of the work and delayed the publication for a still longer period. The *Contents* I hope will be found to be enough.





## ABBREVIATIONS

- A.C. = After Christ.  
Ap. = Apabhraṅśa.  
Arab. = Arabic.  
ASB. = Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.  
B.C. = Before Christ.  
B., Beng. = Bengali.  
Bib. Ind. = Bibliotheca Indica Series, ASB.  
Bib. Nat. = Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.  
BSOS. = Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.  
Coll. = Colloquial.  
DMG. = Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Berlin.  
Drav. = Dravidian.  
E. = East, Eastern.  
EB. = East Bengal, East Bengali.  
eMB. = Early Middle Bengali.  
eMIA. = Early Middle Indo-Aryan.  
Ep. Ind. = Epigraphia Indica.  
Hind. = Hindōstānī.  
IA. = Indo-Aryan.  
IAnt. = Indian Antiquary, Bombay.  
IE. = Indo-European.  
IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen, Berlin.  
I.-Ir. = Indo-Iranian.  
JA. = Journal Asiatique, Paris.  
JAOS. = Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven.  
JASB. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.



- JBBRAS.=Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
 JBORS.=Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.  
 JRAS.=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.  
 KKC.=‘Kavi-kaṅkaṇa Caṅḍī,’ Vaṅga-vāsi edition.  
 Langue Marathe=‘La Formation de la Langue marathe’ by Jules Bloch,  
 Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études, Paris, 1919.  
 LSI.=Linguistic Survey of India.  
 LMB.=Late Middle Bengali.  
 LMIA.=Late Middle Indo-Aryan.  
 Māg.=Māgadhī.  
 MB.=Middle Bengali.  
 MIA.=Middle Indo-Aryan.  
 MSL.=Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, Paris.  
 N.=North, Northern.  
 NB.=New Bengali.  
 N.E.=North-East, North-Eastern.  
 NIA.=New Indo-Aryan.  
 N.W.=North-West, North-Western.  
 OB.=Old Bengali.  
 OIA.=Old Indo-Aryan.  
 OWR.=Old Western Rājasthānī.  
 Pers.=Persian.  
 Pers.-Arab.=Perso-Arabic.  
 Pkt.=Prakrit.  
 S.=South, Southern.  
 Śaur.=Śaurasēnī.  
 SBE.=Sacred Books of the East Series, Oxford.  
 S.E.=South-East, South-Eastern.  
 ŚKK.=‘Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana,’ edited by Basanta-Raṅjana Rāya, VSPd.,  
 Bengali year 1323.  
 Skt.=Sanskrit.  
 SPd.=Sāhitya Pariṣad.  
 Stand.=Standard.

*sts., stss.* = semi-tatsama, semi-tatsamas.

*S.W.* = South-West, South-Western.

*tbh., tbs.* = tadbhava, tadbhavas.

*ts., tss.* = tatsama, tatsamas.

*U.P.* = United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

*VSP.* = 'Vanga Sāhitya Paricaya' or Typical Selections from Early Bengali Literature, Two Volumes, Calcutta University, 1914.

*VSPd.* = Vangya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta.

*VSPdP.* = 'Vangya Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā.'

*W.* = West, Western.

*ZDMG.* = Zeitschrift der Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Leipzig.

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## SIGNS

- > means *gives, leads to, results in, is changed to, giving, leading to, etc.* :  
*e.g., « hasta > hattha > hātha > hātḥ ».*
- < means *comes from, is derived from, coming from, being derived from, etc.* :  
*e.g., « hātḥ < hātha < hattha < hasta ».*
- = indicates a cognate form, or a source type.
- \* before a word or affix indicates a hypothetical form not preserved in literature, but reconstructed : *e.g., « dīpa-rakṣa- + -uka- > \*dīva-rakkh-ua- > \*dīa-rākhūā > dērḥkhō ».* This is found with forms in Indo-European, Indo-Iranian and other hypothetical stages of the speech, as well as in intermediate forms in Indo-Aryan.
- ? before a word or form indicates doubt as to the form proposed, or the form being the source of the word or connected with the word under discussion.
- ✓ means root.
- ‡ before a word means it is dialectal, and not universally recognised.
- † before a word indicates that it is obsolete.
- + joins up the component parts which are at the basis of a Modern Indo-Aryan or other word.
- , the hyphen, has been used to analyse words into their roots and affixes. When a word (Sanskrit or Pali or otherwise) is given with a hyphen at the end, it indicates merely the base form, to which other additions of suffixes or inflexions were made. Prefixes similarly have a hyphen after them, and suffixes and inflexions before them.
- ' ' : names of books are given within inverted commas.
- ◀ ▶ have been used in all *transliterated* forms, except when they occur by themselves within ordinary brackets (    ).
- [ ] square brackets enclose words in *phonetic transcription* (and in some cases also ordinary English words, and transliterated forms, occurring within ordinary brackets).
- ( ) in a transliterated or phonetically transcribed word shows that the letter or sound occurs optionally, and can be omitted either in writing or in pronunciation.



## TRANSLITERATION

### TRANSLITERATION OF BENGALI.

অ has been transcribed as < ā >, when the original sound of [o] (see below, under *Phonetic Transcription*) is retained ; as < ā' > or < ō > indifferently, when as a result of Umlaut and loss of following < i > or < u > the sound is altered to [o] : when the spelling is kept in view, < ā' > has been used, and when the pronunciation, < ō >. The letter < ā > represents a long অ < ā > sound which seems to have resulted in OB. and MB. from an earlier group < āă, āwă, āhă >. A quiescent অ, not indicated in the Bengali spelling by ্ (= the < virāma > or < hasanta >), is transcribed < ʃ >, i.e. a deleted < a >: e.g., অনল = < ānāʃ >, but চ'ল < cā'llā (cōllō) >. In a final য < yā >, where it represents an earlier < -ō >, the < ā > has not been noted : য = < -y >. In personal names and names of books, simple < a > has been used for অ, and not < ā >, and the symbol < ʃ > also has not been employed.

আ, ই, ঐ, উ, ঊ have been transcribed respectively as < ā, i, ī, u, ū >. As results of < sandhi >, < ā, ī, ū > also have been employed. ই, উ forming separate syllables, in writing at least, are denoted by < ī, ū >.

ঋ, ৠ have been transcribed as < r̄, l̄ >, with a vertical bar below, the commoner < r, l > being retained respectively for the so-called 'cerebral r' (৞, য়) and for the 'cerebral l' (= ৠ, not found in Bengali).

এ, ঐ, ও, ঔ = < ē, ai, ō, au >; < Sandhi > এ, ও = < é, ó >.

ং = < ũ > or < m̄ >; ঃ = < ḥ >; ̣ = < ̣ > on the top of the vowel (e.g., ঁ = ā, ঞ = ā, ঝ = ī, ঞ̣ = ī; ঔ = ū, ঔ̣ = ū; ঁ̣ = ē, ঔ̣ = ō).

ক, খ, গ, ঘ, ঙ = < k, kh, g, gh, ŋ >.

চ, ছ, জ, ঝ, ঞ = < c, ch, j, jh, ñ >.

ট, ঠ, ড, ঢ, ণ = < ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ >; ʈ, ʈ̣ = < ṭ, ṭh >.

ত, থ, দ, ধ, ন = < t, th, d, dh, n >.

প, ফ, ব, ভ, ম = < p, ph, b, bh, m >.



य = < j > in *tadbhavas* mainly ; and in some cases in *tatsamas*, य = < y >.

See below, under य.

र, ण = < r, l >.

ब = < b > when initial, intervocal and final, < w > when post-consonantal.

ष, स, श = respectively < ś, ṣ, ś >.

ह = < h >.

य = < y >. य or र, subscript or post-consonantal (= ळ) is transcribed < y >.

य has in some cases been ignored, where it stands for the < w > glide.

Glide य has been occasionally transcribed as < ŷ > and also as < Ẃ > (see text, pp. 338-342). The group ळ has generally been transcribed as < w >, (or < Ẃ > to indicate its character as a glide sound).

क्ष = < kṣ >; ज्ञ = < jñ >.

#### TRANSLITERATION OF SANSKRIT.

On the lines for Bengali as above. Practically the Geneva System has been followed.

< ē, ō > have invariably been used for ए, ओ, to emphasise upon their long quantity ; and the long diphthongs ऐ, औ are written < āi, āu >. Accent in Vedic has been denoted by < ' > on the vowel bearing it : e.g., < á, í, ř', á, ú >. The < anusvāra > has been indicated by < ṅ > or by < ṁ > following the etymology.

च = < ç >; ञ = < ř > (i.e., < ř̄ >); छ = < ç >; झ = < ç >; ञ्ह = < |h >.

व has been denoted by < v > as usual, but in some cases, < w > has been employed, to emphasise upon the bilabial pronunciation.

For < ə >, see under *Phonetic Transcription* below.

#### TRANSLITERATION OF PRAKRIT.

< ă, ǽ, ǿ > have been used to emphasise on their short quantity before double consonants. Disyllabic groups—< aī, aū >.

The < anusvāra > = < ṅ, ṁ >.

The < ya-śruti > has been denoted by < ŷ >, and < Ẃ > has been used for a similar < w > glide.

In some cases, spirant pronunciation has been indicated by < ç, ř, ǿ, ǿ >.

For < ə >, see under *Phonetic Transcription* below.

OTHER INDIAN LANGUAGES.

Quiescent « ă » has not as a rule been indicated in languages other than Bengali by « ǰ » as it has been done in Bengali, except to make clear the derivation of a form or word in a particular case.

Ōṛiyā and Assamese « ă », as in Bengali.

Bihārī « ă », a rounded vowel sound as in Middle Bengali.

Small « a, i, u », at the top of the line, indicate the attenuated final vowels of Maithilī, Sindhī, etc.

The diphthongs are written « âi, âu » for Ōṛiyā and Assamese, and « ai, au » for the rest. The nasalised diphthongs are « aī, aū ».

The stops with simultaneous glottal closure, as for instance in East Bengali and in Sindhī, have « ' » after them: e.g., « g', b' ».

Generally « ɾ, ɹh » have been used for intervocal ɾ(ɾ), ɹ(ɹ) « ɖ, ɢh » where these letters are pronounced as the 'cerebral r, rh.'

For the letter ɾ, « v, w » have indifferently been used: generally « w » for Hindōstānī. Assamese and Ōṛiyā follow the Bengali way— « b-, -b », « -b- » (intervocal), « -w- » (post-consonantal).

Tamil palatals have been indicated by the italic « n, r, t », and the Tamil voiced cerebral spirant by « ɺ ».

« ž » is the voiced form of the sibilant « ś » = ɾ of Skt., which occurred in Indo-Iranian.

« ç » has been used for the palatal fricative sound, unvoiced, of Indo-Iranian.

PERSIAN AND ARABIC.

For the transliteration and phonetic transcription from these speeches, see under 'Phonology of the Foreign Element: Persian,' forming Chapter VI. of *Phonology*, pp. 559 ff., esp. p. 573.

« x » has generally been employed to indicate the letter ǧ: the usual transcription is « kh » or « k̤h ».

« š » = ش, *sh* of English; « ž » = ǧ, or *s* as in English *pleasure* = French *j*.



## PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION

The symbols are those employed by the International Phonetic Association. An introduction to this system is to be found in 'The Principles of the International Phonetic Association' London, 1912, and 'L'Écriture phonétique internationale,' London, 1921 publications of the Association. See also G. Noël-Armfield's 'General Phonetics,' 3rd ed., Cambridge, 1924. The symbols occurring in the present book are given below.

- [:] after a symbol denotes length of the sound indicated by it, whether a vowel or a consonant; [˜] on the top of a vowel indicates nasalised pronunciation; and [ˈ] before a syllable indicates stress upon it and [ˈˈ] indicates strong stress. The little vertical bar [̣] beside a stop sound shows that it is unexploded, e.g., [p̣, ṭ, ḳ].
- [a]: 'front a,' as in North English *man, cat*, heard in dialectal West Bengali pronunciation of a word like কা'ল [ka:l] *yesterday, tomorrow*, as opposed to কাল [ka:l] *time*. Nasalised form = [ã].
- [ɐ]: a central vowel occurring in Modern Portuguese: see pp. 621-622.
- [ɑ]: 'back' or 'central' a—as in Standard Bengali কাকা [kaka] *uncle*, আমি [ami] *I*. Nasalised form = [ã].
- [æ]: the sound of a as in Southern English *man, cat* = West Bengali sound as in কেন [kæno] *why*, ত্যাগ [tæ:g] *abandonment*. Nasalised form = [æ̃].
- [ɒ]: the sound of o as in Southern English *hot, lot*: it occurred in Old Bengali for the later অ = [ɔ] (see below): see Text, p. 258. It is a kind of [ɔ] without lip-rounding.
- [b]: as in English = the Bengali ব.
- [bʰ]: made with simultaneous glottal closure, as in Sindhī, or in dialectal East Bengali, e.g., [bʰa:t] *boiled rice* = Standard ভাত [bʱa:t].



- [bf] : the  $\text{ɸ}$  of Sanskrit and Hindī etc. : the voiced labial stop aspirated.
- [b] : bilabial fricative, the same as [v] for which see below.
- [c] : palatal stop, unvoiced—the old sound of Skt.  $\text{ç}$ —resembling in acoustic effect a fronted or palatalised  $\text{< k >}$ , i.e., a sort of  $\text{< ky >}$
- [ch] : the same aspirated = the old sound of Skt.  $\text{ç}$ .
- [ç] : palatal affricate, unvoiced = the West Bengali  $\text{ç}$ .
- [çh] : unvoiced palatal affricate, aspirated = West Bengali  $\text{ç}$ .
- [ç̣] : unvoiced palatal fricative, the sound of  $\text{çh}$  in German *ich* : the old value of the Skt.  $\text{ç}$ .
- [d] : interdental stop, voiced =  $\text{ɸ}$  of Bengali. (In OIA., this sound was alveolar).
- [dʰ] : the same, with accompanying glottal closure, as in dialectal East Bengali [dʰa:n] *paddy* = Standard Bengali  $\text{দাঁ$  [dʰa:n].
- [dʱ] : voiced interdental stop, aspirated =  $\text{ɸ}$  of Standard Bengali.
- [d̪] : voiced alveolar stop, as in English and Assamese.
- [d̪ʰ] : voiced cerebral or retroflex stop made with curled-up tongue-tip =  $\text{ɸ}$  of Sanskrit. The Bengali  $\text{ড}$  is of the same class, but it is pronounced at a lower position, approaching the alveolar region.
- [d̪ʰ̣] : the above, with accompanying glottal closure : found in Sindhi, and in dialectal East Bengali, e.g., [d̪ʰ̣a:k] *drum, tom-tom; to cover* = Standard Bengali  $\text{ঢাক}$  [d̪ʰ̣a:k].
- [d̪ʱ] : voiced cerebral stop aspirated = Sanskrit  $\text{ɸ}$ , West Bengali  $\text{ɸ}$ .
- [ð] : voiced interdental spirant = *th* in English *this* [ðis], *then* [ðɛn], same as ð of Arabic as in  $\text{ذات}$  [ða:t],  $\text{نذر}$  [naðr] etc.
- [d̪̠] : voiced dental or alveolar stop, velarised, i.e. made with simultaneous raising of the back of the tongue : occurring in Arabic (see Text, pp. 567ff).
- [d̪̠ʰ] : voiced alveolar unilateral, velarised : occurring in Arabic (see p. 568).
- [d̪z] : voiced dental or alveolar affricate = dialectal East Bengali  $\text{ç}$ .
- [d̪ʒ] : voiced supra-alveolar or palatal affricate, as in English *judge* = [d̪ʒ̠ad̪ʒ̠].
- [e] : high-mid front vowel, as in West Bengali  $\text{দেশ}$  [de:ʃ] *land, country*. Nasalised form = [ẽ].

- [ɔ̃] : 'semi-vowel e,' the Bengali *ɔ̃* as in *মাঁচা* [mãɔ̃] (Skt. *माया* = *ma:īa:*]).
- [ɛ̃] : a sound intermediate between [e] and [ɛ] (see below).
- [ə] : the 'neutral vowel' or 'shēvā'—a central vowel as in English *again* [əgeɪn], Hindōstānī *चूरत* [mu:rət] *image*, *রতন* [ratən] *gem*, etc.
- [ɛ] : low-mid front vowel, as in dialectal East Bengali *কেবল* [kebol] *only*, or in English *get* [gɛt]. Nasalised form = [ɛ̃].
- [ɜ] : a central vowel, as in English *bird*, *her* [bɜ:d, hɜ:(ɹ)].
- [f] : unvoiced denti-labial spirant, as in English. Often heard in Bengali for *ফ* = [ph].
- [ɸ] : unvoiced bilabial spirant, the puffing sound made in blowing out a candle : commonly heard in Bengali for *ফ* = [ph] (in dialectal East Bengali also for *প* = [p]).
- [g] : velar stop, voiced = English *g* in *go*, Bengali *গ*. (The symbol generally used for this sound in the IPA. alphabet is [g]).
- [gʷ] : the above, with glottal closure : found in Sindhi, and in dialectal East Bengali, as in [gʷo:r] = Standard Bengali *ঘর* [gʷo:r] *house*.
- [gʰ] : voiced velar stop, aspirated = Skt. *घ*, West Bengali *ঘ*.
- [ɣ] : voiced velar fricative = *ğ* of Persian : found in dialectal East Bengali in an intervocal position.
- [ŋ] : voiced uvular stop (the IPA. symbol commonly used is [ŋ]).
- [ɣ̤] : voiced uvular fricative = Arabic *ġ*.
- [h] : unvoiced glottal fricative, 'unvoiced h,' the *h* sound of English, as in *hat*, *happy*. This is the Skt. and Bengali «visarga», and the «prāṇa» or aspiration in the «aghōṣa mahā-prāṇa» or unvoiced aspirated sounds—[kh, ch (çh), ṭh, th, ph].
- [ɦ] : voiced glottal fricative, or 'voiced h' = English *h* as in *behind* [bəhaɪnd], *perhaps* [pəɦæps]; = Sanskrit *ह*, Bengali *হ*, Arabic *ه*.
- [ħ] : a whispered *h*, = *ح*, the so-called 'emphatic h' of Arabic.
- [i] : high front vowel, unrounded, as in Bengali *দীন* [di:n] *poor*, *দিন* [di:n] *day*, English *seen* [si:n, si:n]. Nasalised form = [ĩ].
- [ɪ] : high front vowel, retracted and brought down very near high-mid position = English *i* as in *pit* [pɪt].
- [ɪ̃] : 'semi-vowel or consonantal i' : the old value of Skt. *य*.



- [j] : voiced palatal fricative, like English *y* in *yes* [jɛs].
- [ʃ] : a stronger form of the preceding, with greater audible friction, approaching [ʒ], for which see below, after [z].
- [ɟ] : voiced palatal stop = Skt. ञ (the old pronunciation of which was like that of a fronted or palatalised ञ = « gy »).
- [tʃ] : palatal affricate, voiced = West Bengali জ.
- [tʃʰ] : palatal affricate, voiced, with glottal closure, found in dialectal East Bengali for the next sound, [tʃʃi], of Standard Bengali.
- [tʃʃi] : palatal affricate, voiced = West Bengali জ.
- [k] : unvoiced velar stop = Bengali ক, English *k* as in *baker* [beɪkə].
- [kʰ] : the same, aspirated slightly = the English sound in *cap* [kʰæp], *king* [kʰɪŋ].
- [kʰʰ] : the same, aspirated strongly = Skt. ख, Bengali খ.
- [l] : 'clear l,' as in South English *long* [lɒŋ], = Bengali ল.
- [ɭ] : 'dark l,' or velarised l, pronounced with simultaneous raising of the back of the tongue towards the soft palate, as in South English *well* [weɪɭ], *Bill* [bɪɭ].
- [ɭ̥] : 'cerebral l,' made with the curled-up tip of the tongue against the dome of the palate = Vedic ऌ. The same aspirated, ऌʰ = [ɭ̥ʰ].
- [ɭ̥] : 'vocalic l'—forming a syllable with another consonant = Skt. ल; like the *l* in English *bottle* [bɒt̥l̥, bɒt̥ʰ].
- [ɭ̥ʰ] : slightly palatalised l as in dialectal West Bengali (see p. 539).
- [ɭ̥ʰ] : 'palatal l,' pronounced with simultaneous raising of the front of the tongue towards the hard palate : a sound found in dialectal French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, etc.
- [m] : bilabial nasal = the Bengali ম.
- [m̥] : 'vocalic m,' as in English *bottom* [bɒt̥m̥].
- [u̯] : high back unrounded vowel = an [u] made with spread lips : found in Tamil, in Japanese, and in other languages.
- [n] : alveolar nasal = the Bengali ন.
- [ɳ] : retroflex or cerebral nasal = the Sanskrit ण.
- [n̥] : 'vocalic n,' as in English *button* [bʌt̥n̥].



- [ŋ] : velar nasal : the Skt. ञ, Bengali ঞ, English *ng* as in *sing* [sɪŋ].
- [ɲ] : palatal nasal : the Skt. ञ, Bengali ঞ, French and Italian *gn*, Spanish *ñ*.
- [o] : high-mid back vowel, rounded, = Bengali ও in লোক [lo:k] *person, world*. Nasalised form = [ɔ̃].
- [ø] : 'semi-vowel o,' e.g., Bengali ও in কাও [khaõ].
- [õ] : is a sound intermediate between [o] and [ɔ] (see below).
- [œ] : low-mid front vowel, rounded, = the French sound as in *cœur* [kœʁ].
- [ɔ̃] : low-mid back vowel, rounded : the sound as in English *law* [lɔ:], = Bengali অ. Nasalised form = [ɔ̃].
- [ɔ̃] : high-mid front vowel, rounded, = the German *ö* as in *schön* [ʃø:n], French *eu* as in *peu* [pø].
- [p] : bilabial stop, unvoiced : Bengali প.
- [pʰ] : the same, slightly aspirated : English *p* in *pat, pick* [pʰæt, pʰɪk].
- [pʰ] : the same, strongly aspirated : Skt. फ, proper sound of Bengali ফ.
- [q] : uvular stop, unvoiced, = Arabic ق.
- [r] : alveolar trilled, voiced : Bengali র, Scots English *r*.
- [ɾ] : flapped r, or so-called 'cerebral r' = Bengali ড়, Hindi ढ.
- [ɾ̃] : 'vocalic r' : = Skt. ञ.
- [ɹ] : 'fricative r,' alveolar, as in South English.
- [ɻ] : retroflex fricative r, = the Tamil sound often transliterated < ɻ >.
- [r̥] : slightly palatalised r, as in dialectal West Bengali (see p. 539).
- [R] : trilled 'uvular r,' as in Northern French.
- [s] : dental or alveolar sibilant, = Skt. श, East Bengali ছ, English *s*.
- [s̥] : unvoiced dental or alveolar sibilant, velarised, = Arabic ص.
- [ʃ] : palatal sibilant made with the blade of the tongue, with slight lip-rounding, = English *sh*, Arabic and Persian ش (in *transcriptions* written < š >).
- [ʃ̣] : palatal sibilant made with the front of the tongue = Bengali শ, ষ, ণ.
- [ʃ̣̣] : cerebral or retroflex sibilant made with the tip of the tongue curled-up against the dome of the palate = Sanskrit ʃ.
- [t] : unvoiced inter-dental stop = Bengali ত. (The Skt. त was originally < danta-mūlīya > or alveolar, like the English *t*.)
- [tʰ] : the same, aspirated strongly = Sanskrit थ, Bengali থ.

- [t] : alveolar *t* as in English *better* [bɛtə].
- [tʰ] : the same slightly aspirated = English *t* in *tap, tip* [tʰæp, tʰɪp].
- [ɖ] : retroflex or cerebral stop, unvoiced, = *ṣ* of Skt. The Bengali *ṣ* is of the same class, but it is pronounced at a lower position, approaching the alveolar region.
- [tʰ] : the same aspirated = Sanskrit *ṣ*, Bengali *ṣ*.
- [ɖ̣] : unvoiced dental or alveolar stop, with velarisation, = Arabic *ṣ*.
- [ts̪] : unvoiced dental or alveolar affricate = East Bengali *ṣ*.
- [tʃ̪] : supra-alveolar and palatal affricate, unvoiced = English *ch* as in *church* = [tʃ̪ə:tʃ̪].
- [u] : high back rounded vowel = Bengali *উ, উ*. Nasalised form = [ũ].
- [ʊ] : high back rounded, slightly advanced and approaching the mid position, = English short *u* as in *put, book* [pʰʊt, buk].
- [v] : voiced denti-labial fricative, = English *v*; frequently heard in Bengali for *ṣ* = [bf].
- [ɸ] : voiced bilabial fricative: it is the common Indian value of the « antastha va » = *ṣ*: very commonly heard in Bengali for *ṣ* = [bf].
- [ʌ] : a central vowel (or rather, a low-mid back vowel), considerably advanced, found in English, as in *sun, enough* [sʌn, ɪnʌf] = the Hindi stressed *ṣ* as in *रतन* [ratən], and very probably also the Sanskrit « saṁvṛta » *ṣ*.
- [w] : bilabial semi-vowel, or 'consonantal u' (= [ũ]), as in English *wet, win*, the old value of the Skt. « antastha va » = *ṣ*.
- [ɸ̃] : bilabial semi-vowel, or fricative (= [ɸ]), nasalised, occurring in Apabhraṅśa, in Hindi, in Middle Bengali.
- [x] : velar spirant, unvoiced = German *ch* in *ach*, Persian *ç*: found in dialectal East Bengali. Occurs also in Slav, in Germanic: cf. pp. 243, 246, 387: see also p. 558. Ordinarily transcribed « *k̥h* »
- [χ] : uvular spirant, unvoiced, = the spirant form of [q].
- [y] : high front vowel, rounded — an [i] pronounced with rounded lips = French *u*, German *ü*.
- [z] : alveolar voiced spirant = English *z*, Persian *j*.
- [ʒ] : the same sound, velarised, occurring in Arabic (= *ḡ*)



[ʒ] : voiced palatal fricative = French *j*, Persian *ǰ*, (in *transliterations* from the Persian written « ڭ »).

[θ] : inter-dental fricative, unvoiced = English *th* in *thin, thank* [θɪn, θæŋk], Arabic ω.

[ʔ] : the 'glottal stop,' = Arabic 'hamzah' (أ, ؤ).

[ʕ] : the 'laryngeal fricative' = Arabic 'ʿayn' (ع).

(In *transliteration*, the above two are denoted respectively by « ' » and « ʿ »).

[n, ŋ, ñ, ɲ, m] are respectively the nasals [n, ŋ, ɲ, m] pronounced very brief : see pp. 360 ff.

[a, i, u] are the vowels [a] or [ɑ], [i] and [u] respectively, pronounced very brief.



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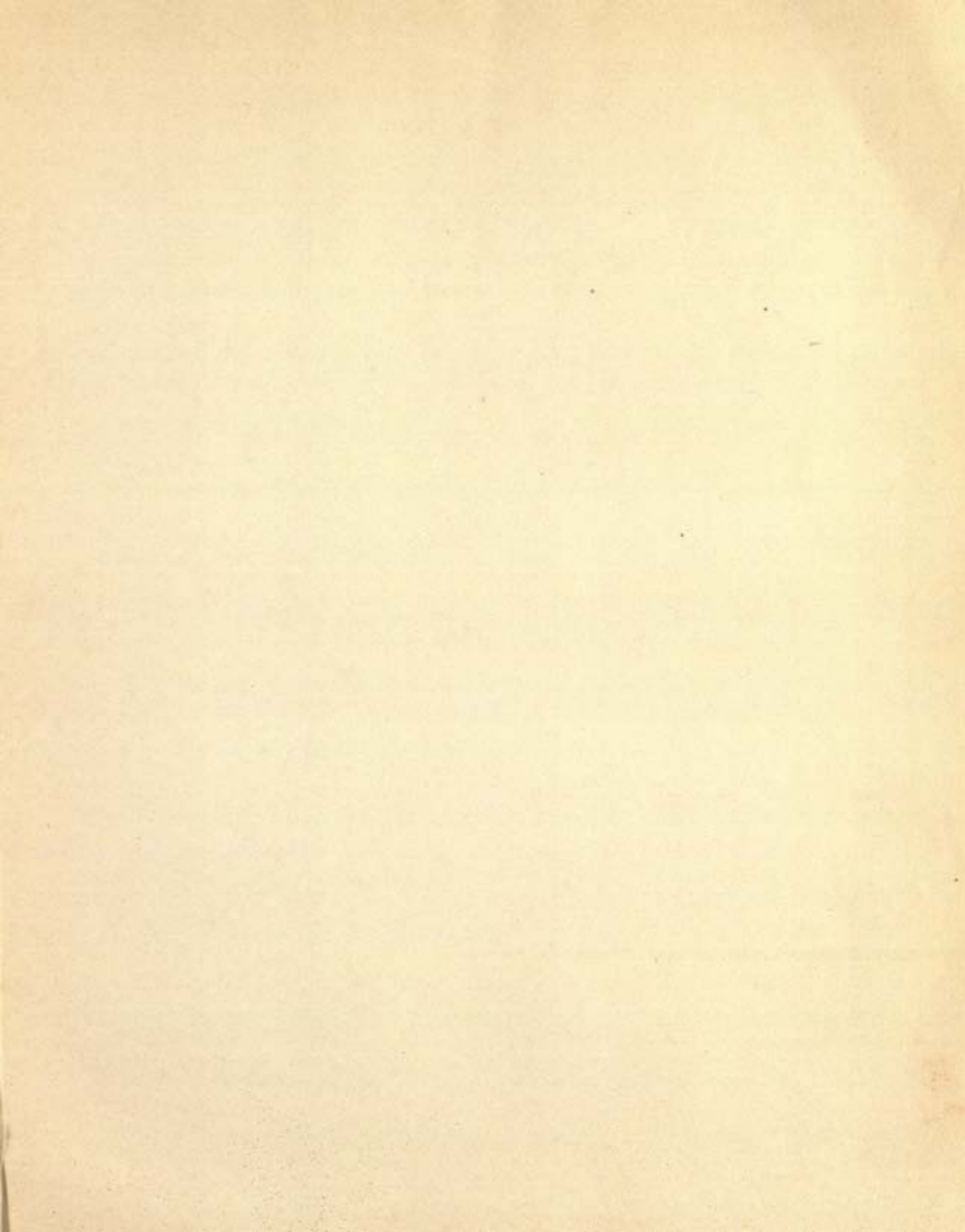
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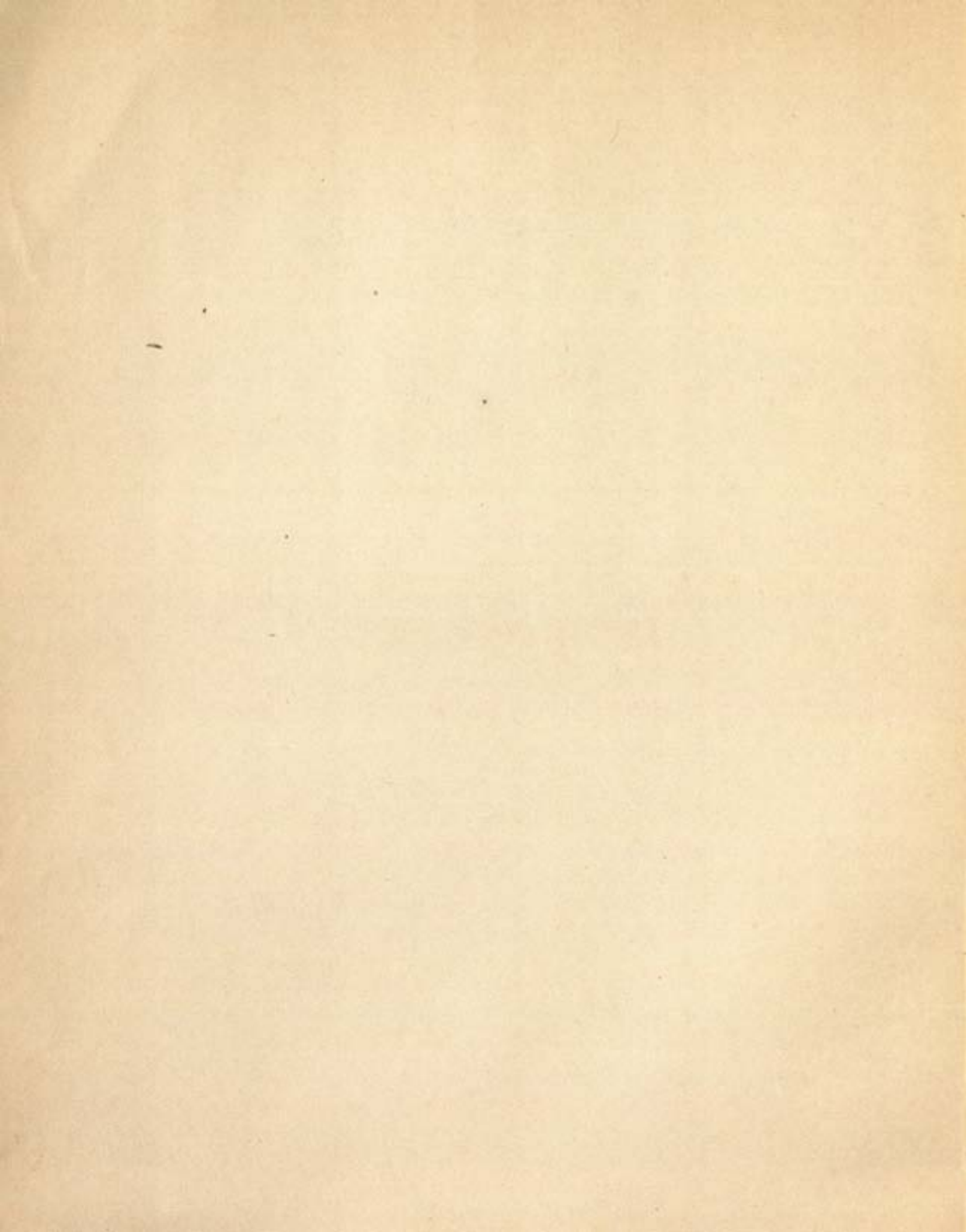
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## **INTRODUCTION**





## INTRODUCTION

1. Bengali is a member of the Indic group of the Indo-Iranian or Aryan branch of the Indo-European family of languages. With its sister-speech Assamese, Bengali forms the easternmost language in the IE. linguistic area, just as the Celtic Irish and the Germanic Icelandic are the westernmost. It has been in existence as an independent and characterised language, or, rather, as a distinct dialect group, for nearly ten centuries.

2. Among the languages and dialects of India, Bengali is the speech of the largest number of people,<sup>1</sup> 48,367,915 persons having returned it as their mother-tongue during the census of 1911. Bengali is spoken by 92 per cent. of the population of the province of Bengal; and portions of Assam and of Bihar and Orissa linguistically form parts of Bengal. Bengali shades off into its sister-languages Oriyā, Magahī and Maithilī in the west, and into Assamese in the north-east. Apart from other Indo-Aryan speeches, notably Hindōstānī (which is spoken with varying degrees

<sup>1</sup> Of course, a modified form of Western Hindī (Hindōstānī, Hindī or Urdū) is the *lingua franca* of all Aryan-speaking India, and is the established language of literature, of education, of the law-court and of public life in the Bihārī, Eastern Hindī, Panjābī and Lahndī, Central and Western Pahārī, and Rājasthānī tracts. From this, Hindī or Hindōstānī is often loosely regarded as the language of the people of all Aryan India excluding Sindh, Gujarat, the Mahratta country, Orissa, Bengal and Assam, Nepal, Kashmir, and to some extent the Panjab,—of a tract with a population of over 112 (including the Panjab, over 133) millions. Hindī or Hindōstānī is unquestionably the most important language of India, and the only speech which can be said to be truly national for all India; but it, together with other forms of Western Hindī, like Braj-ḅhākhā, Kanaujī, Bundēlī, etc., is the *mother-tongue*, the *home-language* of a little over 41½ millions only (according to the census of 1911). Taking into consideration the number of people speaking it as their mother-tongue, Bengali is the seventh language of the world, coming after Northern Chinese, English, Russian, German, Spanish, and Japanese; although as a great world-speech, Hindōstānī alone of Indian languages can rank with English, French, Spanish and Arabic.

of purity), which are brought into the province by immigrants from the north-west and the west, Bengali has, within recent years, come in contact with Khas-kurā or Parbatiyā (the so-called Nēpālī) at Darjeeling in the north.

On its borders, it meets with several aboriginal languages and dialects. Within the western boundary of Bengali is found Santali (Sāōtālī), a dialect of the Kōl<sup>1</sup> (Muṇḍā) group (of the Austro-Asiatic branch of the Austric family of speeches); and Hō and Muṇḍārī, also Kōl speeches closely related to Santali, are found to the west of Bengali. Besides, two Dravidian dialects, intimately connected with each other, are found to the west of Bengali: Malto, which is spoken in the Rāj-mahāl Hills, and Kurukh (Kūrukḥ) or Oraon (Orāō), which just touches Bengali at its extreme western fringe. In the north and the east, Bengali comes in touch with a number of speeches which are members of some six different groups of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Tibeto-Chinese family. To the north, we have Lepca or Róng, a dialect of the Tibeto-Himalayan group; Dhīmāl, Limbu and Khambu, which are 'pronominalised' speeches

<sup>1</sup> I have a preference for the old, familiar and accurate 'Kōl,' used by the Aryan-speaking neighbours of the Kōl peoples, as an ethnic and linguistic term, to 'Muṇḍā.' 'Kōl' comes from a Middle Indo-Aryan 'Kōlla,' which is found in Sanskrit (also as 'Kōla'); and obviously in Sanskrit it referred to the aboriginal people of Central India. (Cf. New Indo-Aryan 'Bhil' from earlier 'Bhilla,' found in Sanskrit and Prakrit.) The word 'Kōlla, Kōl' itself seems to be of Kōl origin, and in all probability it is an early Aryan transcription of the source-form, in what may be called 'Old Kōl,' of the modern Kōl words for *man*—Santali [hō:r], Muṇḍārī [hōṛ], Hō [ho:], Korwā [hoṛ], Kūrkū [ko:ro:]. There is no contempt implied in the use of the word among those who employ it, whatever the Sanskrit 'kōla,' never a popular word, might mean. A tract in Singbhum District in Chota Nagpur is known as Kolhan (< \* Kōllānām) = (the land) of the Kōls: cf. Bhōṭān = (the land) of the Bhōṭas or Tibetans. The term 'Kōl' has an extensive employ, whereas 'Muṇḍā' is the designation of only one section of the Kōl people. Besides, it was used by Hodgson to denote this particular group of speeches, which, however, he classed as 'Tamulian,' i.e., Dravidian. (A. Nottrott and P. Wagner, 'A Grammar of the Kol Language,' Ranchi, 1905, pp. 2, iii; LSI., IV, pp. 7, 8.) 'Muṇḍā' has not been able to drive out 'Kolarian' entirely; 'Kōl' seems to be least objectionable, and it is near enough the unmeaning but popular 'Kolarian.'



belonging to the same group, and are spoken by small numbers in the extreme north; Dänjong-kä or Sikkimese, and Lho-ke or Bhotanese, which are closely related forms of Tibetan. To the north-east and east, Bengali meets dialects of the Boḍo group: Boḍo (Bāṛā) or Kacārī (also known as Kōc, Mēc and Rābhā), Garo, and Dīmā-sā, as well as Mrung or Tipurā; it touches the area of the dialects of the Naga group; and dialects of the Kuki-Cin and Burma groups, like Meithei (or Maṇipurī) and Luṣai, and Aracanese. Another aboriginal language, not related to the Tibeto-Burman dialects mentioned above, is spoken on the eastern frontier of Bengali, namely, Khasi, belonging to the Mōn-Khmēr group of the Austro-Asiatic languages, and thus connected with the Kōl speeches of West Bengal.

Bengali, like other Aryan languages of India, has spread, and is still spreading, at the expense of the aboriginal tongues.

3. The living Indo-European languages can be arranged and classified under eight branches, which are as follows:

(1) The Indo-Iranian, or Aryan, falling into three<sup>1</sup> groups:

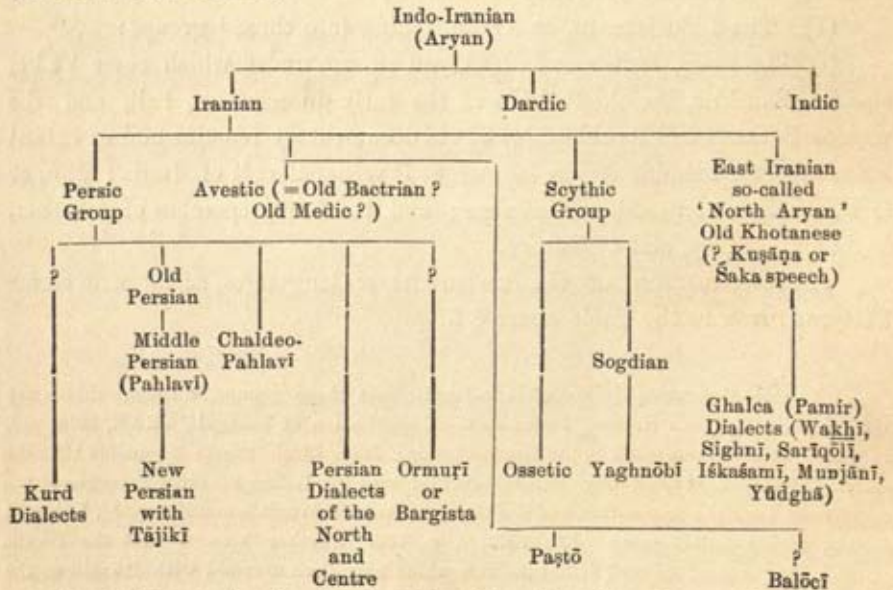
(i) The Indie, Indian or Indo-Aryan group, under which come Vedic, classical Sanskrit, the old Prakrits of the early inscriptions, Pali, and the various Prakrits and Apabhraṅśas of old documentary remains and of extant literature; the modern Aryan languages ('vernaculars') of India; Eḷu, or Old Sinhalese, and modern Sinhalese; and the Gipsy speeches of Armenia, Syria and Turkey, and of Europe.

The inter-relation of the various Aryan languages, so far as it seems likely, is given in the Table under § 5.

<sup>1</sup> I accept Grierson's division of Indo-Iranian into three groups, although this is not admitted by all. (Sten Konow, 'Notes on the Classification of Bashgali,' JRAS., 1911, p. 1, ff., where Dardic is relegated to the Iranian group; Jules Bloch thinks it possible that the source-dialects of present day Dardic, together with the Indian Prakritic speeches of the north-west [and the source-forms of the Gipsy dialects of Armenia and Europe?], formed a distinct Indian dialect-group; JA., 1912, i, p. 336. Another view is that the Dardic speeches are 'ancient Āryan (Vedic) dialects which have been overlaid with Irānian as the result of later invasion' in the time of the Achæmenids, or earlier: E. J. Rapson in the Cambridge History of India, 1922, p. 52.) See below, § 25.

(ii) Dardic, or Piśāca: embracing the languages of the extreme north-western frontier of India, and falling into these subgroups: (a) Kāfir—Bašgali; Wai-alā; Wasī-veri or Prēsun; and Kalaša, Gawar-bati and Pašai; (b) Khō-wār, or Citrālī; and (c) Šīnā—Šīnā proper (7 dialects); Kōhistānī (3 dialects); and Kaśmīrī.

(iii) The Iranian group, which is represented by a number of speeches, ancient and modern, beginning with Avestic (from c. 600 B. C., the generally accepted period for Zaratūstra, to whom are attributed the oldest portions of the Avesta, the Gāthās), and Old Persian of the Achæmenian cuneiform inscriptions (about B. C. 520—350) and spreading from the Black Sea region to Central Asia. The relationship among the various Iranian speeches seems to be as in the Table below (A. Meillet, 'Grammaire du Vieux Perse,' Paris, 1914, § 5; Sten Konow in 'A. W. R. Hoernle's 'MS. Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan,' Oxford, 1916, pp. 237-238; LSI., X).



The subgroups other than Persic are sometimes classed together as 'Medic,' in the sense of 'non-Persic.'



(II) The Armenic Branch ; (III) The Baltic-Slavic Branch ; (IV) The Albanian Branch ; (V) The Hellenic Branch ; (VI) The Italic Branch ; (VII) The Celtic Branch, and (VIII) The Germanic or Teutonic Branch.

4. Besides the above eight branches, members of which are living languages at the present day, there were a number of speeches both in Europe and in Asia, now extinct, which were members of the Indo-European family ; *e.g.*, the languages of the Ligurians, the Iapygians and Messapians, and the Veneti of Italy ; the languages of the Illyrians and Dacians, and of the Thracians ; Phrygian, spoken in Ancient Asia Minor, a speech related to Thracian, and connected by some with the Armenian ; the remains in the above are extremely scanty, and it is impossible to find out their proper relationship within the family. Within recent years have been discovered, from Chinese Turkistan, Buddhist and other documents, in Indian Brāhmī characters, of an Indo-European speech, spoken up to the end of the first millennium A.C. in the Tarim Valley, in the cities of Kucha (Dialect B) and Qara-shahr and Turfan (? Dialect A) ; and this speech, to which the names Kuchean and Tokharian have been given, and which has some unique points of interest, agreeing more with the Indo-European languages of the west (Celtic, Italic, and Slav and Armenian) than of the east (its neighbour speeches of the Aryan group), has been relegated to a branch by itself. (A. Meillet, 'Le Tokharien,' *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch* for 1913 ; Sylvain Lévi, 'Le "Tokharien B," *Langue de Koutcha*,' *JA.*, 1913, ii, pp. 311-380). The language of the Hittites of Asia Minor has been declared to be Indo-European by Friedrich Hrozný ('*Die Sprache der Hethiter*,' Leipzig, 1917) and J. S. Marstrand ('*Caractère indo-européen de la Langue hittite*,' Christiania, 1919) ; but although this has been disputed or regarded as not established with certitude by some, there can be no question about the Indo-European character of the language. (Cf. also *ZDMG.* for 1922 : Johannes Friedrich, '*Die hethitische Sprache*,' pp. 153-173 ; E. Forrer, '*Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Hatti-Reiches*,' pp. 174-269 ; both these writers agree as to the Indo-European character of the speech, which is named 'Hethitisch,' or 'Kanisisch' by Forrer, as the language of an

'Indo-European' ruling class, in contradistinction to the non-IE. speech of the people of the Hittite kingdom, called 'Chattisch' or 'Proto-hattisch.')

Also see below, § 25.

5. The inter-relation between the various languages and dialects of the Indo-Aryan group may be indicated by a Table as in the opposite page, following mainly Grierson in the 'Linguistic Survey of India.'

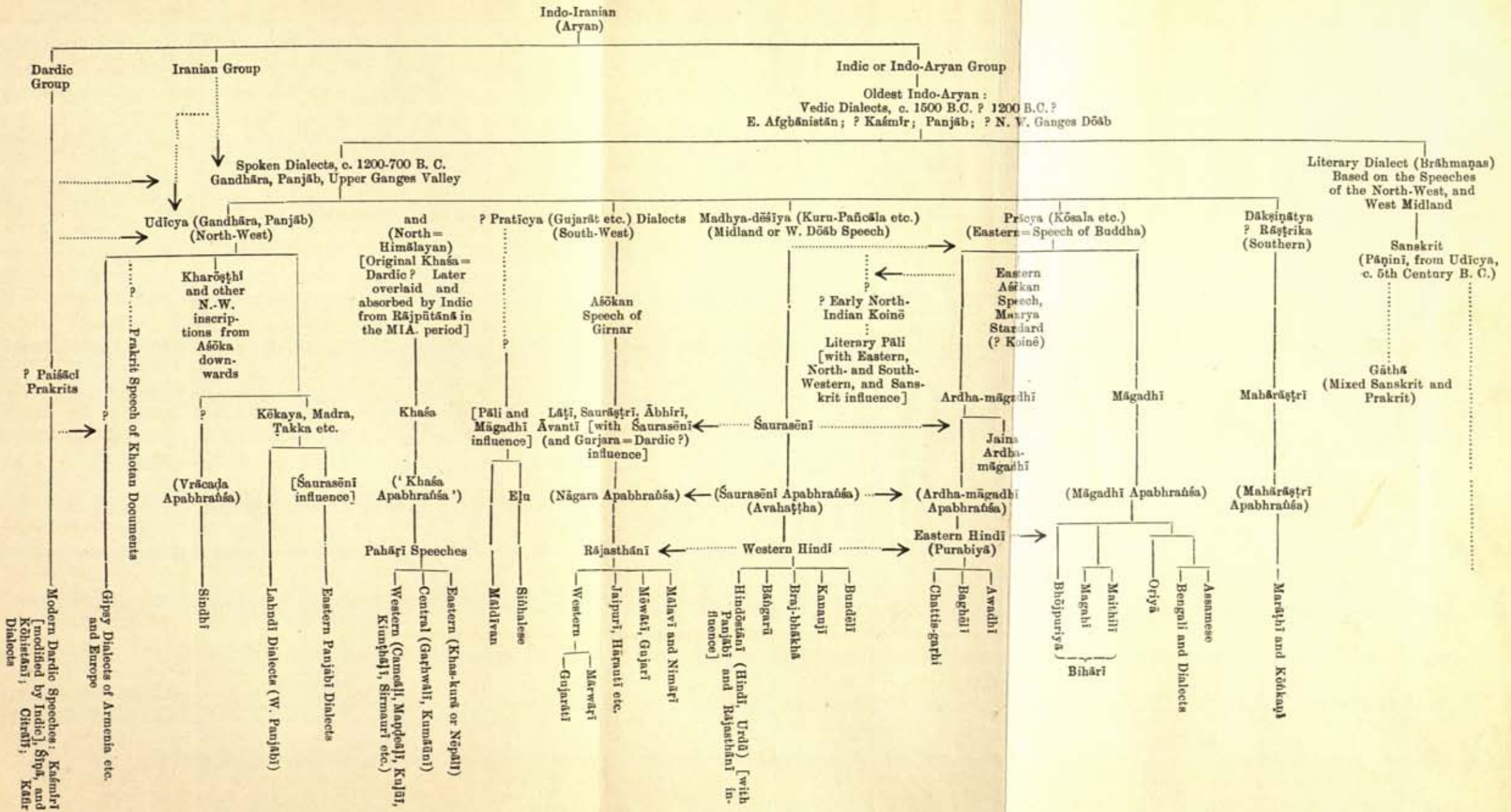
This Table seeks to indicate merely the general lines of development of Aryan in India. There has been a very large amount of mutual influence among the various local speeches, and above all, the dominant influence of the literary languages, or *koinēs*, which has frequently overlaid the normal line of development of a local dialect, and in this way has obscured to a considerable extent its original character.

6. Of the various modern Indo-Aryan languages or groups of dialects, some have been quite important and dominant as literary languages or as languages of inter-provincial intercourse from very early times, while others have been nothing but forms of local *patois*. Short notes on their respective extent, importance and antiquity are given below. For maps, exact figures, and details, Grierson's 'Linguistic Survey of India' is our great authority.

7. Beginning from the extreme north-west, we have the Dardic languages, which, although they do not belong to the Indo-Aryan group, may be noticed in this connection. These languages are spoken in the Kashmir valley, and in the region to the north and north-west of Kashmir, namely, Dardistan (Gilgit etc.), Chitral and Kafiristan, with the Hindu Kush as its north-western boundary. The Dardic languages, or, rather, ancient dialects of the same group, influenced Indo-Aryan dialects of the north-west and the west, of which Western Panjābī (Lahndī) and Sindhī are typical examples. (See §§ 11, 12, 25.) Excepting Kaśmīrī, the Dardic languages, although philologically important, have no exalted position. The number of people speaking them does not exceed 2 millions, of which Kaśmīrī alone takes up over 1 million. The Dardic speeches of the present day, barring Kaśmīrī, were never cultivated, and were written down only in the 19th century, so that no specimens of an earlier period are available. From the earliest times Kashmir was a



TABLE ILLUSTRATING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARYAN SPEECH IN INDIA.







part of the Indo-Aryan world in culture and religion as well as in politics, whereas the other Dardic tracts, because of their inaccessibility, were never completely brought under Indian influence and organisation, so that the people retained more or less their primitive ways. Kaśmīrī consequently has always been exposed to the influence of the Indo-Aryan speeches, Sanskrit and the Prakrit vernaculars, from which the other Dardic speeches are free. There was literary cultivation of Old Kaśmīrī, and probably the lost 'Bṛhat-kathā' of Guṇāḍhya, written in the 'Paiśāci' language, was in Old Kaśmīrī, if it was in any Dardic speech at all. We may be quite certain that Kaśmīrī was cultivated before 1000 A.C. There is some Middle Kaśmīrī literature. The earliest specimens of Kaśmīrī that have been made accessible to us are the poems of Lallā, a mystic poetess of the Śaiva Tāntrika cult, of the 14th century ('Lallā-vākyāni,' ed. by Grierson and Barnett, RAS., London, 1920). Kaśmīrī used to be written formerly in the Śāradā character, allied to the Dēva-nāgarī, but at the present day, since over 90% of its speakers are Moslems, the Perso-Arabic character is used, although a modified Dēva-nāgarī has been devised and employed, for philological purposes mainly. Kaśmīrī was at first regarded as a Sanskritic or Indo-Aryan language, owing to the large Indo-Aryan element in it, but its Dardic affinities have been fully established (Grierson, 'Linguistic Classification of Kashmiri,' IAnt., 1915, p. 270).

8. Western Panjābī or Lahndī, also known under various other names (Hindkō, Jaṭkī, Mūltānī, Cibhālī, Pōṭhwārī etc.), is a group of dialects current among nearly 5 millions of people in Western Panjāb, who employ for literary purposes Urdū and to a slight extent Hindī and Eastern Panjābī. Western Panjābī does not possess much literature, except some Sikh prose narratives like the 'Janam-sākhī,' and some popular ballads and songs, of which the language is often mixed with eastern forms of speech. The native system of writing for Western Panjābī, with the 'Laṇḍā' characters, a variety of Śāradā, is in comparatively little use now, Persian characters being commonly employed when the language is put in writing.

9. Eastern Panjābī, or Panjābī, is the language of nearly 16 millions (according to the census of 1911). This speech is only one form of a Common Panjābī, extending from the west of the Western Hindī to the region of Paṣṭō; only it has from early times come under the influence of the Midland speech of the west Gangetic region. There are various dialects of Eastern Panjābī, a noteworthy form of it being Ḍōgrī, which is spoken in the state of Jammu and in the district of Kangra. There is a slight literary culture in it, the oldest extant specimens being a few Sikh hymns dating from the 16th century. Sikhs at the present day use E. Panjābī to some extent for literary purposes, employing the Gur-mukhī character, which is a reformed kind of Laṇḍā; but Hindōstānī (Urdū or Hindī) has always been the dominant language among E. Panjābī speakers. The Persian character is also sometimes used to write E. Panjābī.

10. Sindhī is the language of the lower Indus valley and of Kachh, and is spoken by a little over 3½ millions. It has 5 dialects—Vicōlī, Siraikī, Lārī, Tharēlī and Kacchī. Sindhī is written in an elaborated form of the Perso-Arabic alphabet, but the Laṇḍā character, proper to it, is in common use among merchants, and Gur-mukhī is occasionally employed. In its grammatical forms, Sindhī retains many archaic features, and in its phonetics it is remarkable in possessing four peculiar sounds not found in any other Indian language, Aryan, Dravidian, Kōl, or Tibeto-Chinese, *viz.*, [g'], [ʃ' or ʒʃ'], [d'] and [b'], which are only [g, ʃ, d, b] pronounced with simultaneous closure of the glottis. In phonetics and morphology there are points of agreement between Sindhī and Panjābī (W. and E.). Sindhī has a little literature of ballads and prose tales, and of compositions in the Persian style.

11. The dialects of the Rājasthānī group (Mārwārī, Jaipurī, Mēwātī, Mālavī and others) are spoken by over 14 millions, and they seem to form, with Gujarātī, a separate branch of the Indo-Aryan family, which has as its basis the early IA. dialect (or dialects) current in Malwa and Gujarat, strongly modified by the neighbouring Śaurasēnī speech of the Midland (§ 13), and in times *post* 500 A.C., also to some extent influenced by the language of the Gurjara tribes (possibly Dardic in origin), who came from



the north-west and settled in Rajputana and Gujarat and became the rulers there. The Western or Mārṅwārī form of Rājasthānī is in reality the immediate sister of Gujarātī, the eastern dialects agreeing more with Western Hindī. The exact affiliation of the Eastern Rājasthānī dialects (Mēwāṭī, Jaipurī and Hārautī etc., Mālavi and Nimārī), whether they are more intimately connected, in their origin, with Western Hindī or with W. Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, cannot be determined, in the absence of genuine ancient remains in them; but it has been found out that W. Rājasthānī and Gujarātī are derived from the one and same source-dialect, to which the name 'Old Western Rājasthānī' has been given (L.P. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of Old Western Rājasthānī,' IAnt., 1914-1916: Introduction). This OWR. is represented by a respectable literature, mostly by Jain authors, and this literature dates from the 14th century and earlier to the end of the 15th century. Gujarātī must have differentiated from OWR. in the 16th century into a separate language, which is now spoken by over 10 millions. The first great poet of Gujarat, Narasiṅh Mēhtā, belongs to the 15th century, but the language of his poems, which are very popular, has been modernised in the course of centuries. The dialects of Rājasthānī are not much used for literary purposes now. The language of the Midland has always been dominant in Rajputana. In the earlier days, the Śaurasēnī Prakrit and Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa had spread their influence over the original Indo-Aryan dialects spoken in Rajputana and Gujarat; and the literary dialect of the Old Western Hindī period, Avahaṭṭha or 'Piṅgala,' was as much cultivated by the bards of Rajputana as 'Diṅgala' or the local Rājasthānī dialects, especially Mārṅwārī; and at the present day, Hindī is almost the sole literary language. There is, however, a rich literature in Rājasthānī, mostly in Mārṅwārī, and to some extent in Jaipurī, consisting mainly of bardic poems and chronicles. This literature has been explored, and its nature made known, by Tessitori, who edited, before his lamented and untimely death, some fine Mārṅwārī poems (Journal and Proceedings of the ASB., 1914, 1916-17-19-20; Bib. Ind., Rājasthānī Series).

12. The Pabārī or Khaśa dialects present a linguistic complication. According to Grierson, the original speech of the Khaśa tribes, who spread



from Western Himalayas into the eastern montane tracts, was of Dardic origin, and like the Darús, the Khaśas were Aryans outside the pale of Hindu society. Indo-Aryan speakers from the plains, mostly from Rajputana, migrated north into the Himalayas among the Khaśas, and Hinduised them, from the early centuries of the Christian era; and the Indo-Aryan dialects they brought completely killed off the original speech of the Khaśas, and became transformed into the present-day Pahāṛī dialects; which are thus forms of south-western (Rājasthānī) IA., carried to the Himalayas at a late period, and modified more or less by Dardic whose place they took, the traces of Dardic being stronger in the west. A nearly analogous case is that of Kaśmīrī, which is Dardic profoundly modified by Indo-Aryan (from the Panjab), only it did not give up its native character and become absorbed by IA.

Khas-kurā (called also Parbatīyā, Gōrkhālī or Nēpālī) is the most important Pahāṛī speech. The other Pahāṛī dialects are interesting philologically, but otherwise they have not much importance. Excluding Khas-kurā, for which exact figures are wanting, the Pahāṛī dialects are spoken by less than 2 millions. Khas-kurā seems to be ousting rapidly the Tibeto-Burman speeches of Nepal. It originally spread from Western Nepal, and its oldest remains do not go beyond the latter part of the 18th century. Maithilī seems to have been current in South-eastern Nepal before the advent of Khas-kurā; in any case, Awadhī, Maithilī and Bengali were used as languages of culture in the court of the (Tibeto-Burman speaking) Nēwārī kings, who ruled before the Gurkhas, as is evidenced by a number of dramas written in the above languages in Nepal, right down to the middle of the 18th century (*e.g.*, A. Conrady, 'Hariścandra-nṛtyam,' Leipzig, 1891; Noni-Gōpāl Banerjee, 'Nēpālē Bāṅgālā Nāṭak,' VSPd., 1324 San, Introduction; C. Bendall, 'Cat. of Buddhist Skt. MSS. in the Univ. Libr. of Cambridge,' 1883, pp. 83-84, 183; 'Kat. der Bib. der DMG.', referred to by Bendall and Conrady). Kumāūnī and Garhwālī, and other forms of Central Pahāṛī, and the various dialects grouped together as Western Pahāṛī, have no literature worth mentioning. Hindī is the established language of literature in the Central Pahāṛī region.



13. The Central Indo-Aryan language, Western Hindī, is spoken by over 41½ millions. Its chief forms are (i) Braj-bhākhā, the dialect spoken round about Bareilly, Aligarh, Agra, Mathura, Dholpur and Kerauli; (ii) Kanaujī, in the upper Doab, east of the Braj-bhākhā area; (iii) Bundēlī, in Bundelkhand and part of Central India; (iv) Bāṅgarū or Hariānī in South-eastern Panjab; and (v) the dialects to the north of Braj-bhākhā, from Ambala to Rampur, to which the name 'Vernacular Hindōstānī' has been given, as they approach nearest Hindōstānī as now written (Hindī or High Hindī, and Urdū). The oldest remains of W. Hindī extant are in the 'Prithīrāja-Rāsau' of Candā Bardāī (12th-13th centuries). The language there is much under the influence of literary Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa of the earlier periods. The 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala,' which is a treatise on Apabhraṅśa versification, compiled, in its present form, towards the end of the 14th century, gives in illustration of the metrical rules, a number of poems and couplets, most of which are in a dialect which is essentially Old Western Hindī. The Apabhraṅśa verses quoted in the Prakrit Grammar of Hēma-candra (1088-1172 A.C.) are in a Śaurasēnī speech which is archaic for the time of Hēma-candra, and which represents the pre-modern stage of Western Hindī.

The dialect of Braj is the most important and in a sense the most faithful representative of the old Śaurasēnī speech, the source of the W. Hindī dialects, which was current in the Midland (Madhya-dēśa) of Aryan India, corresponding roughly to South-eastern Panjab, the western districts of the United Provinces (Rohilkhand, Agra and Meerut Divisions), and the tract immediately to the south. Braj-bhākhā has a rich literature, mainly in verse and partly in prose; and it and Awadhī, an Eastern Hindī dialect, formed the common literary vehicles for poetical composition in the Upper Ganges Valley (Hindustan proper), until recent times, when standard Hindōstānī came into being. Hindōstānī is in its origin based on the Western Hindī dialects spoken in and around Delhi, dialects which were strongly influenced by the contiguous Panjābī and Rājasthānī; and as the speech of the capital, it gradually came to be adopted by the Turkī, Persian and Paštō speaking nobility of the



Moslem court. Originally a mixed *patois* of the bazaar and the camp («urdū» <Turkī «ordu» camp), it came to have a prestige as the language of the capital city and of the Moslem conquerors who settled down in India; and under the successive Moslem dynasties, officials and others from Delhi helped its spread into the provinces, east and west and south, as a convenient *lingua franca*, a natural successor to the Śaurasēnī Avahaṭṭha of the Rājput courts of Northern India immediately before the Musalman conquest. For some time, when it was in a fluid state, with its grammar not yet fixed, and its vocabulary mainly native Indian, it was only a spoken language, the Moslems of foreign origin who spoke it at home using Persian for literary and epistolary purposes, and the Hindus and converted Moslems employing the vernaculars; Braj-bhākhā and Awadhī. It was first used seriously for literary composition only towards the end of the 17th century, by North Indian Musalmans sojourning in the Deccan; although, it is said, it was taken up earlier for poetical composition in Delhi itself by Amīr Khusrau in the 14th century (Bāl-mukund Gupta, 'Hindī-bhāṣā,' Calcutta, Saṁvat 1964, pp. 9 ff). From the 18th century onwards, Hindōstānī became a serious rival of Braj-bhākhā and Awadhī as a literary language. Persian words were being adopted by all Indian dialects from after the Musalman conquest, and poems of Kabīr (15th century) and others in the dialects, with a large Persian vocabulary, have been found long before the establishment of Hindōstānī. Hindōstānī was already the home language of an influential Moslem nobility and gentry in Northern India, and as such, it had gradually taken up a large number of Persian words; it was already the accepted standard speech, «khaṛī-bōlī», for all Northern India; and by the beginning of the 19th century, it was well established as a literary language; and as most of its writers were Musalmans, it was written in the Persian character, and a large Persian element became its great characteristic. Hindu writers (beginning with Lallū-lāl and Sadal Mīśra) then took it up, at first at the suggestion of some English scholars in Calcutta, and used Hindōstānī with as few Persian words as possible, and wrote it in the national script, the Dēva-nāgarī. The resultant style of Hindōstānī, known as Hindī or High Hindī, has become established



in all Upper Gangetic India, in the Panjab (among many Hindus), in Rajputana, in Central India, in the Central Provinces, as it admirably met the necessity for a convenient dialect for prose. It has been experimented for poetry in the old Hindu style as well, although Braj-bhākhā still holds its own. The Musalman style of Hindōstānī, known as Urdū, has developed greatly, and in versification and other matters has completely shaken off the Indian tradition and adopted those of Persian and Arabic.

Hindī and Urdū have their common form in the colloquial Hindōstānī: and this form of Western Hindī, as the dominant language of modern Aryan India, has exerted a tremendous influence on all the Aryan languages of the country; the Kōl languages have been touched and influenced by it, and the Dravidian languages of the south have not been free from the influence of this great northern tongue. The Upper Gangetic Valley has been the centre of culture and political life in India since the dawn of history, and it is in the nature of things that its language, successively as Sanskrit, as Pali, as Śaurasēnī Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa, as Avahaṭṭha, as Braj-bhākhā and as Hindōstānī, should be a force throughout the history of India.

14. Eastern Hindī (called 'Purabiyā' by the speakers of W. Hindī) is the name given to a group of three dialects, Awadhī (called also Kōsalī and Baiswārī), Baghēlī and Chattis-garhī, spoken by over 22½ millions in the United Provinces, Central India and the Central Provinces, to the east of the W. Hindī area. Baghēlī is almost identical with Awadhī, but Chattis-garhī is different in some respects. Awadhī has a rich literature. The earliest great work in it is the 'Padumāwati' of Mālik Muhammad Jaisī (middle of the 16th century), but its literary cultivation undoubtedly goes back several centuries earlier. Tulasī-dāsa wrote mostly in Awadhī. Baghēlī and Chattis-garhī have a little literature, some of which has been printed. Hindī and Urdū, however, as successors to Braj-bhākhā, which was formerly much cultivated in the Eastern Hindī area, have been adopted by the speakers of Eastern Hindī as their literary language.



15. Marāṭhī is the language of nearly 20 millions in the Deccan, along the Bombay coast and in Berar, Haidarabad and the Central Provinces. Marāṭhī has 3 dialects—Dēśasth or Dēśī, the central and standard dialect spoken in the Deccan tract; Kōṅkaṇī or coast dialect; and Varhāḷī-Nāgpurī or eastern dialect. The language round about Goa, called also Kōṅkaṇī, is a sister-dialect of Marāṭhī, and has some peculiarities of its own. The oldest specimens of Marāṭhī are epigraphical, consisting of a number of short inscriptions, the earliest of which dates from 1118 A.C. (J. Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 279 ff; Vināyak Lakṣmaṇ Bhāvē, 'Mahārāṣṭra-Sārasvat<sup>2</sup>,' Poona 1919, pp. 9 ff.). The earliest writers of Marāṭhī whose works are extant are Mukunda-rāja (end of the 12th century: cf. Bhāvē, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26); Jñāna-dēva, whose 'Jñānēsvarī,' a translation with commentary of the Bhagavad-gītā, was written c. 1290; and Nāma-dēva, a contemporary of Jñāna-dēva, a few of whose poems are preserved in the Sikh 'Ādi-Granth.'

16. We now come to the Eastern or Magadhan group of speeches, of which Bengali is a member. The westernmost is Bhōjpurīyā, spoken by nearly 20½ millions. It is spread, roughly, from the east of the towns of Mirzapur, Jaunpur and Faizabad to the Son and the Gandak rivers, and makes a sort of a wedge in the south-east, south of the Magahī area. Magahī is the dialect of over 6½ millions, in Gaya, Patna, Munger and Hazaribagh districts, as well as of some settled communities of South Bihar people in the west of the Maldah district of Bengal. Maithilī is spoken by over 10 millions in Bihar to the north of the Ganges, and in the districts of Munger, Bhagalpur and Santal Parganas to the south of the river. In the north, it shades off into Bengali in Eastern Purnia. Oṛiyā, the language of over 10 millions, is current in a corner of South-western Bengal, in Orissa, and in part of Chota Nagpur, the Central Provinces and Madras Presidency. Assamese is spread in the Assam valley, among a population of 1½ millions.

The oldest specimens of these languages, and their relationship with each other, are discussed later.

17. There are some curious dialects current in Bastar and the Central Provinces, which are a mixture of Chattis-garhī, Oṛiyā and Marāṭhī. These



are spoken by tribes who originally had Goṇḍī and other non-Aryan languages, and came simultaneously under the influence of three slightly different forms of Indo-Aryan. The most important of these dialects is Halabā or Halabī (LSI., VII, pp. 330 ff).

18. Sinhalese is another Indo-Aryan language which was cut off from its sisters and cousins from c. 5th century B. C., when, according to tradition, Indian emigrants under Prince Vijaya went to the island and settled there. Vijaya's homeland was Lāḷa: it is mentioned in connection with Vaṅga (East Bengal) and Magadha; and Suppāraka and Bharukaccha (Sopara and Bharoch or Broach on the Bombay coast) are said to have been visited by Vijaya in course of his wanderings. Lāḷa is identified by some with Rāḷha or West Bengal, by others with Lāṭa or the Gujarat (and Sindh) coast country. The latter identification seems more likely: the first immigrants who carried the Indo-Aryan speech to Ceylon seem to have been from the Western India coast (W. Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' in the Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertums-kunde, pp. 90, 91). Later, from the 3rd century B.C. downwards, Ceylon seems to have come in touch with Magadha, through Bengal, and traditions of intimate relations between Bengal and Ceylon are preserved in medieval Bengali literature. The Middle Indo-Aryan ('Prakrit') period is represented in Ceylon by numerous inscriptions, and there is evidence regarding the existence of a literature in what may be called a 'Siṅhala Prakrit' going as far back as the 3rd century B. C. But this literature is entirely lost. The oldest specimens of Sinhalese extant go back to the middle of the 10th century. The older form of Sinhalese is known as Eḷu (= Heḷu, < Hiaḷu < Sihaḷu = Siṅhala), which is a sort of 'Apabhraṅśa' for Sinhalese. Sinhalese, by virtue of its position, has developed along its own lines, unlike the Indo-Aryan speeches of the mainland, which have always influenced each other very strongly, and have not allowed entirely independent progress of any one of these. After its development as a modern Indo-Aryan speech, however, it has been influenced by Pali and Sanskrit. Closely connected with Sinhalese is the language of the Maldive Islands, which is derived from Old Sinhalese of the 9th-10th



centuries (W. Geiger, 'Maldivische Studien, III,' Sitzungsberichte der philol.-philol. und der histor. Classe der kgl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1902, Heft I, p. 114).

19. The Gipsy dialects of Western Asia (Armenia, Turkey, Syria) and of Europe fall into two classes, one European, and the other Armenian. The Gipsy speeches are derived from Prakrit dialects spoken in the north-west of India, and these dialects had some connection with the Dardic speeches. The ancestors of the Gipsies seem to have dispersed from India for the first time as early as the 5th century A.C.; and the earlier bands went to Europe by way of Persia, Armenia and the Byzantine empire, arriving in Eastern Europe in the 12th century, and thence spreading to Western and South-western Europe. A later band stopped in Armenia, where their language is more faithful to the Middle Indo-Aryan forms, but seems to be more impregnated with Armenian. (F. Miklosich, 'Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's,' I-XII, Vienna, 1872-1880; F. N. Finck, 'Lehrbuch des Dialects der deutschen Zigeuner,' Marburg, 1903; *ibid.*, 'Die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner,' Memoires de l'Academie imperiale des Sciences, VIII, Petrograd, 1907; Encyclopædia Britannica<sup>11</sup>). The connection between the modern Indo-Aryan languages and the Gipsy dialects is, from point of view of origin, very close; but as these have developed entirely on their own lines, they are not usually considered in discussing the history of Modern Indo-Aryan; they throw valuable light on some points of Middle and New Indian phonology and morphology, however.

20. Taking into consideration the main phonetic and morphological trend of the Indo-Aryan speech as a whole, its history has been conveniently divided into 3 broad periods: (1) *Old Indo-Aryan* (OIA.), when the language was most copious in both its sounds and forms; (2) *Middle Indo-Aryan* (MIA.), when there was a movement towards simplification of older consonant groups, and a general curtailment of grammatical forms. The MIA. period may further be subdivided into an *Early*, a *Second* and a *Late* stage, with a *Transitional* stage between the *Early* and the *Second*; (3) *New Indo-Aryan* (NIA.), when the old simplifying tendencies inaugurating the



second period had worked themselves out; the old inflectional system having been worn down to a few meagre forms, grammar had to be eked out with a number of new help-words, so that the whole character of the language became altered, and the modern IA. 'vernaculars' came into being. Vedic and Sanskrit form the typical or representative languages of the first period. For the second period, we have the various Prakrits of the earlier inscriptions beginning with those of Aśōka, Pali, and the Prakrits of literature. At the confluence of the second and the third periods we have the literary Apabhraṅśas; and these Apabhraṅśas of literature are mainly based on hypothetical spoken Apabhraṅśas, in which the earlier Prakrits die and the Bhāṣās or modern Indo-Aryan languages have their birth. The terms 'Vedic' or 'Sanskrit,' 'Prakrit' and 'Bhāṣā' may be used as short and convenient, though rather loose, terms for the three periods of Indo-Aryan; and the transitional stage between 'Prakrit' and 'Bhāṣā,' properly forming a part of the 'Prakrit' or MIA. period, can be conveniently called 'Apabhraṅśa.'

Definite dates cannot be laid down in language history, but the period from the time of the composition of the Vedic hymns (? 1500 ? 1200 B.C.) to the times immediately preceding Gautama Buddha (557-477 B.C.) may be regarded as the OIA. period. The MIA. period may be said to have extended from 800 B.C. to about 1000 A.C.; of which 600 B.C. to 200 B.C. would be the Early or First MIA. stage, 200 B.C. to 200 A.C. the Transitional MIA. stage, 200 A.C. to 500 or 600 A.C. the Second MIA. stage, and 600 A.C. to 1000 A.C. the Third or Late MIA. stage. The first few centuries after 1000 A.C. would be an Old NIA. period, during which the NIA. languages enter into life.

The main characteristics of IA. during the three periods, affecting most of the dialects, may be briefly noted.

[1] OIA. Period: 1500 B.C.—600 B.C. (Vedic as type). *Phonetic*: r, l, āi, āu; consonants retained in full; final consonants (surd stops, visarga, some nasals); consonant groups like kr, kl, kt, gd, tr, sm, hm, rt, rk, etc. in full force; 'root-sense' fully present, at least in the early stages; variable pitch accent. *Morphological*: Declension—complicated systems: root-nouns, and derived nouns ending in vowels and consonants; 3 genders, 3 numbers, 8 cases; special suffixes for masculine and neuter, and feminine, and a special pronominal

declension. Conjugation—elaborate systems of tenses (present and imperfect, aorist, perfect and 'pluperfect,' future and conditional); moods (indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative); participles (present, perfect and future); athematic and thematic roots, classified by Indian grammarians into 10 gaṇas; 2 voices—active and reflexive, and some special forms for the passive (present tense, 3 pers. singular aorist); causative, desiderative and intensive forms; passive participles; verbal nouns (infinitives) and gerunds, and indeclinable participles. *Syntactical*: wide use of finite verbal forms in the various past tenses, of the subjunctive mood, in the earlier period; position of particles not fixed; word-order free.

[2] MIA. Period: 600 B.C.—1000 A.C.

(i) Early stage: 600 B.C.—200 A.C. (Aśōkan Prakrit and Pali as types).

*Phonetic*: r, l, lost; āi, āu, also aya, ava > ē, ō; simplification of consonant groups, by assimilation, etc. (kk, dd, tt, mh, etc.); final consonants and visarga dropped; tendency towards cerebralisation of dental stops and aspirates in connection with r; ś ṣ s reduced generally to one sibilant, s or ś; intervocal single stops retained. (In the North-west and the West, and possibly also in the Midland, the cerebralising tendency was resisted, in the early period, but it showed itself as a characteristic of the eastern dialects very early, even as early as the OIA.; the dialects of the North-west preserved a great deal of the phonetics of OIA.,—e.g. occurrence of r in consonant groups, retention of 3 sibilants ś ṣ s—right down to the end of the transitional MIA. period, but gradually through the influence of other dialects, yielded to the pan-Indian tendencies.) The old 'root-sense' grew obscured. A fixed stress accent, in the place of the earlier free pitch, seems generally to have been established. *Morphological*: considerable simplification of the declensional system: move towards standardising the -a declension; the dual lost; the dative merged into the genitive; the forms of the pronominal declension were extended to the noun. Conjugation: imperative and optative remain, but the subjunctive, found in a few rare cases, is lost; perfect system becomes less and less used, and is confined to a few verbs only; aorist and imperfect fall together, and are less and less used; middle voice, preserved as a relic in the earlier period, disappeared; of the derived forms, causative alone a living form; verbal nouns and gerunds become fewer, but more used; wider use of the passive participle for the past tense; fewer prepositional particles.

(ii) Transitional stage: 200 B.C.—200 A.C. (The Prakrits of the earlier inscriptions,—Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī—as types). Changes mainly phonetic: single intervocal unvoiced stops and aspirates became voiced, and fell together with original voiced stops and aspirates; these, except -ḍ(h)-, became open consonants, and came to be lost entirely in the next period.

(iii) Second MIA. stage: A.C. 200—600 A.C. (Dramatic Prakrits—Śaurasēnī, Mahārāṣṭrī and Māgadhī, and Jaina Ardha-māgadhī as types). *Phonetic*: the process of turning original single stops to zero completed during this period; original intervocal aspirates (except -ḥ-, -ḍh->-ḍh-) became spirants aspirated, probably, and then weakened



to -h-: (the above processes were carried on in all the dialects, but seem to have been completed first in the southern speeches, e.g., Mahārāṣṭrī—while in some of the northern dialects—Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī—the voiced [and spirant] stage was maintained longer; Ardha-māgadhī in this seems to have agreed with its neighbours): -p-, however, commonly found as -v-; intervocal -s- becomes -h- in some cases; sandhi between udvṛtta vowels. *Morphological*: Declension—further advance towards simplification, but masculine and feminine declensions preserved; beginning of the use of help-words in forming cases of nouns and pronouns—kēra < kārya, kaa < kṛta; (in the transitional stage, -santaka and one or two others can be noted). Conjugation: reduced to indicative present and future, imperative, optative present, perfect for a few stray verbs, and passive present; use of the passive participle to indicate the past becomes the rule; a number of verbal nouns and participial forms. *Syntactical*: Word-order becomes stereotyped; preference for the nominal rather than the verbal phrase.

(iv) Third MIA. stage (Apabhraṣṭa): c. 600 A.C.—1000 A.C. (Type—Western or Śaurasēnī Apabhraṣṭa). *Phonetic*: in the main, the state of things as in second MIA., but there was further decay: weakening of final vowels—-ā > -a, -ē, -ō > -i, -u; in many dialects, -s- -ss- of earlier periods became -h-; intervocal single -m- > nasalised -v- or -w-; nasalisation of vowels commences. *Morphological*: all declensions practically reduced to one; survivals or relics of the feminine and neuter declensions in some places; typical case forms—nominative, singular -u, -i(?), and plural -a; instrumental—-ēṃ, -hiṃ; ablative—-ahu; genitive, singular—-aha, -āha, -assu, -ā, plural -ṇa, -haṃ; locative—-i, -ahiṃ, -ahu, -asu; establishment of inflected help-words to emphasise case relations—kara, kaṇṇa, kicca, maha, kaccha or kakkha, ṭhāma, sama, anta, antara, etc., generally added to the genitive or some other form; also of verb forms like (a)hanta, sanda, thakkia, dia, etc.; these help-words became the inflections and post-positions of the next period. Conjugation: indicative present and future, passive present; optative tending to be less and less used; imperative; the other moods and tenses entirely lost; the use of the passive participle for the past tense establishes the passive and neuter constructions; employ of fortifying affixes, pleonastic, like -ill- or -all-, -ḍ-; compound-verb constructions coming into use more prominently.

Use of rime in versification comes into being, wider use of jingles and onomatopoeic forms in ordinary language, noted already in the preceding stage. Loan-words (new tat-samas and semi-tat-samas) from Sanskrit; influence of both Sanskrit and the literary Prakrits of the earlier stage.

[3] NIA. Period: after 1000 A.C. Common characteristics in the oldest period: *Phonetic*: reduction of earlier double consonants to single ones, with compensatory lengthening of preceding vowel, except in the North-west and West; existence of intervocal euphonic -y- -w- between uncombined udvṛtta vowels, excepting -aī -aū in certain cases. *Morphological*: Declension—distinction of feminine; nominative and oblique bases—the latter an earlier oblique case-form; formation of plural by new methods

(agglutination, use of the genitive, etc.); inherited inflections very few; no accusative-dative for inanimate names; use of post-positions; Apabhraṃśa (inherited) forms for the nouns of number (no new combinations). Conjugation: use of the present participle as a tense-form commences; beginning of compound tenses by combination; passive construction, with the passive participle qualifying the object, for the past tense of the transitive verb; adjectival (and neuter) construction for the intransitive verb past; use of inflected passive, present tense, in -i- or -ij-; establishment of analytical passive form with roots jā, paḍ, etc.; causatives in -ā(v)-; some verbal nouns; wide use of the conjunctive participle (indeclinable) in adverbial and other senses. *Syntactical*: compound verb constructions are established.

21. Each of the three stages of IA. forms a subject by itself. The first stage especially, as represented by Vedic and Sanskrit, has been studied with conspicuous success in Europe and in America, thanks to the ancient and medieval Indian grammarians on the one hand and to the historical and comparative methods of modern times on the other. With the help of Avestic, Greek, Latin, Old Irish, Gothic, Old Slavic, and other IE. languages, a great deal of the obscure points in the history of the origin and development of Vedic and Sanskrit has gradually been cleared up. The Aryan came to India, assuredly not as a single, uniform or standardised speech, but rather as a group, or groups, of dialects spoken by the various 'Aryan' tribes who entered into the land and settled down there. Only one of these dialects, or dialect groups, has mainly been represented in the language of the Vedas. But there were undoubtedly other dialects, not very different from Vedic, which might be expected to have continued and to have been ultimately transformed into one or the other of the various NIA. languages and dialects. The mutual relationship of these OIA. dialects, their individual traits and number as well as location, will perhaps never be settled; NIA. forms, remote as they are, do not help us here much, and from a study of the MIA. records, and of OIA. (Vedic and Sanskrit) itself, we can only suspect that there were marked dialectal differences in Indo-Aryan of 3000 years ago. (See § 32.) The true significance of the various Prakrits as preserved in literary and other records, their origin and inter-relation, and their true connection with the modern languages, forms one of the most baffling problems of Indo-Aryan linguistics, owing to a



three-fold reason, that the Prakrits (and Apabhraṅśas) are literary and to a great extent artificial languages, standing to some extent off from the general current of development of MIA. as spoken ; that our other authorities, the Prakrit grammarians, are not reliable guides, themselves influencing as much as being influenced by the texts and theories ; and that there has been intermixture among the various dialects to an extent which has completely changed their original appearance, and which makes their affiliation to forms of MIA. as in our records at times rather problematical.

22. Common forms and inflections, as well as common habits of phonetics and syntax show that the dialects of Bengali, as well as Assamese and Oṛiyā on the one hand, and the dialects of the Bihārī group on the other, must have originated from some early form of IA. current in the eastern part of Northern India. To this mother-dialect, the name 'Māgadhi' has been given ; and Māgadhi, with its immediate neighbour 'Ardhamāgadhi,' the source of E. Hindī, formed the 'Prācyā' or eastern group of dialects in the late OIA., and MIA. periods. Some of the phonetic characteristics of Māgadhi, *e.g.*, « ś » for « ś ṣ s », « l » for « r », noticed from a very early period, are preserved or can be traced in its descendants ; and some time before its break-up into Bhōjpuriyā, Maithilī and Magahī, and Oṛiyā and Assamese-Bengali, which continued along their own lines since then, it developed certain morphological features and syntactical tendencies (*e.g.*, use of « kaa » and « kēra » or « kara » with the genitive, of « -ill- », « -ell- » or « -all- » with the passive participle, of the verbal noun in « -ebba- » or « -abba- » for the future, of an active construction for the past tense), which were new in its history, and which have been inherited by its descendants. This late form of Māgadhi, when these peculiarities originated, can be described as 'Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa.' We have no remains in this immediate source-form of the modern Māgadhi languages preserved for us, but we can form some idea of it from a comparison of the oldest specimens of Bengali, Oṛiyā and Maithilī, and their sister-languages, as well as of Śaurasēnī and other Western Apabhraṅśa dialects of the same period, of which we have records. The Prācyā speech, including Māgadhi, originally differed remarkably in its phonetics, and to some

extent in its morphology, from the other forms of IA. which prevailed to its west (§ 39).

23. The history of the Aryan language in India, especially with reference to the development of the modern 'vernaculars,' has been narrated by Grierson (in the volumes of the LSI. ; in the 'Languages of India,' Calcutta, 1903 ; in the 'Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,' London, Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3 ; also R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures,' 1877, reprinted Bombay, 1914 ; P. D. Guṇē, 'An Introduction to Comparative Philology,' Poona, 1918). The life-long labours of Grierson in the field of New and Middle Indo-Aryan have finally established the grouping of the NIA. languages in their origin and their history ; and it seems the monumental LSI. will remain the final authority on the broad lines of classification of the modern Aryan languages of India, although many details will necessarily be modified with increasing knowledge. An account of the origin of the NIA. languages must necessarily be based on the facts and hypotheses established by Grierson and others.

Some of the almost universally accepted hypotheses are—the existence of various kinds of 'spoken Prakrits and Apabhraṅśas,' as the 'missing links' between the NIA. languages and OIA. dialects ; the derivation from one kind of 'spoken Prakrit' of a number of current NIA. languages and dialects grouping themselves together by virtue of common traits ; the literary and artificial character of Sanskrit when compared with the early MIA. spoken vernaculars, in the eastern part of Northern India at least as early as the time of Buddha and even of the Brāhmaṇas, and in the North-Western, Western and West-Midland tracts probably from slightly later times ; and the domination of one form of MIA. over the rest as a *Koinē* or a literary or official speech (it was the language of Buddha, and of the Jain teachers, and Aśōka's court-dialect, forms of an eastern [Ardha-māgadhī] speech, in the earlier centuries of the MIA. period ; and a Western Midland [and perhaps for a period, under the Kuṣāṇas, a North-western] speech, subsequently).

A sketch of the early history of IA., with reference to the origin of Bengali, is attempted below, as a preliminary to a study of the Phonology and Morphology of the language.



24. Aryan speakers are admitted by most scholars to have come to India at some period not very much anterior to 1500 B.C., which is the date usually given to the commencement of the age when the Vedic hymns were composed. The Aryanisation of North-western India (Panjab) was a gradual process, and started as an overflow from what is now Afghanistan, where Aryan speakers were sojourning for some time before they turned to India, along the rivers Kubhā (Kabul), Krumu (Kuram) and Gōmatī (Gomal) and the passes of the western frontier. The original people among whom the primitive Indo-European speech, the ultimate source of Vedic and Avestic, of Greek, of Italic and Celtic, of Slavic and of Germanic, was characterised, were, according to testimony of language, pastoral, and perhaps nomadic, with some knowledge of agriculture, but their home and race-type are matters of dispute. Panjab and Kashmir, Central Asia, South Russia, Poland and Lithuania, Hungary, North Germany, and Scandinavia, among other places, have been proposed by different writers as the original Indo-European home. But it seems that there cannot be much objection in regarding the wide tract of land extending from the west and south of Russia (possibly also from east Germany and Poland) to the Altai and Thien Shan mountains of Central Asia, as the 'area of characterisation' of primitive Indo-European language and culture. In the central and eastern parts of this tract now live various Tatar peoples, speaking dialects of the Turkī and Mongol groups (of the Ural-Altai family), side by side with the Russians. North of this tract was the original home of the Finno-Ugrian peoples, remnants of whom are still found there. It is probable that the wide grass lands of Eurasia were shared by primitive tribes, both Indo-European and Ural-Altai (Altai and Finno-Ugrian) in speech, and that there was some amount of intermingling among them. The connection between the Indo-European and Finno-Ugrian languages, as advocated by Henry Sweet ('History of Language,' London, 1900, Chapter VII) might be a genetic one, and it may yet be proved that the Indo-European and Finno-Ugrian (and consequently also the Altai) speeches have a common origin in the language of the prehistoric dwellers of the Eurasian plains. There is again, no proof

that the primitive Indo-Europeans, the *Wiros*, as P. Giles proposes to call them ('Cambridge History of India,' Vol. I, p. 66), were a pure and unmixed race. Many scholars, mostly German, assumed the original Indo-European type as being tall, long-headed, straight-nosed, with fair complexion and golden wavy hair, the Nordic type of Europe; others, like Sergi, regarded them as having been a medium round-headed race, fair, with black hair, the Alpine type; while a third view suggests with greater plausibility that the Indo-European speakers were 'a conglomerate of peoples of different origins who in prehistoric times were welded together into an ethnic unity' (A. H. Keane, 'Man Past and Present,' revised and re-written by A. H. Quiggin and A. C. Haddon, Cambridge, 1920, p. 505). Marked dialectal differences were present among the primitive Indo-Europeans, as can be seen from the derived languages. Primitive IE. dialects have been classed into two broad groups from point of view of phonetics and vocabulary, a Western and an Eastern. In the former group, original IE. gutturals, stops and aspirates, were preserved as stops and aspirates, and in some cases they seem to have been pronounced with rounded lips, and so developed a «w» quality; and in the latter, some of the original gutturals were palatalised, and then turned into fricatives; the former dialect group developing into the 'centum' languages—Celtic and Italic, Germanic, Greek, and the latter into the 'satem' languages—Indo-Iranian, Armenic, Albanian and Baltic-Slavic. (See § 33.) The presence of Tokharian (Old Kuchean), which is a non-palatalising speech, akin to the 'centum' languages of the west, within the eastern area is an ethnic and linguistic problem, a likely explanation of which is that it is due to the migration of a western IE.-speaking tribe into the east in some unknown epoch.

25. Some of the IE. tribes speaking a dialect of the palatalising and spirantising class had come down south-east, into the eastern part of the plateau of Iran, and became established there by 2000 B.C. The route by which they came from the problematic IE. homeland, which so far as India is concerned was certainly in the north-west, is unknown. It was generally thought that they came through Transoxiana, before they passed down south into Bactria and Arachosia. But the finding of the Boghaz-köi



records, with the names of the Vedic deities Indra (in-da-ra), Varuṇa (a-ru-na or u-ru-w-na), Mitra (mi-it-ra) and the Nāsatyas or the Aśvins (na-ša-at-ti-ia) worshipped by the chiefs of the Mitanni, who ruled in the north-western part of Mesopotamia, in the 15th century B.C., and who bore Aryan names like Artatama, Artamanya, Šauššatar, Šutarna, Šubandu, Dušratta, Šuwardata and Yašdata, has inclined some scholars to regard Mesopotamia and the lands north and west of it as lying in the track of the Aryans in their progress from their home in Eastern Europe, through the Caucasus or the Balkans and Asia Minor, east to India. The presence of Šurīaš (= *Sun*, Skt. «Sūrya») and Maruttaš (= Skt. «Marut»?) among the gods—«bugaš»—(compare Skt. «bhaga», Avestic «baça», Slav «bogŭ» *god*) worshipped by the Kassites, who conquered Babylon in the 18th century B.C., and who also had names which have an Aryan look, *e.g.* Indabugaš, has also been similarly explained. The Manda or Mada people, mentioned in the early Babylonian and Hittite records, who spoke an Aryan language, and were probably the ancestors of the later Medes of Iran, were similarly an Aryan tribe stopping in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan and Western Iran during the migration of the Aryans to the east towards India (P. Giles in the 'Cambridge History of India,' Vol. I, Chap. III; H. R. Hall, 'Ancient History of the Near East,'<sup>2</sup> 1913, p. 201; E. Forrer, ZDMG., 1922, pp. 247 ff.; Sten Konow, JRAS., 1911, pp. 42-47).

Be it as it may, these IE. speakers were settled for some time in Eastern Iran before they came into India; and long before that event, their language had entered into a stage of development which has been called Indo-Iranian or Aryan. This Indo-Iranian form of IE. is the immediate source of the dialects brought by the 'Aryans' into India. In Eastern Iran, it is likely that the Aryan speakers absorbed the original peoples, who must have differed from them in race, speech and culture. The influx of the Aryans into the Panjab from what is now Afghanistan seems to have been brought about by gradually extending the Aryan pale in the east; parts of Eastern Afghanistan—the Gandhāra (Kabul Valley) region—always formed an integral part of Aryan India down to Moslem times. It was not a national movement, a folk-wandering, on a large scale,



to a distant land in search of new homes; in any case, it did not leave such an impression in the mind of the Vedic people. The reasons for Aryan migration into India are not known, but probably it was the land-hunger of a primitive half-nomadic people, accentuated possibly by divergences in cults and dialects which were manifesting themselves in Eastern Iran. The tribes that moved into India, with their special cults, became the founders of the Hindu civilisation, gradually taking up elements from the culture of the peoples already in the land. Of those who were left in Iran, some remained in their primitive state, and became the Iranian-speaking Scythians, of Central Asia and the Black Sea regions; while others, also Iranian speakers, developed the Magian religion and culture, and coming in touch with the Sumero-Semitic people of Babylon and of Assyria and with the Elamites, founded the great and powerful civilisation of Persia; and others again, not developing any great culture of their own, became in course of time the Baloches, Afghans and other Iranian peoples. A third group sought homes in the bleak and inhospitable mountain regions east-south of the Hindu Kush: it is thought they parted company with the rest before the split had occurred among the Indo-Iranians, leading to their bifurcation into Indo-Aryans and Iranians. The speech of this third group, now represented by the Dardic or Pisāca dialects (§ 3), holds an intermediate position between Iranian and Indian. Dardic speakers peopled Kashmir; and it would seem numbers of them settled in the plains of India as well, where they have been absorbed among their Indo-Aryan kinsmen, and their characteristic dialects have naturally died out, but these have left their marks on the Indo-Aryan speeches which came in touch with them and ousted them from the plains. (LSI., VIII, Part II, Introduction.)

26. Two peoples,<sup>1</sup> speaking languages belonging to two different and unconnected families of speech, and having originally different types of

<sup>1</sup> P. Srinivas Iyengar would have it that the Aryan speech came to India without an Aryan people; he would explain the introduction of the Aryan speech into a densely populated and civilised non-Aryan (Dravidian) Panjab and Northern India as a culture drift, in the wake of a religious cult ('Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras,' Madras, 1912, pp. 3, 4, 10, 11, 14-16). But the theory of an Aryan invasion is borne out



culture, have built up the ancient civilisation of India. These two peoples are the Aryan and the Dravidian, and the complex and composite civilisation which is the result of a synthesis of these two cultures is known as 'Hindu civilisation.'

It seems that there were Chaldæan (Sumerian as well as Semitic) and Western Asiatic, and possibly also Aegean elements in the oldest stratum of Indian Aryo-Dravidian culture. These Western elements might have been pre-Aryan, having been already present in Proto-Dravidian, before the advent of the Aryans into India ; or what is equally likely, these elements might have been absorbed by the Aryans into their own culture as a result of their contact with Western peoples in the course of their migration into India from their primitive home in Eastern Europe. Some cults, as that of a great Mother-Goddess, and probably of some of the Vedic deities, and some old myths (like that of the deluge), as well as some astronomical knowledge, and a few objects and ideas of material culture, seem thus to have been introduced into India at a very early period.<sup>1</sup>

by the general outlook upon life as presented by the Vedic poems, which is that of a war-like and conquering people establishing themselves in a country previously inhabited by another people, by the character of the Vedic speech, which in its habits differentiates itself from later forms of Indo-Aryan, and associates itself with Greek and others in preserving a pure Indo-European structure ; and by the totally different form of culture and ideas presented by the Rig-Veda on the one hand and the oldest Tamil poems on the other—poems which, according to competent authority, represent the Dravidian spirit at its purest and most ancient form. The wide difference in racial type between the South Indian Dravidians and the North-west Indians is note-worthy ; and we have also to take into consideration the parallel cases of Persian, Greek and Italic Indo-European cultures.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'Hinduism,' by W. Crooke, in Hasting's Cyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VI, p. 688 ; E. Forrer, 'Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Hatti-Reiches,' ZDMG., 1922, i, p. 252 ; B. G. Tilak, 'Chaldæan and Indian Vedas,' in Comm. Essays presented to R. G. Bhāṅḍārkar, Poona, 1917, pp. 29-42 ; A. Weber, 'Indian Literature', London, 1904, pp. 2, 247-248. The 'Asuras' as the enemies of the Gods in old Sanskrit literature may be a reminiscence of hostile contact between Assyrians and Aryans outside India : F. W. Thomas, in the JRAS., 1916, p. 364. The latest theory about the origin of the Dravidians is that they belong to the Mediterranean race, that they lived for some time in Mesopotamia, and by the pressure of the Akkadians or Semites, they pushed into India, by way of Balochistan (where the Brahui language marks their presence), and spread along the Indus and Ganges valleys,



The stronghold of Dravidian culture was in the South, probably in the basin of the Kaveri; and among the Dravidians there were tribes in various stages of civilisation, from the civilised ancestors of the Kannaḍa, Telugu and Tamil-Mālayalam peoples to the wild forefathers of the Brahuīs and the Gonds, Khonds and Oraons. These latter may represent earlier pre-Dravidian stocks, like the Kōls, who adopted Dravidian speech, and who might originally have been (as they are now) quite distinct from the civilised Dravidians. It is regarded as certain that Dravidian speakers were at one time spread over the whole of Northern India as well, from Balochistan to Bengal.

27. The other elements in the Aryan-speaking peoples of Northern and North-eastern India may be briefly noted.

Beside the Dravidians there were the Kōls, whose speech is a member of a linguistic family extending through Indo-China and Malay Peninsula to Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia—the Austric family (P. W. Schmidt, 'Die Mon-Khmer Völker, etc.', Brunswick, 1906). Kōl speakers are now confined roughly within the region between the Ganges, the Tapti and the Godavari (West Bengal, Chota Nagpur, North-east Madras

before passing into the South and absorbing there the primitive Negrito and proto-Polynesian population: James Hornell, 'The Origins and Ethnological Significance of Indian Boat-designs,' Memoires of the ASB., 1920, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 225-226. The Vedic word 'manā' a weight, is regarded as being of Babylonian origin (= 'mina'), and 'paraśu' (= Greek 'pelekus') axe and 'lōha' < '\*rōdha' iron have been connected with Sumerian 'balag' (Akkadian 'pilakku') and 'urudu' copper respectively: cf. A. B. Keith, 'The Early History of the Indo-Aryans' in the Bhāṇḍārkar Comm. Volume, p. 87. The finding of a Babylonian cylinder of c. 2000 B.C. in Central India (Rākhāl-Dās Banerji, 'Bāhūgālār Itihās,' Part I, Calcutta, 1321 San, pp. 20-22), and of the Harappa seals from the Panjab, with the unmistakable Cretan bull and Cretan-looking symbols (Annual Progress Report of the Supdt. Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March, Lahore, 1922, Plate IX; Cambridge History of India, I, Plate XI, 22, 23), are probably among direct evidences of early contact between the Indo-Aryans or Dravidians and the people of the West. Cf. also 'Some Ancient Elements in Indian Decorative Art' by Ananda Krishna Coomaraswamy, in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, quoted in the *Modern Review* (Calcutta) for August 1914, where the influx of decorative motifs from the Aegean region into pre-Aryan India is established.



Presidency, the Central Provinces), but on linguistic and ethnic grounds it has been surmised that at one time they lived in the Gangetic plains, up to the foot of the Himalayas.<sup>1</sup>

The presence of the Khasis in Assam, as well as the early history of the Mōns and the Khmērs (who were spread all over Burma and Indo-China before they were subdued and assimilated by the Tibeto-Chinese tribes, like the Burmans and the Tai), may warrant the assumption that in very ancient times, the Kōl-Mōn-Khmēr race was spread from Central India and the Ganges valley to Cambodia. The Kōl race undoubtedly forms an important element in the present-day Aryan-speaking masses in Northern and Central India. The Kōls never evolved any great culture, and they apparently had nothing to contribute in the formation of the Indian civilisation; they were simply absorbed within the Hindu (Brahmanical and Buddhistic) fold when they adopted Aryan speech.

28. The speakers of the Tibeto-Chinese languages, the Tibeto-Burmans and others, who settled in Tibet and in the southern slopes of the Himalayas as well as in Assam and North and East Bengal in comparatively recent times, seem not to have moved much further to the east of their primitive home round about the sources of the Yang-tsze-Kiang at the time of Aryan penetration into India (1500 B. C.). When the Tibeto-Burmans, forming one branch of the Tibeto-Chinese race, came to the Indian side of the Himalayas, to Nepal and North Bihar, Bengal and Assam, they

<sup>1</sup> Census Report (India) for 1911, p. 327, § 412. Sarat Chandra Roy, 'The Mundas and their Country,' Ranchi, 1912, Chap. II, pp. 30-32, 43, 44, 47 ff., 61, 70 ff. Mr. Roy's attempts to identify names of non-Aryan chiefs in the Rig-Veda with Muṇḍārī names, pp. 47-49, are rather fanciful. All that we can be fairly certain of is that the Kōls lived in the Upper Gangetic Valley, and were considerably influenced by their more civilised neighbours the Dravidians, among whom they might have been absorbed, at least in the plains; and when the Aryans came, they, in common with the Dravidians, took up the Aryan speech and were brought within the fold of the Brahmanical social order. Those Kōls, who, living in the remoter parts of Central India, did not come in contact with the Gangetic Aryans or Aryanised people in ancient times, are now represented by the Santals, the Muṇḍās, the Hōs, the Kūrkū, the Savaras, the Gadabas, etc., and possibly also by the Bhils (now Aryan in speech).

possibly mingled with the Kōl and Dravidian peoples already established there; and this amalgam rapidly became Aryanised in contact with Gangetic culture. The other branch of the Tibeto-Chinese peoples, the Tai or Shan, carried on its incursions in North-eastern India in successive waves, of which we know in detail one only, the Ahom invasion of Assam in the 13th century. The Tibeto-Chinese peoples who came to India were rude tribes without any high culture, and their contribution to Indian civilisation seems to have been nil; although one branch of this race, the Chinese, built up one of the greatest material civilisations of the world, the foundations of which go back to the beginning of the second millennium B. C.

29. Hoernle had postulated the incoming of the Aryans into India in two groups or bands, one earlier, and the other later. According to this theory, a group of Aryans first came into India and settled in the Western Gangetic Doab or the Midland country. They were followed by another group, and these new-comers dispossessed their kinsmen, who had come earlier, from their original settlements, and forced them into tracts west, north, east and south of this Midland region. The new-comers thus became the 'Inner' Aryans; and their predecessors, who had to retreat into the outlying tracts, became the 'Outer' Aryans. It was among these 'Inner' Aryans that Vedic culture and Brahmanical ideas grew up. This view of a two-fold Aryan immigration, or rather, of the advent into India of two separate and antagonistic groups of Aryan-speakers, both equally important, has been endorsed by Grierson, and the theory has been further elaborated by him. According to Grierson, the 'Outer' Band of Aryan invaders, who were closely connected with the Dardic speakers, and were probably but a branch of them, settled in the Panjab, in Sindh, in Gujarat and Rajputana, in the Maratha country, in the Eastern Hindi area, and in Bihar (whence their language was taken to Bengal, Assam and Orissa), and in the north, along the slopes of the Himalayas. Thus, the 'Inner' Aryan speech is now represented by Western Hindi; whereas the other current forms of Aryan speech developed from the dialects used by the 'Outer' Aryans ('History of India' by A. R. Hoernle and H. A. Stark, Calcutta, 1904, pp. 12, 13; Grierson, BSOS., Vol. I, No. 3, p. 52).



The reasons adduced by Grierson are mainly linguistic. He notices that there are certain points of disagreement between the Midland Aryan language, Western Hindī, on the one hand, and the other Aryan languages, *vis.*, Lahndī, Sindhī, Gujarāti, Marāṭhī, Bengali, Bihārī and the Pahārī dialects, on the other. These disagreements in points in which the outer languages agree are inherited, as Grierson is inclined to think, from the two ancient groups of Aryan languages spoken by the ‘Inner’ and the ‘Outer’ Aryans respectively. Not only do the ‘Outer’ languages agree with each other in those very points in which they differ from the Midland language, but what is more, the Dardic languages share with the ‘Outer’ speeches most of these very characteristics. Consequently, the NIA. languages fall into two main classes: (i) ‘Inner,’ or Midland, or Śaurasēnī class: classical Sanskrit is believed to be specially connected with this group, being based on the early Midland dialects; Western Hindī is its modern representative; and (ii) ‘Outer,’ or non-Vedic, or non-Sanskritic, the so-called ‘Māgadhī’ of Hoernle, to which fall practically all the other NIA. speeches; as also Sinhalese, and the Gipsy speeches outside India. The ‘Outer’ group is closely connected with Dardic, according to this classification. Grierson has brought together (in the BSOS., Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 78-85) those points of linguistic similarity among the ‘Outer’ speeches on which he has based this connection among the various ‘Outer’ languages, and their differentiation from the ‘Inner’ or Midland language.

30. What Grierson has suggested from linguistic reasons has been sought to be established on anthropological and ethnological grounds by Ramā-Prasād Chanda (‘Indo-Aryan Races,’ Part I, Rajshahi, 1916). Chanda, however, differs from Grierson in some of the details of the theory. According to Chanda, the ‘Outer’ Aryans were a brachycephalic race, derived from a stock totally different from the ‘Inner’ Aryans, who were dolichocephalic. This difference in race went hand in hand with a difference in dialect. The dolichocephalic ‘Inner’ Aryans were the ancestors of the people of the Panjab, of the Rājput̄s, and of the Brahmins of the Upper Ganges Valley (Hindustan): among them

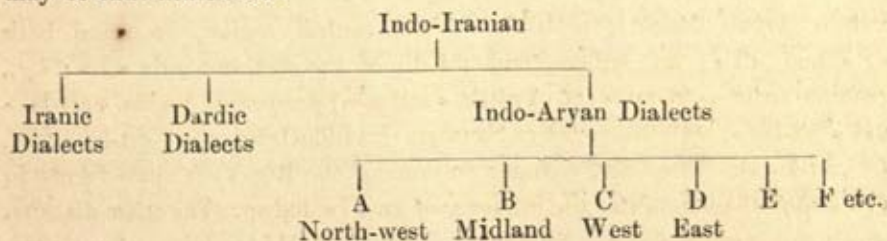
grew up the Vedic institutions and culture and the system of the four castes. The brachycephalic 'Outer' Aryans, who originally knew nothing of the Vedic cults, and from whose religious notions ultimately developed Vaiṣṇavism and Śāktism, were, in later times, profoundly influenced by the religion and ideas of the 'Inner' Aryans, but only after they had been settled for centuries around the latter in Western Panjab, in Sindh, in Gujarat and Mahārāṣṭra, and in Bihar and Orissa and Bengal, where they crossed over from Western India through the forest country of Central India. The Gujarātīs, Marāṭhās as well as the Bengalis, Bihārīs and Oṛiyās have a preponderance of brachy- and mesaticephals: they are the result of a mixture of the round-headed 'Outer' Aryans with the long-headed Dravidians and Kōls, as well as with the long-headed 'Inner' Aryans who migrated from the Midland into the outer tracts. Such, in brief, is Chanda's view; and this also takes cognisance of the linguistic arguments put forward by Grierson.

31. The problem presented by the above theory is a most important one, and impossible withal to solve. The linguistic data brought forward by Grierson is admittedly late; and they might very well be the result of independent development in the various 'Outer' languages, not of inherited tendencies. A consideration of the points raised by Grierson is made in *Appendix A* to the *Introduction*. The anthropometric data of Chanda need not be questioned, and what he says about the influence of Magadhan and East Midland ('Outer' Aryan) peoples upon the 'Inner' Aryans of the West Gangetic Doab ('Indo-Aryan Races,' p. 54 ff.), is note-worthy. It may be that the Gujarātīs and the Bengalis, with most Bihārīs, present a type which is the result of the mixture of Dravidian, Kōl and 'Inner' Aryan long-heads with a race of broad-heads, akin to the *Homo Alpinus*, from Central Asia, who came to India in some prehistoric period: but what evidence is there that these broad-heads were Aryan or Indo-European speakers? The linguistic basis for Chanda's theory is weakened a great deal when the Lahndi-speaking Western Panjābīs, who by their dialect are 'Outer' Aryans, according to this 'Inner' and 'Outer' theory, and whose ancestors at least in certain tracts used to be regarded by the



'Inner' Aryans of the Midland as being equally degraded and out of the Brahmanical pale as the Magadhan and other eastern peoples (§ 37), are proved racially to be of the same stock as the Kanaujiyā Brahmins of the Midland. Besides, the evidence of anthropometry based on cephalic index alone is not regarded as conclusive. For aught we know, and it is not necessary to digress into questions of anthropology, which as a science is still in its infancy, the hypothetical brachycephalic hordes from Central Asia, who are regarded by Chanda, with the concurrence of A. C. Haddon, as forming one of the elements in the Gujarātī, Marāṭhā, Koṣagu, Kannaḍa, Telugu, Oṛiyā, Bengali and Bibāri peoples, might never have been Aryan speakers. It is to be noted that the Telugu, Kannaḍa and Koṣagu peoples, who are supposed to be the result of exactly the same ethnic mixture as the Gujarātīs and the Bengalis, never spoke Aryan. Again, there is not the slightest tradition in Bengal favouring the assumption of the migration of (brachycephalic 'Outer') Aryans from Western India or Gujarat into Bengal and Bihar. On the other hand, the traditions of Aryandom everywhere refer to the Midland as the nidus. The attempt to establish on anthropometrical and ethnological grounds a ring of 'Outer' Aryandom round an 'Inner' Aryan core is as unconvincing as that on linguistic grounds.

32. Instead of regarding the Aryan dialects of Ancient India as falling into two great classes or branches, as Hoernle and Grierson have postulated, we may, with Weber and others, think of them as forming more than two groups, some of these agreeing with each other more than with the rest, by virtue either of a genetic connection, or of development along similar lines, or again of mutual influence. This sort of classification may be thus illustrated :



The existence of intermediate dialects, between Iranic and Indian as well as Dardic and Indian, is exceedingly probable.

The speech of the Rig-Veda, which is our sole representative for all these dialects, A, B, C, D, E, F etc., is a kind of literary language, a bardic speech, based primarily on one of these dialects only, but admitting forms from other dialects as well, specially when towards the end of the Rig-Vedic period the mass of Vedic hymns became the common property of most Aryan tribes. The basic dialect upon which this composite Vedic bardic speech was gradually built up, and quite unconsciously too, as is the case with all similar bardic languages, was probably of the extreme West, when the Aryans were as yet confined to the Panjab; and we can trace some of its salient phonetic characteristics which marked it off from the other dialects. Thus, for example, it was a dialect which had only < r >, and no < l >; it spirantised internal voiced aspirates like < gh jh dh bh >, ultimately to change them to < h >; and turned intervocal < ḍ ḍh > to the liquids < l ḷh > (cf. A. Meillet, 'Les Consonnes intervocaliques en Védique,' IF., XXXI, pp. 120 ff.). In its preference for < r >, this basic dialect of the Rig-Veda speech agreed with Iranian, possibly its immediate neighbour to the west. From forms preserved in classical Sanskrit (which, again, is a later literary dialect, also of composite origin, based on the spoken forms of OIA. current from Gandhāra or Peshawar frontier to the Midland, upto the middle of the first millennium B. C., but approximating to the dialects of Western Panjab in its rather archaic phonetic character), and also from forms preserved in the MIA. dialects (or Prakrits), we can conclude that there were other OIA. dialects of the Vedic age which did not agree with this basic dialect. Thus, certain Aryan dialects, probably of the central region, preserved both < r > and < l >; and others, undoubtedly of the east, had only < l >: e.g., genuine Vedic < -śrī-ra- > (cf. Avestic < sri-ra- >) *prosperous*, beside < śrī-la- > and < śh-la- >, both preserved in Sanskrit (= Indo-Iranian < \* ḥrī-la- >, IE. < \* krēi-lo- >). The later, younger portions of the Rig-Veda show forms in < l > also; which indicates the influence of an < l > dialect. The other dialects, which are represented by Sanskrit and forms of MIA., did not favour the



change of the voiced aspirates to « h » ; and it was through the influence of these, that the habit of the basic dialect of the Rig-Vedic speech was not allowed to have full play ; so that we find in the poems of the Rig-Veda (as much as in Sanskrit) very many instances where the old aspirates were retained, or restored. While some of the OIA. dialects, including the basic dialect of the Rig-Veda, changed intervocal « -ḍ- » to « -l- », other dialects, as shown by Sanskrit, retained the « -ḍ- ». In other points too, the presence of a varied dialect group in the oldest Indo-Aryan stage is very well attested. A form « guru » *heavy, important* is found in Vedic and Sanskrit, but that another form « garu », corresponding to the Greek « barús », existed dialectally, is attested by the Pali and later Prakrit « garu » ; cf. also Skt. « gar-īyas, gar-iṣṭha » . The Vedic and Sanskrit « pūruṣa, puruṣa » *man* was only dialectal Indo-Aryan ; the common Indo-Aryan form seems to have been « \* pūrṣa » from « \* pu-vrṣa » (J. Wackernagel, ' Altindische Grammatik, ' I, Göttingen, 1896, p. xix ; C. C. Uhlenbeck, ' Etym. Wörterbuch der altind. Sprache, ' Amsterdam, 1899), which is found as « pōsa, purisa, pōrisa » in Pali. Inflected forms, roots and words not preserved in Vedic and classical Sanskrit are occasionally found in MIA. dialects, and these often indicate their presence in OIA. dialects other than the Vedic or classical Sanskrit literary speeches. Vedic and Sanskrit have a form « syāt » (= « √ as », 3 sg. optative), corresponding to the Latin form « siet > sit » ; but the Pali « assa » represents an OIA. dialectal form « \* asyāt », in which the vowel of the original root is strengthened and preserved, and which corresponds to Greek « eīē » (for « \* ehīēt » = IE. « \* esiēt »). IA. « √ dā » occurred in the present tense both in the reduplicated and simple forms ; the former, « dadāti » *gives*, « datta » *given*, were more current in the dialect or groups of dialects on which Vedic and Sanskrit were based ; but the latter, « dāti », « dita » had apparently an equally wide or even wider currency in the other dialects, and in the NIA. languages it is these latter forms which have held on (« dāti » > « dēti » in a Bharhut inscription, through analogy of « nayati » > « nēti » *takes* ; « dēti » > NIA. « dēi, dēy » ; « dita » > NIA. base « dia », as in Hindi « dī-ā », Bengali দি় « di-lā » etc.).

The common NIA. root « āch, ach, ch » *be*, present in Bengali etc., in Gujarāṭī, in Pahārī, comes from an OIA. « \*acch »; this « \*acch » is not found in Vedic and Sanskrit, and must have been quite common in other OIA. dialects, being only a thematic form of « √ as »: IE. « \*es-sko-ti » would give « \*acchati » in OIA.; « \*es+sko- » is found, beside the athematic « √ es », in Greek, in Latin and in Kuchean. The MIA. word « adhigiḍhya » *commencing*, in the Bhabra edict of Ṛṣōka, long wrongly read as « adhigicya », is explained as preserving an OIA. root « \*grdh » *step, walk*, agreeing with Avestic « garəd », Latin « gradior », Lithuanian « giridiu », Old Church Slav « grēdō » etc., and different apparently from the Vedic « grdh » *be greedy* (Truman Michelson in the IF., XXVII, p. 197).

These and similar divergences between Vedic and Sanskrit and the 'Prakrit' dialects, and divergences within one single form of speech like Vedic itself, sufficiently demonstrate the existence of dialects in OIA. other than the basic speech of the Rig-Veda. But after all, these differences are not great, and the position of Vedic and Sanskrit as representatives of all or most OIA. dialects is not assailed. The remarkable agreement of Vedic with Avestic and Homeric Greek shows its right to be regarded as the typical OIA. language, with which comparison can be made of MIA. and NIA. as with the original standard or norm; and although MIA. and NIA. languages are not, strictly speaking, derived from the language of the Rig-Veda, or from classical Sanskrit, they can very well be referred to the latter, for *types* of their *source-forms*, in phonetics and in such old inflections as are not the result of later, independent development.

33. The Vedic language, then, as typical of OIA., may be taken to represent the arche-type from which later IA. speeches spring. This language belongs to what has been called by the philologists the « satəm » class of Indo-European tongues, namely, those which have changed the original IE. front gutturals (the so-called 'palatals') « k kh, g gh » into palatal fricatives and sibilants « ç, ž » (later « ś, j » or « s, z »). This palatalisation occurs in Baltic-Slavic and Albanian only among the IE. languages of Europe: the other European speeches of the IE. family, Greek, Italic, Celtic



and Germanic, did not change these original front gutturals into palatal spirants or sibilants (although that change has resulted in most of the modern forms of the above speeches, *e.g.*, dialectal Greek, Italian, French, English, during the last thousand or fifteen hundred years). The Primitive IE. word for *hundred*, < \*kṛtóm >, became < śatam > in Sanskrit, < satəm > in Avestic, < šimtās > in Lithuanian, and < sŭto > in Old Church Slavie; while the guttural was retained in Greek < (he)-katon >, Latin < centum > (pron. kentum), Primitive Celtic < \*kanton > whence Old Irish < cēt > (pron. kēd) and Welsh < cant >, Primitive Germanic < \*xundám > whence Old English < hund >. Two typical words, Avestic < satəm > and Latin < centum >, representing two varieties of transformation of the IE. < \*kṛtóm >, are employed as convenient labels to mark off the two kinds of IE. from each other. The consonant system of IA., as represented by Vedic, is remarkably full, and is most faithful to the Primitive IE., especially as to its characteristic aspirate sounds, which are preserved nowhere else. But it is particularly poor in its vowels—IE. < a e o, ā ē ō > having already in the Indo-Iranian stage fallen together into < a, ā >. The languages with which Aryan came into contact in India, of which we have belated specimens only, namely Kōl and Dravidian, influenced it a great deal in its phonetics, and determined the character of the subsequent phonetic history of IA. on some note-worthy points. The simple and primitive vowel system such as characterises Vedic was continued in Common IA. down to recent times, and it has been modified but slightly. It is to be noted that Kōl and Dravidian possess an equally simple vowel system. The aspirates of IA., however, have succeeded in imprinting themselves on all non-Aryan languages with which it came in direct touch, *e.g.* Kannaḍa, Telugu, Santali. The Vedic literary speech is lacking in spirants, except in the case of the rare guttural and labial breathing, the ‘jihvā-mūliya’ [x] and the ‘upadhmanīya’ [F], as variants of the ‘visarga.’ The palatal spirant [k > ç] was changed to the palatal sibilant < ś > = [š] in India, and [g > ž] to the palatal stop < j > = [j]. This is remarkable, when we find that the sister and probably the nearest neighbour of IA., namely Iranian as in the Avesta, is particularly rich in spirants. This lack of spirant sounds in IA.

might have been due to the very early influence of Dravidian (and perhaps also Kōl). Besides, the cerebral sounds «*ṭ ḍ ḷ ṇ*», which are preëminently Dravidian,<sup>1</sup> have already been imposed upon the earliest IA.

The morphology of Vedic is as luxuriant as it can be, and it retains most faithfully the inflections of Primitive IE. Much of the vigour and grace of the Vedic speech is due no doubt to its highly inflectional character. But the modifications its roots undergo, and the very elaborate nature of its declinational and conjugational forms have made it one of the most complicated of languages, although all that was easily understandable in Primitive IE. with its agglutinative character. Compared with OIA. (Vedic), Old Dravidian must have been simplicity itself. The conjugational system of Old Dravidian, with the nominal nature of the verb, with its two tenses, a past with a definite sense and an 'aorist' or 'future' with an almost universal applicability, its want of modal and derived forms like the causative (cf. Julien Vinson, 'Le Verbe dans les Langues dravidiennes,' Paris, 1878, pp. 56, 57), was nowhere before IA.; but undoubtedly it sufficed, by periphrasis no doubt, to express all simple ideas. The Kōl scheme of declension and conjugation, with its regular array of suffixes and infixes added to the root, is an extremely simple thing, even in modern Kōl, although it looks formidable in its polysynthesis. (J. Hoffmann, 'Mundari Grammar,' Calcutta, 1903, Introduction; LSI., Vol. IV, Introduction to the Munṣā languages and to Santali.) The result of the contact between the speakers of the highly inflectional and complicated Aryan, and those of the comparatively regular, agglutinative Kōl and Dravidian, when the latter took to speaking the language of the former, we see in the later history of the Aryan speech in India, in the process of its transformation to the NIA. languages. The whole system of Vedic has been simplified to that of the

<sup>1</sup> The following is the reconstruction of the Sound-system of Primitive Dravidian by K. V. Subbayya ('Dravidian Phonology,' IAnt., June, July, August 1909): *Vowels*: a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ē, o, ō; and long w (simple and nasalised); *Consonants*: p, -b; t, -d; -ṭṭ-, -ḍḍ-; k', -g' (=front gutturals of IE., k, g); k-, g- (=velars of IE., q, g); m, n, ŋ, ṇ, ṅ; r, l, ṛ (trilled), ḷ, ḻ (=spirant cerebral l, or r, or x), and probably also a bilabial spirant, w, both voiced and unvoiced, and the palatal semi-vowel y; and there was no sibilant.



modern vernaculars, and this simplification has been carried out to a great extent along the lines of Dravidian (cf. *Appendix B*).

34. The first coming of the Aryans into India was, we may presume, as the extension into North-western India of the Aryan pale from what is now Eastern Afghanistan. There was progress towards the east, along Northern Panjab; and in the Rig-Vedic period, commencing from about the middle of the 2nd millennium B. C., Aryandom in India, at least the Aryandom of which the Rig-Veda is the religious and literary expression, extended from the Kabul and the Swat rivers to the Ganges. Probably at this time there were two centres of Aryan life: at least it was so during the earlier part of the next period: Gandhāra (Peshawar and Rawalpindi), and the tract which came to be known as 'Brahmāvarta, by the river Sarasvatī (Patiala, Ambala, Karnal). The distinctly Indian character of the Vedic religion seems to have taken shape in the eastern part of the area. Here one section of the Aryans developed the Vedic cult of fire, of Indra and of the great Gods of the Rig-Veda; here probably the later, Brahmanic ideas of sacrifice first took shape, and the beginnings of the old Aryan monarchical institutions were made. The hymns of the Rig-Veda, the bulk of them, were composed in the Panjab, but it is quite imaginable that a number of them were brought into India from outside by the Aryans: witness, for instance, the common metres and strophes found in both the Rig-Veda and the Avesta. The particular group of Aryans who created the Vedic religion, and systematised its literature and its ritual, seem to have made the Midland (the Upper Ganges Doab) their home, where they developed the system of the four castes, and in general laid the foundations of Brahmanistic culture and religion of later times (1000—600 B. C.). From their position in one of the richest parts of India, from their high culture and their organisation, these Midland Aryans became the most dominant people in Northern India, and their intellectual people, the Brahmans, and their aristocracy, the Kṣatriyas or Rājanyas, were able to influence all surrounding peoples by their superior mentality; and they extended the Midland institutions right up to Benares and Mithilā in the east, and also into the south and the west.

All Aryan speakers, however, were not 'Vedic' in their religion and general outlook. There is evidence in the Rig-Veda that the Vedic Aryans fought not only with the non-Aryans, but also with other Aryans, whose ideas and ways of life were probably dissimilar. Some of these non-Vedic Aryans seem to have preceded the Aryans of the Vedic cults in the east, along the Ganges, where the latter followed them from their Midland head-quarters. Other bodies of Aryans, keeping themselves equally aloof from the Vedic Aryans of the Eastern Panjab, were settled in Western and South-western Panjab. These Aryans of the eastern tracts seem to have differed from the Midland or Vedic Aryans in many respects—in religious observances, in many practices, in dialect.

The non-Aryans, Dravidians and Kōl, fought with the Aryans, both Vedic and non-Vedic, and made peace with them. Many of the non-Aryans remained unaffected by Aryan culture and language for quite a long time: the presence of Dravidian (or Kōl)-speaking peoples in Northern India, including the Panjab and Upper Ganges Valley, down to late MIA. times, is not an unlikely thing, considering that the Brabuis are flourishing in Balochistan at the present day. The evidence from literature seems to show this also: and toponomy in Northern India would probably support it. The Gōṇḍṣ, a Dravidian-speaking tribe of Central India, for instance, seem to give their name to Gōṇḍā district in the United Provinces. But from the advent and settlement of the Aryans, large numbers of non-Aryans were finding a place in Aryan society, either as serfs and slaves, or as free cultivators and labourers and artisans, although they were looked down upon as « Śūdras » by the Aryan settlers, the « Viśas ». The Dravidians were possessed of a material culture not much inferior to that brought by the Aryans (cf. R. Caldwell, 'Comp. Gramm. of the Drav. Langs.', London, 1913, pp. 113-114; P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, 'Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras,' Madras, 1912, p. 15). They seem to have been clever agriculturists and artificers, and they had their own deep-seated ideas on world and man, which also affected the Aryans. The contact between the two peoples which began possibly as a shock of strife at first in the Panjab, and became friendly and intimate in the



Ganges Valley, resulted in a compromise in which outwardly the Aryan triumphed, for his language superseded Dravidian in Northern India, and in later times even became the vehicle of thought and culture among the Dravidians of the South. Through this victory of his language, the Aryan gave a distinct colour to the culture with which it became associated. This synthesis took nearly a millennium to complete in the plains of Northern India.

35. Even as early as the Vedic period, when the thoughts and notions, the social institutions and mental outlook of the Aryans in India, in fact, their culture as a whole, had many more things in common with the primitive Hellenes, Italians, Celts, Germans and Slavs than with their descendants the later Hindus of Northern India,—at a time when characteristic Hindu ideas did not develop among them, Dravidian cults and Dravidian language had begun to influence their religion and speech. No trace of the doctrine of transmigration, for instance, is found in the Rig-Veda, and yet no other doctrine is so peculiarly Indian; it may have had its origin in non-Aryan animism, but it became established among the Aryans quite early. Some of the cosmic notions seem to be Dravidian; Dravidian gods<sup>1</sup> were being added to the Aryan pantheon; or rather, their attributes and natures, and sometimes

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, a Dravidian god of the mountains and wastes, a *Red God*, probably had his name translated into Aryan as 'Rudhra,' and then identified with the Aryan god 'Rudra', the *Roarer*, and later on, his Dravidian names (cf. Tamil 'śivan' red, 'śembu' copper) seem to have been adopted as 'Śiva' and 'Śambhu'; and this synthesis, sublimated by Hindu thought, in later times gave rise to the Puranic Rudra-Śiva or Mahādēva, one of the grandest conceptions of mythology. The Dravidians probably had a monkey-god, whom they called the *Male Monkey*; he seems to have been introduced into the Aryan pantheon as 'Vṛṣā-kapi,' not without opposition from some Aryans; and later, his Dravidian name seems to have been adopted into the language of the Aryans, and Aryanised as 'Hanūmant' (cf. Tamil 'āṇ-mandi' male monkey). The Aryan Viṣṇu seems to have been identified with a Dravidian Sky-god (Dravidian 'viṇ' sky). But other Dravidian cults, like the worship of serpents, or of the liṅga, did not make any impression on the Aryans at this time. (Cf. 'Dravidian Religion', in Hasting's Cyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics; F. E. Pargiter, 'Vṛṣā-kapi and Hanumant,' JRAS., 1913. p. 400; P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126; M. Collins' Remarks on S. A. Pillai's 'Sanskrit Element in the Vocabularies of the Drav. Langa.' Madras University Dravidic Studies, III, 1919, pp. 61-62.)

even their names, were transferred to the Aryan gods, and a new and composite creation resulted gradually from this sort of union.

The language of the Rig-Veda is as yet purely Aryan or Indo-European in its forms, structure, and spirit, but its phonetics is already affected by Dravidian ; and it has already begun to borrow words from Dravidian (and from Kōl) : not only names of objects previously unknown to the Aryans, but also a few words of ideas ; among words of probable Dravidian origin in the Rig-Veda being, to give a few examples, « aṇu » *particle*, « araṇi », *rubbing wood for fire*, « kaṭu-ka » *sharp*, « kapi » *monkey*, « karmāra » *smith*, « kalā » *small part, art*, « kāla » *time*, « kitava » *gamester*, « kuṭa » *hut*, « kuṇāru » *withered-armed*, « kuṇḍa » *hole*, « gaṇa » *band*, « nānā » *several*, « nila » *blue*, « nīhāra » *cloud, snow*, « puṣka-ra » *lotus*, « puṣpa » *flower*, « pūjana » *worship*, « phala » *fruit*, « bila » *hole*, « bīja » *seed*, « mayūra » *peafowl*, « rātri » *night*, (?) « rūpa » *form*, « sāyam » *evening*, « valgu » *handsome*. As we proceed, the non-Aryan words are on the increase : in the Brāhmaṇas, for instance, we come across words like « aṭavi » *forest*, « alarka » *a kind of flower*, « āḍambara » *drum*, « kambala » *blanket*, (?) « kulāla » *potter*, « khaḍga » *rhinoceros*, « taṇḍula » *rice*, « tila » *sesamum*, « phaṇa » *froth*, *scum*, « maṭaci » (?) *locust*, « marka-ṭa » *ape, monkey*, « valakṣa, balakṣa » *white*, « valli » *creeper*, (?) « vrihi » *rice*, « śava » *corpse*, mostly names of objects ; and as the Aryan speech gets in strength, words of ideas seem to be borrowed no longer, but a respectable number of concrete terms are adopted into the old vernaculars and in Sanskrit. (For References, see under *Appendix B*.)

36. Among the various OIA. dialects, those of the tribes of the West, contiguous to Iranian, might show points of agreement with the latter ; and those of the East might reasonably be expected to have come more and more under the influence of the non-Aryan languages, as they penetrated deeper and deeper into the heart of India. As an increasingly large non-Aryan population adopted the Aryan speech, we may expect changes to creep into it, and its words and forms to be modified, to suit the ways of the people that adopted it. By 1000 B.C., the Aryan tongue seems to have become well established or dominant in Northern India up to Bihar, which



becomes 'Āryāvarta' or Aryan land. Certain Aryan tribes seem, from the evidence of the Brāhmaṇas, to have been nomadic at this time. The Vedic Aryans from Eastern Panjab and Western Doab advanced eastwards, in the wake of their eastern kinsmen. Rich and powerful states, like those of the Kurus (Bhāratas) and the Pañcālas, the Vaśas and the Uśīnaras, the Matsyas and the Śālvas, the Śūrasēnas, the Kōsalas and the Kāśis, and the Vidēhas, were established in the Midland and in the Ganges Valley, the last three states being the easternmost. These are among the states mentioned in the pre-Buddhistic Brāhmaṇas (1000—600 B.C.), with which the early traditions of India in history and romance, poetry and philosophy, religion and social institutions are connected. The population of these states consisted of Aryans, Vedic and non-Vedic, of a mixed population of Aryans and non-Aryans, and of non-Aryans more or less Aryanised in language and culture.

The Aryan dialects of the preceding generations, which were contemporaneous with the speech of the Rig-Veda, changed, so that the latter became slightly archaic, and, although studied in the poems of the Rig-Veda, forming the *corpus* of a national literature, it could no longer remain a current, every-day speech; and a new literary speech, a slightly simplified Vedic, grew up, among the descendants of Vedic speakers and among those who adopted the Vedic cults. This *Sanskrit of the Brāhmaṇas* is the literary form of the dialects spoken by those Aryans and Aryanised people who originally followed the Vedic cults, and were now spread from Western Panjab to Bihar. The Aryan tribes of the Panjab, like the Gandhāras, the Kēkayas, the Madras, and the Kurus and Pañcālas of the Midland were the people among whom the Vedic culture had its proper home. By the time that the Aryan speech had penetrated into what is now Bihar, *i.e.*, after 1000 B.C., some distinct tendencies in pronunciation were manifesting themselves in the eastern Aryan dialects, spoken by the non-Vedic Aryans. But it may be presumed that in spite of the difference between the dialects of the extreme West and those of the extreme East becoming greater and greater, through the 'Prakritic' tendencies developing in the latter, there was a general intelligibility among them, through

the medium of the language of the Brāhmaṇas ; although it represented in its phonetics and its general spirit the dialects of the extreme West and of the Kuru-Pañcāla tract. Despite the presence of at least two antagonistic or differing sets of Aryans, the Vedic Aryans and those who did not follow Vedic customs and religion, Northern India of the first four centuries before Buddha, presented one cultural whole. In the ' Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa ' (700 B. C. ?), the colonisation of North Bihar by Panjab (Vedic) Aryans is described : cf. the story of Māthava Vidēgha (SB., I, 4, 1). But the Western Panjab or Udīcya peoples, according to the testimony of one of the Brāhmaṇas, spoke the Aryan tongue with greater purity than the people of the Midland : this statement is corroborated by the north-western inscriptions of Aśōka (Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra) several centuries later, where the language agrees with Sanskrit (= OIA.) in its phonetics very closely, whereas the language of the eastern inscriptions of the same monarch shows the greatest possible deviation from the Sanskrit norm. (' Śūṅkhyāyana ' or ' Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa,' VII. 6 : « tasmād udīcyaṁ diśi pra-jñāta-tarā vāg udyata, udañca u ēva yanti vācaṁ śikṣitum, yō vā tata ā-gacchati, tasya vā śuśrūṣanta iti » *in the northern quarters is speech uttered with more discernment, and northward go men to learn speech ; he who comes thence, to him men hearken* : A. B. Keith's translation, Harvard, 1920, p. 387). With this opinion of the Midland scholars about the purity of the speech of the North-west, their view about the debased speech of the ' Vrātyas ' or non-Vedic Aryans of the East (p. 47) may be contrasted. There cannot be any question that the dialects of the Aryan language were losing their purity in the East, at a time when the West had preserved it better. The influence of the East is seen in some of the words of Yajur and Atharva Vedas, and in the Brāhmaṇas ; nay, even in the Rig-Veda. Instances are « vikāṭa » *deformed* < « vikṛta », « mlēccha » *barbarian* < « \* mlāikṣa », « daṇḍa » *stick* < « \* dandra », cf. Gk. « déndron », « kuru » *do* (imperative) for « kṛṇu », « √paṭh » *read* < « prath », « kāṭa » *depth* beside « karta » *pit*, « āḷhya » *wealthy* = « \* ārdhya » < « √rdh », « nāpita » *barber* < « √snā », cf. Pali « nahāpita » ; in addition to these cases of cerebralisation in connection with « r » and assimilation of consonant groups,



prevalence of « l » forms is possibly to be referred to the influence of this eastern dialect, as also those cases where earlier « s » is changed to « ś ». (Cf. A. A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar' in the *Grundriss der Indoarischen Philologie u. Altertumskunde*, under Phonology; J. Wackernagel, 'Altindische Grammatik,' I, liii, and under cerebrals; also cf. Vidhu-śekhara Śāstrī, 'Saṁskṛtē Prākṛta-prabhāva,' in the Bengali journal *Pravāsī*, Calcutta, for Phālguna, 1317 Bengali Year.)

37. A few centuries before Buddha, Vedic cults and literary tradition were introduced into North-eastern India, as far as Benares and North Bihar. When Buddha flourished, Magadha or South Bihar, hardly known in pre-Buddhic times to the Aryans of the West, was already a member of the Aryan group, and a strong member too. The Rig-Veda mentions only once (III, 53, 14) a country called « Kikaṭa », which Yāska (VI, 32) describes as a country which is the home of non-Aryans, « dēśō' nārya-nivāsaḥ ». Kikaṭa is identified by later Sanskrit writers with Magadha. (Cf. Hēm-Chandra Rāy-Chaudhuri, 'Political History of Northern India from the Accession of Parikshit to the Coronation of Bimbisara,' *Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University*, Vol. IX, 1923, p. 56.) In the Atharva-Veda, the Aṅgas and the Magadhas are mentioned as far-off or strange peoples among whom the Midland Aryan would gladly spirit away the malarial fever which troubled him (V, 22, 14). The 'Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa' describes the easterners as being « āsurya » or demoniac (hostile ?) in nature (XIII, 8, 1, 5). The orthodox Brahman spirit found something antagonistic in the eastern peoples, « Prācyāḥ », among whom the Magadhas are to be numbered. Magadha was quite outside the Aryan, or rather Vedic, pale in the Brāhmaṇa period; so, too, according to Yāska; yet when Buddha flourished, during the age immediately following that of the Brāhmaṇas, Magadha is a powerful Aryan state. Magadha, then, must have received the Aryan language and settlements of Aryans long before Buddha. What is very likely is that these Aryans were distinct from those other Aryans of the West among whom the Vedic culture grew up, distinct in dialect, in religion, and in practices, at least in the Brāhmanic period. We do not know how far, or whether at all, they differed from each other in race, but

they certainly differed in dialect and in religious practices. Possibly these eastern Aryans, or Aryan speakers, were a mixed people, with an Aryan element which had fallen under the spell of non-Aryan ideas, but had not given up its Aryan tongue: just as at the present day Russian colonists in the remoter parts of Siberia are being considerably influenced by Mongol (Buriat) and Turki (Yakut) peoples (cf. E. J. Dillon, 'Siberia in our own Time,' in Harmsworth's History of the World, p. 700).

The Aryans of the Vedic cults called these non-Vedic Aryans 'Vrātyas,' *outcasts, or riteless people*. The Vrātyas could obtain admission into the Vedic community by the performance of a ceremony or sacrifice, « vrātya-stōma ». (Cf. Ramā-Prasād Chanda, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Weber, 'Indian Literature,' pp. 67, 68, 79.) The tract where these Vrātyas were most numerous seems to have been Magadha. Their priests were probably bards as well, so that after the absorption of the Vrātya communities, or of sections of them, into the Brahmanic fold, the word « māgadha » was retained in Sanskrit to mean a *bard*. The rise and progress of the anti-Brahman and the anti-sacrificial ideas of the Buddhists and the Jains among the eastern peoples—and these heterodox schools also called their teachings 'Aryan truths,'—perhaps shows that other traditions were established before the Brahmans came, and the Vedic institutions or ideas brought by the Brahmans from the Midland and the North-west (Madhyadēśa and Udīteya) sat lightly on the masses. (Cf. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 79.) The Vrātya hymns of the Atharva-Veda (XV), in which there is a deification of a wandering Vrātya priest, with his strange paraphernalia and his cortege, are a puzzle: they suggest the presence of a Śaiva cult among the Vrātyas, and certainly a cult quite different from that presented by the Vedic world. The extravagant respect paid to the Vrātya in these poems either shows the hand of the followers of Vrātya cults themselves; or they are the work of Vedic Aryans who felt fascinated by the Vrātyas with their non-Midland practices, and perhaps by their wild mysticism, for the Atharva-Veda hymns are highly mystic in this connection. There are, however, similar passages of mystic and supernatural treatment of the idealised priest or mendicant elsewhere in Vedic literature (P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78).



The general Brahman attitude towards the Vrātyas was anything but sympathetic. But they admitted that the Vrātyas were Aryan in speech. The 'Tāṇḍya' or 'Pañcaviṅśa Brāhmaṇa,' in speaking of the Vrātyas, says (XVII, 4) that *they call an expression which is not uttered with difficulty as being uttered with difficulty*, and also *they speak the language of the initiated (i.e. into Brahmanism), although they are not initiated*: «a-dur-ukta-vākyaṃ dur-uktam āhur.....a-dikṣitā dīkṣita-vācaṃ vadanti». Weber's explanation of the first statement is that it 'probably refers to prakṛitic, dialectic differences, to the assimilation of groups of consonants, and similar changes peculiar to the Prakṛit vernaculars' (Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 68); and Weber is undoubtedly right: here we have the oldest contemporary notice of a Prakritic habit of speech in India. The 'Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa' (III, 2, 1, 23) makes the Asuras, *i.e.*, anti-Vedic people, presumably of the East (cf. the expression «āsuryāḥ prācyāḥ» in the ŚB., referred to at p. 45), cry out «hēlavō, hēlava» when they were deprived of speech (ātta-vacasaḥ) and vanquished; and this word is given by Patañjali (I, i, 1) as «hēlayaḥ», and it is the Asura pronunciation, according to traditional explanation, of the words «hē arayaḥ» *O, the foemen!* A form like «alayō» or «alayaḥ» for «arayaḥ», with «l» for «r», is characteristic of the Prācyā or eastern speech, of which that of Magadha is a variation. (Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 180; Ramā-Prasād Chanda, *op. cit.*, p. 222.) Taking into consideration the linguistic state of the country during the time of Aśoka (middle of the 3rd century B.C.), it is evident that the Prakritic or 'Māgadhī' forms developed quite early, and in the East. The Sohgaura copper plaque inscription is perhaps the oldest Brāhmī record, and may date from the 4th century B.C.; it belongs to the Gorakhpur district in the United Provinces, within the Prācyā area, and we find here forms like «bhaṇḍagalani» = «bhāṇḍāgāra-», «bhala» = «bhāra», «mathula» = «Mathurā», with «l» instead of «r» (J. F. Fleet, 'The Inscription on the Sohgaura Plate,' JRAS., 1907, pp. 509 ff.). And the statement in the 'Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa' may be reasonably construed to mean that the simplification of the consonant groups in the East was noticed by the people of the Midland or the North-west as early as, say the 8th century B.C.

It would thus seem that the real Prakrit stage was first attained by IA. in the East, among the Prācyas, in Kōsala and in Magadha, and specially among the Vrātya Aryans who were established there. Prakritic habits of speech gradually spread themselves from the East to the West; but as it is shown by the inscriptions of the North-west and the West (*e.g.*, the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra inscriptions, the Besnagar inscription, the Mathura lion capital inscription, etc.), in the earliest homes of Aryan speech in India, the habits of the easterners, although ultimately victorious, were resisted long. By the time of Aśōka, the popular dialects of the West Midland probably had succumbed, and abandoned OIA. traits; but these traits (*e.g.*, retention of <r> with consonants, of the three sibilants <ś ṣ s>) continued in the North-west till Kuṣāṇa times, and later. Greek forms like <Prasioi> = <Prācyāḥ>, <Amitrokhatēs> = <Amitra-ghātaḥ>, or <-khādaḥ>, <Sandrokuptos> = <Candra-guptaḥ>, <Palibothra> = <\*Pāḍāli-butra, Pāḍāli-putra, \*Pāḍāli-purta> (cf. Jarl Charpentier, ZDMG., LXX, pp. 216-250), <Erennesis> = <Vārāṇasī> and <Erannoas> = <Hiraṇya-vāhaḥ>, are really western, although they are names of persons, peoples, and places of the East; and the Greeks first heard these names, from the 4th century B.C., from speakers of the western and north-western dialects which retained the <r>.

38. The Aryan language entered the second stage of its development some time before Buddha, for by the time that Buddha flourished (c. 500 B.C.), the spoken language of Kōsala and Magadha had progressed from the OIA. stage sufficiently far to become a distinct language from the earlier literary forms, <chandās>, which obtained, namely, Vedic and Brāhmanic Sanskrit. In addition to fundamental changes in phonetics and modifications in morphology, old words were being replaced by new or foreign ones, or were being modified in their meaning. This was more noticeable in the second MIA. stage, when old and almost universally used IE. words, like <aśva> *horse*, <aśman> *stone*, <śvan> *dog*, <vr̥ṣa> *bull*, <avi> *sheep*, <anaḥvān, ukṣan> *ox*, <rōhita, aruṣa> *red*, <vāha, ratha> *wagon, chariot*, <rāis, rādhas> *wealth*, <sahas, taviṣi> *strength*, <udan> *water*, <√ad> *eat*, <√gr̥bh> *seize, take*, <√dṛś> *see*, <√gr̥dh> *be greedy*, <√han> *strike, kill*, <√vakṣ> *grow*, <√yaj> *worship, sacrifice*, <√vij>





of the Brāhmaṇas, was growing up in the Brahman schools, and possibly also in the courts of the Kṣatriya chiefs who followed the Vedic religion. It was a polite form of speech based on the language of the aristocracy and the priesthood of the Midland, *perfected or improved*, « saṁskṛta », in the sense that in its phonetics and in a great deal of its grammar it was made to adhere to the OIA. (Vedic and Brāhmaṇa speeches); and as such, it very closely agreed with the speech of the North-west as well. It seems the speech of the upper classes in the Midland was substantially the same as that of Gandhāra during the period 7th—6th centuries B.C.

This new literary speech must have arisen about this time; and much as Hindōstānī or « khaṛī-bōlī » (§ 12) of the present day, it was used and studied by the followers of the Vedic faith from Gandhāra to Benares and Pāṭaliputra. Patañjali in the 2nd century B. C. describes it as the language of the « śiṣṭa » or *cultured* people, chiefly Brahmans, of Āryāvarta. After the language of the Vedas, this speech became an object of serious study with Brahmans: and differences of opinion naturally arose as regards correct usage in this language. In the 5th century B.C., the great grammarian Pāṇini wrote his 'Aṣṭādhyāyī,' the oldest systematic grammar of this new language that we possess. (For the date of Pāṇini, I accept the views of Hēm-Chandra Rāy-Chaudhurī in his 'Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect,' Calcutta University, 1920, pp. 14-18.) Pāṇini was an inhabitant of the North-west, of Gandhāra; and this literary speech, (in contradistinction to the speech of the earlier literature, « chāndasa », which he also treated of in his book), was, in his time, sufficiently close to his own Udīcya dialect to be described by him as « lāukika » or *current speech*. In later times, this very speech, Sanskrit, attained a sanctity and came to be called « dēva-bhāṣā » or *the Speech of the Gods*. Before Pāṇini, several schools of grammarians had arisen. In addition to the views of individual scholars, two important regional schools are noted by Pāṇini: the Northern, *i.e.*, Northern and Western (Udīcya), and Eastern (Prācya),—in the western and eastern tracts of Aryan India, during the closing centuries of the OIA. period. These tracts were separated from each other, according to tradition, by a river Śarāvati, which was somewhere in the Midland, and it has been



sought to identify it with the Śatadrū or the Satlaj (Hārāṇ-Chandra Chakravartī, 'Prācya O Udīcya' in the VSPdP., 1319, No. 1). In the 'Kāśikā' Commentary on Pāṇini (middle of the 7th century A.C.), the Vidēhas, Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, and Magadhas, as well as the Pañcālas of the Midland, which is curious, are included under the Prācya. The Śarāvati river is perhaps the Sarayū (Śarāvati = a medieval Sanskritisation of a Prakrit « Saravū » for « Sarayū »; cf. the Greek transcription « Sarabos », and « Sarwa » in the work of Al-Bērūnī), which is within the tract dividing the West and the Midland from the East.

Pāṇini gave this new literary language a fixity for all time. But during his age, it was a living language, current as a sort of Hindōstānī of the upper classes, and as such it had local variations, and approximations to local vocabularies and idioms, which it was impossible to bring under rule. During the earlier centuries of the MIA. period, the masses throughout Aryan India certainly understood it, even in the East, where Prakrit was already fully developed. Ancient Indian drama (the earliest fragments of which that we possess date from 1st cent. A.C., the period of the Kuṣāṅgas), in making the aristocracy and the Brahmans speak Sanskrit, and the lower classes and the women the Prakrits, surely in this respect adheres to a tradition which has its origin in an actual state of things at the transition of the OIA. to MIA. in the Midland. The historical traditions as well as the ballads and songs which were current among the Aryan settlers (the Kṣatriyas and others) of the Vedic faith, in the Panjab and the Midland, and possibly also in the East, in the various dialects, were collected and arranged, and their language was emended into Sanskrit. These collections formed the *nuclei* of the Sanskrit Mahābhārata and the Purāṅas, and possibly, also of the Rāmāyaṅa; though the last named work looks more like a *Kunstepos* than real popular ballad poetry such as the Mahābhārata unquestionably preserves. In many cases, old dialectal forms were retained in these ballads, and these did not agree with the standard as laid down in Pāṇini's grammar; and later Sanskrit grammarians accepted these dialectal forms, as preserved in the Sanskrit of the Mahābhārata and the older Purāṅas, and politely called them « āṛṣa » forms—forms

employed by the Rishis. The Sanskritising process for these specimens of OIA. saga and legend seems to have continued down to the Gupta period. (Cf. F. E. Pargiter, 'The Dynasties of the Kali Age,' Oxford, 1913, Appendix, on metric evidence to show that a great many passages in the Purānas were originally written in early MIA.) A mass of ritual literature began to be written in Sanskrit, and in all these ways, the foundations of classical Sanskrit literature were laid towards the end of the OIA. period.

As the distance between the vernaculars (of the North-west, Midland, East and South) and this newly risen Sanskrit grew greater and greater, the latter became an artificial language. It could be held up to show what OIA. was like, in its sound-system and in most of its forms. Its grammar grew hide-bound, and prevented any change or growth that is characteristic of a living language. But throughout the long course of artificial existence it entered upon, almost immediately after its birth, we can see that it was not entirely unaffected by change in its spirit. Sanskrit literature, like Latin literature of medieval Europe, was the creation of scholars, who used in daily life various vernaculars, MIA., NIA., Dardic, and Dravidian. The Sanskrit language as employed by them took its colouring from the vernacular speeches of the writers of the successive periods, from 500 B. C. down to the present day,—in vocabulary, in syntax, in idiom. At the hands of certain writers, it developed some cumbrous qualities, like the use of long compounds, which came to be regarded as a stylistic embellishment. But the influence of the vernaculars it never escaped. Prakrit roots and forms were ever on the increase in Sanskrit, and occasionally words from the Dravidian and Kōl, (and from foreign languages like Greek, and Old, Middle and New Persian), which were first adopted in the vernaculars. Its syntax was gradually based on the Prakrit vernaculars, and, like the latter, it came to discard gradually the OIA. inflected past forms of the verb, ultimately relying almost entirely on participles. (Cf. J. Bloch, 'La Phrase nominale en Sanskrit,' MSL., XIV, Paris, 1906.) In this way, from vocabulary, from syntax and from style, it is possible to trace a development in this great literary language of India.



Sanskrit as written at the present day also suffers from importation of vernacular (and even foreign) words and vernacular constructions in the hands of indifferent writers.

When the MIA. stage was fully on its way, Sanskrit became almost identical with Prakrit, remaining true to OIA. only in phonetics and inflection. It would seem that at first Sanskrit was confined to the Brahman schools, and courts of Aryan chiefs in the Panjab and the Midland; and with the spread of Brahman influence, Sanskrit came to have an exalted position in the East as well. But Buddhism and Jainism, two religions which had their origin in the East, at first employed languages based on eastern vernaculars, or on a *koinē* that grew up on the basis of the Prakritic dialects of the Midland, and was used in the early MIA. period (B. C. 500 downwards) as a language of intercourse among the masses who did not care for the Sanskrit of the Brahman and the Rājanya; and these languages for some time checked a wide employ of Sanskrit. There was a certain amount of success in setting up rival literary languages like Pali and Ardha-māgadhī. But the spirit of conservatism, which is never absent from literary effort, saw that Sanskrit did represent a standard which transcended the apparently erratic course of the vernaculars; and quite early, Sanskrit became triumphant, and obtained the homage of the Buddhists and the Jains as well. The Buddhists for a time (2nd cen. B. C.—3rd cen. A. C.) almost side by side with their literary work in Pali, sought to approximate the Prakrits they were familiar with to Sanskrit as used by the Brahmans; and this resulted in the curious dialect called «Gāthā» or *Mixed Sanskrit*, or *Buddhist Sanskrit*, from its very nature a most artificial mix-up, often with false Sanskritisation of Prakrit forms; and this is the language which is found in works like the 'Lalita-vistara,' the 'Mahā-vastu' and the 'Divyāvadāna.' The same thing was done in the chanceries of kings and in the public recording of events, as is evidenced from inscriptions of the period. But Sanskrit gradually came to its own entirely, and the oldest Sanskrit inscription, the Rudra-dāman inscription at Girnar, dates from the middle of the 2nd century A. C., when, in parts of India at least, Sanskrit began to oust the vernaculars from formal

documents. It thus came to have a position which it did not have before: it became both the official as well as the cultural and sacred language of almost all sections of people in India. Although it admitted vernacular and foreign words by the back-door, once its prestige being established Sanskrit became the reservoir from which the vernacular streams were frequently fed. OIA. words had their natural change in MIA., and in that case they represented the original, basic stratum of the language. But with the general recognition of Sanskrit as the undisputed representative of an earlier stage of IA., borrowing from it freely began in MIA. (especially in the Second and Third stages); and thus fresh elements were added to the vernaculars, which became naturalised, and were subjected to the subsequent phonetic modification of the dialect into which they were introduced. This process of borrowing from Sanskrit was repeated at various times in the later history of IA.; and this fact of Sanskrit interfering with the natural development of the language by being always ready to supply new words by the hundred, and occasionally a new form here and there, is a note-worthy thing in the development of Middle and New Indo-Aryan.

39. The people known to the Kurus, Pañcālas and other tribes of the Midland and the West as Prācyas or *Easterners* consisted of the Kōsalas (in Oudh), the Kāśis (round about Benares), the Vidēhas (North Bihar) and later, the Magadhas and the Aṅgas (South Bihar). The term « Prācyā » has its modern counterpart in the word « Purabiyā », by which the speakers of the Western and Midland speeches, Panjābī and Western Hindī, designate their eastern neighbours in Hindostan, the Eastern Hindī and Bihārī speakers. The Prācyā dialect seems to have developed two forms, a Western and an Eastern. The following were among the salient characteristics of the Prācyā speech: in phonetics, « l » alone was used, and there was no « r »; and there was a tendency towards cerebralisation of « t, d » in connection with « r »; OIA. « -vy-, -ty- » etc. became « -viy-, -tiy- », but « -ly- » became « -yy- »; and there was one dental « s » for « ś ṣ s »; in morphology, OIA. singular nominatives of « -a » nouns, « -aḥ, -am », took the form « -ē » (in the West it became « -ō- »); the accusative plural of masculine « -a » nouns had the affix « -āni », and the locative singular « -assi » (or « -assim »?). In the eastern



form of Prācyā, a *patois* which advanced further from the western norm, the sibilants « ś ṣ s » were represented by the palatal « ś » and not by the dental « s ».

Following the nomenclature of the Prakrit grammarians describing MIA. of the second period, Western Prācyā can be called Ardha-māgadhī and Eastern Prācyā, Māgadhī; and these dialects as they were during the first MIA. period can be described as Old Ardha-māgadhī and Old Māgadhī. Old Ardha-māgadhī as spoken in Kōsala was undoubtedly the speech of Buddha<sup>1</sup>; on it was based a current speech of Eastern Aryan India, in which Buddha and Mahāvīra gave their discourses, and which

<sup>1</sup> The languages and dialects current in Northern India during the first MIA. period (600-200 B.C.) were probably the following (see Table, opposite p. 6; and T. W. Rhys Davids, 'Buddhist India,' London, 1903, pp. 153-154):—

[i] Spoken dialects of IA., current from Gandhāra to Bengal in the east and the Deccan in the south, which probably formed the following 5 groups: (1) North-western—Gandhāra, Panjab, possibly Sindh; (2) South-western—Gujarat, W. Rajputana; (3) Midland; [Malwa the meeting ground of (2) and (3).] (4) Eastern—(a) Old Ardha-māgadhī, or Kōsala, and (b) Old Māgadhī; and (5) Southern—Vidarbha, Mahārāṣṭra.

Probably there were other dialects as well. (1) resembled OIA. most; (4) had deviated from OIA. more than any other. (3) and (4) were both current in the Ganges Valley, and during this period, (4) had greater prestige, as the language of the leaders of anti-Brāhmanic thought, and of the courts of the powerful monarchies or republics of the East; but (3) seems to have been understood as a *lingua franca* everywhere in Aryandom, being between the two extremes of (1) and (4).

[ii] Two literary languages: (a) the ancient bardic dialect—*chāndasa*—preserved in the Vedic hymns; this was based on the OIA. dialects current in the Panjab before 1000 B.C.; a younger form of this dialect is found in the Brāhmaṇas, which is intermediate in age between (a) and (b); (b) a 'reformed' literary speech—*saṁskṛta*—which was crystallising in the Brahman schools and in the courts of princes in the Midland and the North-west. This latter was based on archaic forms of (1) and (3) above, agreeing more with (1) in preserving the OIA. phonetic character when it was systematised in the beginning of the MIA. period by the grammarian Pāṇini of the North-west.

Towards the end the first MIA. period, when it had already lost all OIA. characteristics in phonetics etc., (3) began to take shape as a literary language, and became Pāli.

[iii] Dardic dialects, spoken in the Western Himalayas, and also probably by settled communities of Dardic people in the plains of Northern India, who were rapidly coming under Indo-Aryan influence.

became the language of the court and administration in Eastern India. Aśoka's court language, as in the Midland and eastern inscriptions, present varieties of this speech. (Cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, 'Pali Text Society's Pali Dictionary,' 1921, Foreword, pp. 1, 2; cf. also S. Lévi, 'Sur une Langue précanonique du Bouddhisme,' *JA.*, 1912; H. Lüders, 'Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen,' Berlin, 1911, pp. 40, 41.) Ample testimony is borne to the political power of the Prācya ('Prasioi') in the 4th century B.C. by Greek writers. There is no wonder that their dialect would have some prestige, and cast into shade for a time the Midland and other western speeches. During the time of the Mauryas, and specially of Aśoka, this 'standard East Indian' was dominant as the official language practically all over India; and, as is evident from the presence of eastern forms—the so-called 'Māgadhisms'—in the language of the Girnar, Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra inscriptions, it exerted a great influence on other forms of MIA. (Truman Michelson, *American Journal of Philology*, 1909, pp. 284 ff.; *JAOS.*, 1909, i, pp. 77 ff.). The oldest records in this dialect are the Brāhmi inscriptions down to Aśoka (the Piprahwa vase inscription, the Sohgaura inscription, and the eastern inscriptions of Aśoka), and the fragments from the Buddhist Sanskrit drama found in Central Asia (early Kuṣāṇa period).

The discourses of Buddha and of Mahāvīra were originally in this Prācya speech. Those of Buddha later (*i.e.* after Aśoka) were rendered

[iv] Foreign tongues—*e.g.*, Persian and other Iranian (from c. 500 B.C.), and Greek (from end of the 4th cen. B.C.), spoken by small communities in the North-west.

[v] Non-Aryan dialects: Dravidian and Kōl, spoken by many among the masses in the Panjab, in Central India, in the Ganges Valley, who were in the process of being Aryanised. These seem to have been the language of the people in general in Bengal, Orissa, and other parts. Dravidian had its strong-hold in the South, and literary cultivation of Dravidian must have commenced already, to blossom into the Old Tamil literature of the early centuries after Christ. The Tibeto-Chinese speeches, if they had at all come within Indian frontiers by this time, were confined to the Assam side, and had not descended on the Indian side of the Himalayas as yet.

Possibly there were in the wilder parts of India the pre-Dravidian and pre-Kōl speeches of remnants of primitive Negroid and other tribes, which have since entirely disappeared.



into a Western dialect, undoubtedly that of the Midland (an old form of Śaurasēnī); but as it happens in such cases, when a text is rendered from one dialect into another, a great many forms of the original dialect remained, and showed themselves as a substratum. (Cf. W. Geiger, 'Pali Grammatik' in the Grundriss, § 80; H. Lüders, 'Epigraphische Beiträge, III,' in the Sitzungsberichte der Königl. preuss. Akad. der Wiss., 1913, LIII, pp. 994, 1003 ff.). This western dialect into which Buddha's teachings were translated came to be known as 'Pāli,' which simply means *texts*, and its grammar amply shows that at its basis it is a Midland speech. Pali became a sort of a sacred language for some Buddhists; and because Buddha was connected with Magadha and obtained his enlightenment there, Pali, as the speech in which the sayings of Buddha were enshrined, came to be known as 'Māgadhi,' probably first among the Buddhists of Ceylon. The connection with Magadha suggested by this name has considerably confused our notions regarding the home of the dialect on which Pali was based. The essentials of Pali phonology and morphology agree with Śaurasēnī of the second MIA. period more than with any other form of MIA. A *koinē* akin to Pali of the Buddhist documents was established as early as the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., as can be seen from the language of the Khāravēla inscription (cf. Kāshī-Prasād Jāyaswāl's edition of the inscription in the JBORS., 1917, Part IV, 1918, Part IV). Pali as a literary language seems to have been established during the transitional MIA. period (200 B.C.—200 A.C.), retaining, however, a generally archaic (*i.e.*, early MIA.) type. Based on a Midland speech, which as a current language was a sort of a junior rival of Sanskrit during the transitional and second MIA. stages, it became powerful with the prestige of a literature when the folklore of Northern India was embodied in it in the 'Jātakas,' and when the philosophy of Buddha was rendered in it. It was studied in Buddhist monasteries in North-western and Western India, as well as in the Midland; with the fall of the Mauryas, the prestige of its eastern rival, Ardha-māgadhi, was at an end, and it became probably the only important vernacular speech of Northern India, like its modern counterpart Hindōstānī. During

the Kuṣāṇa period (1st cen.—4th cen. A.C.), the dialects of the extreme North-west, Gandhāra, seem to have had some prestige, both as the language of the tracts where the ruling family had its stronghold as well as the language of the culture and university centre of Takṣaśilā. Pali was used also by the speakers of the north-western dialect; and thus it came to have a number of north-western words and forms, showing characteristic Dard or Piśāca influence (cf. O. Frankfurter, 'Handbook of Pali,' London, 1883, p. 9; G. A. Grierson, 'The Home of Literary Pali' in the Bhāṇḍārkar Commemoration Volume, Poona, 1917, pp. 118 ff.). There were also words and forms from other Aryan dialects, from the Gujarat and Malwa side, as well: *e.g.*, the forms in «b-» for «dv-», «-pp-» instead of «-tt-» for «-tm-», etc. Pali was for some time cultivated in Ceylon, and it is quite possible there was some 'Sihala' influence in its formative period: the «b-» and «-pp-» forms may be from Ceylon: the Aryan language of Ceylon was a form of the old Gujarat dialect of the first MIA. Period. (§§ 18, 45). When Pali was established as a literary language, it came under the influence of Sanskrit, which to some extent became its model; and Pali after the 5th century entered into a career of artificial literary existence in India, in Ceylon, and later, in Burma (among the Mōns and the Burmese) and in Siam, which can be compared only with that of Sanskrit.

The 'Western' Prācyā speech of Buddha has thus been completely ousted from Buddhistic literature by its rival, the Midland speech which became Pali. The Jains preserved the original Western Prācyā language of the teachings of their master Mahāvīra to a greater extent than the Buddhists. The oldest Jain texts are in the dialect called Ardha-māgadhī: it represents the IA. speech in the second MIA. stage, and thus it is younger than Pali; it is already strongly influenced by western dialects (in its «r» forms, for instance), but, on the whole, it may be said to represent the old speech of Kōsala fairly well, at least in some of its characteristics.

The Eastern Prācyā speech, or Māgadhī properly so called, seems to have developed out of the Prācyā dialect. Its special characteristic, «ś» for



all the sibilants of OIA., might have developed as a dialectal variation of Prācyā as early as the late OIA. period, but it is recorded first in the Śutanukā inscription, contemporaneous with the Aśōkan documents; although the language of the Aśōka inscriptions, even within Magadha itself, ignores this peculiarity. Probably the « ś » pronunciation was regarded as vulgar, and hence the court dialect of the Aśōkan inscriptions does not notice it. This seems to be borne out by the usage in the Sanskrit dramas where the « ś » dialects are reserved for the lowest classes. The drama fragments from Central Asia give specimens of a Prakrit with this peculiarity. We have thus in these texts our earliest examples of the Māgadhi form of Prācyā: of an 'Old Māgadhi,' in fact (Lüders, 'Bruchstücke,' pp. 34 ff. 41).

40. The Śutanukā inscription in the Jogimara cave in Ramgarh Hill, in Sarguja State, Chota Nagpur (=South-west Magadha) is the earliest specimen<sup>1</sup> of Māgadhi proper that we possess (Annual Report, Arch. Survey of India, 1903-1904, pp. 128 ff.; Lüders, 'Bruchstücke,' p. 41). It runs thus:

« Śutanuka nāma dēvadaśīkyi  
taṁ kamayitha balanaśēyē  
Dēvadinē nama lupadakhē »

(= « Śutanukā nāma dēva-dāśīkyī, taṁ kāmayittha Bālā-  
naśēyē Dēvadinnē nāma lūpa-dakkhē », in Sanskrit—  
« Śutanukā nāma dēva-dāśikā : tām akāmayiṣṭa Vārāṇasēyah  
Dēva-dattō nāma rūpa-dakṣaḥ »)

*Śutanukā by name, a handmaid of the Gods (= temple-dancer);  
her loved he of Benares, Dēvadinna by name, skilled in forms  
(= painter or sculptor? skilled in figures or accounts?).*

<sup>1</sup> Mention may be made of a Brāhmī seal from Patna, dating probably from pre-Maurya times, with the inscription 'Agapalaśa' = 'Agga-pāśāśa,' = 'Agra-pāśasya'; of the Buddha Gaya seal, c. 2nd century B.C., with the legend 'Mōkhalikaśa' = 'Maskarikasya'? and of the Nandī-vaḍha seal, find-place unknown, c. 200 B.C., with the inscription 'Nandī-vaḍhaśa' = 'Nandī-varḍhasya, -vrḍhasya' (O. Franke, 'Pali und Sanskrit,' Strassburg, 1902, pp. 17, 18, 11; 55, 98). Franke notes sporadic cases of occurrence of ś (and ṣ) for s in other epigraphical records, including those of Aśōka.

The above inscription, written in early Brāhmī characters, supplements our knowledge of the dialectal conditions in Aryan India of the 3rd century B.C. as revealed by the inscriptions of Aśōka. In these inscriptions, three main varieties of dialect are represented ; *one*, at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra, is the dialect of the extreme North-west, the phonetics of which resembles OIA. to a remarkable extent ; *two*, the dialect of the South-west, Gujarat country, also retaining many OIA. features ; and *three*, the dialect of the East, presenting some minor variations. This last seems to represent the actual spoken language most faithfully ; the other two have occasionally adopted forms of the eastern dialect, as the standard speech, to the exclusion of their proper local forms. Thus there seem to have been attempts at standardisation on the lines of an official language. (Cf. E. Senart, 'The Inscriptions of Piyadasi,' translation by Grierson, Bombay, 1892, pp. 137 ff. : the latest opinion on the question is Truman Michelson's, in the American Journal of Philology, 1909-1910, in the JAOS., 1909, 1911, and in the IF., 1908-1909.) In the Śutanukā inscription, we have thus the evidence of another variation of the eastern dialect.

The language of the Midland does not seem to be represented in the Aśōka inscriptions found within the Midland tract (Kalsi, Topra, Meerut, and Bairat-Bhabra). Here it is practically only a variant of the eastern dialect, which as an official language thus seems in the 3rd century B.C. to have almost overwhelmed the Midland speech in its own home. But the Midland speech, with its < r > words, and its < -ō > nominatives and < -ē > accusative plurals, seems none the less to have maintained a vigorous existence outside the official circle, and to have slowly ousted the Prācyā speech from its power : witness the growth of Pali, narrated above. The Midland speech had its fullest revenge later ; and from the transitional and second MIA. periods, it is the Midland speech, as Śaurasēnī Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa, as Braj-bhākhā, and at the present day, as Hindōstānī, which has been dominant in the Purabivā and Bihārī (*i.e.*, eastern) areas. The early epigraphical records, post-Aśōkan, found in the Midland region (Mathurā), in Malwa (Sauchi), as well as in the South (Nasik and Karle caves), show dialects, more or less, but not entirely, free from the Prācyā characteristics ;



local dialectal forms seem to have gradually reasserted themselves. In the Midland, however, there have also been found inscriptions of which the dialect is of the North-west, showing its influence in the former tract through political reasons. But owing to the carelessness of writing and spelling, to the influence of neighbouring dialects or of official speeches, and, as we advance, to a growing desire to approximate to Sanskrit, the MIA. inscriptional records of the transitional MIA. period (200 B.C.—200 A.C.) are very unsatisfactory in determining the lines of dialectal differentiation; and in this respect they fall far below the Aśoka inscriptions, which more or less faithfully reflect the actual dialectal conditions.

By the 1st century A.C., however, the fact of dialectal difference became a noticeable thing in the social life of Aryan India. If the writers in the Midland during the late OIA. period (800—600 B.C.) casually told us about the purity of the speech of the Northerners (Udīyas), and seemed to have hinted at the Prakritic speech habits of the Vṛātyas of the East (pp. 45, 47), dramatists and their audiences from the time of Christ (or earlier) keenly appreciated the variations in local dialects; and in Indian drama the practice of employing a local dialect to suit the social position of the speaker came into being. The Midland dialect, Śaurasēnī, was thought most fitted to be the speech of the best and most cultured classes who did not speak Sanskrit. The Mahārāṣṭrī or southern dialect, with its mellifluous nature brought about by early dropping of the intervocal stops, was utilised as the dialect *par excellence* for songs by those who employed Śaurasēnī in ordinary speech. And Māgadhī, as an uncouth provincial dialect spoken in the extreme eastern frontier of Aryandom, a dialect which showed a wide deviation from the common MIA. norm, was thought suitable for the lowest and least cultured classes. In the Buddhist drama fragments Ardhamāgadhī is also used, but Ardhamāgadhī ceased to be employed in later dramas, Śaurasēnī apparently taking its place. In the main, these three dialects—Śaurasēnī, Mahārāṣṭrī and Māgadhī, became established in drama in the transitional and second MIA. periods. Later, other dialects were sparingly used: and as something resembling a local dialect would satisfy the author or the people, the specimens in the dramas do not have the

importance of genuine dialectal documents. The earliest Prakrit grammarian, Vararuci (5th century A.C.?), seems already to be actuated by ideas as to what the Mahārāṣṭrī, Māgadhī, Śaurasēnī, and Paīśācī speeches in a drama *ought to be*, rather than what they *actually were* in current usage. Later grammarians are much more influenced by these theories; and later writers of Sanskrit drama follow the grammarians as models, more than anything else.

41. Geographical situation, linguistic evidence, tradition, history, all go to prove that the Aryan language came to Bengal as an overflow from Bihar. It cannot be divined when the Aryan speech first came to Bengal,—to North Bengal probably from Mithilā, and Central and West Bengal from Aṅga. Magadha entered into the community of Aryan states before 600 B.C.; and outposts of Aryan colonisation, or, rather, centres of Upper Gangetic language and culture, would start being established immediately afterwards in the lands of the East, which were inhabited by non-Aryan tribes like the Puṇḍras, the Rāḍhas, the Vaṅgas and others. These peoples were known at least by name to the Midland Aryans of the late OIA. period. The 'Aitarēya Āraṇyaka' mentions the Vaṅgas, the Vagadhas, and the Cērapādas, meaning no doubt the people of Vaṅga or East Bengal, the Magadhan people and the aboriginal Chērōs or Chērūs of West Bihar, who are Kōl in origin; and they are described as *birds* (=birdlike men?), whatever that may imply (Aitarēya Āraṇyaka, II, 1, 1, 5: « prajā ha tisraḥ atyāyam Iyur iti, yā vāi tā imāḥ prajāś tisraḥ atyāyam āyaś tānīmāni vayānsi vaṅgā vagadhās cēra-pādāḥ »: *now three races transgressed (the Vedic path); those three races which did transgress were indeed these birds—the Vaṅgas, the Vagadhas and the Cēra-pādas.* Sāyana explains differently; cf. Ait. Ār., Bib. Ind., 1876, p. 147. Cf. also the article 'Vaṅga' in Macdonell and Keith's 'Index of Vedic Names,' London, 1912). The 'Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa' (VII, 6) speaks of the Puṇḍras, who gave their name to Puṇḍra-varḍhana or North Central Bengal, and are now represented by the  $\text{पुण्ड्र}$  « Pūṇḍra » or  $\text{पुण्ड}$  « Pūṇḍra » caste of Bengal, as an aboriginal people. Some of the early Brahmanical works regard the countries of the East, including Magadha,



as barbarian lands not suitable for Brahmans to settle or sojourn in: penances are prescribed, for instance, in the 'Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra' (I, i, 32, 33) for Vedic Brahmans who went to Puṇḍra, Vajra and other lands. The Rāḍhas are mentioned as a barbarous people in Jain tradition, which goes back to the 6th century B.C.: an opinion which has its echo in Middle Bengali literature. (See below, § 45.)

No inscription of Aśoka has been found within Bengal proper; this is strange, considering the proximity of Bengal to Bihar, the home province of the Maurya empire, and considering also the fact that Kalinga was conquered by Aśoka. But we know from the 'Divyāvadāna' that Puṇḍra-varadhana (North Central Bengal) was under Aśoka ('Divyāvadāna,' ed. by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886, p. 427). But the mere presence of an Aśoka inscription in Bengal, even if it were to be found, would be no evidence of the Aryanisation of the people in language. Aśoka inscriptions, for instance, have been found in Dravidian tracts, at Siddapur and at Māski in the Deccan and at Jaugada (Ganjam), where the Aryan tongue was never adopted by the people; and round about Dhauli, Aryan (Oṛiyā) is now spoken, but it is extremely improbable that the Aryan tongue was the vernacular of the people of Orissa (Kalinga) at that time. Khāravēla, the Jain King of Kalinga in the 2nd century B.C., has left a long inscription in an MIA. dialect. But as the Kalinga people were the ancestors of the speakers of modern Telugu, no Aryan speech could be adopted by the Kalingas in the 2nd century B.C. The Aryan language, however, often came in the wake of the North Indian religions, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, and was used by royal patrons of these religions among Dravidian and other non-Aryans, merely as a sort of religious language, in documents of a religious, and often of an administrative, character. The advent of a northern religion in non-Aryan tracts certainly meant the coming of Aryan-speaking Brahmans, Śramaṇas or Yatis from the North. The influence of Aryan was felt in the non-Aryan languages in another way, namely, by the introduction of numbers of Aryan words into the latter. We can see from a few lines in Old Kannaḍa, given as a specimen of an Indian language in the papyrus fragments of a Greek drama from Oxyrrhynchus

in Egypt, how great the influence of Aryan was on Kannaḍa of the 2nd century A.C., when it had already begun to borrow Aryan words in large numbers (E. Hultzsch, JRAS., 1904, p. 399). Like the Andhras or Kalingas, and the Karṇātakas, as well as other non-Aryans, it may be reasonably supposed that the pre-Aryan peoples of Bengal began to be influenced by the Aryan (or Upper Gangetic) culture and language immediately after Mithilā and Magadha were Aryanised. This may have taken place before 600 B.C. But for a long time, Bengal remained outside the pale of Aryandom; and it is hardly likely that there was anything like an appreciable Aryanisation east of Mithilā and Magadha and Aṅga before the time of Buddha. The Mahābhārata (200 B.C.—200 A.C. in its present form) mentions Bengal, no doubt, but there is nothing to show it was part of Aryan India when the original or even the received Mahābhārata was compiled.

42. Is there any evidence about the class of speech that prevailed in Bengal before the coming of the Aryan tongue? There is, of course, the presence of the Kōl and Dravidian speakers (the Santals, the Maler, the Oraons) in the western fringes of the Bengali area, and of the Boḍo and Mōn-Khmēr speakers in the northern and eastern frontiers. There are, again, some unmistakably Dravidian affinities in Bengali phonetics, morphology, syntax and vocabulary: but these agreements with Dravidian are not confined to Bengali alone, but are found in other NIA. also (see *Appendix B*). Apart from that, local nomenclature in Bengal may be expected to throw some light on the question. Place names in Bengal have not been studied in detail, although individual writers have occasionally touched upon the topic. (Cf. Ram Comul Sen, 'Dictionary in English and Bengali,' Serampore 1834, Preface, p. 9; Rai Bahadur Yōgēsh Chandra Vidyānidhi, 'Bāṅgālā Grāmēr Nām,' in the *Pravāsi* for Āśvina, 1317, in which there is an able discussion of the *tadbhava* names of places in Bengal; H. Blochmann, 'Contribution to the Geography and History of Bengal, I,' JASB., 1873, pp. 211-244, giving a study of some Moslem place-names; cf. also F. Hahn, 'Kolarian and Dravidian Place-names,' JASB., 1903, Part III; Bijay Chandra Mazumdar, 'Sonpur,' Calcutta, 1911, pp. 18-19.)



The study of Bengali toponomy is rendered extremely difficult from the fact that old names, when they were not Sanskrit, have suffered from mutilation to such an extent that it is often impossible to reconstruct their original forms ; especially when they are non-Aryan. Fortunately for us, Bengal inscriptions, from the 5th century onwards, like inscriptions found elsewhere in India, and occasionally works written in pre-Moslem Bengal, have preserved old forms of some scores of these names. But it is a pity that generally there was an attempt to give these names a Sanskrit look. In other cases, the forms preserved are translations, supposed or real, of vernacular names, due to a Sanskritising tendency which is noticeable in such learned concoctions as as ভট্টপল্লী « Bhaṭṭa-pallī » for ভাটপাড়া « Bhāṭṭa-pārā », যুগ্মসেতু « Yugma-sētu » for বোড়াসাঁকো « Jōṛā-sākō », কালীক্ষেত্র « Kālī-kṣētra » for কলিকাতা « Kālikātā », দগ্ধবাটী « Dagdha-vāṭī » for পোড়াবাড়ী « Pōṛā-bārī ». Still, they are of very great importance, as they indicate the line of change in the phonetics of these names, and help us in making guesses at the genuine old forms. If it were not for the forms preserved in the inscriptions and in pre-Moslem works, it would have been impossible for us to find out that বালুটে « Bāluṭē » and মুড়ুন্দী « Muṛundī » were something like « Bāllahiṭṭā » and « Mōḍālandī » in the 12th century, পাবনা « Pābānā » was something like « Paṭubannā » (written « Paduvanvā ») in the 11th, or ব্রহ্মচাল « Brahma-cālā » was « Baraṭāñcāla » or « Barawañcāla » (written « Varapañcāla ») in the 9th. (Cf. Sītā-hāṭī Grant of Ballāla Sēna ; Rāma-carita of Sandhyākara Nandī, ed. H. P. Śāstrī, ASB. ; Sylhet Bhāṭērā Grant : see *Appendix C*, in which some of the more interesting names obtained from early inscriptions in Bengal are given.)

In the formation of these names, we find some words which are distinctly Dravidian : e.g., « -jōla, -jōṭa, jōli, -jōṭikā » etc. ; « hiṭṭi, bhiṭṭi, -viṭi, -hiṭṭ(h)i » etc. ; « -gaṛḍa, -gaṛḍi » ; « -pōla, -vōla » ; and probably also « -haṇḍa », « -vaḷā », « -kuṇḍa, -kuṇḍi », and « cavaṭi, cavāḷa » etc. ; and besides these, there are many others which have a *dēśī* or non-Aryan look. The first word, as in « Piṇḍāra-viṭi-jōṭikā, Uktāra-yōṭa (= jōṭa), Dharmmāyō-jōṭikā, Naḷa-jōli, Camyalā-jōli, Sik(ph?)-gaḷi-jōli, Dijamakā-jōli », meaning *channel, water-course, river, water*, is found in modern Bengal place

names: *e.g.*, নাড়াবোল < Nārā-jōlā >, ডোমজুড় < Dōmā-jurā >, বোড়াসাঁকো < Jōrā-sākō > (= *river-bridge*, probably wrongly explained as *double-bridge*, and rendered into Skt. as < Yugma-sētu >); *cf.* also নয়নজুলি < nāyanā-juli > *conduit*. This word is certainly Dravidian: it is found in Kaudh as < jorr >, whence the name of the Kāt-jurī river in Orissa (B. C. Mazumdar, 'Sonpur,' p. 19); we can compare the Bengali word ঝোল < jhōlā > *soup, watery mass*, (also *saliva*, as in নাল ঝোল < nālā-jhōlā >), and Kannaḍa < jōllu >, Telugu < dzōllu > *saliva*; *cf.* also Kannaḍa < jōru > *drip, flow, trickle*. < (B)hiṭṭi > occurs in Modern Bengali in the form of ভিটি or ভিটা < bhiṭi = bhiṭi, bhiṭā = bhiṭā > *homestead, homestead land*. It occurs in a number of village names in the old inscriptions: *e.g.*, < Piṇḍāra-viṭi- >, < Campā-bhiṭṭi, -hiṭṭi >, < Hastinī-bhiṭṭa >, < Villa-hiṭṭi > (< -ṣṭi- > is an easily explainable Sanskritisation of < -ṭṭi- >): we can compare Dravidian (Tamil) < viṭṭu, viṭṭu > *house*: < bh > < v > and < h > do not present any insurmountable phonetic difficulty. < Gaḍḍa, gaḍḍi >, also < guḍi >, as in < Āūhā-gaḍḍi, Sura-kōṇā-gaḍḍi, Sila-guḍi > (*cf.* Modern Bengali শিলিগুড়ি < Śili-guṛi >, জলপাইগুড়ি < Jālpāi-guṛi >), can be compared with the common Telugu affix < gaḍḍa >, Kannaḍa < gaḍḍē > *lump, mass, clot; bank, brink, edge*. < Pōla, vōla > with which we may compare Telugu < pōlamu > *field, cornland*, Kannaḍa < pōlal > *field*, common in place names, is found in early Bengal in names like < Jayarāti-pōla, Uṇāi-pōla, Ajha'ā-cāu-vōla, Dhra-vōla > etc. < Haṇḍa >, as in < Tikṣa-haṇḍa >, < Kala-haṇḍi > (in the Tārācaṇḍi inscription of Pratāpa-dhavalā, c. 1169 A.C., in Shahabad District), might be from Sanskrit < khaṇḍa >: *cf.* < Tāmra-pathara-khaṇḍa > in the 7th century Lōkanātha inscription from Tippera; but one may compare Tamil < aṇḍai > *nearness, vicinity, raised side of a field, boundary*. < Vaḍā > is partially the source of New Bengali -ড়া < -rā >, a common affix in place-names: *e.g.*, বাঁকুড়া < Bākurā > = *Bankurah*, হাওড়া < Hāōrā > = *Howrah*, চুঁচুড়া < Cūcurā > = *Chinsurah*, রিষড়া < Riṣṣārā >, বগড়া < Bāgurā >, ইগড়া < Igārā >, সোমড়া < Sōmārā >, চাপড়া < Cāpārā > etc. It is found plentifully in older inscriptions out of Bengal as well; *e.g.*, at Bharhut and Sanchi; it may be from an OIA. < vr̥ta-ka >, but we may note the common Kōl word for *house*, < orak' >. < Kuṇḍa, kuṇḍi >, as in < Śriḱṣi-kuṇḍa, Śila-kuṇḍa,



Nandi-haripā-kunḍī », seems to be the same word as the New Bengali কুণ্ড *kūṇḍ* « *kūṇḍ* » *heap, little hillock, dunghill*, with which may be compared Telugu « *kōṇḍa* » *hill, rock*. The Bengali গুড়ি « *-guṛi* », as in « *Śiliguṛi* » mentioned above, may be a variant of কুড়ি « *kūṛi* » ; cf. Bengali গরীড়ি « *gōṛiḍi* » *fleshy navel*. « *Cavaḍi, cāpaṭi, cavāḍa* », as in « *Cavaṭi, Kulā-cāpaḍi, Tata-cavāḍa* », is the source of the New Bengali word চৌড়ি « *cāṭi* » [*c̣ōṭi*] *lodge, posthouse, caravanserai* ; it is found in other NIA. languages, but it is probably a Dravidian word (=Telugu and Kannaḍa « *cāvaḍi* »). An investigation of the place-names in Bengal, as in other parts of Aryan India, is sure to reveal the presence of non-Aryan speakers, mostly Dravidian, all over the land before the establishment of the Aryan tongue.

43. Bengal originally did not form one country and one nation. The Ganges (Padmā or Pāddā) with its branch the Bhāgīrathī or Hugli and the Brahmaputra divide the country into four tracts, in which dwelt, several hundred years before Christ, at a time when the riverain system of the country must have been a great deal different from the present one, the tribes of the Puṇḍras (in North Central Bengal, roughly in the tract bounded by the Ganges to the south, and the Karatōyā in the east), the Vaṅgas (in Bengal east of the Brahmaputra and north of the Padmā), and the Rāḷhas and to their south the Suhmas (west of the Hugli). A great deal of the delta was marshy and uninhabitable in the early period of Bengal history. The above four tribes, Puṇḍra, Vaṅga, Rāḷha and Suhma, were the important ones, who gave their names to the various tracts they inhabited. But there were other tribes as well, some of which, like the Kaivarttas or Kēvaṭṭas (Kēṭṭs), were spread all over the country, while others, like the Caṅḡālas (Cāṅḡāls), the Dōmbas, (Dōms), the Haḍḍikas (Hāḍḍis), the ancestors of the Bāgūḍis (= « \* Vyāghra-dvīpikas » ?), the Vāthuris (Bā[h]urīs), the Cubāḍas, were more or less confined to parts of the country. Under the influence of the Upper Gangetic (Brahmanic) idea of caste, many of the non-Aryan tribes have become occupation castes in an Aryanised society, their position in the present-day Hindu society being determined by the nature of their occupation as a community. The tribes of Aṅga (East Bihar)

and Magadha were perhaps allied, and so were the Ōḍras and the Kalingas of Orissa. There seems to have been an unbroken connection between Bihar, West Bengal, Kalinga and the Andhra country, racially and linguistically. (Cf. F. E. Pargiter in the JASB., 1897, i, pp. 85 ff.). The Kōl tribes (Santals etc.), now found in West Bengal are recent arrivals from the plateau of Chota Nagpur; but before the advent of the Santals, there were earlier Kōl tribes *e.g.*, the Bhūmijes,—ancestors of some of the humbler sections of the West Bengal people—who, with their Dravidian neighbours, have become completely Hinduised. The Maler of the Rāj-mahāl Hills, the Oraons of Chota Nagpur, and the Kandhs of Orissa are some of the ruder Dravidian speakers who still preserve their language in their hill and jungle fastnesses. The Suhmas of South-west Bengal had their capital city in Tāmralipti, or Dāmalipta, as it is called in the ‘Daśa-kumāra-carita’ (8th century A.C.): this is a Sanskritised form of some name like « \* Dāmalipta, Dāmilipta », and here we probably have a connection with the word « Dāmiḷa » (=Tamil), as Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara-Prasād Śāstrī has suggested. (« \*Dāmilipta » for a « \*Dāmiḷ-viṭṭu »? *home of the Dāmiḷa people* ). The modern name of this town is তমলুক, তমোলুক « Tām(o)lukḥ »: the affix suggests, according to Dr. L. D. Barnett, a connection with Kannaḍa « okkal » *house, home* (cf. the name « Utkala » for Orissa, probably also of Dravidian origin: Kannaḍa « ḍkkala » = *householder, farmer*; the Ōḍra people = « ḍḍḍa » *delving labourer*, in Dravidian; see F. Kittel’s ‘Kannaḍa Dictionary,’ Bangalore, 1894, under « ḍḍḍa 1 » and « ḍḍra »). The Mahābhārata legend of the five princes Anṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, Puṅdra and Suhma being brothers, who were sons of the Rishi Dīrghatamās begotten on the wife of King Bali, is probably based on traditions of ethnic kinship among the tribes of which the five princes were the eponymous ancestors. (Cf. F. E. Pargiter, JASB., cited above). These early tribes of Bengal, Dravidian speakers mainly, were well-organised, and they seem to have possessed a culture of their own. The early history of Burma and Siam tells us that at a time when the Tibeto-Chinese tribes (Burmese, and Tai) had not yet arrived on the scene, and these countries were inhabited



only by Mōn-Khmēr peoples, Dravidians from Bengal and Kalīṅga were emigrating into these lands, and becoming the ruling race there. Later, when these non-Aryans from India assimilated Brahmanic culture, their princes claimed connection with the ancient royal houses of Aryan Upper India (a thing which was repeated in the case of the new Rajpūt clans at a later period), and introduced among the Mōns and the Khmērs in times *post* Christ the Sanskrit language as well as traditions connected with Hastināpura and Ayōdhyā which yet live.

44. The Tibeto-Chinese tribes came into the field later. In Indo-China, two of their powerful tribes, the Mran-mā (= Brammā, Byammā or Burmese, Indianised into 'Brahma'), and the Tai (better known by the name given to them by their Burmese kinsmen, *viz.*, Rham or Šan [Shan], Siem or Siamese, Indianised to 'Šyāma'), conquered respectively the Mōns and the Khmērs, the conflict beginning sometime in the middle of the 1st millennium A.C. and continuing down to the 18th and 19th centuries. (Cf. R. C. Temple, 'Outlines of Indo-Chinese History,' IAnt., 1916, pp. 37 ff.) The Boḍo section of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Tibeto-Chinese people (Boḍo, Mēc, Kōc, Kacārī, Rābhā, Garo, Tipura) came to Assam and East Bengal, and were spread all over East and North Bengal. The time of the Tibeto-Burman incursion and settlement in Assam and East Bengal is not known, but it could not have been long before the beginning of the Christian era, at the earliest. Hiuen Tshang's remarks about the people of Assam in the 7th century A.C. (§ 47) are to be noted in this connection. In pre-Moslem Bengal, in the 10th century, the Kambōjas (= \*Kamōca, Kaṃōca, Kōcā), one section of the Boḍos, for a time, usurped the throne of Bengal, at least in the northern part of the country (R. D. Banerji, 'The Pālas of Bengal,' Memoirs of the ASB., V, 3, pp. 68-69; Ramā-Prasād Chanda, 'Gauḍa-rāja-mālā,' Rajshahi, 1319 San, p. 37); and during the Moslem times, the Kōces, under their Hinduised Kings, had a powerful state in North Bengal and West Assam which continued till the middle of the 17th century (E. A. Gait, 'History of Assam,' Calcutta, 1916, Chap. IV; the Assamese verse chronicle 'Darang-rāj-baṅsāwālī,' ed. by Hēm-Chandra Goswāmī, Calcutta, 1917, Introduction). Aryanisation of

the Boḍos and of the Kōl and Dravidian peoples, and probably also of Mōn-Khm̄r tribes allied to the Khasis, in North Bengal, Assam and East Bengal must have begun immediately after Central and North Bengal became Aryanised : and the kingdoms of Prāggyōtiṣa and Kāmarūpa, claiming a fabulous antiquity, were established. Assam possessed a Hindu king in the 7th century, according to the testimony of Hiuen Tshang and of contemporary epigraphical documents. From its geographical position, Assam was practically an extension of North Bengal, so far as its speech and early history were concerned. The Aryanisation of the Tibeto-Burmans in North Bengal and in Assam is still progressing ; and a strong Boḍo influence has been seen by one scholar at least in the growth of Bengali (J. D. Anderson postulated Boḍo influence on Bengali syntax and accentuation : JRAS., 1911, pp. 524 ff., 1913, pp. 133 ff. ; and ' People of India,' Cambridge, 1913, p. 54). But it seems it is to Dravidian stress and Dravidian idiom rather than to the Tibeto-Burman Boḍo, that we are to look for the source of influence in the above points.

45. The people of Bengal, in the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., do not seem to have been Aryan speakers, but they possessed great skill in some arts and crafts which was recognised in Aryanised, imperial Magadha. Kauṭilya's ' Artha-śāstra ' (end of 4th century B.C. in its original form) praises the silk and other stuffs made in Puṇḍra, Suvarṇakudya and Vaṅga (II, 11) : the second tract has been identified with Karṇa-suvarṇa in Murshidabad District. The original author of the oldest Indian treatise on elephant-training and the diseases of elephants, the ' Hastyāyurvēda ' ascribed to Pāla-kāpya, a work compiled during the Sūtra period (600-200 B.C.), is described as a man from ' where the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) flows towards the sea,' *i.e.*, from East Bengal near the mouths of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra (H. P. Śāstrī, ' Presidential Address to the 8th Bengali Literary Conference,' VSPdP., 1321, No. 4). It does not seem likely that Bengal (even North and West Bengal), was brought in line with the Aryan states of India before the Maurya period, by being conquered by Magadha. The Pāli Jātaka and Tri-piṭaka literature which gives a faithful account of Aryandom in



India in the centuries immediately before the Maurya period, mentions 16 great nations, among which Puṇḍra, Vaṅga, Rāḍha or Suhma have no place. Jain tradition as preserved in the 'Āyāraṅga Sutta' (1, 8, 4: p. 84, 'Gaiṇa Sūtras,' trans. by H. Jacobi, SBE. [the work dating from the 3rd century B.C., at least in a more ancient original which is lost, but referring to the 6th century B.C. : cf. *op. cit.*, pp. xl-xliii]) describes Lāḍha and Subbha (= Rāḍha, Suhma) as countries inhabited by a wild and churlish people. In fact, the tradition, that the Rāḍha people of West Bengal were wild and barbarous, is present down to Middle Bengali times: e.g., Mukunda-rāma writes (c. 1580) in his 'Caṇḍī-kāvya,' (Vaṅgavāsī edition):

p. 70—ব্যাধ গো-হিংসক রাড় ।

< byādhḡ gō-hiṅsākḡ rāḡḡ (= rāḍha) >

*A hunter, a cow-killer, a Rāḍha.*

p. 73—অতি নীচকুলে জন্ম জাতিতে চোরাড় ।

কেহ না পরশ করে লোকে বলে রাড় ॥

< āti nīcā-kulē janmā, jāti-tē cōārḡḡ ;

kēhā nā pārāśḡḡ kārē, lōkē balē rāḡḡ >.

< *Birth in a very low caste ; by caste, a Cō(h)ūdḡ (or Cuhādḡ : any connection with the Cuhādḡās or sweepers of Northern India and the Panjab?) ; no one touches (me), people call (me) a Rāḍha.*

The attitude of the Brahman law-makers towards Bengal in early times (p. 63) may be recalled.

Pāṇini just mentions Gauḍa (VI, 2, 100): this Gauḍa seems to be in Bengal. Later Buddhist tradition as in the 'Divyāvadāna' mentions Puṇḍra-wardhana as being under Aśōka (see above, § 41), and Tāmralipta, the capital of Suhma, was also under Aśōka (V. A. Smith, 'Early History of India,' Oxford, 1914, p. 162). The inference which can be drawn is as follows. Bengal was not within the Aryan pale in the 6th century B.C. In the 4th century B.C., Bengal was joined to Magadha, at least by commercial ties. A large number of pre-Maurya and Mauryan coins

(*purānas*), of the same kind as those found in Magadha, have been discovered in South-west, West, and North Bengal (R. D. Banerji, 'Bāṅgālār Itihās,' Part I, pp. 31-32). Jainism, and perhaps also Buddhism and Brahmanism, were spreading among the people in North, Central, and West Bengal: Puṇḍra-varadhana was a Jain centre according to the 'Divyāvadāna,' in the time of Aśōka; and in the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., the King of Kalinga was a Jain; and he was also a patron of the Brāhmins (Hāthī-gumphā Inscription of Khāravēla). North and West Bengal, contiguous to Magadha and Kalinga, were under Aśōka in the 3rd century B.C. From that time, we might assume, there was the commencement of a vigorous movement towards Aryanisation in Bengal.<sup>1</sup> The Aryan speech was undoubtedly brought into Bengal, from Magadha and beyond, by

<sup>1</sup> The Ceylonese Pali chronicles 'Dīpa-vaṃsa' and 'Mahā-vaṃsa' narrate the story of Vijaya. Both these works mention 'Lāḷa,' or 'Laḷa-raṭṭha' as the home of Vijaya. This 'Lāḷa' is only a variant of 'Lāḷa,' and is the same tract known as 'Lāṭa' in Sanskrit, and 'Larikō' in Greek—'Lāḷikā,' which corresponds to the Gujarat coast country (Kathia-war), and probably also to South Sindh, which is still known as 'Lār'='Lāḷa.' Some scholars prefer to see 'Rāḷa' or West Bengal in this 'Lāḷa,' if this identification were correct, it would establish the existence of an old tradition in favour of there having been a considerable Aryanisation of West Bengal in the 6th or 5th century B.C. But the only ground of connection with Bengal is the mention of Vaṅga in narrating the story of Vijaya in the Pali works: both agree in saying that the mother of Siha-bāhu, Vijaya's father, was a princess from Vaṅga or East Bengal. The Dīpa-vaṃsa, which is slightly older than the Mahā-vaṃsa (the latter dating from the end of the 5th century after Christ: cf. M. Winternitz, 'Geschichte der indischen Litteratur,' II, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 168, 170), gives a only bald version of the wild legend of the lion and the Vaṅga princess, and mentions Vaṅga only casually, and speaks of Siha-pura, Vijaya's native city, and describes his sojourn at Suppāra and Bharu-kaccha during his voyage to Ceylon; the Mahā-vaṃsa gives an elaborate version of the legend, mentions not only Vaṅga but also Kaliṅga and Magadha (although once), and omits Bharu-kaccha. (H. Oldenberg, the Dīpavaṃsa, London, 1879; W. Geiger, English Translation of the Mahā-vaṃsa, London, 1912.) The bringing in of the names of Vaṅga and Magadha, especially of the latter, looks like interpolations; the contiguity of Lāḷa, the home of the first Aryan King of Ceylon, with Magadha, the Buddhist holy land, which would be emphasised by the frequent mention of Vaṅga as in the Mahā-vaṃsa version, was sure to please the Ceylon Buddhists of early times. Siha-pura, from where Vijaya came, may be represented by the modern Sihōr (= Siha-ura, Siṅha-pura) in Bhavnagar state, not far from the sea. Above all, the mention of Bharu-kaccha and



Magadhan and other officials and soldiers, Brahmans, Buddhist and Jain missionaries and priests, traders and artisans in large numbers, and adventurers in search of fortune, who made the land their home. The upper classes among the original people of the land, like the upper classes everywhere under similar circumstances, would be most susceptible to this cultural and linguistic influence coming in the wake of a political suzerainty. When the upper classes are captured in this way, the spread of a foreign culture and language among the masses is a question of time only. People of humbler ranks were continually coming into Bengal from Magadha, Kāśī and beyond, as they have always been doing uptil now, and by settling down in the country were re-inforcing the position of the Aryan speech. It is very likely that Prāgjyōtiṣa and Vaṅga, from their comparatively remote position, received Aryan speech later than West, North, and Central Bengal; and this early contrast between an advanced and Aryanised North and West Bengal, and a rather backward East Bengal, possibly

Suppāra is a strong evidence in favour of the west coast having been the home of the first Aryan settlers in Ceylon several centuries B.C. Hiuen Tshang narrates the lion legend at some length, and the story of the colonisation of Ceylon (S. Beal, 'Buddhist Records, etc.' Vol. II, London, 1906, pp. 236 ff.), but he places the scene in Southern India. The people of the Western Indian Coast were adventurous sailors from very early times, even before the advent of the Aryans; and not to speak of their voyages to lands beyond the Arabian Sea, Java in the Eastern Ocean was first colonised from India by the Gujarat people in the 1st century A.C., according to Javanese tradition (see Rādhā-Kumud Mookerjee, 'A History of Indian Shipping, etc.' London, 1912, pp. 150-151). The Sinhalese language, according to Geiger, is connected with Western Prakrits, Saurāṣṭrī and Mahārāṣṭrī, rather than with Māgadhī (cf. W. Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' pp. 90, 91, 92; P. Arunachalam, 'Sketches of Ceylon History,' Colombo, 1906, pp. 9, 10; see also *infra*, Appendix B, § 81, 'Echo Words' in NIA. and Dravidian). But there is no denying that in later, post-Aśōkan times, after Buddhism was taken to Ceylon from Magadha, the connection between Bengal and Ceylon grew very intimate—regular trade through the harbour of Tāmralipti being carried on between Magadha and Bengal and Ceylon—a connection which continued down to the middle of the 13th century at least (when the Sanskrit scholar Rāma-candra Kavi-bhāratī, a North Bengal Brahman, persecuted by his people on becoming a Buddhist, went to Ceylon: R. D. Banerji, 'Bāṅgālār Itihās,' II, Calcutta, San 1324, p. 59), and traditions of which in the shape of stories of commercial voyages to Ceylon undertaken by Bengali merchants are present in Middle Bengali literature.

differing linguistically and racially (in having a prominent Tibeto-Burman element) from West Bengal, is at the root of the contemptuous use of the term बाङ्गাল « Bāṅgāl » for an inhabitant of East Bengal (= « Vaṅg-āla »), even at the present day when the name Vaṅga has been extended west to Puṇḍra and Rāḍha (jointly known as Gauḍa-dēśa). South Bengal (the lower reaches of the Ganges delta) does not seem to have been very much habitable below the 23rd degree of latitude, perhaps not much below the Tropic of Cancer, at the period we are speaking of (some four hundred years B.C.): it seems to have been a marshy and jungly tract, infested by tigers,<sup>1</sup> in which settlements were made from Puṇḍra, Rāḍha and Vaṅga later.

The Kaliṅga country which Aśōka conquered, far removed from centres of Aryan speech, has always remained Dravidian, and the Ōḍra people, the ancestors of the present-day Oriyā speakers, were not Aryanised even as late as the 7th century A.C., according to the testimony of Hiuen Tshang (see *infra*, § 47). But the early use of the Aryan language for administrative and cultural purposes in Dravidian Kaliṅga and Ōḍra can be inferred from Aśōka's and Khāravela's inscriptions.

46. There is nothing known definitely about Bengal till the time of the Guptas in the 4th century A.C. Śaka kings of the family of Kaṇiṣka ruled over Northern India during part of the period between the fall of the Mauryas and the rise of the Guptas. Their power extended over Magadha (R. D. Banerji, 'Bāṅgālār Itihās,' I, pp. 36 ff.), but it is not known

<sup>1</sup> The delta of Bengal is known by the name of বাগড়ী 'Bāgrī < Bāgaḍī.' The name সমভূমি 'Sama-taṭa' is sometimes used for the delta, but it is properly a name for East Bengal, Vaṅga, rather than for South Bengal (Rādhā-Gōvinda Basāk, 'Sama-taṭer Rāja-dhānī,' Sāhitya, Āvina, San 1321). The word 'Bāgaḍī' has not been satisfactorily explained. It is sometimes derived from a Sanskrit 'Vaka-dvīpa,' which is phonologically inadmissible. There is a 'Bāgrī' or 'Bāgaḍī' in Midnapur District, near Garbētā, but it is far away from the delta. In the Khalimpur grant of Dharma-pāla (c. 800 A.C.) we find the mention of a 'Vyāghra-taṭī' district, forming part of the Puṇḍra-varadhana province. This place has not been identified, but it may be in the delta. Can 'Vyāghra-taṭī' = tiger-coast, a fitting name for a delta district as the home of the Royal Bengal Tiger, be the source of 'Bāgaḍī' (through '\*Vaggha-aḍī,' '\*Bāghawaḍī,' '\*Bāghaḍī,' with deaspiration of 'gh' in Middle Bengali) ?



whether Bengal formed a part of the Śaka empire. But there is evidence of the industrial and commercial activities of the people of Bengal during the Kuṣāṇa period, *e.g.*, from the contemporary Greek work the 'Periplus of the Erythræan Sea' (1st century A.C. : Section 63).

The oldest epigraphical record found in Bengal is a very short Sanskrit inscription, in Brāhmī characters of the 4th-5th cen. A.C., on Susunia Rock in Bankura District, which mentions a king Candra-varman, the son of Siddha-varman (? Siṅha-varman), ruler of Puṣkaraṇā, a devotee of 'the Lord of the discus' (cakra-svāmin = Viṣṇu) (Ep. Ind., XIII ; H. Lüders, 'List of Brāhmī Inscriptions,' No. 961, Appendix to Vol. X of the Ep. Ind.) This Candra-varman has been regarded as identical with the king Candra mentioned in the Meherauli Iron Pillar Inscription, as well as with the king Candra-varman named in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra-gupta ; and it has been also suggested—and the suggestion has been accepted by some scholars—that the Candra-varman-Candra of these three inscriptions was a scion of the Varman dynasty of kings mentioned in some inscriptions from Mandasor in Gwalior State (the oldest of which is dated 404-405 A.C.), and that he was a ruler of Western Rajputana, the place Puṣkaraṇā in the Susunia inscription being identified with Pokharaṇ city in Western Jodhpur (H. P. Śāstrī in the IAnt., 1913, pp. 217-219 ; R. D. Banerji, 'Bāṅgālār Itihās,' I, pp. 39-41). The presence of the inscription of a king of Rajputana at Susunia in distant Bengal has been explained as a memento of the « digvijaya » undertaken by this king : the Meherauli Inscription which mentions the conquests of king Candra from Balkh to Bengal supplying the explanation. But this identification of Candra-varman of the Susunia Rock Inscription with a supposititious ruler of the Varman dynasty of Mandasor, not mentioned at all in the Mandasor records, fails to be convincing ; and Candra-varman of Susunia can very well be a local ruler in West Bengal, distinct from the Candra of the Meherauli Inscription, and very likely he was the same Candra-Varman who is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription (J. F. Fleet, 'Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,' III) as one of those chiefs of Āryāvartta who were 'forcibly rooted out' by

Samudra-gupta ; and 'Puṣkaraṇā' of which he was the king is in all likelihood a place in West Bengal. If this view is correct, then Candrarvarman would be the oldest ruler of Bengal of whom we have a contemporary record : and he belonged to the middle of the 4th century A. C., when Bengal was recognised as a part of Āryāvartta and could no longer be omitted from the tale of North Indian Hindu states. The poet Kālidāsa (end of the 4th century A.C.), in describing the conquests of Raghu in his 'Raghu-vaṇśa,' brings him to Bengal (Vaṅga and Suhma), and apparently is of the same mind. The Sanskrit drama 'Pratijñā-Yāugandharāyaṇa,' ascribed to 'Bhāsa,' which is probably not older than the 4th century A. C., suggests that the ruling families of Bengal were regarded as equals to those of Northern India for inter-marriage with the house of Mālava.<sup>1</sup> The Jaina Upāṅgas, again, redacted c. 454 A.C., but preserving earlier traditions, include Bengal (Tāmalitta and Vaṅga) among Aryan lands, as opposed to 'Milikkha' (= Mleccha or Barbarian) peoples like the Saka, Yavaṇa, Pārasa, Damila, Pulinda, Hūṇa, Rōmaga, Boṭṭhakāṇa and others (IAnt., 1891, pp. 374 ff. : I am indebted to my friend Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri for drawing my attention to this). All this would presuppose a considerable Aryanisation of Bengal by 300 A.C.

With the establishment of the Gupta power in Bengal in the 4th century, Bengal became finally and completely linked to Northern or Aryan India. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra-gupta states that the people of Sama-taṭa, Kāma-rūpa and Ḍavāka (= East Bengal ?) paid him tribute. The Guptas were zealous Brahmanists, and from their time began a large settlement of Brahmans from the Midland, to whom were made substantial grants of land to enable them to carry on their Sanskrit studies and their religious rites for the benefit of the colonists from Upper India. The great number of Old Bengal

<sup>1</sup> Act II of the drama : king Pradyōta of Ujjayinī says, discussing with his queen a suitable match for their daughter Vāsava-dattā : 'amat-sambaddhō Māgadhah Kāśī-rājō Vāṅgah Śūrasētraō Māithilah Śūrasēnah : oṭō nānārthāir lōbhayantō guṇāir māh : kas tē vāitēṣām pātratām yāti rājā ?' connected with us are the kings of Magadha, of Kāśī, of Vaṅga, of Śurāṣṭra, of Mithilā and of Śūrasēna ; they attract me by their manifold qualities : which king among them is deemed a proper bridegroom by you ?



inscriptions consist of deeds recorded on copper-plates of such grants of land to Brahmans. The Brahman 'coming out of the Midland'—*« madhya-deśa-vinirgata »*—as he is frequently described in these deeds, was a missionary of Hindu Aryan or North Indian culture, and it was a meritorious act with all classes of people, from the rulers downwards, to settle him in villages with grants of land. In this matter, in later times even the rulers professing the Buddhist faith followed suit. Scions of aristocratic families—*« kula-putras »*—from Ayōdhyā and elsewhere in Northern India bought lands in Bengal for the support of Brahmanical temples, and in other ways helped to establish Hinduism; and these *« kula-putras »* probably gave or reinforced the aristocracy of medieval Bengal (cf. the Dāmōdar-pur copper-plates, No. 5, of 533-34 A.C. : Rādhā-Gōvinda Basāk, 'Epigraphia Indica,' XV, p. 115).

47. When Fa Hien came to Bengal, in the beginning of the 5th century, the country was apparently flourishing in (Aryan) learning and culture, at least in the West and the North : for the Chinese pilgrim found Tāmralipti a seat of learning, where he spent two years, copying MSS. and painting images (J. Legge, 'Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms, etc.,' Oxford, 1886, p. 100). Another Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tshang, visited Bengal during the 1st half of the 7th century. He has an occasional remark about the language of the tracts he passed through, and his statements are valuable and interesting. (S. Beal, 'Records of the Western World,' II, London, 1906, pp. 194 ff.) Crossing the Ganges from Anḡa and Kājaḡala, he came to Puṇḡra-varḡhana, or North Central Bengal, to the north of the Ganges, where he found that the country was thickly peopled, the men esteemed learning, and Mahā-yāna and Hīna-yāna Buddhism, Brahmanism and Jainism were all flourishing. From Puṇḡra-varḡhana he went to Kāma-rūpa or Western Assam and East North Bengal. The people of Kāma-rūpa were simple and honest in manners, and were of small stature, with a 'dark yellow' complexion. About their language, Hiuen Tshang says that it differed 'a little' from that of 'Mid-India.' The people were also impetuous and wild, but their memories were retentive, and they were earnest in study. They were mostly

Brahmanistic, and the king of Kāma-rūpa, Bhāskara-varman, is said to have been a Brahman. Hiuen Tshang remarked that the tribes living in the frontiers of Kāma-rūpa were akin to the Man tribes of South-western China, a wild Tibeto-Chinese people. From Kāma-rūpa he came south to Sama-taṭa or East Bengal, bordering on the sea. The land was low and rich ; the habits of the people were agreeable ; they were hardy, small of stature, and of a black complexion ; and they were fond of learning, and exercised themselves diligently in the acquirement of it. As in Puṇḍra-vardhana, Brahmanism existed side by side with Jainism. From Sama-taṭa, he passed on to Karṇa-suvarṇa, identified with Kān-sōnā in Murshidabad District, in Central Bengal. The men there were hardy and brave, and quick and hasty in manners ; they were both heretics and believers. Thence Hiuen Tshang went to Tāmralipti, the people of which place were honest and amiable of manners, loving learning exceedingly, and applying themselves to it with earnestness. They were both Brahmanists and Buddhists. This finishes his itinerary in Bengal. He then comes to Ōḍra, which corresponded to modern South-west Midnapur and North Orissa, to Kōṅgōda or Central Orissa, and to Kalīṅga or South Orissa and Ganjam. The people of all these tracts are expressly mentioned as speaking a language different in forms and sounds from that of 'Mid-India' ; obviously they spoke Dravidian dialects, although c. 619 A.C. we have in Kōṅgōda a ruling house employing Sanskrit in inscriptions, like Khāravēla's house in the 2nd century B.C. using the North Indian Aryan speech (Rādhā-Gōvinda Basāk, 'Mādhava-varmmār Tāmra-śāsan,' Sāhitya, Phālguna, Śan 1319).

Thus from the evidence of Hiuen Tshang, it can be concluded that by 7th century A.C. the Aryan language had been generally adopted by the people all over Bengal, and it had penetrated as far east as Western Assam, but it had not spread among the masses even in Northern Orissa. But it is curious to find that, according to him, the language of the Kāma-rūpa people 'differed a little' from that of Mid-India. Hiuen Tshang is silent about the language of Puṇḍra-vardhana or Karṇa-suvarṇa : it can be presumed that the language of these tracts was identical with that of Magadha, which was the 'Midland,' or 'Central India,'



or 'Mid-India' of the Chinese traveller. Now, one would expect one and identical language to have been current in North Central Bengal (Puṇḍra-vardhana) and North Bengal and West Assam (Kāma-rūpa) in the 7th century, since these tracts, and other parts of Bengal, had almost the same speech, at least in morphology, in the 15th and 16th centuries, as can be seen from the extant remains in Bengali and Assamese. Perhaps this 'differing a little' of the Kāma-rūpa speech from the speech of 'Mid-India' (and presumably also from those of Puṇḍra-vardhana and other places in Bengal) refers to those modifications of Aryan sounds, which now characterise Assamese as well as North and East Bengali dialects, *e.g.*, < ts, s, dz, z > for < c, ch, j, jh >, < r > (rather than < ṛ >) for < -ḍ- >, and < h > for < ś < ś ṣ s >. The presence of a large Tibeto-Burman element in the population of Assam and East and North Bengal may have something to do with this (cf. the Tibetan and Burmese pronunciation of IA. < c, ch, j [jh] > as < ts, ts-h, dz > and < ts [s], s-h, z >, and Burmese pronunciation of < s > as a spirant < th > [θ]); and these phonetic modifications very likely were first brought about in the Māgadhī Prakrit or Apabhraṅśa dialect current in Kāma-rūpa, with its predominantly Tibeto-Burman population, as noticed by the observant Hiuen Tshang; and from Kāma-rūpa the < ts, dz >, < r > and < h > pronunciations might have spread into the contiguous tracts of Bengal,—where, however, they do not seem to have become regularly established in the way they have done in Assamese.

48. Aryanisation of Bengal, inaugurated probably in the 4th century B.C. under the Mauryas, and vigorously carried on under the Guptas, seems thus to have been completed by the 7th century A.C. By this time the Gupta power waned in Northern India. In the early part of the 7th century, a chief named Śaśāṅka Narēndra-gupta, believed to be a scion of the house of the imperial Guptas, tried to create a strong and independent kingdom in Magadha and Bengal, but he failed, and Harṣa-vardhana of Thānēsar made himself master of all Northern India. During the first decades of the 7th century, Bengal seems to have been conquered by Bhāskara-varman of Kāma-rūpa, Harṣa's contemporary. After the death of Harṣa there was period of confusion and internecine warfare, accompanied by

attacks by kings from other parts of India, and Magadha and Bengal suffered from anarchy (R. D. Bānerji, 'Bāṅgālār Itihās,' I, Chapter VI). But now Bengal, well-known by the joint-name of Gauḍa-Vaṅga, figured largely in North Indian politics. The Prakrit poem 'Gāuḍa-vaha' of Vākpati-rāja describes the victorious campaign of Yaśōdharmadēva of Kanauj into Magadha, Gauḍa and Vaṅga 'by the side of the sea,' in the early decades of the 8th century. Barring the short period of Harṣa's rule, for about a century and a half (600-740 A. C.) there was no stable government in Bengal. Petty chiefs warred against each other, and there seems to have been general misrule and anarchy. Out of this chaos, the people of Bengal at last elected a strong man to be king over them—Gōpāla, the son of Vapyata ( « mātsya-nyāyam apōhitum prakṛtibhir lakṣmyāḥ karaṇ grāhitaḥ » *in order to do away with 'the way of the fishes,' or anarchy, he was made by the subjects to receive the hand of Fortune*—as the Khalimpur grant of Dharma-pāla puts it); and with him (c. 740 A.C.) began a line of kings—the Pāla dynasty—which ruled Bengal for over 350 years, and which witnessed the highest political and intellectual achievements of the people of Bengal before the coming of the Turks in 1200.

The tribes of Bengal were already welded into an Aryan-speaking nation, and its distinct character was in its formative period. This new people took to learning with great zeal. Monasteries and colleges in Magadha and Bengal become famous as seats of Buddhistic learning, and an extensive Buddhistic religious and philosophical literature was produced. Indian culture was transmitted to Tibet and to Burma (among the Mōns and the Burmese) by Bengal scholars. In Sanskrit scholarship, Bengal already made its mark, and before the beginning of the 8th century when Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin the famous writers on Sanskrit poetics flourished, the « Gāuḍīya-rīti » or Bengal style of composition obtained an honoured place in Sanskrit rhetoric (M. Winternitz, 'Gesch. der ind. Litt.,' III, Leipzig, 1922, p. 14 : Sushīl-Kumār Dē, 'History of Sanskrit Poetics,' I, Calcutta, 1923, pp. 49, 66, 67, 70). There grew up flourishing seats of Brahmanical learning, like Siddhala and Bhūri-śrēṣṭha in West Bengal. Composition in the vernacular of the land as well as in the



literary Apabhraṃśa of the West started during Pāla times, the teachers and preachers of the Sahajiyā Buddhist cult and the newly-risen Śivaite sect of the Yōgis or Nāthas, and probably also the Vaiṣṇavas, taking the lead in this matter. (Cf. H. P. Śāstri, 'Literary History of the Pāla Period,' JBORS., V, ii, 1919). A new movement in sculpture arose in the 9th century in Varēndra (*i.e.*, Puṇḍra or North Central Bengal), according to the evidence of the Tibetan writer Tārānātha, who mentions two eminent artists Dhīman and Bitpalo (Tārānātha, 'Geschichte des Buddhismus,' by Anton Schiefner, Petrograd, 1869, pp. 279-280) : and this school gained distinction as the Gauḍa-Magadha style of Northern Indian sculpture.

When the Pāla power waned, c. 1100 A.C., and the dynasty of the Sēnas, originally feudatory chiefs in West Bengal, ousted the Pālas from Bengal and forced them to be confined to Bihar for the next century, the people of Bengal had probably already formed their separate individuality, with the dialects they spoke developing a common character, in contradistinction to those of Mithilā, Magadha and Ōḍra. And Bengal, which so long formed more or less an appendage of Magadha, seems to have distinctly broken away from the latter about 1100, with the elevation of the Sēnas. This break grew wider with the destruction of national life and the accumulated culture of ages in Magadha by the Turks in the course of their conquest, and by the subsequent affiliation of Magadha in matters social and cultural to Hindostan proper as one of its outlying provinces. Mithilā under her Hindu kings continued a self-contained, intellectual existence for some time, and she remained the teacher and inspirer of Bengal in higher Sanskrit learning, and to some extent in poetry, for over two centuries after the Moslem conquest.

By the middle of the 10th century, to which period the earliest extant specimens of Bengali can be referred, the Bengali language may be said to have become distinctive, as the expression of the life and religious aspirations of the people of Bengal, with the nucleus of a literature uniting the various dialectal areas. A new speech entered into being, to give expression, later in its life, to some of the highest flights of the human spirit in the regions of poetic imagination and perception.

49. The Indo-Aryan speech thus took over a thousand years to be transformed into Bengali, after it came to Bengal during the first MIA. period (roughly, 400 B.C.—900 A.C.). The story of the development of IA. during these long centuries cannot be taken up here; the broad lines of it have been indicated in § 20. Linguistic studies of the Aśōka and other inscriptions, grammars and philological works on Pali, the Prakrits and the Apabhraṅśas, and above all, the texts themselves, enable us to form some idea of MIA. The materials for the study of MIA. in Eastern India are the following (but it must be noted that MIA. documents relating to dialects current in other tracts are equally important, for their parallel forms, for their throwing valuable light on the development of MIA. as a whole, for their often preserving an eastern form, and for their influence on the dialects of the East):

(1) Stray words and forms in the language of the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, and in early classical Sanskrit, which, from their phonetic aspect, can be regarded as eastern: *e.g.*, « vikaṭa = vikṛta », « daṇḍa = \*dandra », « śīla = śrīra », « śīhila » *loose* (for \*śīhila = 2nd MIA. śiḍhila = \*śīthira), « √gil = gir » *swallow*, « kṣulla » *small* (for \*kṣudla = kṣudra). (Cf. § 36.)

(2) The oldest inscriptions in the East: Aśōkan, and other Brāhmī (*e.g.*, the Sohgaura plaquette inscription, the Piprahwa vase inscription, the Śutanukā inscription).

(3) Ardha-māgadhī forms in Pali (cf. § 39).

(4) Old Ardha-māgadhī and Old Māgadhī specimens in the Buddhist drama fragments of the 1st century A.C. (edited by Lüders: §§ 39, 40).

(5) Passages in Māgadhī Prakrit, in Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī and other dialects based apparently on Māgadhī, in Sanskrit dramas. Especially important in this connection are the 'Mṛcchakaṭika' and the 'Śakuntalā.' Jaina Ardha-māgadhī.

(6) The Prakrit grammarians, beginning with Vararuci (5th century) down to Mārkaṇḍēya (17th century), where they describe the eastern dialect (Māgadhī speech).

In the development of NIA. from OIA., the phonetic changes brought about in the transitional period between early MIA. and second MIA.,



and the gradual decay of inflections throughout all the MIA. stages, have served to make NIA. almost entirely change its character, and to begin afresh, as it were. As it will be seen under *Morphology*, very few OIA. inflections have survived in NIA. But it is the loss of the intervocal stops, and the weakening of the aspirated stops to < h > in MIA., which have transformed the Aryan language in India. A lax pronunciation of the unvoiced < -k- -c- -ṭ- -t- -p- > turns them easily into the voiced < -g- -j- -ḍ- -d- -b- >, when they are preceded and followed by vowels, which are voiced sounds. Further laxity prevents complete closure of the mouth-passage, and the voiced stops become open consonants, spirants or continuants, namely, < g, y (fricative, = [ɣ]), some kind of fricative cerebral ʃ or [ʒ]<sup>1</sup>, ḍ, ḅ > respectively : and these open consonants often lose their audible friction, so that the consonant is reduced to zero. The voicing of the tennes is found sporadically as early as the 3rd century B.C. in Aśoka's eastern inscriptions : e.g., < ava- > for < apa- > at Sahasram ; < ajala > at Dhauri, corresponding to < acala > at Jaugada ; < lōga > for < lōka > at Jaugada ; < libi = lipi > at Delhi-Topra ; < Antiyōga > for < Antiyōka > = Greek < Antiokhos >, at Kalsi. (Also cf. < rathidara = rathitara >, Brāhmī inscription from Kangra Valley, 3rd century B.C. ? see J. Ph. Vogel, Ep. Ind., VII, pp. 116 ff.)

In the transitional period of MIA., 200 B.C.—200 A.C., we see that these voicings are on the increase in the inscriptions ; and cases of elision also appear, growing more numerous as we advance to the second MIA. stage : e.g., < Anādhapēḍikō = Anātha-piṇḍika >, < Maghādēṣiya = Makhādēva- >, < avayēsi < avāḍēsi < avāḍēsi = avādayat > (Bharhut, 2nd century B.C.) ; < padhamē = prathamē >, < cavutha < \*caḍuttha < caturtha >, < radha = ratha >, < vitadha = vitatha >, < Bharadha < \*Bhāratha = Bhārata >, < ṅāvaka

<sup>1</sup> The intervocal cerebrals in MIA. did not become fricative, but were changed either to ' ʃ ' or to the so-called cerebral ' ɣ ' : the latter is not a continuant, but a ' flap ' sound. The very character of the cerebrals, which needed the tongue-tip to be rolled back and struck against the roof of the mouth for their proper pronunciation, ensured the momentary closure, even when the other consonant sounds became open. See later, under *Phonology*, where the phonetic history of IA. is discussed.

=jñāpaka > (Khāravēla Inscription, 2nd century B.C.) ; < chatrava = kṣatrapa >, < atēurēṇa = antēpura- >, < thuva = stūpa >, < niyadido = niryā-tita >, < Nākaraasa = Nāgarakasya > (a hybrid form, with Dardic or North-west Indian < -k- > for < -g- >), < ayariya = ācārya >, < vēya-udinō = vēgôdirṇa >, < viyaa = vijaya > (Mathura Lion Capital Inscription, early 1st century A.C.) ; < apratiṭhavita = apratiṣṭhāpita > (Taxila Plate, of the same date as the preceding). Similar forms, with voiced stops for unvoiced ones, and < y > possibly for an open spirant pronunciation, are found in the Nasik and Karle Cave Inscriptions of the 2nd century A.C. Of the literary Prakrits (as in the older Sanskrit dramas), which were based on the spoken MIA. vernaculars of the 1st—5th centuries A.C., we find that the voicing of the tenues, and their retention side by side with the original voiced ones, to be quite the rule in Māgadhī and Śaurasēnī (only < -k- > -g- > is generally elided, but < -t- > -d- > never) ; but in the dialect named Mahārāṣṭrī, they are in all cases elided. Modern IA. languages derived from Māgadhī and Śaurasēnī, *e.g.*, Bengali and Hindi, show that those original single stops of OIA., which were preserved as voiced stops in the literary Prakrits, were subsequently dropped as well : *e.g.*, OIA. < śatam > > Māg. < śadē, śadam >, Śaur. < sadam > : cf. Bengali শত < śā > from < śaa, śāva >, Hindi < sau, sai > from < sa(ṡ/ý)a > ; OIA. < pāda > > Māg., Śaur., < pāda > : cf. Bengali পদ < pā >, Hindi < pāw > ; OIA. < calati > > Māg. < ycaladi >, Śaur. < caladi > : cf. Bengali চালি < cālē, Hindi < cālē calai < calai >. This stage of Māgadhī and Śaurasēnī, in which all the intervocal stops were elided, has not been indicated in the oldest grammar of Prakrit that we have, that of Vararuci, who says that < -t-, -th- > become < -d-, -dh- > in Śaurasēnī ; and Māgadhī follows Śaurasēnī in this respect ; and later Sanskrit writers, who turned Sanskrit words into Prakrit, followed Vararuci and the usage of Śūdraka, Kālidāsa and the rest. But in Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa, we have the genuine state of things in the spoken language indicated by plenty of forms without the intervocal consonants. For a final or intervocal stop to be elided, it must be either laxly or lazily pronounced, leading to absence of contact, as described above ; or 'throttled' into an unexploded stop, as it has



happened to the final stops in many speeches ; or changed into a glottal stop, [ʔ], as in dialectal English, *e.g.*, London cockney [wɔ:ʔə, bəʔə, pʰaɪʔə, məɪʔɪ] for *water, butter, paper, Michael* = standard Southern English [wɔ:tə, bətə, pʰeɪpə, maɪkɪ]. The process, namely, stops > voiced stops, lazily uttered > open stops, or voiced fricatives with very little friction > complete elision, or zero,—seems to have taken place in Northern India. The « ya-śruti » of Jaina Ardha-māgadhī, which may be represented « -y- », probably represents an intermediate stage between fricative pronunciation and complete elision, when the suggestion of a spirant would just be heard. This, as S. Lévi has noted (JA., 1912, ii. pp. 511-512), is found in the word « avayēsi » = « avādēsi, avādayat » in the Bharhut inscriptions, 2nd century B.C. Later MIA. inscriptions of the transitional stage show it ; and probably the Jain traditional spelling of Ardha-māgadhī with the « ya-śruti » is a systematisation in writing of what was no doubt heard in actual speech some time or other in the history of the dialect. Now, it seems that the occurrence of « -g- -d- -b-, -gh- -dh- -bh- » (as well as « -j- -jh- ») intervocally in Māgadhī and Śaurasēnī in the second MIA. period, as illustrated by Vararuci and by the early dramas, could only have been as fricatives : witness also the existence of « -p- » as « -v- », in spelling, = bilabial fricative « -ḃ- » (*i.e.*, [v], in the IPA. script). Similar indication of fricative or open consonant sounds by letters which originally were always pronounced as stops is quite common in many languages, old and new : *e.g.*, in Gothic, in Old Irish, in Modern Greek, in Spanish. (See under *Phonology*, Sound-System of Second MIA.) Occasional hesitancy in spelling, between retaining a voiced stop and dropping it, which is noticed in contemporary documents of the transitional period and in Prakrit texts (*e.g.*, the name « Mōa = Mōga » respectively in the coin of that Indo-Parthian king and in an inscription of his time) also supports the assumption of the presence of a spirant pronunciation. The aspirates « kh gh, th dh, ph bh » similarly became « qh, ḏh, ḃh », and finally « -h- ». In Mahārāṣṭrī, however, the stops were already dropped at a time when they were yet preserved as open consonants in Māgadhī and Śaurasēnī and in the dialects of the North-west, and possibly as strong

fricatives indicated by the «*ya-śruti*» in *Ardha-māgadhī*. It is not certain by which process this was brought about in the Southern dialect, but the presence of «*-y-*» forms in the Nasik Cave Inscriptions (cf. R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures,' 1914, pp. 88, 302), which belong to the present day Marāṭhī linguistic area, probably indicates the change here also was gradual, as in Northern India, only it was accomplished earlier. This peculiarity of pronunciation as soon as it was attained was probably noted in Northern India which still adhered to intervocal sounds.<sup>1</sup> The predominance of vowels in *Mahārāṣṭrī*, as the result of the dropping of consonants, made it more melodious, and this, coupled with the prestige of a rich literature of lyrics and little couplets which was growing up in it from the beginning of the Christian era, was probably responsible for its being accepted as *the* Prakrit dialect for songs and poetical stanzas by Sanskrit and Prakrit dramatists and poets everywhere. Like *Braj-bhākhā* in Northern India from the 15th century downwards, *Mahārāṣṭrī* became the recognised dialect for lyrics in the second MIA. period. (See p. 61.)

50. The Prakrits of the transitional and second MIA. periods came to have some literature in them, through the endeavours of the Buddhists (the Prakrit speech of *Gaudhāra* or the North-west, *e.g.*, the 'Dharma-pada' discovered by Dutreuil de Rhins in Central Asia, and first published by E. Senart in the *JA.*, 1897, and edited by Bēni-Mādhav Baṛuā and Śailendra-Nāth Mitra, Calcutta University, 1921), of the Jains (the *Ardha-māgadhī* dialect, now apparently re-edited from 'Old *Ardha-māgadhī*'—cf. p. 58—with influence from *Śaurasēnī* and other

<sup>1</sup> In the 'Mṛcchakaṭīka' drama, probably 4th century A.C. (cf. M. Winternitz, 'Indische Litteratur,' III, p. 203), a character says: 'vaṁ dakkhiṇattā avvatta-bhāsiṇṇō' *we Southerners speak indistinctly* (Act VI). This is perhaps a comment on the early elision of the stops in the South, which would be contrasted with the comparatively distinct—'vyakta'—albeit fricative, articulation of the North. The speaker, Candannaka, speaks familiarly of the ruses of the *Karṣāṭa* people in starting a quarrel: he is apparently a man from the *Mahārāṣṭra* country, bordering on *Karṣāṭa*; and his dialect is not pure *Śaurasēnī*,—it is described as *Āvanti*, spoken in *Ujjayinī*—something intermediate between *Śaurasēnī* and *Mahārāṣṭrī*. Cf. Pischel, 'Gram. der Prakrit Sprachen,' § 26.



dialects), and of the Sanskrit dramatists, and vernacular poets in general (the Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī dialects, the Mahārāṣṭrī dialect). Grammars of some of these were written in the second MIA. period: and these dialects soon became stereotyped as literary languages, and did not keep pace with the spoken dialects, both in the scholarly Sanskrit dramas and in the Prakrit compositions in which they figured. The spoken dialects developed and changed; and during the period between the second MIA. dialects as in the dramas and the modern languages, these arrived at a stage (§ 20, p. 19) which has been called ‘ Apabhraṅśa,’ following Hēma-candra, who definitely describes by that name a typical late MIA. speech which is younger than the Prakrits of the dramas, but older than the modern vernaculars. Thus the ‘ Śaurasēnī Prakrit ’ of the second MIA. stage, which was used in the Sanskrit drama, and was actually based on the spoken language, say of the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries, continued to be written in the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, and later; and being then confined to high literature only, and to a great extent removed from the actual, living Śaurasēnī of the later period, it became a matter of the scholar’s and the grammarian’s interest, to be written according to the grammars based on earlier specimens and modified by later views, opinions, theories, and, very rarely, by actual (later) contemporary linguistic conditions. While this was going on, the current late Śaurasēnī came to be used in literature by the masses; and then *it* grew to have a position of its own, as a younger Śaurasēnī Prakrit; it developed into a ‘ Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa,’ in which gradually a literature was created. What happened to Śaurasēnī undoubtedly happened to the other Prakrits; only the literary counterparts of the ‘ Apabhraṅśa ’ forms of these latter—Mahārāṣṭrī, Māgadhī, Ardha-māgadhī, and the North-western Prakrit—are now wanting: either because the literatures in these have entirely perished; or because such literatures did not exist, at least on a large scale, which is equally likely—Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa alone having taken up the whole field for literary purposes.

51. When did MIA. have its new ‘ Apabhraṅśa ’ characteristics fully developed? Vararuci does not speak of any speech named Apabhraṅśa

in his grammar: apparently it was not known to him. H. Jacobi gives evidence from literature and epigraphy, from Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, and from the inscription of king Dhara-sēna of Valabhī, that some form of speech called Apabhraṅśa was used for literary purposes as early as the 6th century A.C. ('Bhavisatta-kaba,' Munich, 1918, pp. 54\*—55\*). Jacobi also notes certain Apabhraṅśa traits in a Prakrit work, 'Paūma-cariya,' dating, according to him, from the 2nd-3rd century A.C. at the earliest (*op. cit.*, pp. 59\* ff.). Jacobi thinks that the spoken dialects, partially at least, developed the Apabhraṅśa traits by that period. But contemporary epigraphical documents, which certainly are more faithful than post-11th century MSS., do not at all justify us in assuming the Apabhraṅśa stage so early. In the Dutreuil de Rhins fragments of the Prakrit 'Dharmapada,' which belongs to the latter half of the 3rd century (see § 50), we come across the nominal < -u > affix for < -ō >, no doubt; this weakening is one of the characteristics of Apabhraṅśa; but < -ō > forms are equally common, and < -u >, < -ō > both might be irregular graphic devices for one sound, namely, a very close < ̄ō >, in this dialect. The 'Mṛcchakaṭīka' has Prakritic portions, which resemble Apabhraṅśa in some points: cf. Act II, the dialogue between the gambling-house keeper and the gambler, whose dialect has been called 'Ḍhakkī' (see Pischel, 'Gram. der Prakrit Sprachen,' § 25); this 'Ḍhakkī' is really 'Ṭakkī,' based on a North Panjab, at any rate a North-western, dialect, and it has nothing to do with Ḍhakkā=Ḍhākā or Dacca in East Bengal (see Grierson, JRAS., 1913, pp. 875 ff.). These 'Ṭakkī' portions do not represent the true Apabhraṅśa; here it seems we have a dialect of the North-west, like the Dutreuil de Rhins fragments which tended to change final < -ō > to < -u > as early as the 3rd-4th centuries A.C. The stanzas uttered by the king when he lost his reason in the 4th Act of the 'Vikramōrvaśī' of Kālidāsa seem to be Apabhraṅśa in form and metre; this would bring Apabhraṅśa to the 4th century A.C. But the genuineness of these stanzas has been doubted by some scholars (Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 58\*). Moreover, here the characteristic Apabhraṅśa phonetic change—intervocalic < -m- > > < -ṃ- >—is absent, and the Apabhraṅśa pleonastic affixes like < -illa, -alla > and < -ḍa > are not found. The affix



«-ḍa», of which the Sanskrit (OIA.) counterpart is «-ṭa», is very sparingly used in OIA., and is equally rare in first and second MIA. (See under *Morphology*: 'Formative Affixes.') Personal and other names with «-ṭa» become plentiful in Sanskrit literature and inscriptions from the 7th century A.C. onwards, like «Kāiṭyaṭa, Vapyṭa, Tāṭa, Śubhaṭa, Dēvaṭa, Bhōgaṭa, Jayaṭa, Uvaṭa, Mammaṭa, Rudraṭa, Vakhaṭa». Such names are unknown in the earlier periods, and they are Sanskritisations of names in «-ḍa» which were becoming common in the spoken languages. It would seem that the germs of the Apabhraṅśa stage were present as early as the 5th century, and «-ō» became «-u» first in the North-west and West—among the Gandhāras, the Ṭakkas, and other North Panjab peoples, and among the Ābhīras and other tribes who were spread over Sindh, Rajputana and also the West Midland. The language of these latter was first distinctly called Apabhraṅśa (cf. Jacobi, 'Bhavisatta-kaha,' pp. 67\* ff.), as a group of dialects which had deviated from standard Śaurasēnī and other speeches in certain respects, probably as early as the 5th century A.C.

The term 'Apabhraṅśa' originally had no special significance, and merely meant *speech fallen off (from the norm), vulgar speech*. The learned man's contempt for popular speech is manifest in the use of the terms «apaśabda, apabhraṅśa, apa + √bhāṣ» by Patañjali (cf. Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 81\*). No one would suggest that the word Apabhraṅśa as used by Patañjali meant anything but *dialectal, ungrammatical or vulgar speech*, or that it can mean anything like the tertiary development of MIA. In Bengal, the Paṇḍits used to describe the Sanskritised literary Bengali as সাদুভাষা «sādhu-bhāṣā», and the actual, living Bengali as অপভাষা «apa-bhāṣā» or ইতর-ভাষা «itarā-bhāṣā» (cf. H. P. Śāstrī, VSPdP., San 1321, p. 285). One can very well understand that after the MIA. forms (Pali and Śaurasēnī and other Prakrits) were established, deviations in the vulgar speech, especially of some of the less cultured peoples of North-western and Western India, would be described as 'Apabhraṅśa' forms; and when these new traits (*e.g.*, «-ō» -u») became established in the speech of all classes in Western and Northern India, and certain other new characteristics, not noticed before in the 5th or 6th

century, were developed and established, the term 'Apabhraṅśa,' or 'Apabhraṅṣṭa' would come to be restricted for this new phase of the speech, to distinguish it from the well-attested 'Prākṛta' of the earlier epoch. The Apabhraṅśas, as popular dialects, came to be employed by the masses for their songs and couplets; and, with a popular literature, they came later to obtain recognition from scholars as well. Hēma-candra, evidently following earlier and generally accepted nomenclature, called this late form of MIA. as used in literature an 'Apabhraṅśa.' The necessity for exact definitions in modern scholarship has gradually established, in Indo-Aryan Linguistics, the use of the term Apabhraṅśa to indicate the *stage* between the Prakrits of the dramas (second MIA.) and the modern vernaculars: a stage, as one can postulate from what has been said above, which was well established by 600 A.C. (For Apabhraṅśa, see R. G. Bhāṅḍārkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-118; R. Pischel, 'Materialen zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṅśa,' *Abh. der kön. Gesellsch. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1902; H. Jacobi, 'Bhavisatta-kaha,' Ueber den Apabhraṅśa, pp. 53\* ff., and Sanatkumāra-caritaṃ,' Munich, 1921, pp. xix-xxx; P. D. Guṇē, 'Saṃyama-mañjari,' *Annals of the Bhāṅḍārkar Inst., Poona*, 1920; Grierson, 'The Apabhraṅśa Stabakas of Rāma-śarman Tarka-vāgīśa,' *IAnt.*, Jan., 1922, Jan. 1923.)

The IA. dialects spoken in Gujarat, Rajputana and the Midland alone are fortunate in possessing specimens of the Apabhraṅśa stage. A kind of Midland or Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa was a sort of literary speech for Northern India in the closing centuries of the 1st millennium A.C., and some centuries later. The power and prestige of the Rājput courts, which had their centres in the Midland and the Ganges Valley, was responsible for it. The Jains of Gujarat cultivated it a great deal; and often it became a mixed dialect. Nāgara Apabhraṅśa, also cultivated by the Jains, is probably based on the late MIA. source-dialects of Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, strongly tinged with Śaurasēnī. We are also told about Vṛācaḍa (=Sindh), Kēkaya (=West Panjab) and other forms of Apabhraṅśa. Doubtless, there were similar Apabhraṅśas derived from Mahārāṣṭrī, Ardhamāgadhī, and Māgadhī; but we have no specimens in these. (Cf. Grierson, 'The Apabhraṅśa Stabakas of Rāma-śarman Tarka-vāgīśa,' referred to



above.) In the East, the local *patois* does not seem to have been cultivated after the days of Aśoka: in any case, Māgadhī never seems to have been. It was a despised dialect—the speech of the lowest classes in the drama. Śaurasēnī was established for literary purposes in the Ardhamāgadhī and Māgadhī areas. Possibly Śaurasēnī was the polite language of the day when people employed a vernacular; and in the Apabhraṅśa period, eastern poets employed the Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa, to the exclusion of their local *patois*. This tradition, that of writing in a western, Śaurasēnī, literary speech, was continued in the East down to middle and late NIA. times, even after the eastern languages had come to their own. The writers of oldest poems in Bengali (10th-13th centuries) also composed in this Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa; Vidyāpati, the Maithilī poet of c. 1400, wrote in his native Maithilī as well as in ‘Avahaṭṭha,’ or ‘Apabhraṅśa,’ which is only a late form of Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa. (See § 61.) So far as the eastern languages are concerned, we have to come at one bound from the specimens in second MIA. (pre-6th century) to the specimens in the crystallised modern speeches (10th-13th centuries for Bengali, early 14th century for Maithilī, and later for the other languages).

52. The modern representatives of Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa are Bengali, Assamese, Oṛiyā, Magahī, Maithilī and Bhōjpuriyā. In the middle of the 7th century, as the testimony of Hiuen Tshang would seem to suggest, there was one language spoken in Bihar, Bengal and Western Assam: only in Assam there was a deviation, probably in phonetics only. Bengali and Assamese are practically one language, when a comparison is instituted among the Magadhan speeches; and Oṛiyā is most closely related to Bengali-Assamese. There are some points of agreement between Maithilī and Bengali-Assamese-Oṛiyā. The ‘Prakrit’ and Apabhraṅśa dialects brought to Bengal and Assam (and Orissa) may have largely belonged to Aṅga and Mithilā, the tracts contiguous to Bengal. But Maithilī and Magahī, in having a complicated verb-system, with its infixed pronouns and its honorific forms (cf. Grierson, ‘Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihārī Language,’ Calcutta, 1883-87; LSI., V, Part II), stand apart from other Magadhan. This verb-system of Maithilī

and Magahī seems to be a rather late development, originating or asserting itself long after the differentiation of the Māgadhī speeches. Early Maithilī, as in the 'Varṇa-ratnākara' and in Vidyāpati, shows a simpler conjugation, which might have become archaic, and thus was restricted only to the language of literature, in the 14th century; but it certainly indicates that the intricacies of later Maithilī were absent in Old Maithilī. The same may be said of Magahī, although here we do not have early documents. Bhōjpurīyā somewhat stands apart from its sister-speeches, having come under the influence of its western neighbour Awadhī (Ardha-magadhī) from very early times. Magadhan speeches can very well be classified into the following 3 groups :

1. Eastern Magadhan : Bengali, Assamese, Oṛiyā.
2. Central Magadhan : Maithilī, Magahī.
3. Western Magadhan : Bhōjpurīyā, with Nāgpuriyā or Sadānī.

Grierson calls 2 and 3 'Bihārī,' regarding them as variations of one type. But the sharp distinction between Bhōjpurīyā and Maithilī-Magahī in their conjugation would justify their relegation to two separate groups, at least for the modern stage.

The more important points of agreement among the Magadhan languages can be summarised as follows :

- (i) Common to all Magadhan :

*Phonetic* : Tendency to turn the original < ǣ > sound ('samvṛta' ǣ = [A]) of OIA. and MIA. into an < ā > [ə] ; original < ś ṣ s > > < ś > [ʃ], (but in Central and Western Magadhan, Upper Indian influence has helped this sound, after the development of these languages, to change to a dental sibilant, while in the extreme east, in Assamese, it has become a guttural spirant, [x]); epenthesis of < i > developed in all Magadhan, except probably in standard Bhōjpurīyā. *Morphological* : an instrumental in < -ē, -ē, -ē, -ē > ; < -kāra > as a genitive affix ; original genitive > oblique plural in < -n(i) > ; locative in < -ē > ; (see below under *Morphology* ; 'Case Inflections') ; < -l- > for the past base, < -b- > for the future base and also for a verbal noun ; remnants of an < -h- > future derived from the synthetic < -sy- > future of OIA. (e.g., Bhōjpurīyā 3 pers. sing. < dēkhi



< \*dēkhihi >, Bengali 2 pers. precative future দেখা = দেখিও = দেখিঅ = দেখিহ < dēkhō < dēkhiō < dēkhiā < dēkhihā >). Roots < hō, ah, rah >, and possibly also < ach >, for the substantive verb (< ach > not found in present-day Bhōjpurīyā and Magahī). *Syntactical*: active construction in the past tense of the transitive verb, and affixation of personal inflections to the past base (e.g., base < dēkh-il-, dēkh-al- >: dialectal and standard Bengali দেখিলি, দেখিলাহৌ > দেখিলু, দেখিলাম < dēkh-il-i, dēkh-il-ā-hō > dēkh-il-ū, dēkh-il-ām, >, Assamese < dēkh-il-ō >, Oṛiyā < dēkh-il-i, dēkh-il-ū >, Magahī dekh-ḥl-ī, dekh-ḥl-ū >, Maithilī < dekh-ḥl-ī, dekh-ḥl-a-hū >, Bhōjpurīyā < dekh-ḥl-ī, dekh-ḥl-ō >) came to be developed independently in each. The differentiation between transitive and intransitive verbs, 3 person only (e.g., standard colloquial Bengali দেখলে < dēkh-l-ē > *he saw*, but চলল < cōl-l-ō > *he went*, Assamese < dekh-il-ē > but < tsāl-il-ḥ >, Maithilī < dekh-ḥl-ak >, but < cal-al-ḥ >, Bhōjpurīyā < dēkh-ḥl-ē, dēkh-ḥl-as >, never < dēkh-al-ḥ >, but < cal-al-ḥ >), can be called a common Magadhan trait, having its germs in the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa. There was a general tendency to give up the distinction between the nominative and oblique forms of the noun, which is now absent in the modern Magadhan speeches.

(ii) Characteristics of Eastern Magadhan :

Full < ā > [ɔ] pronunciation of the short < ă > is the only one that obtains. The palatal nature of the Māgadhī sibilant is most faithfully retained. Epenthesis of < i, u > fully established. < kṣ > (in *lat-sama* words) pronounced as < (-k)khy- >. Genitive in < -rḥ >, from < -kēra, -kara >; disuse or restricted use of the genitive in < -ka >, except in Oṛiyā. Past and future bases in < -il-, -ib- >, instead of < -al-, -ab- >, which characterise other Magadhan; a passive participle in < -ā >—e.g. < dēkhā > *seen*; confusion between roots < ah > and < hō > (e.g., Old Hindī < (a)haī > and < hōwaī > both meaning *is*, but derived from different roots; so Magahī < hal > and < bhēl, hōl > *was*; in Bengali, Assamese, and Oṛiyā, old forms like ह्य < ह्ये > < haī > and ह्ये < ह्ये > < hōī > have merged together. See below, under *Morphology*: 'Defective Verbs').

Nominative in < -ē >, locative in < -t(ē) >, and absence of number in verb, are common to Bengali and Assamese; formal differentiation between

the past of the transitive verb and the past of the intransitive verb in the 3rd person only (*e.g.*, সে দিলে < sē di-l-ē > *he gave*, but সে গেল < sē gē-l-ā > *he went*), is found in West and North Bengali and in Assamese; < ś > h, c ch j jh > ts s dz z >, found in dialectal (East) Bengali and Assamese.

Non-initial stress, giving rise to forms like < gācha, rājā > *tree, king* (cf. Bengali গাছ, রাজা < gāchḥ, rājā >), and absence of < ō, ū, u > pronoun for the remote demonstrative, are common to Assamese and Oṛiyā.

Special plural forms: রা < -rā > দিগ < -digā >, গুলা < -gulā > etc. in Bengali; < -bilāk, -bōr, -hāt > in Assamese; < -ē, -mānē > in Oṛiyā. The ablative in < -u > and the conjunctive indeclinable in < -inā > are peculiar to Oṛiyā only.

(iii) Characteristics of Central Magadhan :

Short < ā > approaches the [ɔ] pronunciation of Eastern Magadhan, rather than the [a] of Northern India. Special verbal forms, with affixed and infixed pronouns: elaborate system of honorific and other verb forms with reference to the object (*e.g.*, Maithili forms—< dekh-ā-l-ak, dekh-al-ā-k-ai, dekh-ā-l-a-nhi, dekh-al-ā-k-ai-nhi, dekh-ā-l-athi, dekh-al-ā-thi-nhi, dekh-al-ā-th-ū-nhi > *he saw or they saw*); present participle in < -at > used for the future, in the 3rd person only (*e.g.*, Maithili and Magahī < dēkh-at, dēkh-āt-ai > *he or they will see*); < -th > affix distinguishing verb plural, now singular honorific as well (*e.g.*, Maithili and Magahī < dēkhaj > *he sees*: original plural < dēkhathi > *they see*, now both honorific plural and singular).

The honorific pronoun of the second person, < ahā >, is peculiar to Maithili; the substantive roots < (a)ch, thik > characterise Maithili, and are not found in Magahī; and the root < ah, ha >, beside < hō >, common in Magahī, is not characteristic of Maithili. A group like < ā + single consonant + ī, ū > results in < ā̄ (*i.e.*, long ā = [ɔ:]) + consonant > in Maithili.

(iv) Characteristics of West Magadhan :

< ā > is pronounced as in Northern India, = [a]. There is a developed long < ā̄ > sound, [ɔ:]. Use of an affix < -as > for verb 3 pers. singular, through influence of Awadhī (*e.g.*, < dēkhē, dēkh-as > *he sees*, < dēkhālē,



dēkhā-l-as > *he saw*, < dēkhat, dēkhātē, dēkhit, dēkhāt-as > *he used to see*; a present indicative and future with the particle < la > (< dēkhā-lā > *I shall see*, < dēkhā-, dēkhē-lā > *he will see*); synthetic future in < -h- >, for the 3rd person only, retained; root < vṛt > for the substantive verb occurs as < bāt, bār, bā >; (root < ach > *be*, now absent in Bhōjpuriyā, seems to have existed in Old Bhōjpuriyā); use of the particle < khē > in connection with the verb (< nahī khē bā, nahī khē, naīkhē > *is not, does not exist* < hōkhē > *is*).

(v) Common to East Magadhan and Central Magadhan :

Nominative in < -ē >; use of the affix < -ka- > in connection with the verb 3rd person (*e.g.* Bengali দেখিলেক < dēkh-il-ē-kā >, Early Oṛiyā < dēkh-il-ā-kā >, Maithili-Magahī < dēkh-ā-l-a-k > *he saw*); tendency to change intervocal < -b- > in some forms to < -m- > (*e.g.*, Assamese < dim >, dialectal Bengali দিম < dimu > < < dibō > *I shall give*, Oṛiyā < dēkhimi >, beside < dēkhibi > *I shall see*, Magahī < lēmā < lēbā > *you will take*); the roots < āch (=ach, ch) > and < tha (thik, thak, thāk) > for the substantive verb; and the post-positional 'article' < -ṭā, -ṭī >.

< -rā > plurals, from the genitive, of personal pronouns (cf. Maithili < hamārā-sabh >, Magahī < hamārā-nī > = Bengali আমরা সব, সভ < āmārā-sāb(h) > *we*: later this was extended to the noun in Bengali); genitive in < -kēra > (= Bengali এর < -ēr >): common to Bengali and Central Magadhan.

Pronominal adjectives in < -h- >, *e.g.* < \*jāihāṇa, kāihāṇa > etc., = Maithili < jēhan, kēhan >, Bengali যেন কেন [jēno, kēno] from earlier য়েহেন, কেহেন, য়েহ, কেহ < jēh(ē)nā, kēh(ē)nā >, Assamese যেনে কেনে < zēnē, kēnē >: common to Bengali-Assamese and Maithili.

(vi) Common to East Magadhan and West Magadhan :

Root < vṛt > as a substantive root (= Bhōjpuriyā < bāt, bār, bā >, Oṛiyā < āṭ >, Bengali বট < bāt >).

Number in the finite verb-forms, all persons, retained in Bhōjpuriyā and Oṛiyā, but distinction of number lost to other Magadhau.

The use of a particle (or post-position) < la > in connection with the verb also found in Middle Bengali (?) (see *Morphology*: 'The Verb—Pleonastic Affixes').

## (vii) Common to Central Magadhan and West Magadhan :

Weakening of long vowels when words are extended or compounded, through reasons of stress (a characteristic found in Eastern and Western Hindī as well: *e.g.*, < pānī > *water*, but < pāniā > *water*, < pāni-hār > *water-carrier*). Dental pronunciation of the old Māgadhī palatal sibilant, although written ऋ (ś) in the Kaithī alphabet in which these dialects are generally written; < r > for Māgadhī < l > (*e.g.*, < har, phar, rāur = hala, phala, lāūla = rāja-kula [= *honoured sir*] >)—a well-marked tendency perhaps at one time the rule in Central and Western Māgadhān; 3, and sometimes 4 forms for the same noun, with preference for the < awā > and < auwā > forms (*e.g.*, < ghur ghōr, ghōrā, ghōrāwā, ghōrauwā > *horse*, respectively 'weak,' 'strong or ordinary,' 'long' and 'redundant' forms); an oblique form in < -ē > for nouns often retained; genitive of nouns in < kṣ, -kā >, of pronouns in < -kar, -kṣrā >; dative in < -sē >, locative in < -mē >; < -al-, -ab- > and not < -il-, -ib- >; a verbal noun in < -al- >.

53. If we compare Maithilī of the 14th century, which forms the oldest extant specimens in it (see § 56), with 14th century Bengali as in the 'Sri-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana,' and with the Oṛiyā of the Puri inscriptions (15th century), we find that these languages are already widely different, and have almost arrived at the stage where they are now. Maithilī, Bengali and Oṛiyā are by 1300 A.C. fully developed languages, each with its own characteristics, and not mere dialects of a common Māgadhī. In its phonetics and its forms, Oṛiyā is the most conservative of Māgadhān languages, and Bengali is the most advanced, or farthest removed. The difference between Maithilī-Magadhī and Bengali-Oṛiyā is manifold, so much so that these groups must have parted company, each taking up its own line several centuries at least before 1300 A.C. When precisely this split of Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa into a Western, a Central, and an Eastern group had become accomplished, it cannot be determined. When Hiuen Tshang came to Eastern India (1st half of the 7th century), it seems there was not much difference between Magadhān as spoken in its own home (South Bihar) and in Bengal; it was just spreading from South-west Bengal into what is now Orissa, and it had already penetrated from



North-eastern Bengal into Assam, where it probably underwent some easily noticed phonetic modifications. The Apabhraṅśa stage was one in which IA. was shedding off most of its old affixes, when the old inflectional system was being whittled down out of existence. New affixes and post-positions were coming into prominence in the declension of the noun, and the temporal and finite use of the participles was established for the verb. A few of these were already to be found in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa of the 7th century, the common source of all modern Magadhan languages (see § 22). But as the modern Magadhan languages show, each local form of late Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, in the Bhōjpurīyā tract, in Mithilā, in Magadha, in Bengal, in Orissa, solved more or less independently its own needs, in the 8th-11th centuries A.C. This period was one in which the language was in a formative, 'fluid' state in all Aryan India; this was roughly a period for 'Proto-Bengali,' 'Proto-Maithilī,' 'Proto-Oṛiyā,' etc., when the specifically Bengali, Maithilī and Oṛiyā characteristics were in all probability manifesting themselves, but were not as yet fully established; when the dialects still looked back to the past, to second MIA.; and the NIA. characteristics (*e.g.*, loss of one consonant in double consonant groups with compensatory lengthening of preceding vowel) were but in the process of formation. Thus, Oṛiyā-Bengali-Assamese normalised the affix <-kara> -ara, -arā > for the genitive; Bengali also showed a predilection for <-kēra> -ērā >; the old plural inflection was lost, and in this matter Bengali hesitated for a long time, until, in addition to a number of Sanskrit nouns of multitude, it took up the <-ara> of the genitive, strengthened with <-ā> affix into <-ārā>, and also the words कुल <-gulā> < Sanskrit <kula-> and दिग <-digā> < Sanskrit <ādi-ka> in the Middle Bengali period; whereas Assamese differentiated itself in that period by building up the affixes <-bōr, -bilāk, -hāt>; Oṛiyā, on the other hand, probably as early as in the Proto-Oṛiyā stage, adopted the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa word <māṇava> = Sanskrit <mānava> *man* as a plural sign, in addition to employing an oblique plural form in <-ē>. The differences in affixation, such as are noticeable in the plural form in Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā, cannot have been inheritances in these speeches from their common

source-dialect. Early Maithili of the 14th century, as in the 'Varṇa-ratnākara,' shows a plural nominative in « -āba, -aba », and a plural oblique in « -nhi », which are inherited forms from Apabhraṅśa Māgadhī, traces of which are found in all forms of Modern Magadhan. The Modern Magadhan genitive affixes « -rā, -karā, -kara, -karā < -kara-, -ērā, -kērā, kērā < -kēra-, -kā, -kē < -kaa », the nominative, instrumental, accusative and locative « -ē, -ē, -ē, -ē », are inflections derived from the common mother. The passive construction for the past of the transitive verb was inherited by all Magadhan speeches, as can be seen from traces in the oldest specimens of these ; but this method was given up independently in each.

Taking into consideration the differences and agreements among the various forms of Modern Magadhan, the assumption of a split of late Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa into the three groups enumerated above can be justified. Eastern Māgadhī further split up into (a) Bengali-Assamese and (b) Oriyā groups, the link between the two being the South-western dialect of Bengali as current in Midnapur (LSI, V, Part I, pp. 105-119). When this differentiation between Assamese-Bengali and Oriyā took place it is not easy to determine, in the absence of documents. The language of the 'Caryā-padas' (see §§ 60-63) is Old Bengali, modified to some extent by a Western Apabhraṅśa : Bengali with its characteristics was already established in the 11th century. Differentiation from Oriyā might have been in progress at that time : for there are certain indications that in the Old Bengali period (10th-11th-12th centuries) there was a shifting of stress in West Bengali, which served to give Modern Standard Bengali its definite character, and distinguished it from its neighbour Oriyā and the rest (see later, under *Phonology of the Native Element*, Vowels and Stress System). The Bengali group of dialects early came to be united by a common literary language based on West Bengali, which became fully established by the 15th century, and exerted an influence on all the other dialects. The common dialect current in North Bengal and Assam continued as one speech, as a member of the Bengali-Assamese group of dialects. In the 15th century it split up into two sections,



Assamese and North Bengali, when Assamese started on a literary career and an independent existence of its own by not acknowledging the domination of literary Bengali, already established in East Bengal as well.

54. The oldest specimens in the various Magadhan languages may now be discussed.

West Magadhan, *viz.*, Bhōjpuriyā, is the language of a splendid martial race: it is also the speech of the tract which has the city of Benares for its chief centre. But Bhōjpuriyā does not seem to have been much cultivated; at any rate, it was neglected by the scholars. The Bhōjpuriyā territory has always been under the influence of the West, and Western forms of speech, like Braj-bhākā, and Awadhī, and literary Hindōstānī (Hindī and Urdū) in later times, have been cultivated by poets and others who spoke Bhōjpuriyā at home. Barring the composition of a number of ballads and songs, which are as beautiful specimens of folk literature as any, and which still have a vigorous existence in the countryside, there has been no conscious literary effort in Bhōjpuriyā. The oldest specimens in this speech that we possess are probably a few poems written by the great religious reformer and mystic teacher of Northern India, Kabīr (15th century). Kabīr was an inhabitant of the Bhōjpuriya tract, but following the practice of the Hindostan poets of the times, he generally used Braj-bhākhā, and occasionally Awadhī. His Braj-bhākhā at times betrays an eastern (Bhōjpuriyā) form here and there: and when he employs his own Bhōjpuriyā dialect, Braj-bhākhā and other western forms frequently show themselves. As specimens of Kabīr's Bhōjpuriyā poems, the following may be mentioned (from Kshiti-mōhan Sēn's Selections, in Bengali characters and with Bengali translation, 4 Parts, Śānti-nikētan, Bolpur, San 1317 ff.):

Part I, pp. 20-21 :

.....« kanawā pharāya jōgī jaṭawā baṛhaulai :  
 dāṛhī baṛhāya jōgī hōi gaṭalai bakarā.....  
 kahahī Kabīra, 'sunō bhāī sādho,  
 Jama-darajawā bāndhala jaibē pakarā.' »

*Splitting (his) ears, the Yōgī has grown matted locks :*

*Growing a beard the Yōgī has become a goat.....*

*Saith Kabīr : 'Hear, brother devotee,*

*At the gate of Yama you will be bound and seized.'*

Part III, pp. 86-87 :

.... « bābā-ghara rahanlāū, babūi kahaulāū,

saīyā-ghara, catura sayāna

cūtaba gharawā āpana rē ».....

*In my father's house I was retained, and was called a daring ;*

*My Husband's home—wise and grown-up,*

*I shall know that home to be mine, O.*

Part III, p. 98 :

« kā lai jāibau, pītama ghara āibau ?

gāwa-kē lōga jaba pūchana lagihai,

taba hama kā rē bataibaū ? ».....

*With what will he depart (when) my Love will come to (my) house ?*

*When the people of the village will begin to question, what indeed  
then shall I say ?*

Part IV, pp. 70-71 :

« sūtala rahalū māi nīda bhari hō, piyā dihalai jagāya ;

carana-kaṅwala kē anjana hō nainā lēlū lagāya ».....

*I remained sleeping in deep slumber, ah me ! My Love he made (me)  
awake ;*

*The collyrium (of the dust) from his lotus like feet I put in (my) eyes.*

55. Magahi has been one of the least fortunate among IA. speeches. The land of Magadha was one of the most prosperous parts of India in pre-Christian times, and its people, probably together with their brethren from other eastern (Prācyā) tracts like Benares (Kāśī), formed the most powerful nation in India during the time of the Mauryas. But with the fall of the Mauryas, the importance of Magadha waned. In the 4th century A.C., according to the testimony of Fa Hien, the Chinese pilgrim, there was a decay in Southern Bihar,—the country had become jungly, and was sparsely peopled : and the reason of this decay is not known. But



Magadha, as the holy land of the Buddhists and the Jains, and later, with its newly established place of pilgrimage at Gayā, of Hindus as well, always had some importance. The establishment of the Buddhist colleges or universities of Nālanda during the time of the Guptas, and of Vikrama-śilā, made Magadha once more famous throughout the Buddhist world in Asia as a centre of culture. During the time of the Pālas, who were professed Buddhists, Magadha seems to have flourished exceedingly. But the conquest of Bihar by the Turks in the last decade of the 12th century was fraught with disastrous results for the intellectual life and culture of the province. The story of the sack of Bihar, as preserved by Minhāj-i-Sirāj in the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī, is typical of what had happened all over Magadha. Catastrophes like these extinguished learning in the land. The learned men were slain, or else they fled to Nepal with such manuscripts as they could take with them : in this way many precious MS. treasures from Bihar dating from pre-Moslem times could be preserved in the monasteries of Nepal. In Magadha, all indigenous literary culture was at an end. Magadha has been aptly described as the cock-pit of Eastern India, and it was the scene of constant fights during the Turkī, Paṭhān and Moghal periods. The desolation of the country favoured the incoming from the South of the Musaharās and other non-Aryan (Kōl) tribes, who were partially Aryanised, and took up the Aryan speech from the original Magadha people. All sense of connection with the past was lost, all knowledge of the glories of pre-Moslem Magadha. The only important places were the small town of Gayā, where a few Brahmans might have kept up a little study of Sanskrit, and the city of Patna, which was dominated by the Indian Mohammedan culture from the West. The contrast with Mithilā across the river was very great. There was no cultivation of the language of the country. The masses were rude, and to a great extent, in the lower classes, recruited from aborigines. The new upper classes were Brahmans and Kṣatriyas as well as Kāyasths, mostly from the West : the original Brahmans, the ' Bābhans,' took to agriculture and became degraded. The aristocratic communities spoke or affected Hindī (Braj-bhākhā, and Awadhī) as well as Urdū. The local dialect was never

seriously employed in literature, so that Magahī, the NIA. speech of South Bihar, has had to lead the existence of a humble *patois* from the very beginning of its life. But the masses, as in other parts of India, sought to express themselves in this *patois* of their daily life, and as a consequence in Magahī we have a small literature of ballads and folk-songs, some of which have been collected in the end of the 19th century by scholars like Grierson. The educated classes in Magadha at the present day do not feel any interest in their mother-tongue, High Hindī and Urdū taking up all their attention. It is said, however, that a little other literature in the shape of a verse adaptation of the Rāmāyaṇa, and one or two similar works, exists among the masses. All this *corpus* of composition in Magahī does not go back to any early period.

56. Maithilī has been more fortunate. For a long time after the conquest of Magadha and Bengal, Mithilā retained her independence, at least internally, and the first flood of Turkī invasion did not pass over her, wrecking the ancient intellectual life. Even after the conquest by the Moslems and virtual suppression of the native kings (c. 1500, cf. R. D. Banerji, 'Bāṅgālār Itihās,' II, p. 205), there was nothing like the sweeping destruction of temples and the slaughter of scholars which accompanied the Turkī conquest in the 12th and 13th centuries. The Maithilī Brahmins were renowned for their Sanskrit learning, and right down to the 16th century, Mithilā used to be the resort of students from Bengal and other parts of Eastern India (R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 130 ff.). The Brahmins of Mithilā did not despise their mother-tongue, and we have an unbroken literary record in Maithilī from the beginning of the 14th century, probably even earlier, down to the present day.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest Maithilī work which we have is the 'Varṇa-ratnākara' of Jyōtirīśvara Ṭhākura, who wrote it during the 1st quarter of the 14th

<sup>1</sup> Maithilī as language of public life and literature has been largely suppressed by High Hindī and Urdū during the latter part of the last century. The University of Calcutta has within the last five years taken up seriously the study of Maithilī, and has received strong support from many scholars and noblemen in Mithilā; and it looks as if there will take place a revival of this descendant of the old Māgadhī speech of Eastern India.



century. This work is a sort of lexicon of Maithili and Sanskrit words in the frame-work of several descriptions (*e.g.*, the description of a king's court enumerating all the functionaries and officials who would be found there). It is preserved in a unique MS.<sup>1</sup> dating from the beginning of the 16th century, now in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. (R. D. Banerji, 'Bāṅgālār Itihās,' II, p. 133; Manōmōhan Chakravartī, in the JASB., 1915, Nov. and Dec., p. 414; Hara-Prasād Śāstri, 'Bauddha Gāu O Dōhā,' VSPd., Introduction, p. 35.)

Vidyāpati Ṭhākura (end of 14th—beginning of 15th century) is the greatest writer of Maithili. Vidyāpati's songs on the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (edited by Nagendra Nāth Gupta, VSPd., San 1316) are among the fairest flowers in Indian lyric poetry. These exerted a tremendous influence on the Vaiṣṇava lyric of Bengal. They spread into Bengal, and were admired and imitated by Bengali poets from the 16th century downwards, and the attempts of the people of Bengal to preserve the Maithili language, without studying it properly, led to the development of a curious poetic jargon, a mixed Maithili and Bengali with a few Western Hindī forms, which was widely used in Bengal in composing poems on Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. This mixed dialect came to be called ब्रजबुली « Brājā-bulī » or *speech of Vraja*, from the fact that the poems composed in it described Kṛṣṇa's early life and his love with Rādhā which had for its scene the Vraja district, round about Brindāvan, near Mathurā. This « Braja-bulī » is of course entirely different from the Western Hindī dialect, called 'Braj-bhākhā,' which is current round about Mathurā (§ 13). The literature in this artificial Braja-bulī dialect is one of the most beautiful expressions of the poetic spirit of the Bengali people, deservedly popular poets like Gōvinda-dāsa and Jñāna-dāsa, among a host of others only less famous, having composed exquisite lyrics in it. Braja-bulī as a poetic dialect is occasionally taken up by the present-day Bengali poets as well, and even Rabīndra-nāth Tagore has emulated the

<sup>1</sup> An edition of the text has been prepared, to be printed by the University of Calcutta (August 1923).

poetic predecessors in his own language by writing a whole series of poems, the 'Bhānu-siṅha Ṭhākurēr Padāvali,' in Braja-buli. Braja-buli poetry is a standing example of the extent to which an entirely artificial dialect can be utilised by a whole people for poetic exercise ; and its position in Bengal can be compared with that of Saurasēnī Apabhraṅśa and Avahaṭṭha outside the Midland in the late MIA. and early NIA. periods.

In addition to poems in his own vernacular Maithilī, Vidyāpati has left compositions in a Western Apabhraṅśa speech, a dialect archaic in spirit for his age, which he calls 'Avahaṭṭha.' (See p. 91.) There are some short poems, and two long works, the 'Kīrtti-latā'<sup>1</sup> and the 'Kīrtti-patākā,' connected with the achievements of Kīrtti-siṅha, one of his royal patrons at the beginning of the 15th century.

The oldest specimens of Maithilī, as in the 'Varṇa-ratnākara' and the poems of Vidyāpati, present a language which is extremely archaic and simple when compared with the Maithilī of the present day : especially noticeable is the simplicity of the verb-system, with its freedom from the ramifications of pronominal infixes and affixes. This is a sufficient indication of the fact that the elaborate conjugational devices of Maithilī (and Magahī) are late : since, some traces of these would have been found in these remains if they were in common use in the 14th century. Could these pronominal modifications of the verb have begun in Magadha, with a fresh, peaceful influx of Kōl people from the South, manifesting themselves first in the Magahī speech and in Maithilī as spoken to the south of the Ganges, namely, in the 'Chikā-chikī' dialect, and then spread into Maithilī as spoken to the north of the Ganges ?

It may be mentioned that prior to 1200 A. C., we have a few place-names in inscriptions referring to Magadha and Mithilā, but they are not important enough, either numerically or in their forms, as documents of the language in those tracts in the late MIA. period.

<sup>1</sup> This Avahaṭṭha work, under the editorship of Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara-Prasād Śāstri, is now (August 1923) in the press in Calcutta.



57. Oṛiyā is very closely related to Bengali. West Bengali and Oṛiyā seem to have developed from one from of Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa, as current in South-west Bengal in the 7th-8th centuries. This speech was differentiated among the Ōḍra or Uḍra people<sup>1</sup> who lived on the borderland between Suhma (South-west Bengal) and Kalinga. Hiuen Tshang described the Ōḍras as a barbarous people, whose words and language differed from 'Central' India; but they loved learning, and applied themselves to it without intermission, and they were mostly Buddhists. With regard to the people of Kōṅgōda, corresponding to Puri district of the present day, Hiuen Tshang makes a more definite statement, that although the Northern Indian alphabet was current among them, their language and mode of pronunciation were quite different (S. Beal's Translation of H. T., London, 1906, II, pp. 204-206). In the early part of the 7th century, we have thus the testimony of the Chinese traveller that the sea-board country where Oṛiyā is now spoken was non-Aryan in speech. Yet we have epigraphical evidence to show that Brahmans were settled in non-Aryan Kōṅgōda with grants of land precisely when Hiuen Tshang noticed the general linguistic condition of the country (Rādhā-Gōvinda Basāk, 'Mādhava-varmār Tāmra-śāsan,' Sāhitya for Phālguna, 1319). What would seem to have been the case is that the Ōḍra people were receiving Aryan speech from the neighbouring Suhma and Rāḍha, in the 7th century and before, as well as during the subsequent period, and they rapidly became

<sup>1</sup> Ōḍra is the Sanskritised form of the word Oḍḍa, the name of a Dravidian people. Kittel's opinion about the meaning and affinities of the word is given at p. 68. For a different derivation, from a Dravidian root meaning *to run away*, see B. C. Mazumdar, Introduction to Vol. I of 'Typical Selections from Oriya Literature.' 'Oḍḍiyan' (=Skt. 'Āḍriyaka') > 'Oṛiyā'; 'Oḍra-ṣāyā,' or 'Āḍri-ṣāyā' = 'Oḍḍi-ṣāyā, Oḍḍiṣāyā' > 'Oṛiśā,' the modern Oṛiyā name for their country; whence Bengali উড়িয়া 'Uṛiṣyā,' the Oṛiyā pronunciation of 'ś' as something like 'sy,' together with a vague sense of this word being connected with the word 'ṣāyā' with a cerebral 'ṣ' being responsible for the Bengali spelling ষ্য 'ṣyā.' The form 'Oḍḍiṣā' is preserved in Tārānātha (16th cen.) and other Tibetan writers. The name 'Utkala' seems to be from a Dravidian word meaning *householder, farmer* (see *supra*, p. 68; also B. C. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*).

Aryanised. West Bengal was the centre from which Aryanism spread into Orissa and into Chota Nagpur, as far as Sambalpur side, where it joined forces with Aryan influences from the Midland and Kōsala. (Cf. B. C. Mazumdar, 'Sonpur,' pp. 30-31, 115-116; the influence of Bengali Kāyasthas in Orissa of the 10th-11th centuries, as can be seen from epigraphical evidence, is noticed by Mazumdar; also cf. Introduction to Vol. I of 'Typical Selections from Oriya Literature' by B. C. Mazumdar, Calcutta University, 1921). The Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa of West Bengal was differentiated in Orissa, where it was transplanted, by that speech changing more in its original seat in Bengal than among the Ōḍras and the Utkalas, among whom it acquired a most conservative spirit. The Old Bengali specimens of the 10th-13th centuries, as preserved in the 'Caryās,' already shows a stage in some respects in advance of that which is represented by Middle Oṛiyā of a later period. Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita, 'author of the 'Prākṛta-candrikā' (12th century), mentions 'Uḍra' as one of the 27 Apabhraṅśas: this is perhaps the earliest reference to Oṛiyā as a distinct Prakritic speech (Manōmōhan Chakravartī, 'The Language and Literature of Orissa,' JASB., 1897, i, p. 319). The spread of Oṛiyā was at the expense of Dravidian and Kōl, as in Bengal; and a civilised Dravidian speech, Telugu, seems to have receded before Oṛiyā.

The earliest specimens of Oṛiyā, in connected expressions, hitherto discovered, occur in two copper-plate grants of king Nṛsiṅha-dēva IV, dated c. 1395 A. C. (edited by Manōmōhan Chakravartī, JASB., 1895, i, pp. 136 ff.). In these we find a respectable number of Oṛiyā words which show that the Oṛiyā language is already formed. Some of these words are very valuable for phonological study: for example, the word < ciāri >, occurring twice, for the modern < cāri > *four*; the < -i- > after the < c- > is found in Marāṭhī, < \* ciāri > < cyār > < cār >, pronounced as a palatal affricate, [ tʃ ] or [ ɕ ], and not as a dental affricate [ ts ], which would be the regular pronunciation of a < c > before < a, ā > in Marāṭhī; and this < i > is a puzzle. (J. Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 216; < cyāri = ciāri > is found in Old Hindī, and in Old Gujarātī also. See later, *Morphology*, under 'Numerals'). Before that date, we can mention a



few place-names in earlier inscriptions (*e.g.*, the copper-plate grant of Nṛsiṅha-dēva II, 1296 A. C., edited and published in the JASB., 1896, i, pp. 254-256; the grants of the Trikalīṅga Gupta and the Bhañja kings of South Kōsala or Sambalpur, for which see B. C. Mazumdar, 'Sonpur,' pp. 33 ff.; the grant of Mādhava-varmā of Kōṅgōda, 7th century, referred to above).

But the most considerable and most noteworthy specimens, apart from the literary records, which in the works of Jagannātha-dāsa and others go back to the 15th century, are in a series of inscriptions, some 12 in number, all in Oṛiyā, in the temples of Puri and Bhuvaneshwar, dating from 1436 to 1542 (published by Manōmōhan Chakravartī, JASB., i, 1898). Along with these is to be reckoned a grant inscribed on a copper axe-head, with a short Oṛiyā inscription, dating from the time of Puruṣōttama-dēva (1466-1496) (E. A. Gait, JBORS., 1918, Part IV). These inscriptions prove that Oriya was to all intents and purposes the same language in the first half of the 15th century that it is now.

The spelling of some of the words in these inscriptions is worthy of attention, and it throws a great deal of light upon the stress system of the language, and also on one or two points connected with the pronunciation. Epenthesis of < -y- > after a consonant was quite a regular thing; < jñ > in *tat-sama* words was pronounced < gṛ̃ > as now; < ṛ > was pronounced as < ru >; and syllables contiguous to a strongly stressed one were dropped: *e.g.*, रायजि = < rājyē > (inscription of 1466); आदना = < āgṛ̃ā, ājñā > (1450); also आदना (1470); बाहिन = < bājhya, vāhya > (1459); and forms like गजनि, पुरुषोत्तम, योनित्र (1466), यवारि = यवारि (< ṛ > pronounced as < ru >) (1459), व (= व) योनित्र (1470), यवा = यवा, पुरवा, प्रमेवर (1470), नक (1542), show that the stress was ante-penultimate, and that a preceding or following weak vowel was dropped: *e.g.*, < grājāpati, puruṣōttamā, jōgībarā, gurūbarē, puruṣōttamā, pūrṇā, paramēśvarā, narakā >. The early Oṛiyā of these inscriptions is a living speech. Oṛiyā as in literature is more Sanskrit-ridden than Bengali, and the language there is never so interesting as in these not very long specimens in the inscriptions: except that a few archaic or obsolete forms are preserved in the former (*e.g.*, the

conjunctive in « - inā »), and that in quantity it is quite a respectable body of national literature in the language.

58. The agreement between Assamese and Bengali is so close that the dialects of Bengali and Assamese may be described as belonging to the same group. Dialects are independent of literary speech: as such, East Bengali dialects, North Bengali dialects (with which Assamese is to be associated) and West Bengali dialects are not only independent of one another, but also they are not, as it is popularly believed in Bengal, derived from literary Bengali, the « sādhu-bhāṣā », which is a composite speech on an early West Bengali basis. (See §§ 68, 70, 71, 72.) Assamese dissociated itself from the other Bengali dialects when the speakers of these acknowledged the supremacy of a literary Bengali, and thus accepted the bonds of linguistic union. Assamese continued to be the language of an independent community; and, under the peculiar circumstances under which it was placed, as it progressed deeper and deeper into the Brahmaputra valley among the Boḍo and other Tibeto-Burman, and Shan peoples, it developed some peculiarities of its own. The earliest Assamese remains date from the middle of the 15th century; and at that time the language is practically identical with contemporary literary Bengali as employed in North and East Bengal, with the distinctive Assamese characteristics rare and not at all prominent. Yet Assamese traits are occasionally noticeable: *e.g.*, the confusion between dentals and cerebrals, the use of  $\text{ৱ}$  « -w- », the absence of  $\text{ৱ}$  « -r- », the absence of the « -i » affix for the verb 1st person present, etc. But on the whole, Early Assamese, and even Modern Assamese, are not much removed from the Common Bengali type. The Bengali dialects of the extreme east and south-east (Sylhet, Chittagong) are certainly more removed from Standard Bengali than is Assamese. The earliest poets in Assamese are Mādhava Kandali, Śaṅkara-dēva (? 1449-1569), Mādhava-dēva and Rāma-Sarasvatī (Ananta Kandali). Some Assamese writers would assign a Middle Assamese work called 'Dīpikā-chanda' to the 11th, 9th or even to the 6th century, but the work is palpably post-15th century in its language (Dēvēndra Nāth Bēz-bāruā, 'Asamiyā Bhāṣā Āru Sāhityar Burañjī,' Jorbat, Śaka 1833, p. 71;



Padma-nābha Śarmā, in the VSPdP., 1319, No. 1, pp. 45-58). The oldest linguistic remains of Assamese are some names in inscriptions; but in pre-Moslem times, Assamese and Bengali were certainly one language; and a study of these names can be better made in connection with old Bengal place names (*Appendix C*).

59. The oldest specimens of Bengali, prior to 1300 A. C., are the following.

(1) A number of place-names in inscriptions and in old books, beginning from the first half of the 5th century A. C. As has been said before, these names have been Sanskritised a great deal, but some of the *tadbhava* and *dēśi* words can be distinguished. In the 'Rāma-carita' of Sandhyākara-nandī, 11th century, similar names have been found (cf. R. D. Banerji, 'The Pālas of Bengal,' pp. 87-90), and one or two in other works, but their value is not so great as in the epigraphical records.

(2) A glossary of over 300 words, scattered in a Sanskrit commentary on the 'Amara-kōṣa,' by a Bengali Paṇḍit, Vandya-ghāṭīya Sarvānanda, written about 1159 A.C. This work, bearing the name 'Ṭikā-sarvasva' was noticed in the catalogues of Sanskrit MSS. by Aufrecht and Burnell (cf. Ep. Ind., VI, p. 203). The work was lost to Bengal, but was preserved in Malabar, and it has been recently edited from Malabar MSS. by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī in the 'Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.' The vernacular words preserved in it belong to the Old Bengali period, and they embody valuable material for the study of Bengali phonology. A great many of these words have become obsolete now, and quite a number of them present a slightly Sanskritised appearance, which was due to the scholastic tendencies from which Paṇḍits have never been free. A few of these words have been found in pre-Moslem (Old Bengali) and early Bengali literature described below. [The VSPdP. for San 1326, No. 2, has two papers, in one of which these words have been discussed (by Rāi Bahādur Yōgēsh Chandra Vidyā-nidhi, 'Sāṛē Sāt Śata Vatsar Pūrvēr Bāṅgālā Śabda'), and in the other they have been arranged alphabetically for the benefit of students (by Basanta-Raṅjan Rāy, 'Dvādaś Śatakēr Bāṅgālā Śabda')].

The above lists of names and words are but meagre materials to reconstruct the history of a language. Sentences and connected phrases of the language in its oldest period, just after it had evolved from the Apabhraṅśa stage, would be invaluable. Fortunately, we have been possessed of such specimens of Old Bengali, after it had manifested most of its peculiar characteristics, and before it could crystallise into the Middle Bengali of the established type. These specimens allow us to have a glimpse of the language in its formative period.

60. (3) These specimens consist of some 47<sup>1</sup> songs, called 'Caryā-padas,' or 'Caryās,' composed by teachers, « siddhās », of the Sahajiyā sect, which was an off-shoot of the Tāntrika or late Mahāyāna Buddhism. This sect seems to have been connected with the Saiva sect of the Yōgīs (Nātha-panthīs), in their doctrines, in the possession of some common traditions, and apparently of some common teachers as well, like Matsyēndra-nātha, Gōrākṣa-nātha and Jālandhari-pāda. (The doctrines of the Sahajiyās, as set forth in the 'Caryās,' can be compared with those of the Yōgīs as in the 'Gōrakh-bōdh,' a 14th century work in Hindī: cf. L. P. Tessitori, 'Kānphaṭā Jōgīs,' in Hasting's Cyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics; Grierson, 'Gōrakh-nāth,' in the same work.)

These songs are preserved in a MS., which, according to Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara-Prasad Śāstrī, who discovered it in Nepal and edited it under the auspices of the VSPd. of Calcutta, belongs to the beginning of the 12th century, but Rākhāl-Dās Banerji expresses a doubt as to its being earlier than the end of the 14th century (in his article on the date of the MS. of the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana,' one of the introductory essays in the edition of that work, for which see below). H. P. Śāstrī published this MS. along with 3 others in one volume, to which he gave the title 'Hājār Bacharēr Purāṇa Bāṅgālā Bhāṣāy Baudha Gān Ō Dōhā' *Buddhist Songs and Couplets in the Bengali Language a Thousand Years Old.*

<sup>1</sup> There were 50 songs in the MS., and these are numbered. Five leaves in the MS. are wanting. Through this reason, we have only a portion of Carjā 23, and Caryās 24, 25 and 48 are missing entirely, leaving the actual number at 47.



Of the four MSS., printed in this book, the first one alone, the ‘Caryā-carya-viniścaya,’ containing the songs mentioned above, have a supreme importance in studying the origins of Bengali.

The second and third, called respectively the ‘Dōhā-kōṣa’ of Saraha, and the ‘Dōhā-kōṣa’ of Kānha, are in an Apabhraṅśa dialect, in which the distinctive Bengali traits such as are found in the Caryās are absent, but their language has an important bearing on the development of NIA. The subject matter of the poems and and couplets in these two ‘Dōhā-kōṣas’ is the same as that of the Caryās.

The last MS. printed in Paṇḍit Śāstri’s volume, the ‘Dākārṇava,’ presents a third variety of Prakritic speech. This work is a Buddhist Tantra, named in full ‘Dākārṇava Mahāyōginī-Tantra-rājya,’ and it is in a number of chapters (paṭalas); the MS. gives the text only in a mutilated form. The text consists of Sanskrit *ślokas* interspersed with portions in the Prakritic speech. There is no Sanskrit « chāyā », or commentary, and the interpretation of the work is rendered extremely difficult. The Prakritic portions appear to be in *sūtra* form as well as in verse. These are at times intelligible; and a word or two here and there (*e.g.*, the root « acch », the form « kē », interrogative pronoun, rather than « kō ») indicate eastern influence. The MS. is palpably late: the text also appears to be corrupt: we have even post-Middle Bengali forms like « tumi ». The ignorance of the Nēwārī copyist, who had a little Sanskrit and less of Apabhraṅśa, is responsible for making the language the enigma that it is in the MS. In any case, being at its basis a Western Apabhraṅśa, as even a cursory glance at the language will show, the connection of the speech of the ‘Dākārṇava’ with Bengali is but remote; and although the restoration and explanation of the passages in it is sure to be of some value in the history of late MIA., the consideration of the problem may be laid aside for the present as having no immediate bearing on the origins of Bengali.

In the MS. of the ‘Caryā-carya-viniścaya,’ we have the poem in the Prakritic speech given first, and then a Sanskrit commentary on the poem. The commentary occasionally gives short quotations from similar Prakritic

literature—Old Bengali and Western Apabhraṅśa, an interesting example being two short couplets in Old Bengali attributed to Mīna-nātha (in comm. to Caryā 21). In the second MS., the Prakritic lines of Saraha, or Sarōja-vajra, are not always given by themselves, but are quoted *in extenso* in the Sanskrit commentary by Advaya-vajra: the author of the commentary has the text before him in another MS., from which he is content to introduce tags or full verses in his work. Kāṅha or Kṛṣṇācārya's Dōhā-kōṣa, the third MS. in Śāstrī's book, gives first the Apabhraṅśa couplets and then the Sanskrit commentary to it.

The subject matter is highly mystic, especially in the 'Caryās,' centering round the esoteric doctrines and the Yōga and erotic practices of the Sahajiyās; and the commentary, being itself in a highly technical jargon, does not make the text any the clearer, notwithstanding the fact that it quotes extensively from a large analogous literature. The poems in the 'Dōhā-kōṣa' of Saraha are not so mystic, but they are abstruse enough: and the same may be said of the second 'Dōhā-kōṣa,' of Kāṅha.

Two different dialects are found in these three works. The dialect of the 'Caryās' alone is Old Bengali, as its peculiar Bengali forms show (*e.g.*, the genitive in এর, অর < -ēra, ara >, dative in রে < -rē >, locative in ত < -ta >; post-positional words like মাঝ < mājha >, অন্তর < antara >, সাঙ্গ < sāṅga >; past and future bases in ইল, ইব < -il-, -ib- > and not < -al-, -ab- > of Bihārī; present participle in অন্ত < -anta >; conjunctive indeclinable in ইআ < -iā >, conjunctive conditional in ইলে < -ilē >; passive in < ইঅ -ia- >, which is preserved as a relic in Middle Bengali; substantive roots আছ < āch > and থাক < thāk >, not < thik > of Maithilī or < thā > of Oṛiyā; and a number of Bengali idioms). The two 'Dōhā-kōṣas' present the same dialect, which is a kind of Western (Śaurasēnī) Apabhraṅśa, as its < -u > nominatives, its < -aha > genitives, its < -ijja- > passives, and its general agreement in forms with the literary Western Apabhraṅśa amply indicate. There was a considerable amount of Eastern Buddhist (Sahajiyā) literature, of the type found in the 'Dōhā-kōṣas,' in the Western Apabhraṅśa. C. Bendall has published some fragments of such Apabhraṅśa strophes (in the



‘Subhāṣita-saṅgraha,’ Le Muséon, new series, Vols. IV, V, Brussels, 1905). In the monasteries of Nepal, some of these Sahajiyā Apabhraṅśa songs and strophes are even now preserved and sung (H. P. Śāstri, VSPdP., 1329 San, No. 1, pp. 44 ff.). And a great many, along with poems and other compositions in Old Bengali, seem to have been rendered into Tibetan and included in the ‘Bstan-Hgyur’ (Tan-jur), the Indian originals being lost (cf. Cordier’s Catalogue, mentioned in footnote at p. 119).

61. As has been said before, as a literary language this Western Apabhraṅśa was current in Eastern India. During the 9th-12th centuries, through the prestige of North Indian Rājput princely houses, in whose courts dialects akin to this late form of Śaurasēnī were spoken, and whose bards cultivated it, the Western or Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa became current all over Aryan India, from Gujarat and Western Panjab to Bengal; probably as a *lingua franca*, and certainly as a polite language, as a bardic speech which alone was regarded as suitable for poetry of all sorts. Professional bards, ‘bhāṣṭs,’ in other parts of India had to learn this dialect, as well as Sanskrit and the Prakrits, and compose in it. In the first centuries after the development of NIA., this Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa continued to be used, but it yielded more and more to the local dialects in the various parts of India, and ultimately, by the middle of the 15th century, it was no longer, or very sparingly, used, other vernaculars like Maitbilī, Awadhī, and Rājasthānī having asserted themselves; and in its own home, the Midland, it gradually approximated itself to Braj-bhākhā, which was in a way its direct representative. The Old Hindī of the ‘Prithīrāja-Rāsau’ is very strongly influenced by Apabhraṅśa forms, is almost overwhelmed by them—the genuine NIA. character of the work showing itself nevertheless. A younger form of this Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa, intermediate in forms and in general spirit to the genuine Apabhraṅśa of times before 1000 A.C. and to the Braj-bhākhā of the Middle Hindī period, say, of the 15th century, is sometimes known as ‘Avahaṭṭha.’ The ‘Prākṛta-Paiṅgala’ (see § 64) embodies an anthology of verses in this Avahaṭṭha speech. In Rajputana, Avahaṭṭha was also known as ‘Piṅgala,’ and local bards continued to compose in ‘Piṅgala,’ as an archaic literary

language, almost as much as they composed in 'Dīṅgala' or local Rājasthanī dialects. The prestige and influence of Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa was no less strong in Bengal than in Bihar, Panjab and Rajputana. During the formative period of Bengali (? 700—900 A. C.) and the Old Bengali period (950—1200 A. C.), a great deal of the early Buddhist (Sahajiyā) literature was composed in it. Being a dialect that was not the mother-tongue of those who composed in it, local eastern (Bengali) idioms and words have crept into it: e.g., < kaḥhiu rāva > *raised a shout*, in the 'Dōhā-kōṣa' of Saraha (p. 91 in Śāstri's book): cf. Bengali রা কাড়া < rā kāṛā >; < bhiḍi > *tightly, fast* (ibid., p. 90): cf. Middle Bengali ভিড়ি < bhiḍi >; use of roots < acch > and < thakk > (pp. 104, 105): Bengali আছ, থাক < āch, thāk >; < jabbē, tabbē > *when, then* (p. 107): Bengali যবে, তবে < jābē. tābē >; < chaḥ(d)aī > *leaves* (p. 112): cf. Bengali ছাড়ে < chārē >, but Hindōstānī < chōrē >; < tāhara > *his* (p. 115): Bengali তাহার < tāhār >; < bujjhiaū > *understood* (p. 129): cf. Bengali বুঝ < bujh >; etc.

The practice of employing this western literary speech in the eastern tracts continued in Mithilā at least as late as the time of Vidyāpati. Vidyāpati's compositions in Avahaṭṭha have been mentioned before (see p. 104); and in his Avahaṭṭha, naturally there is a considerable mingling with contemporary early Braj-bhākhā forms, as well as Maithilī forms; and frequently the influence of Maithilī phonology and orthography is noticeable, and, at times, the influence also of the classical Prakrit as used in the Sanskrit drama. Here, with Vidyāpati, the Avahaṭṭha dialect it is more or less restricted to court poetry of a formal, panegyric character. In Bengal, Western (Śaurasēnī) Apabhraṅśa and its younger form Avahaṭṭha ceased to be employed as soon as Bengali came to its own. But the practice of using the language of Upper India on formal occasions at least seems to have lingered on as a tradition in the courts of Bengal princes, along with the courtly etiquette and ceremonial which was Rājput or Northern Indian; and it was revived in post-Moghal times, with the influx of Rājput and other officials from Northern India. In Bhārata-candra's 'Annadā-maṅgala' (middle of the 18th century), we have some Hindī verses in which a Bengal prince,



the ruler of Burdwan, and his 'bhāṭ' or court bard and emissary talk with one another. The use of Western Hindī, or Braj-bhākhā, by the Bengali poet is an echo of this revived tradition; which thus goes back to the days when Western Apabhraṅśa was cultivated by Bengal poets.

62. The language of the Caryās is the genuine vernacular of Bengal at its basis. It belongs to the Early or Old NIA. stage. The declension is still more like MIA. rather than NIA., although the NIA. system of post-positions has come in. The past base, when the verb is transitive, is still an adjective qualifying the object, as it is still the rule in Western Hindī. But the influence of the Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa was very great on it: and occasionally of Sanskrit and the literary Prakrits of the second MIA. period. There is the old passive in <-ia->, which is lost to New Bengali, but which lingers in isolated instances in Middle Bengali. (See under *Morphology*: The Verb: Passive Voice.) The affix <-illa > -ila > has not as yet become universal for the past base, <-ia > forms, without the strengthening <-l-> affix, being retained in a few instances (see below, under *Morphology*: Conjugation, Past Base). The text at times gives a form in <-ia >, but from the commentary and from the rime it can be seen that the original word was in <-īla >: e.g., Caryā 31, <chāḍia > in text = <chāḍīla > in commentary; 35, <laīā > in text, to be read as <laīlā >, to rime with <kaēlā >; so 50, <phuliā > is for <phulilā >, to rime with <tāēlā > = <bhāīlā? nēlā? >. Still, forms like <bujhia, bharia > were used side by side with <bujhila, milila > etc. The past (*i.e.*, past participle) in <-iu, -u >, as in <kiu, biāpiu, gaū, abāriu, bikasaū, thākiu, bāhiu > etc., which, however are not many, are borrowed from Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa. So also the pronominal forms like <jō, sō, kō, jasu, tasu >, = Old Bengali <jē, kē, jā(ha), tā(ha) >, also found in the Caryās; these, again, are not very common; and also the pronominal adverbs <jima, tima >, and the pronominal adjectives <jaīsana, taīsana, jaīsō > (Old Bengali forms would be <\*jēmanta, tēmanta; jāihaṇa, taīhaṇa >). Echoes of the older literary Prakrite of the West are not absent (*e.g.*, the <-ō > affix; stray forms like instrumental feminine in <-ia: samāhia =

*samādhya* > ; retention of double consonants in a few cases ; and an occasional phrase like « kim pi = kim api »). It seems that in these Caryās we have the first attempts at literary employment of the Bengali speech. And being but first attempts, the speech is not sure of its own forms, and leans on its stronger, better established (in a literary sense) sisters and aunts. The literary languages and models which the poets of the Caryās, Lui and Kānha, Bhusuku and Cāṭila, Saraha and Kukkurī, and the rest, had before them, were Sanskrit, the various literary Prakrits (of the Second MIA. stage), and Western or Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa, and the rich and ever growing literatures in them. Of these, the Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa was in spirit and form nearest the vernaculars, presenting with them almost a similar stage of development. Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa, again, was the most cultivated literary language based on a slightly archaic form of a contemporary vernacular: and its influence was paramount from Gujarat to Bengal. Naturally, it may be expected that there would be a great influence exerted by it on the Old Bengali of the period: especially when the latter was practising its first steps, so to say, in the hands of men fully familiar with the former. Hence it is not strange to find a number of Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa forms in this offspring of Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa. The manuscript in which the Caryās are preserved was written in Nepal, in a land where the scribes were perhaps more familiar with the standard Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa than with Bengali: at any rate, the readings of the poems as in the MS. sufficiently show that the scribe was not familiar with their dialect: and through this reason, the suppression of dialectal Bengali forms by others from the Western speech, at least in a few cases, is very likely; nay, it is proved by the correct reading often being given in the commentary, as in the case of the word « chāḍila » quoted above. Śaurasēnī had already exerted a profound influence on its neighbour and erstwhile rival, Ardha-māgadhī, so much so that the Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa affix « -u » for the noun had become established in the Eastern Hindī dialects (Awadhī etc.), the native Ardha-māgadhī « -e > -i » affix being entirely given up. The « -u » affix also invaded the Māgadhī area, but not to the same extent.



The MS. of the 'Caryācarya-viniścaya' was written in Nepal, where Maithili was current and was cultivated in the drama; and in South-eastern Nepal, the Morang country, Maithili was spoken. Hence, through contamination, it is not strange to find in the Caryā MS. two Maithili forms, « bhaṇathi » and « bōlathi » (= Old and Early Middle Bengali « bhaṇanti, bōlanti ») and one or two cases of use of « -a- » instead of « -i- » as the link vowel in the « -b- » forms of the verb.

The language of the Caryās seems to be based on a West Bengal dialect. Some of its forms belong rather to West Bengal than to East Bengal: e.g., the use of the « -k- » affix for the dative, rather than « -r- », the latter occurring in two instances only; the employ of the post-position « sāṅga » and « sama », rather than « sātha » which would be preferred in East Bengali. There are two remarks on the people of East Bengal which do not show any admiration for them; this is a thing which is noticeable in the 12th century West Bengal scholar Sarvānanda (§ 59), who, in his commentary on the 'Amara-kōṣa,' speaks of the « Vaṅgala-vaccāra » *the vulgar Bengal people* who were fond of dried fish, meaning, no doubt, the semi-Aryanised masses in East Bengal. (See pp. 73, 74.)

The metres of the Caryā poems are *mātrā-vṛtta*, being mostly 'Pādākulaka,' or 'Caupāi,' which originated in the late MIA. period. A specifically Bengali or East Magadhan metre like the 'Payār' of 14 syllables is not found. Perhaps the 'Payār' was not yet developed. It seems that the 'Payār' is a later transformation of the 'Pādākulaka' or 'Caupāi' (see under *Phonology of the Native Element*, Stress System). Or it may be that the 'Payār' had already shaped itself in folk-poetry, but the poets of the Caryās, with their acquaintance with the common MIA. and Early NIA. metres, ignored it in their compositions.

There cannot be any serious objection (which could be supported by a detailed study of the grammar of the language, as well as by taking into consideration the development of Modern Bengali) which can be urged against the Caryās as presenting the oldest connected specimens of a characterised Bengali speech that we have been enabled to possess. The language is

not 'Prakrit' or 'Apabhraṅśa,' as it has been urged by some, since it shows simplification of the MIA. double consonants (< dhāma < dhāmma = dharma, jāma < jāmma = janma, tānti = tātānti < tānti = tantrī, bāṭa < \*vaṭṭa = vartma, āila < \*āyilla = āyāta-ila-ka, hāḍa < hāḍḍa, sēji = śējī < \*śējjiā = śayyikā > etc.), and has developed some genuine Bengali morphological forms. It is not 'Māgadhi,' *i.e.*, Magahī, because no specifically Magahī characteristic is traceable, and the verb system is as yet primitive. And it is not an artificial jargon made up of shreds of different dialects, because, barring those few Western Apabhraṅśa forms, discussed above, there is nothing in its grammar which cannot be explained with reference to the development of Middle and Modern Bengali.<sup>1</sup>

We have in these Caryās some of the oldest documents in any NIA. language, documents of prime importance for NIA. philology, which can be placed side by side with the Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa fragments, in Hēma-candra, in the 'Kumāra-pāla-pratibōdha,' and in other works; with the Avahaṭṭha fragments in the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala'; with the oldest Marāṭhī fragments as in the epigraphical remains and in the 'Jñānēśvarī'; with the 'Prithirāja-Rāsau' in its primitive form; with the Old Western Rājasthānī remains, which are later in date; and also with the artificial Buddhist and Jain literature in Western Apabhraṅśa—like the 'Dōhā-kōśas' and the 'Subhāṣita-taṅgraha,' and the 'Bhavisatta-kaha,' the 'Nēmināhacaria,' the 'Saṁyama-mañjarī,' and other works.

63. What is the date of the Caryās? Judging from the language, one would be inclined to place them at least 150 years before the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana,' which belongs to the last quarter of the 14th century,

<sup>1</sup> The importance of the Caryā-padas has not been sufficiently appreciated in Bengal, and only about half a dozen papers or notes on them have been published so far by Bengali scholars. The only valuable article is by Maulavi Muhammad Shahīdullāh, now of the department of Sanskrit studies in the University of Dacca; his paper (in the VSPdP., 1327, pp. 145-152) offers very satisfactory readings of some obscure passages, and on the whole is extremely helpful and suggestive. Prof. H. Jacobi cursorily refers to the language of the Caryās as being 'Alt-Bengalisch' (in the Introduction to the 'Sanatkumāracarita,' pp. xxvii-xxviii, Munich, 1921).



and which is our oldest Middle Bengali text : roughly, before 1200 A. C. The authors who composed these poems are Lui-pā or Lūyi-pāda (2 poems), Kukkuri (2 poems), Birūwā or Virūpa (1 poem), Gu(n)ḍari (1), Cāṭila (1), Bhusuku (8), Kānha or Kṛṣṇa-pāda (12), Kāmali or Kambalāmbara (1), Dōmbi (1), Śānti (2), Mahittā or Mahidhara (1), Bājila or Viṇā-pāda (1), Saraha or Sarōja-vajra (4), Śavara (2), Āja or Ārya-dēva (1), Dhenḍhana (1), Dārika (1), Bhādē or Bhādra-pāda (1), Tāḷaka (1), Kaṅkaṅa (1), Jaya-nandi (1) and Guñjari (1) : 22 names in all. They are among the 84 Siddhas, or great miracle-working saints and teachers who are worshipped by the Mahāyāna Buddhists in Tibet and in Nepal, and about whom there are current a number of legends in Nepal, in Tibet and also in India. Their compositions have always been held in honour by the Northern Buddhists : these are even now sung by the Buddhists in Nepal (H. P. Śāstrī, VSPdP., 1329), and they were rendered into Tibetan and are included in the 'Bstan-Hgyur' (Tan-jur).<sup>1</sup>

The date of one of these Siddha composers of the poems, Lui or Lūyi-pāda, seems to be certain : he was an elder contemporary of Dipaṅkara Śrījñāna, or Atiśa, and they prepared a Buddhist Tāntrika

<sup>1</sup> In the 'Tān-jur,' Cho XLVIII, there are translations of a mass of short poems (a reference to which I obtained from Dr. F. W. Thomas of the India Office Library) in the Prakritic dialects—Old Bengali, perhaps, and Western Apabhraṅśa, attributed to our poets of the Caryās and to other Siddhas who are not represented in the 'Caryācarya-viniścaya.' With the help of Cordier's Catalogue of the 'Tan-jur' ('Catalogue du Fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale,' par P. Cordier, Deuxième Partie : Index du Bstan Hgyur, Tibétain 108-179, Paris, 1909), and through the courtesy of M. Jean Przyluski (of the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes of Paris) I had copied out some 40 likely versions of these Indian songs from the volume concerned (Tibétain 157) in the Bibliothèque Nationale. M. Przyluski read these for me, and we compared them with the Caryās, and so far only one Caryā poem agreed with a text from the 'Tan-jur' (Section 2, in Cho XLVIII, Tibétain 157, p. 26 : the lines beginning 'dhos po yañ ni ma yin z'in, dhos med la ni ma skyes pa'i,' agreeing with Caryā 29 in Śāstrī's book, p. 45). This sufficiently demonstrates that the vernacular and Apabhraṅśa literature of the period 800-1200 A.C., or later, was to a large extent translated into Tibetan ; a comparison of the text and the Tibetan translation, wherever this will be possible, is sure to help in the restoration of the former, which is generally in a very mutilated form).

work named 'Abhiṣamaya-vibhaṅga.' Atiṣa went to Tibet in 1038 A. C., when he was 58. The literary life of Lui, when he composed these songs, can very well be placed in the second half of the 10th century. (H. P. Śāstrī, English Preface to the 'Bauddha Gān Ō Dōhā,' p. 2.) This period provisionally may be regarded as the upper limit for the Caryās: Lui seems to have been the most venerated in the group—there is a respectful reference to him in the poem by Dārika (No. 34), and in a poem by Kānha (No. 36), and he is worshipped even now in Bengal (cf. Śāstrī's Preface): possibly he was the oldest. As many as 12 poems are by Kānha. It is quite possible that there were more Kānhas than one; the 12 poems, in most cases signed 'Kānha, Kānhu,' are introduced as being 'Kānhu-pādānām, Kṛṣṇācārya-pādānām, Kṛṣṇa-pādānām, Kṛṣṇā(cārya?)-pādānām, Kṛṣṇa-vajra-pādānām.' In the Tibetan 'Tan-jur,' there are apparently quite a number of Kṛṣṇas who figure as authors of Tāntrika works. The Cambridge University Library has a MS. of a work called 'Hēvajra-panjikā Yōga-ratna-mālā,' by 'Paṇḍitācārya Śrī-Kaṇḥa(=Kānha)-pāda.' It was written in Magadha during the 39th year of Gōvinda-pāla, the last king of Magadha (=c. 1199 A. C.), and was taken to Nepal, whence it was brought to Cambridge by D. Wright. (R. D. Banerji, 'The Pālas of Bengal,' p. 111.) This 'Kaṇḥa' must be one of the Kānhas, if there were several. That would place some of the poems in the second half of the 12th century, as the MS. can well be contemporaneous with the author.

The Sahajiyā sect of Bengal had unquestionably some connection with the Śivaitē Nātha or Yōgī sect, which originated in Northern India as an expression of a revived Hinduism, during the beginning of the second millennium A. C. The history of the origin of this sect is shrouded in mystery, and a great deal of the religious, social and literary life of Northern India will have light thrown on it when we come to know the story of the origin of the Nātha-panth, and about the personality of Gōrakṣa-nātha. Gōrakṣa-nātha, or Gōrakh-nāth, was the greatest teacher of this sect, and he seems to have been a man from Northern India (Panjab). There are legends current all over Aryan India about Gōrakh-nāth, and his *guru* Mīna-nātha or Matyēndra-nātha



(Machindar-nāth)—how the latter obtained secret knowledge from Śiva in the form of a fish, how he forgot his wisdom and was ensnared in the love of life and of women, and how his pupil Gōrakh-nāth came to him and brought him back to his life as a Yōgī. Contemporary with Gōrakh-nāth was Jālandhari-pāda, known also as Hāṛī-pā, according to the unanimous agreement of traditions still current among the masses in Northern India and in medieval vernacular literature, from Chittagong and Assam to Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarat and the Panjab. Gōrakh-nāth was the *guru* of a queen Mayanā-vatī of Bengal; and Mayanā-vatī's son was the famous Rājā Gōpī-canda, who, while quite a young man, gave up his kingdom and his wives, and became a Yōgī, and followed Jālandhari-pāda, as his *guru*. Gōpī-canda's renunciation is the theme of a large mass of folk poetry, songs, ballads and romances, in Bengali, Oṛiyā, Bhōjpuriyā, Hindī, Panjābī, Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and other languages, and is the subject even now sung by itinerant Yōgī beggars in Hindustan and in the Deccan. According to some versions, including Tibetan ones, Jālandhari-pāda in common with Mayanā-vatī, was a disciple of Gōrākṣa-nātha. And according to the unanimous agreement of the legends, Jālandhari had a devoted disciple in Kānu-pā or Kānha-pāda. Now, one of the Caryās, No. 36, attributed to Kṛṣṇācārya-pāda, and signed 'Kānhilā lāṅgā' *i.e.*, 'Naked Kānhilā=Kānha' (line 4), expressly mentions Jālandhari-pāda in the last verse :

◀ śākhi kariba Jālandhari-pāē :

pākhi (pāsi) na cāhai [mōri] paṇḍīcāyē. »<sup>1</sup>

*I shall make Jālandhari-pāda (my) witness :*

*a great scholar (Paṇḍīcārya) does not look to my side.*

The Kṛṣṇa of Caryā 36 is therefore Kānha-pāda the disciple of the Nātha Yōgī Jālandhari of the legend. This Kānha is described as 'Kṛṣṇācārya' in the Caryā commentary. The author of the 'Hēvajra-pañjikā Yōga-ratna-mālā' (the MS. of which dates from 1199 A.C., see p. 120)

<sup>1</sup> The text as printed by H. P. Śāstrī runs thus : শাকি করিব জালধরি পাত্র / পাখি ৭ রাহস মোরি পাণ্ডিত্য চাড়ে । 'śākhi kariba Jālandhari pātra / pākhi ṇa rāhasa mōri paṇḍīcāyē.' It has been emended in my quotation, following the reading and interpretation of the commentary.



is described as 'Paṇḍitācārya Śrī-Kaṇha-pāda.' The word 'paṇḍitācārya,' in Caryā 36, as I read it, following the Sanskrit equivalent 'paṇḍitācārya' given in the commentary, can very well be a reference by Kāṇha to himself, the last verse usually giving the name or title of the poet : *I shall call to witness my Guru Jālandhari-pāda ; my Paṇḍitācārya (i.e., myself who am a great scholar) does not look at me (i.e., my knowledge I owe to the grace of my guru, and not to my studies and my being a Paṇḍitācārya).* If the author of Caryā 36 were also the author of the Tantra work mentioned, as it can be reasonably supposed, then we would get c. 1200 A.C. as the lower limit for one Kāṇha at least ; and consequently for Jālandhari and for Gōrakṣa-nātha, and for the main personages who figure in the Gōpī-canda story, if that story has any basis in fact ; and there is nothing to show that it does not have. This Kāṇha must have been the Siddha Kāṇha mentioned in the Tibetan and Indian lists of 84 Siddhas : and all the poems in the Caryās, as well as the Dōhā-kōṣa, may very well be by one and the same individual.

From Marāṭhī sources, we have some indication as to the date of Gōrakṣa-nātha (and consequently of Kāṇha). Jñāna-dēva in the 'Jñānēśvarī' (c. 1290 A. C.) says that he received initiation from his elder brother Nivṛtti-nātha, who was born 1273 A. C. ; and Nivṛtti-nātha's *guru* was Gainī-nātha, or Gōyaṇī-nātha, whose *guru* was Gōrakṣa-nātha, the disciple of Matsyēndra-nātha. (V. L. Bhāvē, 'Mahārāṣṭra-sāraswat,' pp. 39, 40, 42.) It may be that the tradition presented by the 'Jñānēśvarī' is faulty, and as it often happens, omits some intervening names in the 'guru-paramparā' (succession of masters). Assuming that Gainī-nātha was an old, old man when he initiated Nivṛtti-nātha, we can make an adjustment of the chronology from the Marāṭhī source with the dates suggested for Gōrakṣa-nātha and Kāṇha in the previous paragraph, namely ; the end of the 12th century.

The Tibetan legends about the 84 Siddhas, including the poets of the Caryās, profess to give details about the life and history of them, but they are hardly reliable. (These have been translated into German, by A. Grünwedel in the 'Baessler Archiv,' Berlin, Vol. V.) Tārā-nātha,



in his 'History of Buddhism in India,' in Tibetan (German translation by A. Schiefner, Petrograd, 1869) also gives legends about them, but in the matter of chronology, the Tibetan authority is hopelessly confusing. He, however, makes this interesting statement that at the time when the Tājiks and the Turks were ravaging Eastern India, *i.e.*, at the end of the 12th century, the Yōgis who followed Gōrakṣa-nātha became devotees of Śiva (p. 255, Schiefner). Can this suggest a date for Gōrakṣa-nātha? Tārā-nātha, however, gives elsewhere (p. 174, Schiefner) a date several centuries earlier for Gōrakṣa. Among other interesting things, Tārā-nātha quotes a Bengali word (« Ajischa » in Schiefner, p. 205 = \*অজিশা « \*āyīśa(a) » in Old Bengali, written আইস « āisā » *come!* in ordinary Bengali), as being uttered by Virūpa, who is one of the poets of the Caryās.

The other poets, from the style of their composition, from language, and from general spirit, belong to the same age. The period 950-1200 A. C. would thus seem to be a reasonable date to give to these poems; and they are preserved in a post-14th century MS. These poems must have been very popular in Bengal: and we have echoes of lines from them in Middle Bengali literature, beginning from Caṇḍī-dāsa in the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana.'<sup>1</sup>

64. Other remains of Proto- or Old Bengali are possibly in a few poems and couplets in the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala.' This work is a treatise on Apabhraṅśa and Early NIA. versification. Various metres are described, and examples are quoted. These examples are from the floating mass of popular poetry and song current among the poets and the people of Northern India during the period 900-1400 A. D. The book in its present form dates from the latter half of the 14th century.

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, Cāryā 6, অপণা মাংসে হরিণা বৈরী 'apaṇā māṅsēṁ hariṇā bairī' *the deer is a foe (to all) because of its own flesh*; cf. 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana,' p. 78, বেন বনের হরিণী ল নিজ মাংসে জগতের বৈরী: 'jēna banēra hariṇī la nija māṅsē jagatēra bairī'; p. 88, আপণার মাংসে হরিণী জগতের বৈরী 'āpaṇāra māṅsē hariṇī jagatēra bairī'; also ŚKK., pp. 358-359: the lines on Sahajiyā Yōga practice are echoes of similar passages in the Caryās; and the same may be said of lines from Middle Bengali works like the 'Gōrakṣa-vijaya.'

Most of the poems are in the artificial, literary Western Apabhraṃśa, or in Western Avahatṭha, based on earlier literary Śaurasēnī: two verses are even in regular literary Prakrit of the 2nd MIA. stage, being taken from the Prakrit drama 'Karpūra-maṅjarī' of Rāja-śēkhara (c. 900 A. C.). But there are some which belong to a stage which might be called Old Western Hindi: *e.g.*, the poems at pp. 249, 375, 412, 435, 463, 470, 516, 541, among others, in the *Bib. Ind.* edition. B. C. Mazumdar first suggested that a few of the poems in the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala' are in Old Bengali; *e.g.*, those at pp. 12, 227, 334, 403, 465, from their general style, their vocabulary in some cases, and specially from their verse cadence (cf. 'History of the Bengali Language,' Calcutta University, 1920, pp. 226 ff.). It is very likely that in their original form these poems were in Old Bengali, or rather, in Proto-Bengali, with MIA. characteristics still present. But as they stand in the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala,' there is nothing in their forms to mark them out specially as Bengali: rather, some grammatical forms, like < jāta > *is going* in < cañcala jobhana jāta >, and > chañla >, in the poem at p. 227 (cf. Western Hindi < jātu, jāta, jātā >, and < chaila >); < natthi > in the poem at p. 465 (cf. Gujarātī < nathi > *is not*); < lijjiā >, passive participle in < -ijj- > in the same poem; < dijjai > in the poem at p. 403; < jimi > in the poem at p. 334 (cf. Hindi < jima, jiwa, jyō >); < jini > for < yēna > in the same poem (the Modern Bengali *জিনি* < jini > *who*, honorific, did not originate till later, in the late Middle Bengali period, from *জহা* < jēhā > or *জিহা* < jihā >),—are not Bengali or Old Bengali at all. Then, many of the forms are MIA., without the simplification of double consonants which characterises NIA. in the Midland and in Eastern India. But it is quite possible that these poems were originally Bengali, especially from their verse cadence; and through their passage from Bengal to Western India, their grammar and language has been to a great extent westernised. In their present form, they are at the best useful for comparison with Old Bengali: but, as they stand, they do not have any bearing on the development of Bengali.

Two poems ascribed to Jaya-dēva, the great Bengal poet of the 12th century, may be mentioned here. They are preserved in the Sikh 'Ādi



Granth,'<sup>1</sup> which is a collection, made in the 16th century, of devotional hymns composed by the Sikh *Gurus* and by saints of Northern India. The earliest of these hymns go back to the 12th century, and they embrace works of poets who lived in Aryan India from Bengal to the Panjab and right down to the Marāṭhā country,—poems by Northern India saints like Rāmānanda, and Kabīr, as well as by the Marāṭhī poets like Trilōcana and Nāma-dēva being found in it. Jaya-dēva had become well-known in Northern India as a Vaiṣṇava saint and poet by the 16th century, and the two poems in the 'Granth' ascribed to him may really have been composed by him; but in their present form, they are sadly altered, and no one can recognise Bengali of any period in them. It seems very likely they were originally in the Western Apabhraṅśa as written in Bengal. Western characteristics are noticeable in them: *e.g.*, the « -u » affix for the nominative. There is strong influence of Sanskrit as well. They were later altered and mutilated to their present shape.

65. The 'Gīta-gōvinda' of Jaya-dēva may be noticed in this connection. Jaya-dēva of Kēndu-bilva in Rāḍha (= Kēdūlī in Birbhum District), in the latter part of the 12th century, just before the conquest of West Bengal by the Turks, composed a number of songs (*padas*) describing the love of Rāḍhā and Kṛṣṇa. These songs, in the form in which we have them, possess an exquisite verbal melody and a most cloying sensuous charm. Their language is professedly Sanskrit, but in their style and execution, and in their rimed *mātrā-vṛtta* metre, they are more like vernacular than anything else. Scholars suspect (Pischel, 'Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen,' § 32; B. C. Mazumdar, Introduction to the Bengali Translation of the 'Gīta-gōvinda,' Calcutta) that these songs were originally composed in some Prakritic speech, which in this case would be either Western Apabhraṅśa as written in the East, or Old Bengali, both the alternatives being equally likely; and from their music

<sup>1</sup> One of these occurs under Rāg Gūjarī, as the last poem: this one has been given in the original by Trumpp, in his Translation of the 'Granth'; the other under Rāg Mārū. (I am indebted to my colleague in the University, Mr. Indu-Bhūshaṅ Banerji, for these references.)



and their poetic charm they had an enormous popularity. Avahaṭṭha poems similar in form and spirit to some hymns by Jaya-dēva are found in the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala,' *e.g.*, the poems at pp. 334, 570, 576, 581, 586. Jaya-dēva, who was a Vaiṣṇava of the Sabajiyā type, as later legends would seem to testify, might very well have written in the vernacular of the country. However, it seems that even the learned Paṇḍits, who would scorn anything composed in a vulgar tongue, were charmed with these *padas* of Jaya-dēva; and quite early in their history, some worthy scholar, or a group of scholars, it may be contemporaneously with the poet himself, rather than lower themselves by reading or chanting poetry in the vernacular, touched these poems up a bit, and garbed them in the dignity of Sanskrit, of a sort, just as it would not be very difficult to restore into Latin a line of Old Italian. After that some laborious verses in Sanskrit, in the most approved classical style, were composed, and these verses told the story of the love which is the theme of the songs; and thus they were formed into a sort of framework for the songs, the whole being arranged in a connected poem of 12 cantos. This made-up work is one of the most popular books in Sanskrit literature, and, under the name of 'Gīta-gōvinda,' is well-known wherever Sanskrit is studied. Later on, when there was a Vaiṣṇava revival in the 16th century in Bengal and Orissa, it was venerated as a religious work,—it was enjoined to be sung before the image of Jagannātha in the temple at Puri, as we know from an inscription of 1499 A. C. in the temple. The style of the songs had an enormous influence on the Bengali lyric. Jaya-dēva, together with the poets of the Caryās, stands at the head of Vaiṣṇava and other lyric poetry in Bengal: and it would have been a great thing if we had his songs in the language in which he possibly wrote them. But undoubtedly they have been so carefully preserved because they happened to be rendered into Sanskrit: like other popular things in vernacular literature, *e.g.*, the songs of Caṇḍi-dāsa, with the passing of centuries they would have been altered beyond recognition to medieval or present-day Bengali. The languages of the Caryās and of the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana' have been preserved only because they were



fortunately locked up in old MSS., which were not replaced by later copies in which the language would certainly have been altered.

66. The next great landmark in the study of Bengali, after the Caryās, is the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana' of Caṇḍī-dāsa. This work, from point of view of language, is of unique character in Middle Bengali literature. There is a fairly copious Middle Bengali literature, of which the most important, and by far the earliest extant works are the 'Padas' of Caṇḍī-dāsa, the 'Rāmāyaṇa' of Kṛtti-vāsa, the 'Padmā-purāṇa' of Vijaya-gupta, the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-vijaya' of Mālādhara Vasu, the 'Mahā-bhāratas' of Sañjaya, Kavindra Paramēśvara, and Śrīkaraṇa Nandī, the 'Dharma-maṅgala' of Māṇika Gāṅguli, the 'Caṇḍī-kāvya' of Mukunda-rāma Cakravartī, the 'Padmā-purāṇa' of Vañśī-dāsa, the 'Manasār Bhāsān' of Kētakā-dāsa Kṣēmānānda; besides, the poems about Gōpī-canda, and other pre-Moslem romance; and Buddhistic treatises on religious ceremonial and ritual, like the 'Śūnya-purāṇa' of Rāmāi Paṇḍita; in addition to numerous fragments from diverse poets. The Middle Bengali period in literature is continued down to 1800, and a mass of songs, proverbs and popular poetry, which have been collected in recent times, also properly belongs to the Middle Bengali period. The help afforded by Middle Bengali literature, which covers a period from the 14th to the 18th century, is not as great as it might be expected, in tracing the history of Bengali. Early works as a rule have not been preserved in their original shapes, almost always in language and frequently in subject matter. The oldest MSS., mainly on paper, and also frequently on palm-leaf, seldom go beyond the middle of the 16th century, and commonly these are of the 17th and 18th centuries; and these give but late recensions of earlier works, in which it is useless to expect anything like a faithful representation of the author's language. By the beginning of the 15th century (but the tendency or movement had started considerably earlier) a standard literary Bengali grew up and rapidly came to be used all over Bengal. This was the more or less conventional language of verse: of prose literature there was little or nothing before 1800; and it is prose which properly represents, under ordinary circumstances, the normal habits of a

language. MSS. do frequently show local forms: but in an ordinary Middle Bengali MS., no matter where it was written, we always find standard literary forms which are even now unknown to the spoken language of the place, side by side with the genuine dialectal ones. The Bengali literary language is a 'high' dialect, which has utilised forms from the various spoken dialects, and these latter are from the beginning independent of literary Bengali. If we could find a MS., say, of *Kṛtti-vāsa* (15th century), which preserves the language of the poet intact, its importance would be inestimable. But there is no Middle Bengali work dating from before 1500 which is preserved in a contemporary MS.; except one, and that is the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana.'

The MS., from the style of script it employs, according to expert opinion, belongs to the latter half of the 14th century. It gives us the genuine West Bengali as used in literary composition in the middle of that century. The genuineness of the work is borne out by the remarkably archaic character of the forms, which agree with such widely distant dialects as North Bengali and Assamese; and some of its expressions are found in Early Oṛiyā. The resemblances with Early Assamese have been put forward as an argument, among others, for the spuriousness of the work,—and even in favour of its having passed through North Bengal, to be edited to its present shape.<sup>1</sup>

The MS. of the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana' has been almost miraculously preserved, to be discovered by Basanta-Rañjan Rāy and edited by him in a style rarely attained in the edition of an old text in India (VSPd., San 1323). The work seems to have been lost sight of from the 17th century, and it is in this way that the language could not be altered, from the original form in which it was composed, to late Middle Bengali, or even

<sup>1</sup> Bai Bahadur Yōgēsh Chandra Vidyānidhi called into question the genuineness of the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana' in a paper to the VSPdP. for San 1326. A study of the language with reference to the development of Bengali will show that this great and versatile scholar of Bengal is off the track here. Satish Chandra Rāy and Basanta Kumār Chatterji in the VSPdP. for the same year have contested the issues raised by Y. C. Vidyānidhi in favour of the genuineness of the work.



Modern Bengali, in the hands of subsequent copyists. The grammar of the speech of the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana' gives a clue to many of the forms of New Bengali. The speech here is not what may be called Old Bengali, taking *Old*, *Middle* and *New* in the sense in which they are used with regard to the Germanic and Romanic languages. The Caryās are in Old Bengali, and are comparable to Old English (Anglo-Saxon) remains in the study of English: *Old* in the sense that the speech belongs partly to an ancient stage rapidly passing away. The 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana' belongs to what may be called the *Early Middle Bengali* stage: and its importance in the study of Bengali, in the absence of other genuine texts, is as great as that of the works of Layamon, Orm and Chaucer in English.

67. The Bengali language in its history may be conveniently divided into *three* periods.

[1] The Formative or Old Bengali Period: 10th-13th centuries (c. 950-1200 A. C.). This period *may*, in the Proto-Bengali stage, have gone beyond 900 A. C.: in any case, it may be said to have overlapped the late MIA. (Aparāṅga) stage. It may be compared to the 'Old' period of the modern Romance and Teutonic languages; only necessarily for the Indian language, as being the last stage of an already decayed order (and herein the Romance speeches can be compared), the inflections in it are few, as compared with the later language with its new post-positional affixes and other devices.

The sound system is practically the same as that of late MIA., only there has been a simplification of double consonants and transformation of a nasal preceding a stop to a mere nasalisation (often expressed in writing by leaving the nasal letter untouched), with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel; < ă > probably had not been drawn up to its present open < ɔ̄ > [ɔ̄] value; final vowels were retained, except where there was simplification of groups like < -iä > -i >; and there is no indication of < i > or < u > epenthesis. Elision of intervocal labials and gutturals seems to have been in force, as in second MIA.; and the occurrence of euphonic < ɣ̣, ẉ > between vowels. The genitive affix was < ā, āha < -asya >, < -ēra, -ara, -ka < kēra, kara, kaa >, and, in the plural,

«-ṇa» ; instrumental, «ē» ; dative based on genitive ; locative in «-i, -ahī, -ahī» ; some post-positions ; use of the plural forms of the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns for the singular, «amhe, tumhe» for «maī, tāī», is established ; and the old «ahakam» hāū (haū) > *I* is still present. In the verb, the past base ordinarily has «-ila», but sometimes the «-l-» does not figure ; and the construction is passive for the transitive verb, adjectival for the intransitive,—the system of pronominal affixation, rendering the construction active, is as yet unknown. There are traces of the «-h- < -sy-» future ; and the «-ia-» passive is a living form, but the analytic «√jā» passive is also used.

The vocabulary is mainly *tadbhava*, but *tatsama* words also figure slightly. Literature is just at its beginning, and in addition to the Caryās which we now possess, it possibly consisted of similar songs on Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and of some hymns and ballads, the last being the sources of the later Gōpī-canda, Dharma-maṅgala (Lāu Sēna), Lākḥindar and Behulā, Śrīmanta, and Kāla-kētu tales,—but of these no trace belonging to this age remains.

68. [2] Middle Bengali Period : 1200-1800. This is better subdivided into 3 stages :

(a) Transitional Middle Bengali, 1200-1300 A. C.

The language had all its Bengali characteristics fully established during this period, so that from the speech of the Caryās it was transformed into that of the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana.' The post-positions in the declension were fully established ; the conjugation became active in the past and future forms of the transitive verb, and the system of pronominal affixation to the past and future bases came in, though it was not fully established till the 15th century and later. The old *mātrā-vṛtta* metre, of 16 or 15 *moræ*, found in the Caryās, became, by an arrangement of *akṣaras*, a syllabic metre of 8+6=14 *akṣaras* or syllables during this period : tendencies towards the development of this special metre of Bengali, the 'Payār' metre, found also in Assamese and Oṛiyā, are noticeable in the Old Bengali period and were possibly present in Common Eastern Magadhan (Aphrañśa Māgadhi of the East).



We have no genuine specimens of Bengali which can be relegated to this period. But the national legends of Bengal, the stories of Gōpī-canda, of Behulā and Lakḥindar, of Khullanā and Dhana-pati, of Phullarā and Kāla-kētu, and of Lāu-sēna which were treated in great poems in the following centuries, were probably taking shape during this century. But nothing can be asserted about the language and literature of this period, although a little can legitimately be guessed. Politically, it was an age of chaos and destruction, being the first century of the Turkī conquest. But there was some literary activity, and Kāṇā Hari-datta, Mayūra Bhaṭṭa and Māṇika Datta, who are mentioned by later poets as being the first to take up respectively the Behulā legend, the Lāu-sēna romance and the Caṇḍī legends and treat them in long narrative poems to be chanted before a gathering of people at a number of sittings, seem to have flourished before 1300. The fragments that we have from these poets are in ordinary late Middle Bengali MSS.

Rāi Sāhib Dīnesh Chandra Sen (*e.g.*, in the 'Vāṅga Sāhitya Paricaya,' Calcutta University, 1914) refers to the 11th-12th centuries the poems of 'Māṇik-candra Rājār Gān' and 'Mayanāmatīr Gān,' narrating the Gōpī-canda legend (cf. p. 121), which were taken down from the recitation of North Bengal villagers and edited respectively by Grierson in 1878 and by Bishweshwar Bhaṭṭāchārya in 1908; to the 10th-11th centuries he refers the 'Śūnya-puāṇa,' the MS. of which, according to its editor, Nagēndra-nāth Vasu, is only 300 years old, and which, as Y. C. Vidyānidhi has shown (VSPdP., 1316, No. 4), must belong to a period subsequent to the 13th century. Certain distichs embodying the proverbial wisdom of the land,—agricultural maxims, and comments on life and on things, which are attributed to 'Ḍāka' and 'Khanā,' two personages (the second a woman) about whom there are numerous legends current in Assam and Bengal and who are connected with Varāha-mihira of Ujjayinī, the famous astronomer of the 5th-6th centuries A. C., Dīnesh C. Sen refers to the 8th-12th centuries: but all these proverbial distichs attributed to Ḍāk and Khanā were collected within recent years. All these above-mentioned works, and some others too, occasionally do represent

archaic or pseudo-archaic forms, it is true: the 'Śūnya-purāṇa' and similar Buddhistic works show a surprisingly large number of old forms for MSS. only 300 years old. But in their grammar, there is nothing archaic, generally: they are good Middle Bengali, although some of the poems, with their loose metre, their antiquated spelling, and their occasional old forms, do present an archaic look at times: but it is impossible, on both philological and literary grounds, to relegate them to any period before 1400: although their lost prototypes, models, or originals might quite reasonably be regarded as having belonged to the 14th, or even the 13th century.

(b) Early Middle Bengali Period: 1300-1500 A.C.

Bengali literature becomes fully established, by the end of the 15th century, with a number of considerable works, which have become the classics of the language. We see the working of the influence of classical Sanskrit on Bengali from this period: the 'Rāmāyaṇa,' the 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa,' and the 'Mahābhārata' are adapted into the language: the language changes its spirit under the umbrage of Sanskrit: there is a great access of *latsamas*, making many old *tadbhavas* obsolete or restricted in use. The literary language, based on West Bengali, is perfected, and is employed in all parts of Bengal, slightly modified by local dialects, no doubt. The 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana' is the most important work, philologically (before 1400); Caṇḍī-dāsa composed his songs; Kṛṣṇa-vāsa rendered the 'Rāmāyaṇa' into Bengali in the middle of the 15th century; and Vijaya Gupta and Mālādhara Vasu flourished, as well as Śrīkaraṇa Nandī.

In phonetics, the most noticeable thing, found in the ŚKK., is the weakening of independent < i (u) > after < ā, ā >, resulting in new diphthongs < āi, āi, āu, āu >, which were regarded as one *akṣara* in which the second element was pronounced very short, and the first element tended to be modified; this was followed by epenthesis of < -i, -u >; < -enta < -anta > of the present participle is found as < -itā >, the change of < -ent- > -ēt- > -īt- > -it- > having been carried out during the preceding period. The aspiration of the nasal in the groups ऋ = ऋ < -mh- >, ॠ = ॠ < -nh- > is lost by the middle of the 15th century. Final < -ā > seems



to have become quiescent, < -ʃ >, by the middle of the 15th century. The conjugation of the verb is purely active in the past tense. There are still a few traces of the old inflected passive. Compound tenses come into being. The use of a strong form of the genitive, < -rā >, for the plural, noticed in its incipient stage in the ŚKK. (where it is found with the personal pronouns only) becomes established by 1500. The plural affix for the verb, < -anti >, is found as < -anta, -enta > in the 15th century, and finally, by the 17th, it yields to the form < -enʃ >, which is influenced by the old plural affix for the noun oblique (see under *Morphology*: Declension).

(c) Late Middle Bengali: 1500-1800.

The earlier part of this period, during the 16th century, witnessed the development of Vaiṣṇava literature through the influence of Caitanya (1485-1533) and his disciples. Biography as a *genre* was added to Bengali literature. There was a very great influence of Sanskrit, and of Maithilī, and a restricted one of Western Hindī (Braj-bhākhā) on both language and literature. The artificial literary dialect 'Braja-bulī' grows up (see p. 103).

Epenthetic < u > became < i > during the earlier part of this period, and came to modify the preceding and following < ā > and < ū > sounds, and ultimately were dropped entirely in West Bengali dialects by the close of the 18th century. Affixes like ইয়া < -iā >, verbal or nominal, were contracted, and were gradually turned to the monophthong [ɛ, e], written -য়া, -এ, in many dialects: রাখিয়া, রাইখ্যা, রাখ্যা, রেখ্যা, রেখে, রেখে *having kept* [ia > iā > ea > ɛa > ɛ > e: rakhia > raikhīa > raikhea > rɛikheɔ > rɛ(i)khe > rekhe]. In West Central Bengal, along the Hugli River, the habit of vowel-mutation and general contraction of syllables begins, and this invades the other dialects as well. The aspiration of ʃ < -ʃh- > is continued till the beginning of the 17th century and then is gradually lost, Middle Bengali words like পড়ে < pāṛhē < paṛhati > reads and পড়ে < pāṛe < patati > falls becoming identical (পড়ে) in Modern Bengali.

There is a great influence of Persian on the vocabulary, especially in the 18th century; and to a slight extent, of Portuguese. The loss of the final < -a > gives an impetus to a system of metre based on stress,—

tendencies towards which are not absent in the 14th century; but the syllabic metre is perfected and holds the field in all formal poetry, the stressed metre being confined to popular poetry, songs, lullabys, charms, etc., and its presence and importance are recognised by learned people only by the end of the 19th century.

All these ushered in, by the end of the 18th century, the Modern stage of the language; and the medieval spirit in Bengali literature was entirely done away with by the middle of the next century.

**69.** [3] Modern or New Bengali: from 1800.

Prose is written for the first time seriously, but for fifty years the literary language is under the tyranny of Sanskrit. Out of the large number of forms, dialectal, and archaic, which prevailed in Middle Bengali, specially in the verb, documentary and epistolary Bengali of the three centuries 1500-1800 was evolving a standard language for prose, in which only a few recognised forms were used; and this documentary and epistolary Bengali, based as it was on the speech of the 15th century, or it may be, of the 14th, was adopted as the language of ordinary prose composition, when the advent of Western learning brought in a sudden demand for a prose style. Literary Bengali of prose, during the greater part of the 19th century, was thus a doubly artificial language; and, with its forms belonging to Middle Bengali, and its vocabulary highly Sanskritised, it could only be compared to a 'Modern English' with a Chaucerian grammar and a super-Johnsonian vocabulary, if such a thing could be conceived. This literary form for prose became the standard, and growth of the printing press established the grammar and the orthography: the latter, the work of Sanskritists ignorant of the history and phonetic tendencies of the language, threw overboard the meagre traditions of spelling for the *tadbhava* words that obtained in Middle Bengali. Good, simple prose which had a relation to everyday life was occasionally written, but the forms of the verb remained archaic. The colloquial, occasionally attempted to be represented in a work like Carey's 'Dialogues' (1816), went along its own line, and the stilted Sanskritic 'sādhu-bhāṣā'



carefully avoided its contamination. In the meanwhile, Calcutta became the intellectual centre of the Bengali people, and through literature and actual contact in life, the Calcutta form of Bengali spread and infected the dialects. The colloquial of Calcutta made its first élatant advent in the 'Hutōm Pēcār Naksā' (1862) *Sketches of the Hooting Owl* of Kāli-Prasanna Siṅha, which is one of the raciest books in Bengali, a work which is full of life, being sketches of social life in Calcutta in the middle of the 19th century, written in the choicest colloquial spiced with slang terms and unconventional expressions such as a man about the town would use. The actual spoken language gradually came to its own in a mass of unconventional literature, and in ephemeral poetry: and it attained to dignity in the early writings of Rabīndra-nāth Tagore. It now reigns supreme in the drama (in the fifties and sixties of the last century, and later, characters in a play speak the 'sādhu-bhāṣā' which no Bengali would dream of using in actual life), and to a great extent in the conversational passages in novels. In poetry, the colloquial shares honours with the literary, both forms being used in the same poem, nay, in the same line, side by side; it has become a serious rival of the 'high' language of prose as well; and, observing the fact that the colloquial of Calcutta has become the speech of educated classes everywhere in Bengal, it may be predicted that in about another half a century the disuse to the largest scale imaginable, if not the entire suppression, of the literary language will be in the course of things.

The phonetic changes, ushering in the Calcutta colloquial as the most advanced or progressive Bengali dialect (the other dialects remaining true to the Middle Bengali), were mostly evident by the second half of the 18th century: only, the close < e >, as derived from an earlier < ā > through the influence of < i >, seems to have been more open in the 18th century than in the early 19th. There has been some influence of the literary speech in modifying the normal growth of the dialects, including even that of Calcutta. ষ < ph, bh > developed their spirant values [f, v; v, v] in the standard colloquial during the beginning of the 19th century.

The enormous and evergrowing influence of English on Bengali, in vocabulary, and in some cases in idiom and in expressions, is the most noteworthy thing in New Bengali: and the influence of Sanskrit has been placed on a different footing, at least in the best writers, restricting it to borrowing of words pertaining to higher culture only, and often to coining of new words with the help of Sanskrit vocables, to meet the necessity of having synonyms for terms of Western life, institutions and science.

70. A classification of the Bengali dialects is to be, in the first instance, from the stand-point of Modern Bengali. The composite nature of the literary speech does not make the early literature which is written in it very helpful in this matter. Special peculiarities are occasionally found: e.g., East Bengal MSS. represent in many ways the pronunciation of the epenthetic «-i-», in spellings like লৈক্ষ্য লৈত্য ত্তৈক্ষ্য «läikkhyā=lakṣa, sāityā=satya, tātāikkhyāṅṅ=tātā-kṣāṅṅ», or they show a 1st person future form in -ইবাম «-ibām» side by side with -ইবৌ, ইমু «-ibō, -imu» from other dialects. In reconstructing the history of the dialects, what help can be obtained from the forms in Middle Bengali literature is to be taken, but the basis of dialectal division must be the living dialects themselves. One work, however, although it is less than 200 years old, has an exceptional value in the study of dialectal Bengali, as well as of Bengali phonology: and its value is due primarily to the script in which it is written. This is the 'Crepār Xaxtrer Orth-bhed' (= কৃপার শাস্ত্রের অর্থভেদ 'Kṛpār Śāstrēr Artha-Bhēd' *An Explanation of the Scripture of Mercy*), a catechism of the Roman Catholic religion, written in 1734 in the dialect of Dacca by a Portuguese missionary, and printed, in the roman character according to the Portuguese system of orthography, at Lisbon in 1743. (S. K. Dē, 'Iurōpiya-likhita Prācīna-tama Mudrita Bāṅgālā Pustak,' and S. K. Chatterji, 'Kṛpār Śāstrēr Artha-bhēd Ō Bāṅgālā Uccāraṇa-tattva,' in the VSPdP., San 1323, No. 3.)

The dialects of Bengali have some important points of agreement with Maithilī, the most noteworthy being the presence of the root «ach» to be; the speech of Aṅga (Bhāgalpur District south of the



Ganges, and Santal Parganas—the ‘Chikā-chiki’ area of Maithilī) and of Mithilā, tracts adjoint to Bengal proper, forming probably the basis on which the dialects of Bengali grew up in Bengal. From Aṅga, the Aryan speech (Māgadhī, Prakrit and Apabhraṅśa) seems to have passed down to Rāḍha, and crossed over the Ganges to Puṇḍra-varadhana or Varēndra, where the Aryan language might also have come overland from Mithilā. Along the Ganges, it spread from Aṅga, Puṇḍra and Rāḍha to Vaṅga. A wave of emigration and cultural influence from Mithilā joined forces with Varēndra, and later, perhaps, from Vaṅga, and the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa was carried to North Bengal and Kāma-rūpa, and thence further east into the Assam Valley. From Rāḍha, the language spread among the Ōḍra tribes of South-west Bengal, and from thence it was taken to what is now Orissa. From South-west Bengal, the Ōḍra from of Māgadhī advanced westwards, in to Jhāḍa-khaṇḍa (Chota Nagpur) and South Kōsala (East Central Provinces), where it came in touch with the speech of South Bihar (Magahī) and with West Magadhan (Bhōjpurīyā), as well as with the Chattis-garhī form of Eastern Hindī. With the last two, the Oṛiyā speech shows some points of agreement: *e.g.*, the retention of singular and plural distinction in the verb forms obtains in Chattis-garhī, Bhōjpurīyā and Oṛiyā, and the affix <-man> for the plural of nouns and pronouns of Chattis-garhī is also found in Oṛiyā, as <-mānā>. The Aryan speech seems to have been in two forms in Rāḍha, one of which used as a substantive auxiliary the root <thā> along with the root <ach>, and employed the word <māṇā-, māṇā- <mānava> for indicating the plural of names of sentient beings, and also retained the affix <-n> <-ānām> (the OIA. genitive plural affix) in the oblique plural (*e.g.*, <kāru-āchāī> *is doing*, but <kāru-thilā> *was doing*: cf. Bengali কৰিতেছিল <kāritē-chilā>; <lōkā-mānē> *men*, <lōkāṅ-kā=lōkā-n-kā, lōkā-mānā-ṅ-kā> *of men*); and the other form of Rāḍha speech did not have these characteristics. From the former originated Oṛiyā, and the so-called Bengali dialect of South-west Midnapur. The other is the source of ordinary West Bengali, which, again, falls into two groups, one of the West, and the other of the East on the two sides of the Bhāgirathī.

71. The dialects of Bengali fall into four main classes, agreeing with the four ancient divisions of the country: Rāḍha; Puṇḍra or Varēndra; Vaṅga; and Kāma-rūpa. Rāḍha and Varēndra, and to some extent Kāma-rūpa, have points of similarity which are absent in Vaṅga; and the extreme Eastern forms of the Vaṅga speech, in Sylhet, Kachar, Tippera, Noakhali and Chittagong, have developed some phonetic and morphological characteristics which are foreign to the other groups. A great deal of these have unquestionably an ethnic basis. The differences in pronunciation and stress, as well as in general enunciation and grammar, which are observable in the Bengali of a Manbhūm peasant, and in that of one from Maimānsing, are certainly connected with the fact that one is mainly Kōl (or mixed Kōl and Dravidian), and the other modified Boḍo (Tibeto-Burman), by origin.

An intermingling of dialects, in addition to the dominant influence of the literary language, has made the question complicated. There were also class dialects, spoken by members of the same class or caste scattered over a large area. Ever since the beginning of her history, Bengal has been receiving settlements of people from the West, from Bihar, from the Benares and Gorakhpur side, from Oudh, from the Panjab, from Gujarat, and from the South—from Orissa, and even from the Dravidian lands. Sometimes these peoples were numerous enough to form self-contained communities, which stereotyped themselves into castes, thanks to the exclusiveness of medieval Hindu society; and when they became Bengali speakers, their speeches often came to retain certain peculiarities, and merited the name of 'class dialects.' The speech of respectable Brahmans and others scattered all over the country would thus retain some class features, mainly in vocabulary and idiom, occasionally in phonetics and morphology, despite the approximation to local dialects. A respectable non-Brahman caste of West Bengal, for example, has some peculiarities of speech, one of which, the confusion between  $\text{৳} < r >$  and  $\text{৳} < r >$ , is noticed in and about Calcutta even now, although education is fast driving it out; and the Kaivarttas or Bāurīs, Bhūiṅ-mālīs or Rājbaṅsīs, have their communal peculiarities in speech.

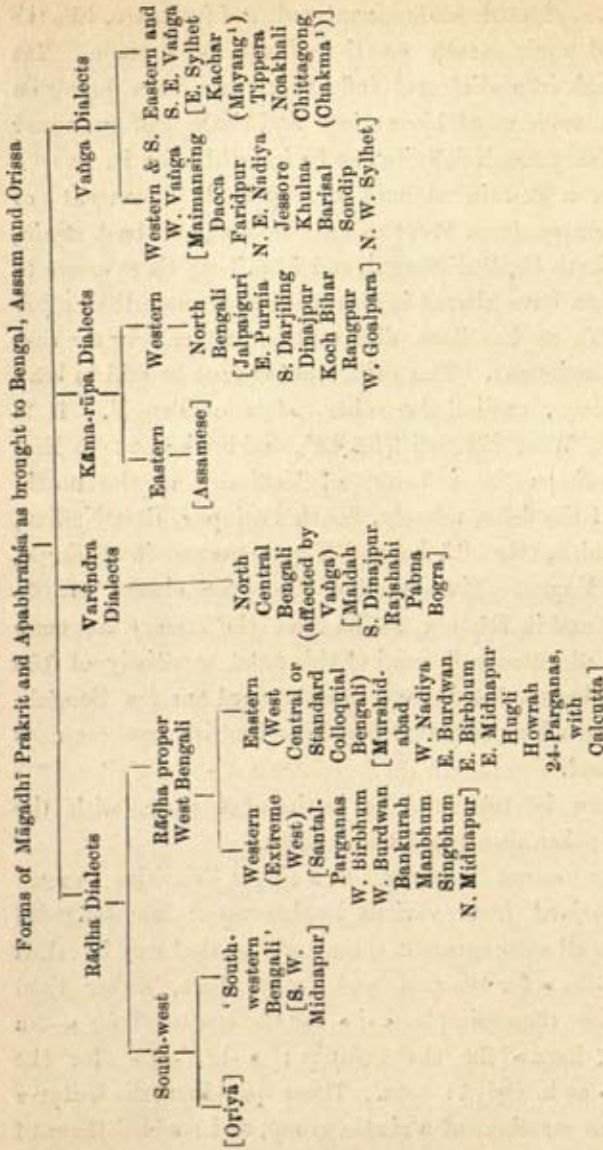


Communities which have exerted a dominant cultural influence, like the Brahmans, have imposed their stamp on the speech as a whole. But as this sort of communal inter-dialectal influencing has been going on for centuries, guided in some cases by notions and theories of grammar and good usage, nothing very much definite can be insisted upon it.

But there has been a certain amount of internal movement of population within the country, from West to East Bengal, and back again, from East Bengal to North Central Bengal, and from both these tracts to North Bengal. Brahmans have shared in this movement more than other communities, perhaps. There has been also mutual influence in the case of dialects which are contiguous. The delta tract cannot be said to have any special dialect of its own, unlike the other parts of Bengal. It is attached in the west to West Bengali (Rāḍha), and in the east to East Bengali (Vaṅga), with perhaps the influence of Varēndra in the north. In the border districts of the delta, namely, South Faridpur, East Nadiya, West Jessore, West Khulna, the Rāḍha and Vaṅga forms intermingle, where Rāḍha influences Vaṅga. The speech of the upper classes in the western part of the Delta and in Eastern Rāḍha gave the literary language to Bengal, and now the educated colloquial of this tract, especially of the cities of Nadiya and Calcutta, has become the standard one for Bengali, having come to the position which educated Southern English now occupies in Great Britain and Ireland.

72. The dialects can be tabulated as in the next page, with the Districts where they are spoken mentioned under them.

The Bengali dialects cannot be referred to a single Primitive Bengali Speech, but they are derived from various local forms of late Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa, which developed some common characteristics that may be called pan-Bengali: *e.g.*, < -ila, -iba > for the past and future base, rather than < -ala, -aba >: < -iā > rather than simple < -i > for the conjunctive; < -ēra < -kēra > besides < -ara < -kara > for the genitive; < -kē, -rē > for the dative, rather than < -ku > as in Oriyā: etc. These pan-Bengali features link the dialects together as members of a single group, and enabled them to be attached to a composite literary language as a matter of course. Taking



The materials accumulated in the LSI, Vol. V, Part I, and the monographs on Bengali dialects and dialectal vocabularies in the VSPdP, have been made the basis of the above tabulation.

<sup>1</sup> Chakma in the dialect of the hill people of Chittagong. Mayang or Bishnupuriyā is spoken by a few people in Manipur; it is much mixed up with Tibeto-Burman, and in the LSI, it is regarded as a dialect of Assamese, but its forms show unquestionably a greater affinity with Eastern Vāga.



this pan-Bengali basis, a Proto-Bengali or Old Bengali Stage can for practical purposes be postulated in the history of the dialects, or, in mass, in the history of the Bengali language. Dialectal peculiarities, as much as common characteristics, were developed independently in the various dialects, apart from those cases where mutual influence is plainly visible. Thus, East Bengali ইলাম < -ilām > (1st person past) and ইবাম < -ibām > (1st person future) are independent formations in the dialect of Vanga, just as West Bengali forms ইলুম, ইলু, ইলৌ < -ilum, -ilū, -ilō > and ইব, ইবো, ইবৌ < -ibā, -ibō, -ibō > are derived from similar independent formations in the Rāḍha dialect; and neither group can be referred to the other, or to a Common Old Bengali: although we have to speak of the source forms of all these — < -ilām, -ibām > and < -(i)lum, -(i)bō >, which are found in the Modern dialects, as equally Old Bengali or Early Bengali forms.

The literary language has all the pan-Bengali characteristics, but sometimes it leans to one dialect and sometimes to another, although its basis is 'Gauḍīya' or Typical West Central Bengali. It is eminently representative. In the study of Bengali *Phonology* and *Morphology* in the following pages, the forms of this full and rather archaic literary Bengali are considered, as well as those of the Standard Colloquial which is most intimately connected with it: and dialectal peculiarities, wherever they are important and interesting, have been noticed.

73. The more important points of divergence among the various dialect groups of Bengali are noted here.

#### *Phonetic.*

The vowel system, in general, is more conservative in Vanga and North Bengal than in Rāḍha and other parts: Middle Bengali conditions, with epenthetic < -i- >, are better preserved in the former than in the rest. East Rāḍha, the Standard Colloquial, has advanced more than any other dialect in effecting a total change from the Common Bengali type by introducing largely the habits of mutation, vowel harmony etc. *e.g.*: East Rāḍha ক'রে, কো'রে [kore], রেখে [rekhe], দি'শি [diʃi], বিলি'তি [biliti] = Typical East Bengali [kòira, raikha, deʃi, bilati], respectively *having done*

having kept, native, European. The open  $\langle \text{è} \rangle$  figures as 'অ্য' [æ] in Rāḍha, but in Varēdra, North Bengal and Vaṅga it is found as a slightly higher sound, [ɛ]; and the close  $\langle \text{ē} \rangle$  of West Bengali frequently becomes open [ɛ] in Vaṅga: e.g., Bengali তেল oil, এক one, দেশ country, কেন why are found as [te:l, æ:k, de:ʃ, kɛno] in West Bengali, but as [tɛ:l, s:k, dɛ:ʃ, kɛ:n] in Typical East Bengali. [ɛ] is occasionally present in West Bengali as a final sound, but it is not a characteristic sound of the Standard Colloquial. The tendency in West Bengali is to turn the অ  $\langle \text{ā} \rangle$  [ɑ] sound, as in English *dot*, to a close ও  $\langle \text{o} \rangle$  as much as possible: this tendency is invading other dialects, but it was foreign to these.  $\langle \text{ō} \rangle$  and  $\langle \text{ē} \rangle$ , derived and original, are by far the most common vowel sounds of West Bengali; and  $\langle \text{u}, \text{i} \rangle$  are laxly pronounced in West Central Bengali, and tend to become  $\langle \text{o}, \text{e} \rangle$ . Late Middle Bengali front [a] has merged into the central or back [ɑ] in the Calcutta colloquial. West Bengali  $\langle \text{o} \rangle$ , original or derived, often becomes  $\langle \text{u} \rangle$  in Vaṅga: this trait is met with in the extreme West Bengali area too. West Bengali and North Central Bengali have kept intact the original nasalised vowels; these seem to have also been maintained in North Bengali, but in the Vaṅga dialects nasalisation is entirely dropped: only in certain Eastern Vaṅga dialects, e.g., Chittagongese, nasalisation has recently developed from a Bengali intervocal  $\langle \text{-m-} \rangle$  (e.g., আনার  $\langle \text{āmārā} \rangle$  *my* > আর  $\langle \text{ār} \rangle$ ). The West Rāḍha dialect is characterised by a fondness for nasalisation, especially in the verbal indeclinable in  $\langle \text{iā} \rangle$ ; in literary Middle Bengali, this West Rāḍha feature is prominent in some authors: e.g., রাধিরা  $\langle \text{rādhīrā} \rangle$  West Rāḍha রাধি়া রাধে [rakhē], in Middle Bengali written রাধিঞা  $\langle \text{rākhiñā} \rangle$ .

The stress system in West Central Bengali is predominantly initial, both in words and phrases. This results in the dropping of vowels in unstressed medial syllables, and thus in shortening of the forms of words (e.g., West Bengali কষ্টী পাথর [koʃṭi pathor] *touch stone* = North and North Central Bengali কষ্টী [koʃṭi], from Old Bengali [koʃṭi] = MIA.  $\langle \text{*kaśśa-vaṭṭiā} \rangle$  = Skt.  $\langle \text{karsa-paṭṭikā} \rangle$ ), and in polysynthetic expressions. (See later, under Stress System in *Morphology*.) The stress system in other dialects has not been properly studied; the general tendency now seems



to be to bring it to the head of the word, but non-initial stress is still present in many forms of folk-Bengali.

As regards consonants, Vaṅga is easily distinguished by some special features, *e.g.*, the disaspiration of the medial aspirates in all cases : < gh, dh, bh > being pronounced in all cases as < g, d, b, >, and < jh > as < z > ; and < ḡh-, -ḡh- > -ṛh- > as < ḡ-, -r- >. In other dialects, it may be said that the old values are preserved *initially* : only < bh > tends to become a bilabial or denti-labial spirant, [v] or [ʋ] : and *medially*, there is a tendency to lose aspiration of all sorts, of the tenues as well. The palatals < c ch, j jh > are pronounced as dental affricates < tʃ s, dʒ z > in Vaṅga and in North Bengal ; in Rāḡha and Varēndra, the old values of palatal affricates, made with the front of the tongue flattened out and pressed on the supra-alveolar region, still obtain, but Varēndra has been much under the influence of Vaṅga in this respect, and the tongue-tip-alveolar affricates are also heard there. The latter sound occasionally is found in Rāḡha also. < -ḡ- -ḡh- > -r-, -ṛh- > are pronounced as < r, rh > in Vaṅga and North Bengal ; and although rarely in some of the Vaṅga tracts < ṛ > does occur, the absence of it can be said to characterise the eastern dialects. < n- > and < l- > are interchangeable in Rāḡha ; and a North Bengali characteristic is the omission of initial < r- >, or the intrusion of it in a word beginning with a vowel (*e.g.*, < rām > for < āmʃ > *mango*, and < ām > for < Rāmʃ > : like the Londoner's *h-*). Intervocal < -h- > is weak in all dialects, except in West Rāḡha, where < -h- > is often brought in to give force to a stressed, emphatic syllable. Initial < h- > is preserved in West Central and in North Central Bengali ; but it is very weak in Vaṅga and in North Bengali. In Vaṅga it is generally dropped ; and in many parts of Vaṅga, a glottal stop is substituted for it : *e.g.*, Standard Literary Bengali হইবে < hāibē > *will be* (3rd person) = West Rāḡha [hɔbʰɛk, hɔbʰɛk], West Central [hɔbɛ], Typical East Bengli [oibɔ, ʔoibɔ]. This dropping of < h > is another peculiarity of most of the Vaṅga dialects. The single < ś > of Common Bengali, derived from < ś, ṣ, s > of OIA., tends to become < h > in initial positions (and in rare cases medially) in Vaṅga, and in initial and other positions in North Bengali. It is a regular characteristic of Assamese, where

the sibilant became an  $\text{< h >}$  (e.g., Assamese  $\text{< mānuṣ̃ < mānuṣa, bāhi < bāsi >}$  etc.): in Assamese now it is the unvoiced guttural spirant [x]: but in Vaṅga this tendency was checked, and was not allowed to have full play, probably through resistance of communities speaking West Bengali dialects.  $\text{< -y- >}$  in a consonant nexus brings about epenthesis in Vaṅga and North Bengali, and to some extent in Varēndra; and the groups  $\text{< kṣ, jñ, hm >}$ , pronounced like  $\text{< kkhy, ggṃ, my >}$ , behave in the same way; Rāḍha is free now from this  $\text{< -y- > -i- >}$  epenthesis.

Eastern, especially South-eastern Vaṅga, is remarkable for further changes in phonetics.  $\text{< k, p >}$  initial or intervocal, tend generally to be spirantised to [x, ʃ], and [ʃ] frequently is reduced to [h] in Chittagongese. There is elision of single intervocal stops and aspirates on a large scale in South-eastern Vaṅga (Chittagong); where also the groups  $\text{< -l-s- > -l-z-, -r-s- > -r-z- >}$ , (where the  $\text{< -s- >}$  is the verb root  $\text{< āch, ch >}$ ), develop into  $\text{< -lg(y)-, -rg(y)- >}$ : e.g., Standard Bengali চলিয়াছি করিয়াছি  $\text{< cāliyāchi, kāriyāchi >}$  *I have walked, I have done* = Chittagongese  $\text{< tsāil-si, kāir-si >}$  *tsoilzi, koirzi* > \**tsoilyi, \*koiryi* > *tsoilgyi, koirgyi, tsoilgi, koirgi* >; Standard Bengali কুরিয়া  $\text{< kuṛiyā >}$  *lazy* = Chittagongese  $\text{< kuryā >}$  *kurgyā* >, etc.

#### Morphological.

In the declension of the noun, 'South-west Bengali' shows its affinity to Oriyā by possessing the affix  $\text{< -māṣ̃, -mēṣ̃ >}$  for the plural, and the ablative affix  $\text{< -u >}$ : cf. Oriyā  $\text{< -māna; -u >}$ . Rāḍha proper has the affix  $\text{< -ādi-ēra < -dērṣ̃ >}$  for the genitive plural and oblique plural; and  $\text{< -dērṣ̃ >}$  is found in Varēndra also, but seems to be absent in North Bengali, and not to be popular with the Vaṅga dialects. The literary dialect prefers  $\text{< ādika + -era > *ādi-kēra > -digērṣ̃ >}$ . West Rāḍha has the Common Bengali plural affix গুল  $\text{< gulā < kula >}$  in the form of  $\text{< gul-ā-k >}$ , East Rāḍha as  $\text{< guno >}$ , Varēndra as  $\text{< gulā >}$ , North Bengali as  $\text{< gulā, gilā, glā, lā >}$ , and Vaṅga as  $\text{< gulāin, gun >}$ ; and East Vaṅga  $\text{< -āin < -āni >}$  is an old affix which is based on the genitive plural affix  $\text{< -ānām >}$  of OIA. Rāḍha ('South-West Bengali,' West Rāḍha, West Central Bengali), Varēndra and Kāma-rūpa agree in having  $\text{< -kē, -kṣ̃ >}$  as the proper affix



for the dative, whereas the Vaṅga dialects prefer « -rē » (except Chakma). The locative affix is « -t-ē » in Rāḍha, « -t-ē, -t » in Varēndra, and « -t » in Kāma-rūpa and Vaṅga. The post-positions are numerous, and each group shows its special prédilections: *e.g.*, Rāḍha would prefer সবে « sāṅgē » *with*, but Vaṅga সাথ « sāthē », and in some parts লগে « lāgē ».

As regards pronouns, West Rāḍha has strong forms like « mōhārḍ māhārḍ » *my* = Standard Bengali মোর « mōrḍ », and North Varēndra and North Bengali show, apparently as a result of Maithili influence, forms with « h- » like « ham- » for আমি « āmi- » / etc. The Vaṅga dialects have the affix « -gō » which is added to the singular genitive to form the genitive plural: *e.g.*, « mōr-gō, tōr-gō, tā-gō » *our, your, their*. This « -gō » affix is found in Rāḍha as well, but employed differently: « āmā-gō, tōmā-gō » *our, your*. In Varēndra and North Bengal, this « -gō » is apparently extended to « gō-r, ghō-r, ghār » . South-east Vaṅga has developed a double form for the 3rd personal pronoun: « hi-tē » for সে « sē » *he, she*.

In conjugation, there are some noteworthy points of divergence, specially between Western Bengali and Eastern Bengali. 'South-west Bengali' has the affix « -u » for the second person: « tui cālū, cāl-l-u (cāl-n-u, cān-n-u), cāl-b-u » *thou walkest, thou didst walk, thou shalt walk*: this « -u » is found in Varēndra and in North Bengal. The affix « -i » for the first person, past tense, is found in 'South-west Bengali' (as in Oriyā) and in Western Rāḍha: « mui di-l-i » *I gave*; but it is absent in the other dialects. The past first person affix « -(i)lum, -lū, -ilō » is found in Rāḍha and in Kāmarūpa, and obviously it existed in Varēndra as well: the Vaṅga form « -ilām » has been adopted in the 'sādhu-bhāṣā,' and « -ilām > -ilēm » has been super-imposed on most dialects, including even the West Central (*i.e.* Standard, Colloquial) Dialect. In the formation of the compound tenses, the progressive tenses show a difference in Rāḍha and Varēndra on the one hand, and in Vaṅga on the other: the latter formed it with the present participle in « -itē » + the verb substantive, whereas in the former, it seems to be made, not with the « -ite » participle, but with

a different verbal form + the verb substantive: *e.g.*, literary Bengali চলিতেছে (in prose) « cālītē-chē », চলিছে (in poetry only) « cālī-chē », both meaning *is walking*, = Rāḍha dialects, 'South-west Bengali,' West Rāḍha, and East Rāḍha, respectively [c̣ʰol-ṭhe, c̣ʰol-c̣ʰhe, c̣ʰol-c̣ʰe], Varēndra [c̣ʰol-se], which are forms without « -itē »; but in West and South Vaṅga [tsoilte-se]. West Rāḍha occasionally has a past perfect with the adjective in « -l- »: *e.g.*, গেলছিল « gēlā-chilā, » for Common Bengali গিয়াছিল « giyā-chilā » *had gone*. Eastern and South-eastern Vaṅga dialects are characterised by the « -r- » forms for the progressive tense: which are discussed at their proper place in *Morphology*.

74. Political and social reasons have brought about the present unity of speech in Bengal, despite the fact of dialects. From the time of the Pālas, the greater part of Bengal formed portions of one empire. Gauḍa and Vaṅga are frequently spoken of together, Gauḍa meaning North Central Bengal, West Bengal, and the Western part of the Delta, and Vaṅga including not only Bengal beyond the Brahmaputra, but also a considerable part of the Delta. Brahmans were settled in the country from very early times in the history of Aryan Bengal. They first established themselves in the Aryanised parts, Varēndra and Rāḍha, and thence spread to Vaṅga and elsewhere; and they formed a common intellectual aristocracy for Bengal, bound together by the closest ties of social unity. The Brahmans, both of Varēndra and Rāḍha, who trace their descent from a common ancestry, rendered, together with the Kāyasthas, who were partly the landed aristocracy of Bengal, perhaps the greatest service in uniting the four Bengals, the masses of which could not have any notions of kinship and union. Rāḍha and Varēndra Brahmans formed settlements in Vaṅga, and those who were settled in Vaṅga kept up their marital and social relations with their kinsmen in the West, even when separated by hundreds of miles, throughout the medieval (Moslem) times down to the present day. It was an object lesson in social and communal unity for the other sections of the people. If it had not been brought about by some sort of political union under the Pālas just when the foundations of the Bengali language were laid, and



by the dispersion of a well-organised Brahman community all over Bengal, and Kāyastha participation in their efforts, the evolution of a common nationality and of one type of culture and literature among the people of heterogeneous origin in West Bengal, in East Bengal, in North Bengal, would have been extremely problematic. There would have grown up, linguistically and culturally, three Bengals—Rāḍha, Varēndra and Vaṅga,—North Bengal going to Kāma-rūpa (Assam), and the Delta being divided up between Rāḍha and Vaṅga: and each of these Bengals almost as self-contained as Orissa or Assam. In this way, Bihar has been split up into two tracts: the Ganges has its share in this division, no doubt, but the absence of political union and of a common intellectual aristocracy are among the reasons that the very slight dialectal differences between Maithilī and Magahī have not been bridged over by a common literary language, and the two peoples speaking these dialects united into one.

Of all the extra-Bengali dialects contiguous to Bengali, namely, Maithilī, Magahī, Assamese and Oṛiyā, it is the last which has the greatest sense of closeness with Bengali. Magadha lost all her ancient culture and her glory, and she gradually became a part of Hindostan. Maithilī and Bengali scholars kept up an intimate intellectual communion for some centuries, but socially Mithilā Brahmans and Bengal Brahmans formed distinct communities, and when from the end of the 16th century the University of Nadiyā took up the study of Nyāya seriously, Bengal students ceased to go to Mithilā, and all *entente* with the 'Tirahūṭa' or Maithila Paṇḍits ceased. Orissa, with her independence, and her high culture, her contiguity to a great Dravidian people, the Telugus, and her openness to be influenced culturally by the Dravidian South, as well as with her developing her peculiar alphabet from that current in Bengal and all Eastern India, would have drifted away from Bengal as much as Mithilā and Assam. But the shrine of Jagannātha at Puri has always attracted Bengali pilgrims, and in this way some sort of connection with the heart of Orissa was kept up by the Bengali people; and the personality of Caitanya, who was received with as much enthusiasm in Orissa as in Bengal, served as a strong link in binding the two peoples. The Vaiṣṇava

revival under Caitanya gave an additional impetus towards effecting the solidarity of Bengal. It gave an exalted expression to religious impulses and emotions which are peculiarly Bengali; and it considerably increased the stock of national literature. The Vaiṣṇavism of Caitanya spread into Orissa, where it was whole-heartedly received; and there it did not weaken Oṛiyā culture, but on the other hand gave a distinct impetus to Oṛiyā literature, which became as firmly established as that of Bengal. Through the Vaiṣṇavism of Caitanya and his personality, a communion of spirit between the Oṛiyā and Bengali peoples has been established, in which the speakers of the other Magadhan speeches have no part.

Assamese under her independent kings, and her social life entirely self-contained, became an independent speech, although her sister dialect, North Bengali, accepted the vassalage of the literary speech of Bengal. In the Mahāpuruṣiyā movement of Śaṅkara-dēva, who was an elder contemporary of Caitanya, the Assamese language and literature came to their own, and union between a self-conscious Assamese people with that of Bengal in matters linguistic and literary is unlikely, when such a union would mean the merging of Assamese into Bengali.

75. With the Moslem conquest, the united tracts of Rāḍha, Varēndra, Bāgarī (the Delta), Vaṅga with Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylbet) and Caṭṭala (Chittagong), and West Kāma-rūpa received a common name, 'Bangālah' or Bengal, which is merely an extension of the appellation for the people of Vaṅga or East Bengal. The various dialects of the provinces which were members of one family group did not rejoice in a common name even when a literary standard was fixed and generally adopted. These now came to acquire the common name of the 'Language of Bengal,' Bengali. The Persian-using Moslems (and following them the Portuguese) first called the language by the name which came to be applied to the whole country—« zabān-i-Bangālah » (and « Idioma Bengalla »). The people themselves spoke of their native speech merely as « bhaṣā » or *current speech*, as opposed to Sanskrit or Persian: and the word « prākṛta », to mean the language of the land, was frequently used by the Paṇḍits. The term Gauḍa, which at first referred to West and North Central Bengal generally, the tract the speech of which



was regarded as the standard form of Bengali, came gradually to be used with regard to the language. In the 16th century, Nadiyā is described as being within Gauḍa-dēśa; and the Vaṅga country or East Bengal, as well as the dialect of Vaṅga, is contrasted with the land and speech of Gauḍa. The first native name for Bengali was thus « Gauḍa-bhāṣā, » probably coming into use as early as the 16th century. This name continued down to the beginning of the 19th century, nay, even later, side by side with the new name « Vaṅga-bhāṣā » or « Bāṅgālā-bhāṣā ». Rājā Rām Mōhan Rāy, the first Bengali to write a grammar of his mother tongue, called his work 'Gauḍīya Vyākaraṇa' (in English, 'Grammar of the Bengali Language,' published in 1833, but finished several years earlier). Madhusūdan Datta, the poet, refers to the people of Bengal as গৌড়-জন « Gauḍā-jānā » in his 'Mēghanāda-vadha Kāvya,' in the sixties of the last century. The Persian name for the language, « zabān-i-Bangālah », and the Hindōstānī form of it, « Bangālī zabān », were heard in the law-courts; and the name « Bangālah », in its Bengali form বাঙ্গালা « Bāṅgālā », later বাঙ্গলা, বাঙলা, বাংলা « Bāṅgālā, Bāṅgālā, Bāṅlā », became familiar to Bengalis as a name for their language. Even Hindōstānī borrowed the word again from Bengali in the form বাংলা « Bāṅgālā » *the Bengali language*. And the English, following the Portuguese and the Mohammedan rulers of Bengal, used no other name. In 1778, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed published his 'Grammar of the Bengal Language' from 'Hoogly in Bengal'—the first book printed in Bengali characters. Some 35 years before that, the Portuguese Padre Manoel da Assumpçam had written his 'Vocabulario em Idioma Bengalla, e Portuguez' (Lisbon, 1743). In the title-page of the Serampore edition of Kṛtti-vāsa's 'Rāmāyaṇa' (1804), we see the note কৃত্তিবাস বাঙ্গালি ভাষায় রচিত « Kṛtti-bāṣā Bāṅgālī-bhāṣāy rācīlā » *K. composed in the Bengali language*. The term 'Gauḍīya bhāṣā' or 'Gauḍīya sādhu-bhāṣā,' which was common enough in Bengal, gradually fell into disuse. 'Bāṅgālī-bhāṣā' is the name given in the 'Hutōm Pēcār Naksā' (1862). বাঙ্গ(া)লা ভাষা, বাঙলা, বাংলা ভাষা « Bāṅg(ā)lā-bhāṣā, Bāṅlā, » and in the high style, বঙ্গভাষা « Bāṅgā-bhāṣā » are the Bengali names for the language now in universal use.

## APPENDIX A

A NOTE ON THE AFFINITIES BETWEEN THE NORTH-WESTERN AND THE EASTERN GROUPS OF NEW INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES, UPON WHICH GRIERSON BASES THE THEORY OF A CONNEXION BETWEEN THEM AS MEMBERS OF AN 'OUTER' GROUP (AS IN §§ 81 FF. IN SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON'S PAPER ON INDO-ARYAN VERNACULARS, IN THE 'BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES, LONDON INSTITUTION,' VOL. I, PART III, 1920). (See Page 32.)

### 76. A. *Phonetic.*

(a) Retention of final < -i, -e > (and < -u >) in the North-western and Eastern languages. Grierson compares Kaśmīrī < *achi* >, Sindhī < *akhi* > *eye*, with Bibārī (Maithilī, see p. 92) < *ākhi* , *aṅgōr* < *aṅgār*<sup>u</sup> , *dēkhath*<sup>u</sup> > = *eye, charcoal, let him see*.

The retention of final vowels, fully or slightly pronounced, cannot be adduced as an evidence of close connexion between the two groups of speech. All IA. vernaculars at some time or other retained the final vowels. Some are conservative in this respect: *e.g.*, Oṛiyā, and certain forms of Eastern Hindī and Western Hindī, which still cling to them. Others have begun dropping them, and the almost inaudible < *ī ũ* > which we find are only what can be expected during the transitional stage: Maithilī and Sindhī present this stage, although in Maithilī there seems to be a greater advance towards the dropping of these final vowels than in Sindhī. In others, again, the final vowels have been entirely got rid of; as in the case of Hindōstānī, Marāṭhī, Gujarāṭī, Bengali (in the last, however, *latsama* and foreign words ending in two consonants have a vowel after them). Bengali has *অঁখ* < *ākhi* > *eye* as an archaic word in the colloquial, and *অঁখি* < *ākhi* >, the fuller form, obtains in the language of poetry. Five hundred years ago, the final vowels were pronounced in Bengali. They are pronounced even now in Oṛiyā, in which language



they say « jālá, Gōpālā, Nārāyaṇā, Rāmā, » and even « sārādārā » for the Hindōstānī (Persian) « sardār ». Hindōstānī (Hindī) has dropped the final vowel « -a » or « -u » in words like « Kaśyap, sumiran, santāp, dān, bic, ucit, sukh, puttr, anugrah », etc., but the final vowels were retained in Western Hindī (Braj-bhākhā of prose) at least as late as the first half of the 17th century, as can be seen from a late Middle Hindī text (Commentary on the 'Śṛṅgāra-śataka' of Bhartṛhari; see 'Journal of the UP. Historical Society,' Vol. I, No. 1, article by R. P. Dewhurst). Even at the present day, the final « -i, -u » are not absent in Braj-bhākhā and in Kanaujī, which are representative Midland speeches: e.g., in the Braj of Aligarh, we have « bāṭu » *share*, « mālu » *property* (from the Perso-Arabic « māl »), « sabu » *all*, « akālu » *famine*, « kaṅgālu » *poor*, « phiri » *again*, « pēṭu » *belly*, « auru » *and*, « dūri » *distance*, « naukaru » *servant* (Persian), « jvābu » *answer* (Perso-Arabic « jawāb »), « ēku » *one*. (LSI., IX, Part I, pp. 281-282.) Kanaujī has similar forms in « -i, -u ». In Braj, the present participle affix is both « -tu » and « -t »; and the verb indeclinable has « -i », e.g., « kari, dbari, bhari, dēkhi, jāi » = Hindōstānī « kar, dhar, bhar, dēkh, jā ». Similar final « -i, -u » pronunciation obtained in Eastern Hindī at the time of Tulasī-dāsa: there is ample evidence in his poetry, and in the deed of arbitration written out by Tulasī-dāsa (Grierson, 'The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan,' Calcutta, 1889, pp. xxvi-xxvii), we find forms like « taphaslu » (=Perso-Arabic « tafṣil »), « Ānanda-rāmu, Ṭōḍara-malu » and « tīnī ansa » *three shares*, and even « hujatī » (=Perso-Arabic « ḥujjat »). Modern Eastern Hindī has retained the final vowels even at the present day: e.g., in a recent Hindī drama ('Nētrōnmīlan Nāṭak,' by the Miśra Brothers of Allahabad, Calcutta, Saṁvat 1971; Act III) a character, speaking the Awadhī *patois*, employs the forms « sācu, jhuṭu, hāṭhu, dinu, agahanu » = Agraḥāyana, sāthu, āju, hālu (=Perso-Arabic ḥāl), mānu, kāmu, kāju, parapañcu, cūru, khētu; laṛi, pahiri, bēci » etc. In Eastern Panjābī, associated with Western Hindī, an indistinct « -ə » is frequently heard at the end of words. In the Bihārī dialects, the suggestion of a final vowel occurs only in Maithilī: it is lost in Magahī and in Bhōjpuriyā.

In the matter of retention of final sounds, it seems no inference can be drawn, connecting the Eastern (Magadhan) speeches with those to the west and north-west of the Midland speech. All NIA. languages which have dropped the final vowels passed through the transitional stage, which is now noticeable in Maithilī and Sindhī, and also in dialectal Western Hindī.

(b) Epenthesis is certainly present in the Eastern languages, and it is specially a characteristic of Eastern Magadhan (Bengali-Assamese-Oṛiyā). On the other hand, it is absent in Marāṭhī and in Sindhī among the 'outer' languages of the West, although it is found in Gujarātī, and Lahndī, as well as in the Dardic Kaśmīrī. In the Midland speech, sporadic cases of epenthesis do occur: *e.g.*, in Śaurasēnī Prakrit, we have < para-kēra-ttaṇa = para-kārya-tvaṇa, pēraṇta = paryaṇta, sundēra = sāundarya > (Pischel, 'Gramm. der Prakrit-Spr.,' §176). But epenthesis cannot be said to characterise Western Hindī. Epenthesis is entirely absent in Old Bengali, and it developed only in the Early Middle Bengali period. Maithilī epenthesis, and that in Western Panjābī (and Kaśmīrī) are also admittedly late; and it would be extremely hazardous to refer the epenthesis as found in the modern Eastern and in some of the modern Western speeches to a common source in a hypothetical 'outer' Aryan dialect.

[The Bengali word quoted by Grierson under this head, বাগুন < bāgun > *aubergine*, as being from < \*vaṅgaṇu >, is a dialectal form, = Standard Bengali বেগুন < begun >, from < bāigon, bāigan < bāiṅgaṇa < bāiṅgaṇa > (the last form found in Old Oṛiyā as in the inscription of Nṛsiṅha IV, A. C. 1395), = Skt. < vāṅgana >: the < -u > affix, as in < \*vaṅgaṇu >, is typically Western, and not Māgadhī. The word আগুন < āgun > *fire* is not from a form like < \*agaṇu >, but it is a *semi-tatsama*, আগুনি < āguni < agni >, < agni > being pronounced like [oḡgōni] in the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa stage, the neutral sound of [ə] becoming [u] in Old Bengali through the influence of the preceding velar consonant. The old *tadbhava* আগি < āgi < aggī, \*aggiā < \*agnikā > occurs in Middle Bengali].

(c) Pronunciation of < i > as < e >, and of > u > as < o >. In the eastern languages, especially Bengali, < i > and < u > are lax vowels,



like the vowels of English *pit, put*. Naturally, as the tongue does not have a very high position, there is a tendency to turn them to the low sounds of < e, o >. In the Prakrit stage, < ī > before two consonants often became < ě >, and short < ū > similarly became < ō >: e.g., < bĕlla = bilva, pōkkhara = puṣkara, pōtthaa = pustaka >. Alternation of < i : e, u : o > is not unknown to Western Hindī: e.g., Braj-bhākhā < mōhi : muhi, tōhi : tuhi >; and the fact that the short forms of < ē, ō > are < i, u > in the causal and other forms in W. Hindī, e.g., < bōlnā : bulānā ; dēkhnā : dikhānā ; ēk : ikāṭṭah > etc., shows that there was the lax pronunciation of < i, u > and the close one of < ē, o >, approximating to each other, as in Bengali. (Cf. also Kellogg, 'Hindī Grammar', p. 3).

(d) Change of < u > to < i > is not a characteristic of the Eastern languages, although it is found in them, as in all other NIA. speeches, more or less. It also occurs in W. Hindī: e.g., < khilnā > beside < khulnā > to open, as a bud; < chinguli > beside < chuṅguli > little finger = \*kṣull'-aṅgulikā >; < phislānā, phulānā > lead astray by sweet words. Against W. Hindī < bālū > sand, with < u >, Skt. < vālukā >, = Bengali বালি < bālī >, cf. W. Hindī < ginnā > count = Bengali গণন < gaṇāṇ > (< i > in W. Hindī, but < u > in Bengali, for < ā > of OIA.).

[The word < tanik > a little, derived from a Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa form \*taṅukki >, by Grierson, is not Bengali, but it is good Western Hindī, being found in Sūra-dāsa, among others.]

(e) The change of < ai < ai > and < au < ai > to an open < è > = [ɛ] and open < ò > = [ɔ], is not a characteristic of the Eastern 'outer' speeches, although it is found in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, Sindhī, Lahndī, and other Western 'outer' dialects. It is also a noteworthy characteristic of modern Western Hindī as well: so much so that at the present day, the English sounds of [ɛ] (as in *man*, which is a rather low kind of [ɛ]), and of [ɔ] (as in *hot*), are indicated respectively by the letters ऐ < ai > and औ < au > in High Hindī: e.g., हैट hat, मैनेजर manager, हैरिसन Harrison, डैटर beside डटर daughter, etc. In a Hindī translation, from English, of Victor Hugo's 'Les Misérables,' the name *Cosette* is written कोसैट. Cf. < kahi > काई > काई > \*[kɛ:] > kē; kahu > काऊ > काऊ > \*[kɔ:] > kō; ai,

au < ai, aü > are ordinarily pronounced with rather low tongue position in the Western Hindī homeland : < hai > sounding as [fiɕ̥, fiɕ̄], or even as [fiæ:], < aur > as [ʌɔ̃r, ɔ̃r, ɔ:r].

[ɔ̃ < au > in *tatsama* words, = < āu > of Sanskrit, is pronounced [ou] in Bengali, much like the Southern English *o* in *joke* [dʒoʊk]; and of course, in *tadbhava* words, < āu > of Skt. occurs as < ō >. The Assamese pronunciation given by Grierson, < ōxodh > for < āuśadha >, is a late *semi-tatsama* pronunciation, coming from an earlier [ɔ̃ ũ ʃodɦɔ], [ɔ̃ ũ] changing to [o]. Similarly, we have < āi > > [oi] > [o] in East Bengali : < āikya > = [ɔ̃ ikkɔ̃ > ɔ̃ ikkɔ̃ > ɔ̃ ikkɔ̃ > okko], < āiśvarya > = [ɔ̃ iʃwɔ̃ rʃɔ̃ jɔ̃ > oʃʃordzo]. The Bengali ৩৩ < bhālā > is pronounced ৩৩ [bɦalo], and some reformers of Bengali spelling write the word as ৩৩ : it comes from an Old Bengali < \*bhālāwā > = Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa < \*bhallawā, bhallaa >, Māgadhī Prakrit < \*bhallaga >, Skt. < bhadra-ka >, < aṃ > of Old Bengali changing into < ā > *i.e.*, long < ā > in Early Middle Bengali, and then to < ō > in New Bengali. Bengali ৩৩ < bhālā, -ō > cannot be from < \*bhālāu > > bhālau >, which would be a Western Apabhraṅśa nominative form : the Bengali form is the mere base ; and the nominative form from Māgadhī Prakrit expected in Bengali would be either < \*bhāli < bhallē = bhadrakṣ >, or < \*bhālē < \*bhallaī < \*bhallagē = bhadrakṣ > .

(f) The change of < c, j > to < ts (s), dz (z) > is found only in East Bengali and Assamese, and is absent in West Bengali and 'Bihārī.' The Assamese and East Bengali dentalisation of the palatal affricates is due probably to the influence of Tibeto-Burman (see p. 79) ; and in Parbatīyā and other Pabāṛī, a similar source for dentalisation can be postulated. In Southern Oṛiyā, dentalisation similarly occurs through the influence of Telugu (LSI., Vol. V, Part II, p. 369) ; and in Marāṭhī, where the palatal pronunciation is found before the front vowels, < cē, cī, cī >, and the dental before the back ones, < tsā, tsā, tsō, tsū, tsū >, we have also probably the influence of the Dravidian Telugu. Even in Assamese and East Bengali, the palatal < c, j > pronunciation is not absent. The dental affricate sound in NIA. does not in any way prove specially intimate connection between those languages or dialects which have it. Grierson



himself explains some of the statements of the Prakrit grammarians with regard to the pronunciation of the palatals to mean that in Śaurasēnī, the source of Western Hindī, and in Mahārāṣṭrī, IA. « c, j » had developed the « ts dz » sound. (This question has been discussed later, under *Phonology*—Phonetic History of IA.) Later, according to him, North Śaurasēnī « ts dz » again became « c, j ». (Cf. JRAS., 1913, pp. 711 ff., 'The Pronunciation of the Prakrit Palatals'.) So that, if that were so, Māgadhī, an 'outer' language, which did not dentalise, disagreed with Śaurasēnī, the Midland, 'inner' language, on a point in which the latter agreed with Mahārāṣṭrī, another speech which is relegated to the 'outer' group. Further, the dental sounds are not found in the 'outer' speeches Sindhī and Lāhndī. So that this point would prove no greater connection between the Eastern and Western groups than between the Western and Midland groups. Moreover, although full « ts dz » sounds seem to be absent in the Midland language, opinion differs on this point: Hoernle observes ('Gaudian Grammar,' §11, following Kellogg) that 'the W. Hindī palatals are rather more dental than the English; i.e., more like *ts dz*;' while Prof. Daniel Jones (in the course of a private talk) regarded the Hindōstānī « c, j » as being more like pure palatal stops than affricates; and my own observation is that they are palatal affricates [tʃ, dʒ], rather than the tongue-tip alveolars ones [tʃ̣, dʒ̣].

(g) The letters ङ, ञ « ŋ, ñ » represent, intervocally, the sounds of « w̄, ȳ » in Early Bengali, and to some extent in Modern Bengali. These arise commonly from a single « m » between two vowels. In practice, these letters indicate only a mere nasalisation of the connected vowel: the word গোসাঁই « gōsāī » = « gōswāmī » is also of written গোসাই, গোসাই « gōsāi » in Bengali. Assamese গোসাঁই is really [goxāi]. The palatal nasal, « ñ » [ɲ], such as is found in French, Italian and Spanish, does not occur in NIA. W. Hindī words like « bhūī, gusāi » can also be written with ञ « ñ »: this is only a device in spelling.

[The words « ṭhāw, ṭhāñi », quoted by Grierson, are probably developed thus: OIA. « sthāman » *place*, whence Śaurasēnī Prakrit « \*ṭhāma » and Śaur. Ap. « \*ṭhāwu », resulting in W. Hindī « ṭhāw »;

Māgadhī Prakrit < \*ṭhāmē > > Māgadhī Ap. < \*ṭhāwī >, whence Bengali < ṭhāi >, written ṭhāi, ṭhāi.]

(h) The use of < r > for < l > and < ṛ < -ḍ- > is almost as common in W. Hindī as in the 'outer' languages Sindhī ānd Bihārī. In the Braj-bhākhā, as in the poems of Sūra-dāsa and Bihārī-lāla, and others, we find words like < bara (bala), gara (gala), jarai (jalai, jalē), pakarai (pakarai), larihaū (= larūgā), bigarai (= bigarē), sābhāra (sambhāla-), bīrā (bīrā), kiwāra (kiwāra), paṭwāra (= prabāla), bijuri (bijli), dubara (= durbala), ghari (gharī), phari (= \*phalikā, phalaka), pajaryō (= prajvalita), baura (= mukula), sūra (= śalya), tamōra (= tāmbūla), bahuri (= vi-ā-√ghuṭ-), jura (= jura), bhīra (= bhīra), sarāha-(=√ślāgh-) > etc., etc., instances being numerous. Lallū-lāla in the 'Rāja-nīti' has < syārḍ (= śṛgala), (found also in Hindōstānī), nikaryau (= nikḍā), bēra (= vēla) >, among others.

This confusion between < ṛ r l >, with preference for < r >, is unknown to Bengali (dialectal Bengali confuses < ṛ > and < r >, but never these sounds with < l >), to Oṛiyā, to Marāṭhī, and to Lahndī. In this matter, however the Eastern (Māgadhī) Prakrit, the hypothetical source of the 'outer' languages of the East, stood apart from all other forms of MIA., and possibly also OIA., in having only < l >, and no < r >.

(i) Interchange of < ḍ, ḍ > cannot be called a peculiarity which is shared in common between the languages of the East and of the West, in contrast to the Midland speech. The case of the Sindhī < ḍḍ > = [ḍ'] is peculiar. In Assamese, the substitution of alveolars for both cerebrals and dentals is unique among Indian languages, Aryan, Dravidian, and Kōl, and is undoubtedly due to the influence of Tibeto-Burman. The Eastern languages generally maintain a rigid distinction between the two classes of sounds, whatever may be the case in dialectal forms of Lahndī (Thali) and Gujarātī (Pārsī dialect). < d > ḍ > is not an uncommon phonetic change in the Midland language too: e.g., in the 'Satasai' of Bihārī, we have < ḍiṭhi (= dṛṣṭi), ḍyōṛhi (= dēhali), ḍōṛhā (= dvyardhaka) >. In High Hindī we find < ḍābh (= darbha), ḍārbhā (= ḍaḍḍha, dagdha), ḍārbhī



(=daṅṣṭrikā), ḍārim (=dāḍimba), ḍāṅḍī (=daṅḍikā), ḍāsnā (=√daś), ḍōlī (=√dul) >; cf. Hindōstānī <ḍēḥ> = Bengali <ḍēḥ>, 1½.

(j) Change of <d> to <j> through influence of a preceding or following palatal vowel is an extremely rare phenomenon in IA., although change of <d(h)y> to <j(h)> is a regular phonological law. It certainly cannot be described as a *characteristic* common to the 'outer' languages, because we have at the best only some unique sporadic cases in East Magadhan (*e.g.*, Bengali <jhī>, Oṛiyā <jhiā> = <dhītā, duhitā>), in Marāṭhī (<nīj> = <nīd, nidrā>), in Sindhī (<g̃gijh> = <giddhu, gṛdhra>).

(k) <-mb-> -m-> is a change found also in W. Hindī, and <-mb-> -b-> is found in the Eastern languages, at least in Bengali. W. Hindī has <jāmūn> besides <jābū> (=jambuka); and in W. Hindī <nīm> is more common than <nīb> (=nimba). But cf. Bengali dialectal <āmbā> (āmra), tābā (tamra) >, besides <āmā, tāmā>; Bengali has <lēbu, nēbu> for the Hindōstānī <lēmū> (=nimbuka). In Early Bengali, <-b-> and <-mb-> both are found: Old Bengali <tābola> (Caryā 28); Middle Bengali <cumba, jāmb(h)ira, lambā> etc.

[The form <lām> given by Grierson, = <lambā>, is not Bengali.]

(l) Elision of intervocal <-r->: it cannot be said to be specially noticeable in the 'outer' speeches, and it is also found in W. Hindī: *e.g.*, <kari> kai > *having done*; <apara> avaru > auru, aru > aur, au > and (<au> an Indo-Aryan word, rather than from Persian <u> < Old Persian <utā>, Avestan <uta>); <pari> par, pai > upon (from <upari>, rather than from <prati>). Omission of <r> in the middle of a word before a stop or aspirate is a characteristic of folk-Bengali even of the present day, and it is a Prakritic habit which still persists in the language; but intervocal <r> is never dropped in Bengali.

[The word <mailām>, quoted by Grierson as an example of loss of intervocal <r> in Bengali, is archaic and dialectal in Bengali, and is from <\*maṃya + illa + amha <\*mṛta + ila + asma>: <mṛta> maṃya > is a Prakritic form, the counterpart of which is found in <muā> in W. Hindī, which would be a case of exactly similar kind of early loss of <r>.]

(m) Change of intervocal < s- > to < -h- > is not a specially 'outer' characteristic, and it is found in a few instances in W. Hindi also : *e. g.*, < tasya > tassa > tāsa > tāha > tā- (tā-kō, tā-hi etc.) > ; < kariṣyati > karissadi > karīsaī > karibaī > ; in the second instance, future < -sy-, -ṣy- > -h- > , the Western 'outer' languages preserve the sibilant : *e. g.*, Gujarātī < karṣē > , Rājasthānī (Jaipurī) < karṣī > , Lahndī < karēsī > . In the numerals, the change of < -s- > to < -h- > is found in all MIA. and NIA. : *e. g.*, W. Hindi < igārah, bārah, cauhattar > etc., and it cannot be determined where these forms originated : but it looks as if they are Midland in origin (the Pali forms resemble the Hindōstānī ones most closely, but they do not show the change from < -s- > to < -h- > , which took place in the late MIA. period). Isolated words like < kēhari > (=kēsarin), < pāhan > (=pāṣāṇa) are met with in Braj-bhākhā. The word < pōhē > *cattle* (=paśu ?) is a good Hindōstānī word.

The change of initial < s (= ś) > to < h > in dialectal Bengali, and of < s (= ś) > , initial and intervocal (and final) to the guttural spirant [x] in Assamese, is something remarkable, and is paralleled by what we see in Siñhalese and in Kaśmīrī. But this is also noticeable in other IE. : *e. g.*, in Iranian, in Hellenic, and in Celtic (Welsh) ; so that this agreement, and quite imperfect at that, between Kaśmīrī and dialectal Bengali cannot be regarded as a proof of a particularly intimate connection between them.

(n) < ś > for < ś, ṣ, s > is a peculiar Māgadhī characteristic, and there is nothing like it in the other groups of IA. This < ś > of Māgadhī is irrespective of the connected vowel. But < ś < ś ṣ s > in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī is the case of an earlier dental < s < ś ṣ s > becoming palatalised through the influence of a palatal vowel, < i, ī, ē > , or of < y > : < s > before the back vowels, and < ś > before palatal ones, being the rule. *E. g.*, Marāṭhī < dzōśī > (=jyōtiṣin), < śikṇē > (=śikṣaṇam), but < sakṇē > (< √śak), < saṇ > (=śaṇa) ; Gujarātī < karṣē > (=kariṣyati), but < sād > (=śabda). (Influence of Sanskrit, however has determined some spellings with < ś > in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī). The MIA. 'outer' dialect Mahārāṣṭrī, according to the testimony of the Prakrit grammarians, did not palatalise the sibilants, exactly like the Midland dialect Śaurasēnī.



(o) The tendency to disaspiration of < kh, gh, ch, jh, ṭh, ḍh, th, dh, ph, bh > as well as of < ṛh, nh, mh, lh > is a noticeable thing in Bengali, no doubt, but it is an entirely new thing, and can be taken to present only one more coincidence with Marāṭhī, Gujarātī-Rājasthānī, and Sindhī. In the Eastern (Māgadhi) group of speeches, disaspiration of intervocal and final stops is more or less common at the present day, but this is not more than 800 years old. Disaspiration of initial aspirates is unknown to West Bengali, and is very uncommon in the case of the unvoiced aspirates in East Bengali and Assamese, although initial unvoiced aspirates also tend to drop their < h > in some East Bengali dialects. Disaspiration and transference of aspiration are of occasional occurrence in W. Hindī as well: *e. g.*, < bahin < \*bhainī < bhaginī >, cf. Oriyā < bhajinī >; < nablā-duhlā < nbālā-dhulā > *bathing and washing*; < ūṭ < \*ūṭh < uṭṭha, uṣṭra > *camel*; < cāṭnā > *lick* < \*cāṭhanā < \*caṭṭhanā < caṣṭa- >; < Itā < \*Iṭhā < iṣṭaka > *brick*: < tiwārī < \*tiwārī < tripāṭhin > *a Brahman surname*. But disaspiration is extremely rare in the Midland language; and on the other hand, it must be admitted, aspiration is frequently noticeable in the Midland; *e. g.*, < bbēs < bēśa < vēśa; bhabhūt < bibhūti < vibhūti; phin, phuni < punaḥ >. This entirely opposite tendency is also found in some specially Bengali forms: *e. g.*, কেল < phēlē > *throws down* = Middle Bengali পেল < pēlē > < Māg. Ap. < pellaī = prērayati >; Middle Bengali কুর < phukārē > *shouts*, cf. Hindī < pukārē >; Middle Bengali পাকড় < pākḥāṛḍ > *catch*, cf. Hindī < pakar >; খাবল < khābāḥl > *handful, grasp*, = Skt. < kabala >; জুন < jhunā > *old, dried up* = < juṅṅa-, jūrṅa >.

The Panjābī change of the voiced aspirates < gh, jh, ḍh, dh, bh > to < k, c, ṭ, t, p >, with accompanying low tone making up for the loss of aspiration and voice, is something unparalleled in New Indo-Aryan phonetics.

[In the words given by Grierson, কুড়ালী < kuṛālī > *axe* is the proper Bengali form, and not < kuṭārī >; and < bhāpḥ > *steam* is a case of transferred aspiration, from < \*bhappa, bappa, bāspa >, and the word is found in W. Hindī as well. All the Bengali words quoted by Grierson

have the aspirate, or had it (in final positions) till Late Middle Bengali times.]

(p) The Eastern speeches (Bengali, Assamese, Oṛiyā, Maithilī, Bhōjpuriyā, and Eastern Hindī) as well as Gujarātī-Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī agree with the Midland speech in simplifying the MIA. double consonants and in lengthening the preceding vowel as compensation: only in the Eastern Magadhan area, the orthography does not ordinarily record this lengthening in the case of <ī, ū>, but always does in the case of <ā>, Sanskrit orthography having interfered in the spelling of the <ī, ū> words: *e.g.*, ভিৎ for ভিৎ <bhīkḥ> for <bhīkḥ>, cf. <bhīkṣā>; পুত for পুত <pūtḥ> for <pūtḥ>, cf. <pūtra>. This simplification of consonant group *cum* lengthening of the preceding vowel is a great point common to the Midland speech and those of the East, and the Western speeches (Sindhī, Panjābī and Lahndī) disagree with other NIA. in this matter, but agree herein with the Dardic Kāsmīrī. This may show a special point of contact or affinity between Western NIA. and Dardic, but this rather emphasises the difference between the former and the 'outer' speeches of the South-west and the East.

[In the Midland speech, we have numerous instances of forms in which there has been no compensatory lengthening, although one consonant has been dropped: and a few such cases are found in the Eastern and South-western NIA. also: in fact, in all NIA. This may be due to dialectal influence from the North-western regions, first upon the Midland speech, and then, through the latter, upon those of the East, and the South-west: *e.g.*, W. Hindī <sāc, sācā> besides <sācc, sāccā, sācā> *true* (Bengali সাঁকা <sāccā> borrowed from the West; সাঁচ <sācā> seems to be native); <kāl> *yesterday, tomorrow* for <\*kāl>; <cāk> *district* (cakra); <cākḥ> (cakṣu); <bārbhai> (vardhatē); <lākḥ> *sight* (lakṣa); <bhālā> (bhadraka); <sāb> (sarva); <nīt>, beside <nīt>, a *semi-tatsama*, (nitya). Shortening of a long vowel in a weak syllable in a compound or other form is a different thing: *e.g.*, <gānā> *to sing*; but <gāwaiyā> *singer*; <kājar> *lamp-black*; but <kājḥrauṭā> *casket for collyrium*; <bhāt khānā> *to eat rice*, but <bbāt-khāuwā> *rice-eater*.]



77. B. *Morphological.*

(a) The «-ī» affix for the feminine took the place of the common OIA. affix «-ā», which was reduced to «-ā̄», from the Apabhraṅśa period. The «-ā̄» termination is lost to all *tadbhava* feminine forms in NIA. In Hindōstānī as in other NIA., «-ī» is quite a common feminine affix; and this affix cannot be said to be a special bond of union only among the Eastern and Western 'outer' languages.

(b) Bengali ablative post-position হইতে, হৈতে, «haitē», Early and Dialectal Bengali হন্তে, হোঁতে «hantē, hōntē», from «\*ahitē < \*ahēntē, \*ahantē, < \*as-ant- = s-ant», certainly agrees with the Sindhī «sandō», W. Rājasthānī «handō»; and what is more, Bengali থে, থেকে, থাকিয়া «thē, thēkē, thākiyā» *having been* as an ablative post-position is the exact counterpart of the Gujarātī «thī, thakī». But the use of these verbal derivatives as post-positions is certainly a new thing in IA., being not earlier than late MIA.; and the use of the substantive verb to denote case relation would only be natural in the various NIA. languages.

[The MIA. forms «suntō, hintō» do not seem to be connected with the Bengali হইতে «haitē». This is discussed later, under *Morphology*: Declension.]

(c) A synthetic declension is said to exist specially in the 'outer' languages, and to be present only as relic in the Midland one, thus bringing in a point of contrast between the 'outer' languages and the 'inner' language. As a matter of fact, the old synthetic declension is preserved but fragmentally in the NIA. languages; and where one language preserves a particular case-form, another retains a different one. The persistence of one old inflected form (instrumental? genitive?) in the Midland language, as the oblique case, is at the root of the distinction we find between W. Hindī and other IA. declensional systems: *e.g.*, W. Hindī «ghōrē kā < ghōḍahi kaa» = «ghoṭasya + kṛta»? or «ghōṭaka» + instrumental plural affix «hi < -bhiḥ» + «kṛta»? : here the oblique «ghōrē» preserves a synthetic case; but in Bengali বোড়ার «ghōrārā» = ghōṭaka + kara», and Bihārī «ghōrāk = ghoṭaka + kṛta? ghōṭaka + -ka, -kka?», we apparently do not have an earlier synthetic form, which is

lost, but we have a compound formation. Not considering post-positions, we find that this is how W. Hindī, Bengali, Marāṭhī and Lahndī (the three latter being described as 'outer' speeches) stand with reference to each other in the matter of preservation of the earlier, synthetic declension of MIA. :

Western Hindī.

- Nominative Singular : < ghōṛau > (= MIA. nominative singular, preserved in Braj) ; < ghōṛā > (Hindōstānī base form) ; < gharu > (Braj neuter form).  
 Nominative Plural : < ghōṛahi, ghōṛai, ghōṛē > (= MIA. instrumental plural ? with genitive influence ?)  
 Agent-instrumental : affix lost in nouns, but cf. < mai = \*mayēna >, < tai = \*tvayēna > ; and post-position < -nai, -nē = \*kaṇṇai, \*kaṇṇakēna >.  
 Dative-oblique Singular : < ghōṛahi, ghōṛē > (= MIA. genitive singular ? or MIA. instrumental plural, transferred to the singular ?).  
 Dative-oblique Plural : < ghōṛan(i), ghōṛō, ghōṛā > (= MIA. genitive plural).  
 Locative Singular, rare form : < ghar-ē, āg-ē > ; < hindōr-ē > *in the swing* (Bihārī-lāla), < māth-ē > *on the head* (Sūra-dāsa), etc. (= MIA. locative).  
 Ablative Singular (rare, dialectal) : < bhukkā > *from hunger*, in Vernacular Hindōstānī and Bāngarū dialects ; < bhūkhan, bhūkhō > (Braj, Kanaujī) (= MIA. ablative + genitive plural ?)

Bengali.

- Nominative : affix lost.  
 Agent-instrumental Singular : এ < -ē > : ঘোড়াএ, ঘোড়াই < ghōṛā-ē > (= MIA. instrumental : < -ēna > -ēna > -ē > -ē >).  
 [Oṛiyā Ablative : < -u : ghōṛā-u, ghōṛā-r-u > (= MIA. singular ablative ?)].  
 Genitive Singular, lost : except in the pronoun, where it occurs as অ < -ā > তা-র < tā-ra >, যা-র < jā-ra > etc. (= MIA. genitive singular).  
 Genitive Plural, as rare relics, in the affix ন্, আন্, ইন্ < -n, -ān -in >, dialectal আনি, আই < āni, āi > : e.g., ঘোড়াগুলান, -গুলিন < ghōṛā-gulān, -gulin > *horses* ; তান < tān > *his* (honorific) < *their* = (MIA. genitive plural). [In Oṛiyā, this MIA. genitive plural was preserved : < ghōṛā-ṅ-kā > *of horses* : see p. 137.]



Locative (merged into Instrumental):  $\text{ঞ} \langle -\bar{e} \rangle$ :  $\text{ঘর} \langle \text{ghārē} \rangle$  (= MIA. locative singular). [In Assamese, base + affix  $\langle \text{at} \rangle$ :  $\langle \text{ghār-āt} \rangle$ .]

### Marāṭhī.

(See Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' *Declension*.)

Nominative: preserved partially, in the plural.

Instrumental: preserved in Old Marāṭhī, but now obsolete.

Oblique Singular = OIA. dative: preserved.

Oblique Plural = OIA. genitive: preserved.

Ablative: extremely rare.

Locative: rare, in Old Marāṭhī.

The Marāṭhī form in  $\langle -\bar{a}-s \langle -\bar{a}-si \rangle$ , e.g.,  $\langle \text{ghōr-ā-s} \rangle$ , which was explained formerly as being the OIA. genitive in  $\langle -asya \rangle$ , is shown by Bloch to be really the oblique (=original dative) singular in  $\langle -\bar{a} \rangle$  + the post-positional word  $\langle -s, -si \rangle$  (Bloch, *op. cit.*, § 198).

### Lahndī.

(See LSI., Vol. VIII, Part I, pp. 252-258.)

Nominative Singular: traces of the  $\langle -u \rangle$  affix in umlaut forms only;

Plural: traces of the late MIA.  $\langle -a \rangle$  affix: e.g.,  $\langle \text{jaṅgu} \langle *jaṅga|u \rangle$ , pl.  $\langle \text{jaṅga} \langle *jaṅga|a \rangle$ , *forest*.

Agent-oblique: Singular: traces of the late MIA. genitive (?):  $\langle \text{jaṅga} \langle *jaṅga|aha \rangle \rangle$  ;

Agent-oblique Plural:  $\langle -\bar{ā} : \text{jaṅga} \langle \bar{ā} \rangle \rangle$  (=late MIA. genitive plural).

Ablative, in  $\langle -\bar{o} \rangle$ :  $\langle \text{jaṅga} \langle \bar{o} \rangle \rangle$  (=late MIA. ablative singular + genitive plural?).

Locative-Instrumental:  $\langle \text{jaṅgi} \langle *jaṅga|i \rangle$ , plural  $\langle \text{jaṅga} \langle \bar{i} \rangle \rangle$  (=late MIA. locative singular, and locative singular+genitive plural).

Taking into consideration the nett remains of the earlier, MIA. synthetic declension, it cannot be said that Bengali, Marāṭhī and Lahndī, as 'outer' languages, are synthetic to any special degree when compared with the Midland W. Hindī. The post-positional declension of NIA., with help-words reduced to the status of inflections, is a different thing; and

it must be admitted that, through phonetic decay, certain words in Bengali and Marāṭhī, which used to be combined with or affixed to base or oblique forms of nouns, have been worn down to mere inflections, and thus formed the nucleus of a new synthetic declension: *e.g.*, Bengali বোড়ার, বরের « ghōṛārā, ghārērā < kara, kēra = kārya », বোড়াদের « ghōṛādērā < -ādika + kēra »; Marāṭhī « ghōṛācā » < -kṛtya-ka ». But the W. Hindī speech is not free from this in its declension, although it has not joined up the genitive post-position to the noun in a synthetic declension: *e.g.*, « ghōṛē-nē » = oblique of « ghōṛā » + instrumental of « karṇa-ka »; the 'outer' speech Lahndī here agrees with the Midland form not only in preserving an analytic genitive, but also in building up a new synthetic agent and dative case: *e.g.*, Lahndī genitive « ghōṛē dā » = oblique of « ghōṛā » + « dā < diā < \*dīta-ka = datta-ka » (cf. W. Hindī « ghōṛē kā », where « kā = kaā, kiā < kṛta-ka »), but agent and dative « ghōṛē nē, -nū », where « nē, nū » = oblique forms of « karṇa-ka », as in Western Hindī. In W. Hindī, in the speech-feeling of many speakers, the post-positions « kō < kakṣa, sē < sama? sahita?, par < upari, mē = madhya » are as much organic inflections as are the Bengali genitive and locative affixes « -ārā, ērā, -ē, -tē » etc; and many writers of High Hindī advocate the writing of the post-position with the noun as one word. The influence of Persian (with its separate *pre*-positions) on W. Hindī may have been partially responsible in instilling into the minds of some speakers of W. Hindī the idea of a separate existence of the post-positions.

In any case, there is nothing in the declinational system of the 'outer' languages to mark them off from the Midland speech, and to bind them closely as being similar in spirit: Western Hindī and Lahndī and Sindhī agree with each other in spirit as much as they do with Marāṭhī and Bengali and Maithilī.

(d) Except in Lahndī and Sindhī, where it may very well be due to the influence of the contiguous Iranian and Dardic, affixed pronouns are not used with *nouns* in other NIA. In Assamese, however, there is a restricted pronominal affixation with nouns of relationship, which Grierson has connected with the affixed pronouns of the North-western languages



(JASB., 1895, Part I, p. 347); but some of the Assamese forms, e.g., « tōr zīyēr » *your* (non-honorific) *daughter*, and « tōmār zīyā, zīyērā » *your* (honorific) *daughter*, where the affixes are « -ēr » and « -ā » or « -ērā », are obscure in origin. It is very unlikely that this isolated phenomenon in Assamese is connected with Dardic: rather, this may be a case of Tibeto-Burman (Boḷo) influence, Boḷo possessing the peculiarity found in the Aryan Assamese (cf. LSI., Vol. III, Part II, p. 16).

(e) The formation of the past tense of transitive roots with the help of the passive participle adjective, which qualified the object, the subject being in the instrumental, came to be fixed in MIA. with the loss of the OIA. inflected, finite verb-forms. All NIA. languages inherited this passive construction for the past tense of the transitive verb from their respective source Apabhraṅśas—Bengali and Bihārī included. But while the passive construction is preserved in the Western and Southern 'outer' languages—Lahndī, Sindhī, Gujarātī-Rājasthānī, Marāṭhī,—Eastern Hindī and the Magadhan speeches have now entirely given up the passive form and have developed the active one. This is done by making the passive participle adjective a verb-form, and adding to it pronominal affixes for the 3 persons. The Western speeches (Lahndī, Sindhī) add pronominal affixes to the passive participle, but they fully retain the old passive idiom, in that the verb form agrees with the object in gender and number. The use of the pronominal affix is rendered necessary in the Western speeches from the fact that the agent case in them does not always retain the proper post-position (= « -nē » of W. Hindī), and is often merely the simple oblique form. There might be some influence of the neighbouring Iranian in this matter: e.g., Persian « kard-am » *I did*, Paṣtō « kṛ-am < \*kaṛ-am » *I do* = Old Iranian « \*karta, kərta + mē »: Lahndī « kiu-m » = Skt. « kṛta + mē ». In any case, there is a fundamental agreement between W. Hindī and Lahndī etc. in idiom and in speech-feeling, in maintaining the passive idea; and Marāṭhī and Rājasthānī-Gujarātī agree with W. Hindī in preserving the passive construction. From this point of view, NIA. speeches are capable of being divided into two broad groups, Eastern, or 'Active,' and Western, or 'Passive':

*I read (past) a book.*

Western group :

(Passive Construction)

- |   |            |  |
|---|------------|--|
| { | W. Hindī : | < maī-nē pōthī paṛh-I >                    |
|   | Gujarātī : | < mē pōthī vāc-I >                         |
|   | Marāṭhī :  | < mī pōthī vāc-il-I >                      |
|   |            | <i>by-me a-book read (fem.).</i>           |
| { | Sindhī :   | < (mū) pōthī paṛh-ī-m <sup>e</sup> >       |
|   | Lahndī :   | < (maī) pōthī paṛh-I-m >                   |
|   |            | <i>(by-me) a-book read (fem.) + by-me.</i> |

The Northern languages (Pahārī dialects—Khas-kurā, Gaṛhwālī, Kumāūnī, and the Western Pahārī speeches), on the whole, agree with the Western group, with which they are intimately connected.

Eastern Group :

(Active Construction)

- |              |   |
|--------------|---|
| E. Hindī :   | < maī pōthī paṛheū >                              |
| Bhōjpuriyā : | < ham pōthī paṛhalī >                             |
| Maithilī :   | < ham pōthī paṛhalahū >                           |
| Bengali :    | < āmi puthi pāṛilām<br>(mūi puthi pāṛilī, -lum) > |
| Orīyā :      | < āmbhē pōthi pāṛhilū<br>(mū pōthi pāṛhili) >     |
|              | <i>I a-book read (past, 1st person).</i>          |

The neuter construction, which characterises all the members of the Western group, is not present any longer, or at the best is very much obscured, in the Eastern group ; and surely in this matter a grouping of Bengali and the Eastern languages together with Sindhī, Lahndī and Dardī would be hardly allowable. (The present-day formation of the past paradigm of the verb in the Eastern languages agrees remarkably with that of modern Dravidian.)



(f) The adjectival « l » affix is an Indo-European inheritance in NIA., and occurs in the Midland speech as well: only, in the Eastern languages and in Marāṭhī, it forms the basis of the past tense, and in Gujarātī and Sindhī, it is regularly employed in a passive participle form. Panjābī and Lahndī do not have this as a characteristic affix, thus disagreeing with the other 'outer' speeches. W. Hindī instances of it are plentiful: *e.g.*, some 26 separate examples of it, like « lajilī » *bashful*, « raṅgilē » *coloured*, *sportive*, « chaila » *handsome*, « kaṭilī » *cutting* etc., are found in the 'Satasāī' of Bihārī-lāla; and it is not uncommon in Eastern Hindī as well.

### 78. C. Glossic.

On examining the common roots and words of Lahndī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, W. Hindī, Bihārī and Bengali, it would be easily found that Biharī and Bengali do not have a special agreement with the Western languages, or with Marāṭhī: the agreement with W. Hindī, which is so very close, is often forgotten, when a word not found in W. Hindī is traced to exist in common in the Eastern and the Western languages. The question of lexical affinity cannot be always insisted upon as a strong argument for a genetic relation. To take an important root, that of the substantive verb, « āch, ach », we find that among the Magadhan languages, Bhōjpuriyā and Magahī do not use it now, but there are traces of its use in Early Bhōjpuriyā remains (*e.g.*, in a poem ascribed to Kabīr—« achalaū mana bairāgī » *I was a bairāgī in (my) mind*, quoted by Jñānēndra-mōhan Dās, in his 'Bengali Dictionary,' Calcutta, San 1323, under अच « √āch »); Early Awadhī (E. Hindī) shows this root, although it is not found in Modern E. Hindī; of the other 'outer' languages, Sindhī and Lahndī have not got it, but it is found in Gujarātī and in some forms of Rājasthānī, and in Pahārī. The Dardic Kasmīrī also shows it. There is no trace of it in Western Hindī now, but it seems to have occurred in Śaurasēnī, according to the testimony of Vararuci ('Prākṛta-prakāśa,' XII, 19), and is found in Pali. It can be well expected that some OIA. roots and words have been preserved in common in certain widely separated dialects, and lost in others contiguous to these.

79. The phonetic grounds for postulating a connexion between the North-western and Eastern groups of NIA., as being more intimate than that between these and the Midland group, are not convincing,—as phonetic peculiarities supposed to be shared only by the ‘outer’ groups are found to occur in W. Hindī as well. Again, in certain points, W. Hindī agrees with the Eastern languages: *e. g.*, OIA. initial « v- » occurs as « b- » in W. Hindī, E. Hindī and the Magadhan languages, whereas in Gujārātī Marāṭhī, Sindhī, and Panjābī it remains as « v- »; and in other points, the agreement is between W. Hindī and the Southern and Western speeches as against the Eastern ones: *e. g.*, the tendency to make « ai, au » into open « è, ò » [ɛ, ɔ] sounds. The ‘outer’ languages in their declinational system agree with the central language; only the circumstances of development were slightly different in Hindōstānī, the most important W. Hindī language, the speech which came under the influence of Persian more than any other. The conjugational system, again, manifests a uniform spirit in the North-west, in the South, and in the Midland; and it is only in the East that a new construction has been evolved. It may be assumed that the dialects which were the sources of the North-western and the Eastern groups possessed characteristics which were not present in those that gave rise to the Midland speech. But that does not warrant us in assuming *two* independent groups in the earliest period, as it might also be shown that the North-western and the Midland dialects show agreement in points where the Eastern group disagrees, and so on. The evidence of the older stages of IA. is against it. The Aśōkan Prakrits show three varieties of speech, differing from each other in phonetics and to some extent in morphology: North-western, South-western, and Eastern. (See pp. 44, 47, 54—61.) The differences between the North-western speeches, and those of the East, were profound in the oldest period of which we have records: if the North-western and the Eastern languages were specially connected, we should expect them to show greater agreement at an early stage. But the contrary is the case. Beyond assuming the possibility of a number of popular dialects, modern representatives of which have in some cases retained, in others dropped, some of their



words and forms (§ 32), there are no convincing proofs for the categorical subdivision of IA. into (1) a Midland group, of different origin from (2) a surrounding ring of 'outer' speech,—the first being Indo-Aryan *par excellence*, the immediate relation of Sanskrit, and the second being allied to Dardic.<sup>1</sup> From racial (anthropological) reasons, the North-western (Lahndī and Sindhī) speakers are entirely distinct from the speakers of the Eastern languages, whereas there is affinity between the former and those (at least among the upper classes) of the Midland. The division would appear to be into *Western*, and *Eastern*, the « Udicya » and « Madhya-dēśiya » on the one hand, and the « Prācyā » on the other : the outstanding characteristic in these two groups within one IA. family being in the resistance to cerebralisation and in the retention of « r » in the Western group in the OIA. and early MIA. periods ; and at the present day it is in the fact that the Western group preserves the passive construction in the past of the transitive verb, whereas the Eastern has made it active : and in both the cases, it is the West which has been the more conservative.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Meillet, 'Introduction à l'Étude comparative des Langues indo-européennes,' 5th ed., Paris, 1922: 'Il ne s'y trouve presque rien qui ne s'explique par la langue védique. Les documents du moyen indien donnent une idée du développement de la langue mais ils ne permettent pas de supposer qu'il y ait jamais eu dans l'Inde à date ancienne un dialecte qui ait différé de celui que représente le védique autrement que par des détails d'importance secondaire.' (Pp. 37, 38.)

## APPENDIX B

### POINTS OF SIMILARITY BETWEEN INDO-ARYAN AND DRAVIDIAN, SHOWING PROBABLE INFLUENCE OF THE LATTER.

#### 80. A. *Phonetic.*

(a) Paucity of diphthongs. The avoidance of hiatus in Vedic and Sanskrit must have been maintained by the insertion of < ŷ, w̄ > between *udvṛtta* vowels, after the dropping of intervocal stops, and, rarely, of a nasal (in a compound word), in spoken MIA., down to NIA. times, although MIA. spelling (barring that obtaining in Jaina Ardha-māgadhī, where < ŷ > was used) does not ordinarily represent it. This euphonic insertion of the palatal and labial semivowels, in connection with front and back vowels respectively, and of < n >, is characteristic of Dravidian. (In certain forms of very recent NIA., *e.g.*, Bengali, numerous diphthongs have been developed from the elision of the earlier euphonic glides).

(b) Comparative absence of spirants (see p. 37). The change of the Indo-Iranian spirant < ž (žh) > to the stop < j (jh) > might have been brought about in India in Dravidian surroundings. (But opening of the voiced aspirated stops < gh, jh, dh, bh >, leading to their transformation to < h >, seems to have characterised the basic dialect of the Rig-Veda speech, which in all probability was a western dialect contiguous to Iranian; and Iranian favoured spirantisation: see p. 34).

(c) The occurrence of cerebrals. < t̪, d̪, ɳ, l̪, l̪ > (the last = a cerebral fricative, [ɻ]) are peculiarly Dravidian sounds, and are not found in any other ancient IE. speech than Vedic and Sanskrit. In Modern Swedish, among New IE. tongues, however, < d̪ > has developed out of < r + d >, which is paralleled by a similar cerebralisation in Old Māgadhī. (In Māgadhī, however, < r > always became < l >, and < r > + dental stop > cerebral



stop was in all probability a case of < l > + dental stop > cerebral stop in OIA., due to indigenous influence). Then, there are cases of spontaneous cerebralisation in IA. from very early times. The pronunciation of intervocal < -ḍ- -ḍh- > as < ṛ, ṛh > in NIA., and possibly also in MIA., is found in Dravidian also.

(d) Insertion of short vowels by anaptyxis (< svāra-bhakti, viprakarṣa >) in consonant groups, which is such a characteristic feature of MIA. and NIA. (e. g., in words like < kilēsa, sinēha, harisa, ratana, sumiraṇa, parāṇa, barāmbhaṇa > etc., etc.), is paralleled out in Dravidian (e. g., Kannaḍa < barāmaṇa >, Tamil < pirāmmaṇan > = a *Brahman*; Tamil < śinēgam = snēha, mittiraṇ = mitra, tiru = śrī, Kiruṭṭiṇan = Kṛṣṇa, śandiraṇ = candra > etc. etc.). The general view is that Dravidian did not have consonant groups initially, and had only double consonants medially; and this trait was imposed upon the Aryan speech in the MIA. Period. But J. Bloch contends ('Les Consonnes intervocaliques en Tamoul,' MSL., XIX, pp. 85 ff., translated in the IAnt., 1919, pp. 191 ff.) that in the Old Dravidian speech of several centuries B. C., groups like < tr-, dr- > existed initially as much as in IA.: the word < dramaḍa, draviḍa >, with initial < dr- >, being in all likelihood a true 'Old Dravidian' word, slightly Aryanised, of which < tamīl > was a development in the Tamil language at a post-Christian epoch, through an intermediate form < \*damiḍa >, borrowed in Pali and in Old Sinhalese as < damiḍa >, and occurring in a Greek transcription < \*damirikē > > < damirice > (Latin) = < \*damiḍakam > the *Tamil land*: simplification of the consonant groups was thus a phonological development which occurred parallelly in both Aryan and Dravidian. (In the matter of simplification of OIA consonant-groups by assimilation, which gave rise to MIA., it was probably internal, as it took place also in Italic, among other IE. languages: but here IA. reached that stage at least a thousand years before Italic; contact with Dravidian, as well as the adoption of the Aryan speech by Dravidians early in the history of IA., had probably something to do with it.)

In other points of phonetics, e. g., change of < c, j > to < ts, dz >, of < s > to < h >, the voicing of intervocal unvoiced stops, the retention

of a final vowel, etc., Dravidian influence has been postulated (cf. Grierson, 'Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,' BSOS., I, § 72). But in certain cases, the change was only normal: e.g., modification of an intervocal <-k-, -t-> to <-g-, -d->; but in certain tracts at least, early Dravidian influence is likely.

### 81. B. Morphological.

(a) The most noteworthy thing is the gradual disuse of prepositions. All other IE. languages developed the *prepositions* as aids to the declinational system; and when the inflections died out, the prepositions took up their place, as in English and Persian, French and Bulgarian. Prefixes, or prepositions, as modifiers of the meanings of roots, still continue in the above languages. In Primitive IE., the preposition, in origin an adverb, came before or after the noun; but it is remarkable that the development of it in India, where it is not entirely suppressed, should be post-positional (as in Sanskrit); that and in late MIA. and NIA., a series of help-words of a different kind, the post-positions of nominal and verbal origin, should come in.

The declinational system of NIA., with its agglutinated words like <gaṇa> -kula > gulā; sarva > sab; mānava > māna; lōka > lōg; sakala > etc. for the plural, and with new post-positional affixes derived from nouns etc. like <madhya > mē, mā; kakṣa > kō; sthāma > thāi; pārśva > pās; sahita > sē; \*dita- > dā; kṛta- > kā; > etc., greatly resembles Dravidian. The use of verbal forms—participles and conjunctives—as post-positions in declension (e.g., Bengali হইতে <haitē>, লাগিয়া <lāgiyā>, থাকিয়া <thākiyā>, দিয়া <diyā>, and similar forms in other NIA.), is a special point of agreement between NIA. and Dravidian (e.g., Tamil <kattiyai-kkoṇḍu > *with a knife*, literally *having taken a knife*; <avau-ōḍu >, from <oṭṭu > *touch*, = *with him*; Tamil <inru, ninru > *standing, having been* = Bengali and Gujarāṭī থাকিয়া <thākiyā> and <thaki >, ablative post-position). (Cf. R. Caldwell, 'Comparative Grammar of Dravidian 3,' London, 1913, pp. 252 ff.; Julien Vinson, 'Manuel de la Langue tamoule,' Paris, 1903, §§ 28, 29.)

The absence of the dative-accusative case with the affix (<kō, kē, ku > in NIA., <-ku > in Dravidian) for neuter nouns is found in both the families.



The above are cases where we can look for Dravidian influence, in the *inherent principle of formation* only, quite legitimately. But in the development of NIA. post-positions and affixes, which took place towards the end of the 1st millennium A. C. and in the first centuries of the 2nd millennium, it would be too much to expect direct borrowing from Dravidian, or building up on the model of Dravidian, as it has been suggested in a number of cases by various scholars. Thus, *e.g.*, the NIA. < -k- > affix for the dative, as in W. Hindī < kō >, Bengali < kē >, Oṛiyā < ku >, coming ultimately from the Skt. < kakṣa > during the late MIA. and early NIA. stages, has nothing to do with the similar Dravidian affix < -ku >: the agreement is a case of pure coincidence. Similarly, for the Bengali plural affixes রা, গুলা (গুলি) < -rā, -gulā (-guli) > (see p. 97), which first came into use probably as late as the 14th century, it would be extremely hazardous to suggest a Dravidian affinity, in the Tamil plural affixes < -ar, -ga > for instance, notwithstanding the partial agreement between the two that in Bengali < -rā > is restricted to intelligent beings, or creatures to which intelligence is ascribed, and the Dravidian < -ar > is employed with reference to 'high-caste' nouns, *i.e.*, names of intelligent beings.

An adjectival treatment of certain cases is noted in both Dravidian and NIA.: *e.g.*, Bengali সোনার বাটি < sōnārā būṭī > *cup of gold* = Tamil < pon-n-in kuḍam > *gold vessel*. (This, however, is found in many other languages, and it cannot be insisted that there is a specially Dravidian influence here.)

(b) Absence of affixes in the comparison of the adjective in both NIA. and Dravidian. The OIA. affixes < -īyas -iṣṭha, -tara -tama > are lost, and comparison is denoted by employing the positive form of the adjective with the noun with which comparison is made, the latter being put in the dative or ablative or locative with some nominal or verbal post-position: *e.g.*, Bengali এর চেয়ে ভালো > ērā cēyē bhālō > *better than this*, lit. *good, having looked at this*; সব্বার মাঝে ভালো > sabbārā mājhē bhālō > *best of all*, lit. *good in the middle of all*, etc. This is also the Dravidian way to indicate comparison. [Modern IE. languages

outside India have either retained the comparative and superlative affixes, *e.g.*, Persian « -tar, -tarīn » , Armenian comparative affix « -kuin < -goīn » , Modern Greek « -teros, -tatos » , Russian comparative affix « -jēišīī, -jēē » , English « -er, -est » , or employed words meaning *more* and *most* before the adjective in question, as in English, in French (« plus, le plus ») and other Romanic speeches, in Modern Greek (« pleon, o pleon »).]

(c) With the want of prepositions to modify meanings of verb-roots, both NIA. and Dravidian have developed the use, in a most curious and idiomatic way, of conjunctives and participles with an adverbial function, giving rise to what is known as the 'Compound Verb': *e.g.*, Skt. « ni + √sad » , English *sit down*, Bengali বসিয়া পড়া « bāsiyā pārā » = literally, *having sat down, to fall*, Hindī « baiṭh jānā » = *having sat down, to go*; English *rub off*, but Bengali মুছিয়া ফেলা « muchiyā phēlā » = *having rubbed off, to throw*. Dravidian has this usage as well.

(d) An almost wholesale disuse of OIA. moods and tenses reducing the verb-system of Aryan to an indicative present form (and in some cases an indicative future), a past participle forming the past, a present participle, a conjunctive, and some verbal nouns, and a passive indicative present. A similar decay has taken place in Iranian. But the whole principle of phrase-building tended gradually to become nominal or adjectival from verbal, in IA.; *e.g.*, the normal OIA. (Vedic) for *he went* would be « sō ' gamat » or « sō ' gacchat » , or « sa jagāma » ; but in MIA. and NIA., this verbal construction is changed to the adjectival: « sō gadō, sō gao, sē gadē, \*śi gayilla, su gaü, so gaaü » etc., = Skt. « sa gataḥ » , whence NIA. « sō gayau, gayā » (W. Hindī), « sē gēlā » (Bengali) etc.: and herein there is a possible influence of Dravidian, for in Dravidian the verb has an adjectival force, it being really a noun of agency with reference to the subject. (See LSI., Vol. IV, p. 295.) The Dravidian tenses developed out of participles; and in the development of Aryan, we find a gradually increasing employment of the participle forms, to the exclusion of the IE. finite verbal forms. The periphrastic future of Sanskrit, « kartā » = *a doer* for « kariṣyati » *he will do*, « kartāsmi » *I am a doer* = « kariṣyāmi » *I shall do*, is Dravidian in principle. The compound affix « -ta-vant- », rare



in the Vedic speech, may be compared with the Dravidian (Tamil) < -d-avan > : Skt. < kṛta > *done*, < kṛta-vant- > *one who has done*; cf. Tamil < sey-du > *having done*, < sey-d-avan > *having done he = one who has done*. (LSI., Vol. IV, pp. 280-281). The structure of the modern Magadhan (Bengali, Oṛiyā, Maithilī, Magahī, Bhōjpuriyā) past and future verb, in showing the root + past or future (passive) participle affix + personal pronominal affix, affords a remarkable parallel to Dravidian. The importance attached to the conjunctive with the sense of *having performed or finished an act*, and its lavish use, e.g., Tamil < koṇḍu vā >, NIA. (Bengali) লইয়া আইস, নিয়ে এস < läiyā āisā, niē ēsō > (Hindī < lāo > may similarly be < lē + āo >), = *having taken, come, to mean simply bring*, is common to both Dravidian and NIA., and is undoubtedly an idiom borrowed by Aryan from Dravidian, very early in the history of Aryan.

The inflected passive of OIA. is lost to, or considerably restricted in NIA., which, like Dravidian, forms passives by means of compound verb constructions, in which the roots meaning *to go, to fall, to suffer, to eat* etc. are auxiliaries. Herein the idiom is probably Dravidian.

(e) Onomatopoeic formations on a lavish scale are a characteristic of both NIA. and Dravidian. (Cf. Rabīndra-nāth Tagore, 'Śabda-tattva,' Calcutta, pp. 22 ff.; S Milne, 'Bengali Grammar,' Calcutta, 1913, Chap XX; Kellogg, 'Hindī Grammar,' § 849; Khansaheb and Sheth, 'Hints on the Study of Gujarati,' Surat, 1915, § 255, etc.: G. U. Pope, 'Tamil Handbook,' § 273; A. H. Arden, 'Progressive Grammar of Telugu,' §§ 686, 687, etc.). Vedic is remarkably poor in onomatopoeics; as we come down to MIA., and NIA., the number and force of onomatopoeics is on the increase. (Cf. B. C. Mazumdar, 'A Study of some Onomatopoeic Deśī Words,' JRAS., 1905, pp. 555-557; R. Morris, 'Pali Miscellanies—Some Onomatopoeics from the Jātakas,' Transactions of the Philological Society, London, 1885-1887.)

[Onomatopoeic words and jingles, however, are characteristic of Kōl as well: cf. P. O. Bodding, 'Materials for a Santali Grammar,' Part I, Dumka, 1922, pp. 31, 32. It may be that in this matter there is also Kōl influence on Aryan.]

(f) Presence of 'echo words.' A word is repeated *partially* (partially in the sense that a new syllable, the nature of which is generally fixed, is substituted for the initial one of the word in question, and the new word so formed, unmeaning by itself, echoes the sense and sound of the original word), and in this way the idea of *et cetera*, and *things similar to or associated with that*, is expressed. This is found in Modern Indo-Aryan and in Dravidian. *E.g.*, Bengali বোড়া টোড়া < ghōrā-ṭōrā > Maithilī < ghōrā-tōrā >, Hindōstānī < ghōrā-urā >, Gujarātī < ghōrō-bōrō > Marāṭhī < ghōrā-bīrā >, Sinhalese < aśwayā-baśwayā > *horses etc., horses and other animals, or horses and equipage*: cf. Tamil < kudirai-kidirai >, Kannaḍa < kudire-gidire >, Telugu < gurramu-girramu >. So Bengali জল-টল < jālā-ṭāḷā > = *water and things, refreshment*, = Hindōstānī < jal-ul >, Marāṭhī < jal-bil >, Tamil < taṅṅir-kiṅṅir >, Kannaḍa < nīru-gīru >; Bengali দাঁত-টাঁত < dāṭā-ṭāṭā >, Sinhalese < dat-bat > = *teeth etc.* In the formation of these 'echo words,' Bengali takes ট < ṭ- >, and retains the vowel of the original word; Maithilī takes the dental < t- >, keeping also the original vowel; Hindōstānī substitutes < u- >, and Marāṭhī < bi- >, for the whole syllable; and Gujarātī takes < b- > for the original consonant; Sinhalese similarly has < b- > with original vowel; [the agreement of Sinhalese with Gujarātī and Marāṭhī in this matter is to be noted in connection with what has been postulated about the origin of Sinhalese: see pp. 15, 72-73]; and the Dravidian languages substitute the syllable < ki-, gi- > for the initial one of the original word. (These 'echo words' are different from compounds like কাপড়-চোপড় < kāpāṛā-cōpāṛā > *clothes etc.*, or চাঁচী-বাঁচী < cāṭī-bāṭī > *pots etc.*, where compare চোপড় < cōpāṛā > with চূপড়ী < cūpāṛī > = *basket*, and চাঁচী < cāṭī > = *earthen pot*: in such compound words, one element is usually an obsolete word, and not an unmeaning echo-form, as in the cases noted above.)

### 82. C. Syntactical.

Syntax is regarded as being of greater importance in linguistics, as an inherited peculiarity, than phonetics or morphology, which are easily acquired or modified. It is in syntax that Indian Dravidianism and Aryandom are one. A sentence in a Dravidian language like Tamil or



Kannaḍa becomes ordinarily good Bengali or Hindī by substituting Bengali or Hindī equivalents for the Dravidian words and forms, without modifying the word-order, but the same thing is not possible in rendering a Persian or English sentence into a NIA. language. The most fundamental agreements are thus found between NIA. and Dravidian, and all this began from early MIA., as is seen from a comparison of the syntax of Pali and the Prakrits with that of the modern vernaculars. 'The syntactical arrangement of a Tamil sentence (*vākkīyam*, Skt. *vākya*) is in many respects similar to that of an ordinary Sanskrit sentence. As a rule, first comes the subject with its attributes, second the object with its enlargements, third the extension of the predicate, and lastly the verb. As in classical Skt., so in Tamil there is the usual predominance of gerunds and the clauses formed by them, of the relative participles which take the place of relative clauses, and of the *oratio recta* instead of the *oratio obliqua*.' (M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe, 'Tamil Grammar,' London, 1906, p. 74; cf. also LSI., Vol. IV, p. 281.)

The omission of the copula is preferred by both IA. and Dravidian: e.g., Bengali এটা আমাদের বাড়ী < ē-tā āmādērḥ bāḍī >, Kannaḍa < idu namma mane > *this (is) our house*; মানুষটা ভাল < mānuṣṭā-ṭi bhālā >, Tamil < manīdan nallavan > *the man (is) good*.

The most remarkable similarity in idioms is found in both: e.g., use of a conjunctive meaning *having said* (Bengali বলিয়া < bāliyā >, E. Hindī < bōl-kē >, Marāṭhī < mbaṇūn >, Sinhalese < kiyā >, Tamil < enru >, Kannaḍa < endu >, Telugu < eni >), in the sense of *as, because*, recapitulating and introducing a conditional clause; employment of the infinitive for the polite imperative, e.g., W. Hindī < yah kām karnā >, Kannaḍa < i kelasa māḥuvadu > *do this work*; use of the verb *to give* in forming the 'imperative' or permissive mood, e.g., for Skt. < vadāni > *let me say*, cf. Bengali আমাকে বলিতে দেও < āmākē bālitē dēō >, Hindōstānī < mujhē bōlnē dō >, Telugu < nannu ceppan-iy >. (In connection with this, it must be admitted that a similar idiom is found in other modern IE. languages outside India, e.g., English *let*). IA. does not possess the above points of similarity with IE. tongues outside India, but with Dravidian;

and unquestionably herein we have the impress of the Dravidian mind on IA.

83. *D. Glossic.*

The Aryan speech has been borrowing words from the Dravidian ever since the former came to India. The Brahuis are a Dravidian-speaking tribe outside India: it is just possible that there were other Dravidian speakers in Iran, with whom contact was possible for the Aryans (Indo-Iranians) even outside India.

Caldwell, Gundert, Kittel and others have discussed the nature and extent of Dravidian loan-words in Indo-Aryan. A great many of the *dēśī* words, of which counterparts are not found in other Indo-European speeches, are probably Dravidian in origin (many are also Kōl, and possibly even pre-Dravidian and pre-Kōl). (Cf. F. Kittel, 'Kannada Dictionary,' Mangalore, 1894, Introduction; R. Caldwell, 'Comp. Gram. of Drav. 3,' pp. 565 ff.; Sten Konow, 'Notes on Dravidian Philology,' IAnt., 1903, pp. 449 ff.; LSI., Vol. IV, pp. 276 ff.; Grierson, 'Indian Vernaculars' in the BSOS., I, iii; A. A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar,' p. 33; P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, 'Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras,' pp. 6, 8, 15, 125, 126; F. E. Pargiter, 'Vṛṣākapi and Hanumant,' JRAS., 1913, p. 400; K. Amrita Row, 'Dravidian Elements in the Prakrits,' IAnt., Feb. 1917; 'Notes on some Hindi words from the Dravidian,' IAnt., Jan. 1916; B. C. Mazumdar, 'Bāṅgālā-bhāṣay Drāviṇī Upādān,' VSPdP., 1320; D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Lectures on the Ancient History of India,' 1918, Calcutta University, pp. 26-27.)

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## APPENDIX C

### OLD BENGAL PLACE-NAMES FROM INSCRIPTIONS.

84. [1] Dhānāidaha Copper-plate Grant of Kumāra-gupta : North Central Bengal, c. 432-433 A. C. (R. G. Basāk, 'Sāhitya,' Pauṣa and Caitra, 1323).

« Kṣudraka » Village; « Khādāpāra » or « Khātāpāra », a *viṣaya* or district. The reading « Khātā-pāra » would be better; the word would mean *Creek-ford* or *Creek-ferry*: « khātā » for « \*khādā »: cf. New Bengali খাঁড়ী « khārī » *channel*; a « Khāḍi-viṣaya » in the same Puṇḍra-varadhana *bhukti* or province is mentioned in the Barrackpur grant of Vijaya-sēna (§ 106); the word « khātikā » is found in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla (§ 90) and in the Govindapur grant of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna (§ 108); and « khāḍi » also, in the Tarpaṇ-dighī grant (§ 108).

85. [2] Five Dāmōdarpur Copper-plates of the Gupta Period : North Central Bengal. (R. G. Basāk, Ep. Ind., XV, No. 7, pp. 113 ff.)

(i) 443-444 A. C. : Village « Ḍōṅgā » : [« Ḍōṅgā » a *dēśī* word = *high land, high*, occurring as ডাঙ্গা « ḍāṅgā », টং « ṭāṅ » *high land*. Derivatives from this word are probably Bengali ডাঙ্গর « ḍāṅgar » *big, grown-up*, Assamese « ḍāṅgariyā » *high one, Sir*, Bengali টেঙ্গরা, টাঙ্গরা « ṭēṅgārā, ṭāṅgārā » *upland* (as in হেঁটা টেঙ্গরা « hēṭā-ṭēṅgārā » *low and high, uneven*; cf. « ṭēṅkarī » in § 94). This *dēśī* word occurs in other NIA.: e.g., W. Hindi « ḍuṅgar » *high place, hill* (cf. the words *ḍūṅg* and *ḍoṅgar* in the 'Index Etymologique' in Jules Bloch's 'Formation de la Langue marathe.')] ]

(iii) 476-495 A. C. : Villages « Palāśa-vṛndaka, Caṇḍa-grāma, Vāyi-grāma »; the last = « \*Vāpi-grāma » = *Mer-ton* (?): cf. « Vāpikā-grāma » in the Tipperah Inscription of Lōka-nātha (§ 88), and « Rōlla-vāyikā » in the Ashrafpur grant of Dēva-khaḍga (§92).

(v) 533-534 A. C. Villages « Svacchanda-pāṭaka » (cf. Bengali পাড়া « pāṛā » *neighbourhood*; a word found in Bengal, Chota Nagpur and Orissa),

« Lavanga-sikā », « Sāṭu-vanāśramaka », « Paraspatikā », « Purāṇa-vṛndikā-hari » (where « -hari » < \* -gharia, ḡhika »; cf. « Vṛndaka » above).

86. [3] Three Copper-plate Grants from East Bengal : 6th century A. C. (F. E. Pargiter, IAnt., July 1910).

(i) Villages « Hima-sēna-pāṭaka », « Trighaṭṭikā » (Sanskritised from a form like « \*Tighaṭṭia » = Modern Bengali তেঘাটি « \*Tēghāṭi »); « Śīla-kuṇḍa » (probably for « Śīla-kuṇḍa » *Rock-hill*, cf. Bengali কুড় « kūrḍ » *heap, mass, dunghill*: a *dēśī* word? = Telugu « koṇḍa » *hill, rock*: see pp. 66, 67. The editor of the inscription suggests the meaning as being *tank*).

(ii) Village « Navyavakāsikā » (any connection with « -sikā » as in « Lavanga-sikā » in [2] (v)? or « navya + avakāsikā » = *New Channel, for passage of water*?).

(iii) Village « Dhru-vilā-ṭi » = « \*Dhruva-bila-vāḍi, -vāṭi » where « bila-vāḍi » = *house or village by the marsh (belonging to Dhruva)*?

87. [4] Inscription of the time of Jaya-nāga of Karṇa-suvarṇa : Central Bengal, 6th-7th century. (Unpublished: text and translation obtained through the kindness of Dr. L. D. Barnett, who is editing it for the Ep. Ind.)

« Āudumbara » District (*viśaya*); « Kutkuṭa » Village (Sanskritised from « kukkuḍa »?); Village « Amala-pāntika »; Village « Vappa-ghōṣa-vāṭa » (« Ghōṣa-vāṭa » would give a New Bengali form like ঘোষাড়া, or ঘোষাড়ী « \*Ghōṣārā, -rī »: cf. গোয়ারী « Gōārī » from « Gōpa-vāṭikā »); Village « Vakhaṭa-Sumālikā » (« Vakhaṭa », Sanskritised from « \*Bahaḍa », now found in Bengali as বহড়া বহড়া « Bāhārā, Bāyārā »: < ?); « Gaṅginikā », River (see § 89).

88. [5] Tipperah Grant of Lōka-nātha : 7th century (R. G. Basāk, Sāhitya, Kārttika, 1921).

District (*viśaya*) of « Suvvunga (Subbunga ?) »; « Kaṇā-mōṭikā » Hill (for « \*kaṇā-mōḍia » = New Bengali কানামুড়ী « \*kānā-muṛi » *Edge-twist*, « kaṇaka + √muḍ, = Skt. √muṭ », *dēśī* root = *fold, wrap, twist*).

Villages « Paṅga » and « Vāpikā »: « Paṅga = ? paṅka » *clay from bottom of tank*: cf. the Faridpur village পাংগা « Pāṅgā » = « \*Paṅgāvāsaka » *abode of Paṅga* (?).



Village « Tāmra-pathara-khaṇḍa » = *Copper-stone district* (for « \*Tamba-patthara- »).

89. [6] Nidhanpur Copper-plates of Bhāskara-varmman of Kāmārūpa : Central Bengal, 7th century. (Padma-nāth Bhaṭṭāchārya, Ep. Ind., XII, pp. 65 ff.)

« Gaṅgi(a)nikā » river = গাঙ্গিনী « Gāṅgini », modern Jalangī, branch of the Ganges : found also in [4].

[Personal names : « Khāsōka » the tradesman ; « Sēkyā-kāra Kāliyā » the engraver Kāliyā (cf. New Bengali : সেকরা « sēkārā » *goldsmith*, for which see *Appendix D, Vocabulary of Bengali : Foreign Words in Bengali*) ; « Śrī-kṣi-kuṇḍa » ; the Kāyastha « Dundhu-nātha ». « jāṭali » tree = Modern Bengali জাটল « jārul(i) ».]

90. [7] Khālimpur Grant of Dharma-pāla : North Central Bengal, 1st quarter of the 9th century (Akshaya Kumār Maitra, 'Gauḍa-lēkhamā'ā' ; R. D. Banerji, 'The Pālas of Bengal,' ASB. Memoires, V, No. 3).

The territory (*maṇḍala*) of « Vyāghra-taṭi » (= বগড়ী « Bāgḍī » ; see footnote, p. 74) ; the district (*viśaya*) of « Mahantā-prakāśa » ; the villages of « Krauñca-śvabhra » (cf. « Hañsā-koñci » in [19]), « Mā]hā-śāmmali » and « Pālitaka » ; the territory of « Āmra-ṣaṇḍikā » *Mango-grove* ; the district of « Sthālikkaṭa » ; Village « Gō-pippali » ; Village « Uḍra-grāma » ; « Puṇārāma-Vilvaṅgārdha » stream ; « Nala-carmaṭa » (= « \*camaṭa » = চামড়া « cāmḍā » *skin* in New Bengali) : « Nāmuṇḍikā-hēsadumika (?) » ; « Vēdasavilvikā (?) » ; « Rōhita-vāḷi » (for « \*Rōhia-bāḍi » = New Beng. রুহিবাড়ী « Ru(h)i-bārī » *Carp-fish-town*) ; « Piṇḍāra-viṭi-jōṭikā » =? *the Channel of the House of the Piṇḍāra (tree)* ; « Uktāra-yōṭa » for « \*Uttāra-jōla » *Stream-crossing (?)* ; « Viṭi-dharmāyō-jōṭikā » ; « Kāṇā-dvipikā » *Blind Isle (?) Edge Isle (?)* ; River « Kōṇṭhiyā » (cf. « Kōṇṭō-hāḍā » in § 102) ; « Jēnandāyikā » ; « Vesānikā-khāṭikā » (= « \*khāḷia » = New Bengali খাড়ী « khārī » *creek* : see [1]) ; « Haṭṭikā » (= New Bengali হাট « -hāṭi » *market*) and « Tala-pāṭaka », village quarters (cf. « Tala-pāṭaka » in § 92, and « Haṭṭa-pāṭaka » in § 94).

[Personal names : « Dēvaṭa, Viṭaka, Bhōgaṭa, Subhaṭa (= Śubhaṭa ?), Tātata, Vapyata (= Vappata) ; Dēdda-dēvi ».]

91. [8] Tezpur (Assam) Rock Inscription, on the Brahmaputra: 1st half of the 9th century. (H. P. Śāstrī, JBORS., 1917, Part iv, pp. 508 ff.)

« Hārūpapesvara-pura » ; « Nākka-jōsī » (cf. « Nōkka-, Nēkka- » in § 105) ; « Avara-parvata » = *Abor Hills* ?.

[Personal name : « Lāha(i)lī-jhā », according to H. P. Śāstrī, = *Lāhīrī Jhā* = the Varēndra Brahman surname লাহিড়ী « Lāhīrī » + « jhā » < adhyāpaka », or « ōjhā » < upādhyāya » (?). Words : « buṭṭika » for « \* buḍia » = New Bengali বুড়ী « buṛī » *score* ; « pravista », with dental « -st- », for « praviṣṭa », showing Assamese confusion of the cerebrals and dentals as early as the 9th century.]

92. [9] Ashrafpur Grants of Dēva-khaḍga : East Bengal, 1st half of the 10th century. (G. M. Laskar, Memoires of the ASB., I, No. 6, p. 86 ff. ; R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 67.)

Villages « Tala-pāṭaka ; Dara-pāṭaka ; Datta-kaṭaka ; Markaṭāśī-pāṭaka (= \*Markaṭāśvāsika-pāṭaka : *Monkey-home-village* ?) ; Nava-rōpya ; Para-nāṭana ; Dvārōdaka ; Vvāra-mugguka (= « \*Dvāra-mudguka », for a vernacular \*Bāra-mug(g)ua [?]) ; Cāta ; Jaya-karmānta-vāsaka ; Ta(ā?)lyōdyānikara-taralā (?) ; Kōdara-cōraka ; Palaśata ; Śiva-bradikā-sogga-vargga ; Śrīmēta ; Para-nāṭana-nāda-varmī (?) ; Rōlla-vāyikā ; Ugra-vōraka (= vōla, pōla *field* ?) ; Tisanāda-jaya-datta-kaṭaka ».

93. [10] Nowgong Copper-plate of Bala-varmman of Prāgjyōtiṣa, c. 975. (A. R. Hoernle, JASB., 1897, pp. 285 ff.)

The word « koppam » *well* may be compared with Bengali কোপ « kōp » *slash, dig*, কোপ কুপী « kōpā, kupī » *a vessel*.

94. [11] Sylhet-Bhāṭērā Grant of Gōvinda : 10th century? (Mm. Padma-nāth Vidyāvinōda in the VSPdP., 1328, pp. 175 ff. ; Proceedings of the ASB., 1880, pp. 141 ff.)

The readings (as in the Proceedings of the ASB.) are extremely problematic, but in this inscription we find quite a long list of names of villages and of rivers, etc. The following are easily made out :

\* Haṭṭa-pāṭaka ; Cāṭā-paḍā ; Vaḍa-gāma ; Maharā-pura (= present day Maurā-pur) ; Haḍḍhī-thāna (= sthāna) ; Dēgigāna(ma ?) ; Navapañcānē



(= «Vara-pañcāla», the correct reading, = the present-day Baram-cāl, Brahma-cāl); Śiḍḍava; Amanāṭa; Guḍāvayika; Kāṭā-bācha (Village?); Yithāyī-nagara; Yōḷātithārka (= ১৩৭৭ «jōrā» pair); Bālūsī-gāma; Nava-chaḍī; Kaḍḍiyā; Savagā-nayī (= River Savagā); Ghaṭī (= ghaut); Kānīyānī (Kāliyāli? river); Yēgamyā-gaṇiyā (?); Thava-sontī (arrested stream (?): «sthāpa-srōtas + ikā»: cf. Modern Bengali ১৩৭৭ + ১৩৭৭ «thō + sōtā» < śonta [Old Bengali] < MIA. śonta < OIA. srōtas»); Bhāskara-tēṅkarī (= Bhāskara Hill? cf. § 85); Nāṭayāna (= thāna? Village); Anī-kāthī, Āḍāna-kāthī («kāthī = kāṭhī», showing confusion between cerebrals and dentals in the old speech of Sylhet? cf. New Bengali ১৩৭৭ «kāṭhī» in village names, §§ 97, 109); Bhōgāḍatta (?); Sāta-kōpā (= Seven Springs? cf. § 93); Cēdgambuḍīka (?); Naḍa-kuṭī-gāma; Haḍī-gāṅga (gāṅga: cf. New Bengali ১৩৭৭ «gāṅgā» stream); Dhana-kuṇḍō-ḍī; Pōchāniyā; Bhāṭa-paḍā; Chaḍhā-thānā; Haḍḍīpa-grha (?); Piāpi-nagara; Sihāḍava-grāma»: besides a number of other *tadbhava* and *dēśī*-looking names, which cannot be read properly or distinguished.

95. [12] Bāṅgarḥ Grant of Mahī-pāla: 9th year = end of the 10th century: (R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 76; 'Gauḍa-lekha-mālā').

«Gōkalikā-maṇḍala» (= Gō-kavalikā?); Villages «Cūṭā-pallikā, Karaṭa-pallikā, Hasti-pada, Cavaṭī» (the last = ১৩৭৭ «cāṭī» inn, *serai*; see p. 67).

96. [13] Bālāditya Inscription of the time of Mahī-pāla: 11th year. ('Gauḍa-lekha-mālā.')

Village «Tailāḍhaka» = New Bengali ১৩৭৭ «Tēlārā».

97. [14] Rāmpāl Grant of Śrī-caudra-dēva: East Bengal, 1st half of the 11th century (R. G. Basāk, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 136 ff.).

«Nānya-maṇḍala»; Village «Nēha-kāṭhī» (= «snēha-kāṭhīkā»?): cf. the affix ১৩৭৭ «kāṭhī» in village names in South-west Vaṅga: = wood, forest (§ 109).

98. [15] Gauhāṭī Copper-plate of Indra-pāla of Prāgyōtiṣa; c. 1050 A. C. (A. R. Hoernle, *JASB.*, 1897, pp. 113 ff.).

«Mākkhiyāna-villa» = beel (marshy lake) of the *Mākkhāna* tree (?): «Kuntavita-khambhavā (?)» (= ? ১৩৭৭ «khāmbā» < khambhā < OIA.

skambha-, stambha- > *pillar*); « Makuti-Makkhiyāna-hasī (?) » ;  
 « Kuntavita-lākkhyavā (?) » ; « Kāśī-pāṭaka » Village ; « Svalpadyati (?) » ;  
 « Digumma (= dvi-gulma ?) » river.

99. [16] Silimpur Inscription of Jaya-pāla of Kāma-rūpa : 11th century (R. G. Basāk, Ep. Ind., XIII, pp. 283 ff.).

Villages « Bāla-grāma, Śiriṣa-puñja, Kuṭumba-pallī » ; « Tarkārī, Śiyambaka », Districts or Villages ; « Śakaṭī » river ? ; « Vaicunda » tank.

[Personal names : « Sāhila » ; « Kaliyavvā = \*Kali-parvā » and « Nitulā » , female names.]

100. [17] Bhaṭṭa Bhava-dēva Inscription of Bhuvaneshwar : 11th century (F. Kielhorn, Ep. Ind., VI, pp. 203 ff.).

« Hastinī-bhiṭṭa, Siddhala, Vandya-ghaṭī » , villages in West Bengal.

[Personal (female) name : « Sāṅgōkā » .]

101. [18] Belābō Grant of Bhōja-varmma-dēva : East Bengal, 11th century (R. G. Basāk, Ep. Ind., XII, pp. 37 ff.).

« Adhaḥ-patana-maṇḍala » ; « Kāuśāmbi-Aṣṭagaccha » (= « Āṭha-gāchā » *Eight trees*) subdivision ; Village « Upyalikā, » (« \*Uppalikā = Utpalikā ? »).

102. [19] Kamaulī Grant of Vaidya-dēva of Assam : latter part of the 11th century (A. Venis, Ep. Ind., II, pp. 348 ; ' Gauḍa-lēkha-mālā ').

« Haṅsā-koñci » district (= « Haṅsa + krauñca » : cf. « Krauñca-śvabhra » in § 90) ; « Vaḍā-, Vā'ā-viṣaya » ; Villages « Śānti-, Santi-vaḍā » *Peace Village*, occurring also as « Santi-pāṭaka » ? . « Mandara » Village ; « Kaṅsa-pala » (= « -pōla » ? *Bell-metal field*) ; Dig(h)-dāṇḍi-dharā » Village ? (« dāṇḍi-dharā » = ?  *Holding the high road* : cf. Oṛiyā « dāṇḍā » *main road of a village* ; cf. also « Lacchu-vaḍā » below ; « digh » = « dirgha » *long* ? or « dirghikā » *lake* ? or « dik, diś » *direction* ? : or any connection with New Persian « dih » ? [ < Old Persian « dahyu » = *country*, Skt. « dasyu » ], found in New Bengali as দিহি, ডিহি « dihi, ḍihi » ; Persian words were already being adopted in MIA. : see later, *Appendix D*, Vocabulary of Bengali ; see also §§ 104, 105) ; Village « Singiā-dhara » = « śṛṅgika- » ; « Lēṅga-vaḍā » = ? ' *Shank-ham* ' ; « Kōṅṭu-vū'a, Kōṅṭō-hā'a » = ? ; « Navadharā » *youthful, graceful* (cf. New Bengali নবর « nādhārā < navadhara ») ; Villages « Śira-vaḍā » , « Śīla-guḍī » (see p. 66) ; « Jaya-rāti-pōla » ; « Uṅai-pōla »



'Spring-field' ? (cf. New Bengali উনুই < উনই < unui, unāi > *spring, well* < < unna—√ud, und > *flow*); < Pipā-muṇḍā > = ?; < Ajhaḍā-cau-bōla > =? *Treeless four fields*; < Vuḍhi-pōkhi > *old lake, or lake of the Old Woman*; < Kulā-cāpaḍi > *Pond-hotelry village*; < Nai-pōṣṅgāyō (?) > (< nai = nai = nadi > ?); < Lacchu-vaḍā > = ? 'Strat-ham' (< lacchu = Middle Bengali ল্যাছ < lācha >, MIA. [Māgadhī] < lacebā > = Skt. < rathyā > *street*) Village; < Ghāṭa-campaka >; < VelāvanIpaṭā-ṇava-pala (?) >; < Dhraṇvōlaya > (= < Dhru-vōla ? Dhruva-vōla ? >); < Helā-vaṇā-muṇḍa > *Head of the Helā wood*; River < Naḷa-joli > (= *Reed stream*, Skt. < nala >, or *flowing stream*, cf. Bengali নড় < √nār > *move*).

103. [20] Manabali Grant of Madana-pāla-dēva: c. 1108: North Central Bengal ('Gauḍa-lēkha-mālā'; N. N. Vasu, JASB., 1900, i, pp. 66 ff.; R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 104).

< Halāvartta Maṇḍala >; Village < Kāṣṭhā (Kōṣṭha ?)-giri >; Village < Campā-hiṭṭhi > (= *Champac Village*, New Bengali চম্পাটি < Campaṭi >).

104. [21] Inscription of Īsvara-ghōṣa of Dhēkkari: West Bengal, 12th century (A. K. Maitra, 'Sāhitya,' Vaisākha and Jyaiṣṭha, 1320; R. D. Banerji, 'Bāṅgālār Itihās,' Vol. I, pp. 301-302).

< Dhēkkari > town = New Bengali ঢেকুর < Dhēkur >; < Piyōlla Maṇḍala >; < Gālli-ṭipyaka Viṣaya > (= < \*Gāli-ṭipā > : ? < √gal, gāl > *flow, exude* + < √ṭip > *drip*); < Digghūsōḍiyā > Village (= ? < dīrgha + āvāsa + dvīpaka >; for < dig- >, see § 102, § 105).

[Personal name: < Nivvōka-śarmman >.]

105. [22] Copper-plate Grant of Dharma-pāla of Prāḡgyōṭiṣa: 12th century (Padma-nāth Bhaṭṭāchārya, 'Rangpur Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā,' X, No. 2, 1322 San).

Village < Khyāti-puni > (= < khyāti + puṇya > ?); Village < Dig-ḍōla > (for < dig- >, see § 102, 104); < Pūraji Viṣaya >: < Nōkka (Nēkkā)-ḍēvvarī-pāla (?) >; < Gō-vāḍa-bhōga-ali(sa)nā (?) >; Village < Khaggāli > (= *Reed-bank* ? < khaḍga > khagga >, whence New Bengali খাগড়া < khāgā-ṛā > *reed*, + < āli > *embankment*); < Camyala-jōpi > river (= < cammala-jōli ? cammaḍa-jōli ? > *Skin stream* ?); < Sovvaḍi > tank; < Jau-galla > river = *Motten Lac* (< jau = jāu < jatu > *lac* + < galla >, cf. New Bengali গা < √gāl >

*flow, melt*, গালা < *gālā* > *molten stuff, molten lac, lac-stick or -cake*; < *Nēkkā-dēuli* > (cf. দেউল < *deul* < *dēva-kula* > *temple*); < *Sik(ph?)-gaḍi-jōli* >; < *Vadijjuratibhūḍi* (?) >; < *Nēkka-śarmmā* >; < *Avañci, -ca* (?) >; < *Thaisā-ḍōbbhi-cākkōjāna* (?) > (< *ḍōbbhi* >: cf. New Bengali ডোবা < *ḍōbā* > *puddle*); < *Dijamakkā-jōli* >; < *Nōkka-naḍā* >. (< *Nōkka, Nēkka* > = ?; cf. < *Nākka* >, § 91, also in an Assam Inscription); < *pārāli* > = পারুল < *pārul(i)* > = *pāṭali* tree.

[Personal name—< *Mānnō-satka* > = *belonging to M.*].

106. [23] Āmgāchi Grant of Vighraha-pāla III: North Central Bengal, second half of 11th century. (R. D. Banerji, VSPdP., 1323, pp. 233 ff.)

Village < *Brāhmaṇi* > in Puṇḍra-varḍhana *bhukti*, Kōṭi-varṣa *viṣaya*; < *Krōḍaṇci* > district?; Villages < *Matsyāvāsa, Chatrā, Pōsali* >.

[Personal name: < *Khōḍula-dēvaśarmman* >.]

107. [24] Barrackpur Grant of Vijaya-sēna; 12th century (R. D. Banerji, Ep. Ind., XV, pp. 279 ff.)

< *Kānti-jōṅga* >; < *Ghāsa-sambhōga Bhāṭṭa-vaḍā* > Village; < *Khāḍi Viṣaya* > (see § 84); < *Tikṣa-haṅḍa* > marsh.

[Personal name—< *Śālāḍḍa (Śālāḍḍhya?)-nāga* >].

[25] Sitā-hāṭi Grant of Ballāla-sēna: Uttara Rāḍha or Central Bengal: early 12th century. (A. K. Maitra and R. G. Basāk, 'Sāhitya,' Kārttika and Agrahāyaṇa, 1318; R. D. Banerji, Ep. Ind., XIV, pp. 156 ff.; Banwāri-lāl Goswāmi, 'Pravāsi' for Phālguna, 1317.)

Administrative district (*śāsana*) of < *Khāṇḍayilla* > (= New Bengali খাঁড়ুল < *Khāṅṅulē* >); *ibid.* of < *Nāḍicā, Ambayillā, Naḍḍinā, Jala-sōthi, Mōlāḍandī* > (present-day মুড়ুলী, মুড়ুলী < *Murundi* < *Murandi* >; < *Jala-sōthi* > = < \**jala-sōthi* >? *water stream*); < *Āṅḍā-gaḍḍi* (? *Āṅḍāgaḍḍiā*), *Sura-kōṇā-gaḍḍiā-kiyōttarāli, Simāli, Tarāli, Kuḍambamā* >; Village < *Vālla-hiṭṭā* > (= বালুটে < *Bāluṭē* > in New Bengali); < *Singāṭiā* > river.

[Personal name: < *Ōvāsudēva-śarmman* >].

108. [26] Five Grants of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna: late 12th century.

(i) Tarpaṇ-dīghī Grant of Lakṣmaṇa-sēna (R. D. Banerji, Ep. Ind., XII, pp. 6 ff.).



« Nica-ḍahāra » tank (= « \*nica-ḍahara » *low and deep* : cf. Bengali দহর, ডহর « dāhārḍ, ḍāhārḍ » *deep*) ; « Nandi-Hari-pā-kuṇḍī » ? *spring of Nandi Hari-pāda* ; « Mollāṇa-khāḍī » (« mollāṇa = « mūlānām », or « mṛṇāla » *lotus stalk* : cf. Caryā 10 : মৌলীগ = *lotus stalk* ; found also in dialectal Bengali. R. D. Banerji suggests that the word is the Perso-Arabic « mullā », and seems inclined to see in this word an indication of the existence of Musalmāns in 12th century Bengal ; which is not very unlikely, as we have traditions of the advent of Moslem preachers even before the Turkī conquest).

(ii) Gōvindapur Grant : West Central Bengal. (Edited by Prof. Amūlya-Charaṇ Vidyābhūṣaṇa : unpublished : through the kindness of the editor.)

Village « Vēṭhaḍḍa » in « Paścīma-khāṭikā », within « Vardhamāna » (Burdwan) district ; « Lēgha-dēva-maṇḍapī (?) » temple ; « Viḍḍara-śāsana (?) ».

[Personal name : « Cahala-dēvaśarmman » ].

(iii) Anulīa Grant : Central Bengal. (A. K. Maitra, JASB., 1900, i, pp. 61 ff.).

« Mātharaṇḍiyā-khaṇḍa-kṣētra » in « Vyāghra-taṭī » (§ 90) district ; « Jala-pillā ? », forming a boundary line.

[The word « mālāmañca-vāṭī » *flower-garden house* = New Bengali মালঞ্চ বাড়ী « mālāñcā-bāṛī » ].

(iv) Sundar-ban Grant : Central Bengal (original lost : imperfect transcription in Rāma-gati Nyāya-ratna's 'Bāṅgāla-bhāṣā Ō Bāṅgālā-sābitya-viṣayak Prastāv,' Chinsurah, San 1294, pp. 325-327).

« Khāḍī » district in Pauṇḍra-varḍhana (see § 106) ; Village « Kāntalla-pura » Village ; « Śāntya-śāvi » ; « Citāḍī-khāta » ; « Māṇḍala-grāma ».

[Personal names : « Viṣṇu-pāṇi Gaḍḍōlī, Kēśava Gaḍḍōlī » ].

(v) Mādhāi-nagar Grant : North Central Bengal. (R. D. Banerji, Journal and Proceedings of the ASB., 1909, pp. 467 ff.).

Villages « Gaya-nagara, Guṇḍi-sthirā-pāṭaka, Dāpa(r)ṇiyā-pāṭaka » ; « Rāvaṇa-sarasiṣki-sthāna (?) ».

109. [27] Copper-plate Grant of Viśva-rūpa-sēna: East Bengal, 12th-13th century (Nagēndra-Nāth Vasu, JASB., 1896, i, pp. 6 ff.).

Villages « Aṭha-pāga; Bārayī-paḍā (= New Bengali বারইপাড়া « Bārāī-pāṛā » *quarter of betel-vine growers*); Uñcō-kāṭṭhī (*High wood*); Vira-kāṭṭhī; Piñjō-kāṭṭhī; Nārāntapa ».

[28] Edilpur Grant of Kēsava-sēna: East Bengal, 12th-13th century. (R. D. Banerji, Journal and Proceedings of the ASB., 1904, pp. 97 ff.).

Villages « Tāla-paḍā-pāṭaka; Satrakā-dvī (= dvīpa); Sāṅkara-pāsā » (New Bengali গাঞি « pāsā » = « pārśvaka » *side, quarter*, in village names); « Vāguli-vitta-gadō (?) ».

[Word: « laggāvayitvā » = *having planted (trees)*, based on an Old Bengali form].

110. [29]. Chittagong Copper-plate of 1243 A. C. (Prāṇa-nāth Paṇḍit, in the JASB. for 1874, i, pp. 318 ff.).

« Ḍāmbāra-dāma; Kāmanapaṇḍiyā; Navrāpālya; Kētaggapālā; Mṛtaceaḍā; Bāgha-pōkhirā ». (For « Ḍāmbāra-dāma », cf. the town of « Ḍamara », mentioned in the ' Rāma-carita ': R. D. Banerji, ' the Pālas of Bengal,' p. 91.)

[The word « lāla » = Chittagong dialect নাল « nāla » *arable land*.]



## APPENDIX D

### THE VOCABULARY OF BENGALI.

#### TATSAMA, 'SEMI-TATSAMA,' TADBHAVA, DEŚĪ AND 'VIDEŚĪ.'

111. Following the terminology of the Indian grammarians, and slightly extending it, the vocabulary of a NIA. language can be said to consist of 4 elements: (1) *tat-sama*, (2) *tadbhava*, (3) *dēśī*, and (4) *vidēśī*. By *tatsama* the Indian grammarians (of Prakrit) meant only those words, in Prakrit, which were identical in form with Sanskrit: e.g., « hari, sundara, kusuma, dēva, manda, cintā » etc. These words, as in the earlier forms of MIA., were among those originally inherited from OIA., but they were not phonetically modified in MIA., since in their sounds they were not against the genius of the speech in the MIA. stage. In the modern employment of the term, *tatsama* also includes the learned words introduced from classical Sanskrit into the Prakritic speech, after the latter became characterised as NIA. The word *tatsama* has thus come to cover, in NIA., both the unmodified words, exactly similar to Sanskrit, which formed a part of the speech from its birth, plus later arrivals from Sanskrit as loan-words (literary and other borrowings): this is rather a loose use of the word, which is only allowable on the ground that it is used with reference to the form of a word, and not with reference to the time or manner of its inclusion or admission into the language. Thus there would be *tatsamas* of the oldest period, like « kāla, dēśa, pāśa, māna, nīca, gāna, hāsa », etc., which may be described as being of the native element of the language; and these, from point of view of historical survey, should rightly come under *tadbhava* words, at least in certain cases. Then, there would be later *tatsamas* admitted at different times in the history of the language. When these later *tatsamas* were naturalised in the language, they also underwent changes according to the phonetic laws operating in it at the time, in addition to the slight modification in pronunciation which is bound to come when the word is introduced straight from a Sanskrit book.

It is quite possible to guess the time of admission of a *tatsama* word by noticing the change that has come to it: this change, in *tatsamas* admitted in later times, is of a different character, for instance, from that which turned OIA. to MIA., and MIA. to NIA. Thus, for example, the OIA. word « śrāddhā » *faith, devotion, desire, desire of a pregnant woman for any particular food etc.* (= « dōhada »), became in early MIA. « śāddhā » (Śaurasēni etc.), and « \*śāddhā » (Māgadhi), whence in late MIA. (Apabhraṅśa), « \*śāddhā, śāddhā », and in early NIA. « sādhdā, śādhā », later « sādhd, śādh » : e.g., Bengali শাদ্ধ « sādhdā », wrongly written with dental « s » through fancied connection with « √sādhdaya- », but pronounced শাদ্ধ « śādh ». শাদ্ধ « sādhdā » is a living *tadbhava* word in Bengali, used in the sense of « dōhada ». But « śrāddhā » has been borrowed anew in the sense of *faith, devotion, respect*, after the formation of Bengali. In Middle Bengali times, this word, pronounced as « średdhā, śerdhā, chreddhā, cherdhā », became naturalised, and ultimately it has been vernacularised to ছেদা « cheddā » in modern folk-Bengali. This modified form of the *tatsama*, « cheddā » occurs side by side with the genuine Sanskrit « śrāddhā », now usually pronounced « sroddhā ». Grierson and other European scholars have employed the convenient name *semi-tatsama* for these modified loan-words from the Sanskrit, which are neither part of the inherited stock of the language, nor do they preserve their original Sanskrit forms (i.e., to the extent they can do in the vernacular, and yet remain Sanskrit), but have accommodated themselves to the spirit of the spoken tongue. The same Sanskrit word, it can easily be seen, can have more than one *semi-tatsama* form in the same NIA. speech, following the time of admission, or dialect (local or communal) where they occur; thus, OIA. (Sanskrit) « śrāddhā » *funeral rites, funeral dinner*, does not occur in its *tadbhava* form in Bengali, which would have been শাদ্ধ « \*śādhā »; but we have, in addition to the *tatsama* form শাদ্ধ (which is pronounced « srāddho »), two *semi-tatsamas*: an archaic, and rather rustic, ছরাদ্ধ « chārādhā », found also in Middle Bengali, and a current Modern Bengali ছেরাদ্ধ « cherādhā »; of which the former is earlier, being based on a pre-Bengali (Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa) modification, « \*śārādhā » « \*śārādhā » (or possibly with « ch » for « ś »), whence Old



Bengali *semi-tatsama* « \*charādha » , becoming in late Middle Bengali « chārādā » ; the latter form, « cherāddā » , would be from a Middle Bengali *semi-tatsama* pronunciation, « \*chrāddhā, chērāddhā » .

The OIA. (Sanskrit) word « kṛṣṇa » with its modifications is another typical case. OIA. « kṛṣṇa » > MIA. « kaṛṇha » > NIA. « kānha, kāna » , (found in Middle Bengali as কান কান « kānha, kānā » and now, with two new affixes added, as কানু, কানাই « kān-u, kān-ai » a *pet form of the name Kṛṣṇa*), shows the normal development of the word. Side by side with this *tadbhava* form, we have the *tatsama*, কৃষ্ণ, pronounced in the old fashion as « kriśṭō, kriśṭyō » , and in the new fashion as « kriśnā » ; and the various *semi-tatsamas*—« kaṣaṇa » , now lost, in Old Bengali (Caryā 16 : « kaṣaṇa-ghaṇa gājaī » = *the black cloud rumbles*), which is based on a MIA. *semi-tatsama* ; কেষ্ঠ কেষ্ঠী « keṣṭā, keṣṭō » , usually as the name, based on a Middle Bengali pronunciation « kreṣṭā, ke(r)ṣṭā » ; and lastly, কিশণ « kiṣaṇā » , as in the name of an image of Kṛṣṇa, e.g., রাধা কিশণ জীউ « Rādhā-Kiṣaṇā-jīu » *the images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (in a temple)*, which is based on another Middle Bengali pronunciation, « \*kriśaṇā » , modified by the pronunciation of Northern India : cf. Hindi « Kisan, Kisen » .

It is sometimes convenient to treat the *semi-tatsamas*, especially the older ones, along with the *tadbhavas*.

112. The *tadbhava* element is the genuine folk or native element of MIA. and NIA. It represents the bulk of words and forms derived from OIA. which underwent a natural modification through wear and tear of centuries ; it forms the living and ever-moving stream of speech—its original waters, so to say, derived from its very source, to which the other elements are mere accretions and additions. This element represents the oldest basis of the Aryan speech at its normal transformation.

Side by side with the *tadbhava* element is a class of words which the Prakrit grammarians have called *dēśī*, and which also may be regarded, at least so far as late MIA. and NIA. are concerned, as forming a part of the native element. The term *dēśī*, in its present-day application, embraces a numerous class of words which cannot be traced to Aryan

roots and which obviously were derived from the pre-Aryan languages of the country, Dravidian and Kōl. The older grammarians, however, included within this term all onomatopoeic and other words which could not be traced to Sanskrit; and also they classed as *dēśī* quite a number of genuine *tadbhavas*, which are as much Aryan as Sanskrit itself, because their derivation happened to be obscure and not obviously traceable to Sanskrit, or because their equivalents were not used in Sanskrit. The 'Dēśī-nāma-mālā' of Hēma-candra, for instance, has scores of such '*tadbhava dēśī*' words. The true *dēśī* words are relics from the dialects employed in the land before the masses took up the Aryan speech: and the Dravidian and other non-Aryan loan-words in Vedic (see p. 42) can be also described as forming a *dēśī* element in OIA. As time advanced, quite a number of these non-Aryan words became part of the language by the beginning of the MIA. stage, and many more came in subsequently. In the second MIA. ('Prakrit') period, these words forced themselves to the notice of the grammarians, especially when there was no similar Vedic or Sanskrit word to explain them: and the grammarians found a label for them in the word *dēśī*, meaning *of the country*, that is, *aboriginal*. In the late MIA. (Apabhraṅśa) and NIA. periods, *dēśī* words are as much a native element in the speech as *tadbhava* words: only *dēśī* words were not infrequently discarded in writing, as these, forming part of the small currency of daily speech, with their humble non-Aryan origin stamped upon them, were looked upon with disfavour by scholars and *littérateurs*.

It would be convenient to treat the *dēśī* words along with the *tadbhava* ones in discussing these elements in a NIA. speech, since they form part of the same inherited stratum.

113. The *vidēśī*, or *mlēccha*, *i.e.*, foreign or extra-Indian element is not much noticed by the older grammarians, first, because the number of foreign words was comparatively small, and secondly, because their origin was not always known. Yet words like « pika » *cuckoo*, « dīnāra » *a gold coin*, « dramma » *a coin* (= Latin « pīcus, dēnārius », Greek « drakhmē ») were recognised as foreign in ancient times. The foreign, *i.e.*, extra-Indian elements in the Aryan speech, before the contact of the Indo-Aryans with



the Iranians (Persians) in the Panjab after the Achæmenian conquest, are not properly known. Comparison has been made, however, between certain Vedic words and some from Mesopotamia (Sumerian and Semitic), and it has been thought that these words were borrowed by the Aryans (see p. 28, footnote). From the beginning of the 5th century B. C., when the Persians ruled a part of North-western India, there has been some sort of connection between India and Persia, sometimes intimate, sometimes distant. There was mutual influence between the two countries; and, as a result of the political and cultural influence of Persia on India, we have a number of Old and Middle Persian words in Indo-Aryan down to the period of the Moslem (Turk) invasions in the 10th century. Words like < dipi > *writing, inscription*, < nipista > *written*, and < yōna (=yavana) > *Greek (Ionian)*, found in the inscriptions of Aśoka, and < kṣatrapa > *satrap* (=Old Persian < dipi, nipīsta-, yauna, xšaθra-pāvan >), belong to the early or old (pre-Christian) period of Persian influence; and in subsequent post-Christian times, we have quite a number of Iranian words in the MIA. dialects of India: e.g., < mihira > *sun* (=Middle Persian [Pāzand] < mibir >, Old Persian < miθra > = OIA. < mitra >); < maga > *a class of Brahmins* (=Iranian < maga- > *Magnus, priest of the Zoroastrian faith*); < pusta > *book* (=Middle Persian [Pahlavī] < pōst > *skin, skin for writing*); < kunduru > *frankincense* (=Pahlavī < kundur >); etc. (See Berthold Laufer, 'Sino-Iranica,' Chicago Field Museum of Natural History, 1919, and other works, for the study of Iranian influence on Indian culture and speech). After the establishment of Moslem rule in India by the Turks, the Tājiks and the Afghāns, Persian was introduced into the country as the language of administration and as the culture-language of the Mohammedan courts; by that time, the NIA. languages had originated, and they came in direct touch with Persian, under its umbrage and influence. Persian had already entered upon the present *New* or *Modern* phase of its history.

Apart from Persian, Greek was the other extra-Indian language which influenced IA. (in the MIA. stage). Greek adventurers and officers in Persian service seem to have come to India even before Alexander's invasion

in 327 B.C. Intimate relations between the Greeks and Indians began from the next century, and continued down to the end of the 3rd century A. C. The Greek settlers in India, however, were rapidly Hinduised and absorbed. Greek contact with India has given a number of Indian words to the Greek language; and as a result of Greek influence on Indian culture, we have a number of Greek words in Indo-Aryan, the MIA. vernaculars and Sanskrit. (These have been studied by Weber : see I Ant., May 1873.)

Modern IA. speeches have inherited a number of Persian and Greek words from MIA. These words in their phonology conform to the *tadbhava* forms of the language. We have in Bengali the following words at least, which are old and inherited *vidēśī* words :

[1] From Old and Middle Persian > MIA.

পুথী, পুথি, পুঁথি < puthī, puthi, pūthi > *book, manuscript in the old Indian style* : earlier < pōthī > ; MIA. < potthia > : Iranian (Pahlavī) < pōst > *skin, parchment*, Sanskritised to < pusta, pusta-ka, pustikā >.

পাইক < pāikḥ > *foot-soldier, footman* : MIA. < pāikka >, from Iranian < pāik > .

মুচি < mucī > *shoe-maker*, earlier < mōcī >, as in Hindi: from MIA. < \*mōcia > : from Middle Persian (Pahlavī) < mōcak > *shoe, boot* (whence New Persian < mōzah, mūzah >, the source of the New Bengali word মোজা < mōjā > *boots > socks*).

সেকরা < sēkḥrā > [ṣækra] *goldsmith* = Old Bengali < \*sēkārā >, found in a Sanskritised form < sēkya-kāra > *engraver*, for a MIA. < \*sekka-āra >, in the Bhāskara-varmman (Nidhanpur) inscription of the 7th century (see page 181). The word < \*sekka > is a loan-word from the Middle Persian, which had a large number of borrowed words from the Semitic (Aramaic). The Middle Persian source of < \*sekka >, probably a form like < \*sikkah >, is itself borrowed from the Aramaic < s y k t ' > *die for coining*. (Cf. S. Fraenkel, 'Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen,' Leyden, 1886, pp. 192, 194. [I am indebted to Prof. Jules Bloch for the reference.]) < \*sekka-kāra > therefore originally = *a die-engraver*, then *engraver*,



and finally *gold-* or *silver-smith*, in its Bengali form « sēkṣrā ». (Arabic borrowed the word from Aramaic in the form « sikkat, sikkah », and in Persian the word was thus strengthened by the Arabic. The Perso-Arabic vocable was later introduced into India, and we have from the late Persian source the word *سکه* « sikkā » a coin, rupee.)

[2] From Greek :

দাম « dāmaṣ » price, দামড়ী « dāmaṣ-ṛī » a small value, 1/4th of a pice : MIA. « damma » = « dramma » in the speech of North-western India in the Transitional MIA. period, Sanskritised to « dramya » : from the Greek « drakhmē » .

সেউ, সিউই, « sēū, sīūi = siwi » Indian vermicelli, = Hindōstāni « siwai, simai, siwaiyā » etc. : cf. Skt. « samitā, samidā » fine wheat flour : Greek « semidalis ». The Greek word, with its close « e », approaching the sound of « i », possibly gave a 'Transitional MIA.' form « \*simida », whence the NIA. word.

সুরঙ্গ, সুরং « suraṅgā, suraṅ » tunnel : Sanskrit « suraṅga », from Greek « surinks (syrinx) » .

The above foreign words, and possibly a few more, are among the inherited element from MIA. Persian and other foreign elements acquired after the beginning of the NIA. period, as direct borrowings or through the intermediary of sister speeches which have merely passed them on, are discussed in §§ 117 ff.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF NIA. WORDS.

114. A rigorously chronological classification of the vocabulary of a NIA. language would be on the following lines :

[1] Inherited words, forming the 'speech commodity' of MIA., which changed into NIA., and consisting of—

(a) *tadbhava* words ;

(b) borrowed Sanskrit words, or old *tatsamas* and *semi-tatsamas* ;

(c) aboriginal borrowings, and words unexplained by Aryan roots : the

*dēśī* words ; and

(d) a few foreign words, like the Persian and Greek ones noted in § 113.

[2] Borrowed words :

(a) Indian : Aryan.

(i) From OIA. and MIA.—from Sanskrit, Classical and Vedic : a very large number of recent *tatsamas* and *semi-tatsamas*; from Pali and other Prakrit : a few very recent admissions—*e.g.*, words like « thēra, kabāpaṇa, pāti-mokkha, avahaṭṭha » etc., which are restricted in use.

(ii) From NIA. sister-speeches : a very large number from Hindōstānī (*e.g.*, বানী « bānī » *making charges of jewelry* = Hindī « banāi » ; কালোাত « kālōāt » *musical artist* = H. « kalāwa(n)t » ; লুচি « lucī » *thin wheaten cakes fried in ghee* = « lucūi » ; the affix ওয়ালা « -oālā » = « -wālā », etc.); and some from the other Aryan speeches, coming through direct contact as well as through Hindōstānī, or, in recent times, through the English newspapers conducted by both Indians and Englishmen : *e.g.*, Panjābī « sikkh » = শিখ « śikh » *Sikh*; « cāhidā » *being wanted* = চাহিদা « cāhidā » *demand*; Gujarātī « haḍtāi » *closing of markets* = হড়তাল, হরতাল « hāḍtālā, hāḍtālā » *strike, closing of shops*; « garbā » *a kind of dance* = গরবা « gārḍbā » , « kaṇvī » *a caste* = কন্বী « kunvī » ; Marāṭhī « pāṭil, kulakarāṇī » = পাটিল, কুলকর্ণী « pāṭilā, kulākarnī » *village officers*; « Māwali » *a Marāṭhā tribe* = মাওয়ালী, মাউলী « māōālī, māulī » . Genuine *tadbhava* borrowings from NIA. languages other than Hindōstānī are rather rare in Bengali. We have in addition a number of Sanskrit (*tatsama*) and Persian words coming to Bengali through the intermediacy of Modern Indian speeches : *e.g.*, Marāṭhī « nyāyādhīś » *judge* = Bengali « bicārā-kārtā » ; « śrī-khaṇḍa » *a preparation of curds*; « bārgīr » *irregular cavalry man*, from the Persian, = বরগী, বর্গী « bārgī » *Marāṭhā raider*; and a whole host of Persian words from Hindōstānī.

(b) From the non-Aryan languages of India, and from extra-Indian non-Aryan speeches belonging to groups represented in India. This list is extremely small : and a few which are recent arrivals through English, like *cheroot* > চুরুট « curuṭṭā », from Tamil « śuḷuṭṭu, » should not be considered here.



(i) From the Dravidian languages : mainly caste-names, e.g., « Nāmburi, Nāmbudri (= Nambudri), Pilē (= Pillai), Cēṭi (= Cetti) » : names of the languages—তামিল « Tāmil » (= Tamil), তেলুগু, তেলুগু « Telēgu, Telugu » (= Telugu), কানাড়ী « Kānārī » (= Kannaḍa), মালয়ালী, -লম্ « Mālayālī, -lam » (= Mālayālam).

(ii) From Kōl : বোঙ্গা, বঙ্গা « bōṅgā, baṅgā » *god, spirit, godling* = Kōl « boṅga » ; হাঁড়িয়া « hāṛiyā » *rice-beer*, cf. Santali « hēre ».

(iii) From Tibeto-Burman : names of tribes ; besides a few words like লামা « lāmā » *lama* = Tibetan « blama » ; Burmese নাপ্পি « nāppi » *fish and meat condiment* = « ngappe », হুঙ্গী « huṅgī » *Buddhist monk* = « hpongyi », লুঙ্গী « luṅgī » *loin-cloth* = « lunggyi », চঙ « cāṅ » *monastery* = « kyaung », etc.

(c) Extra-Indian :

(i) Persian (= Persian ; and Arabic and Turkī coming through Persian), and other Iranian (see §§ 117-120 ; also *Phonology of the Foreign Element*).

(ii) European and other foreign (see §§ 121, 122 : also *Phonology of the Foreign Element*) :

- |                           |                           |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) Portuguese            | } through direct contact. |
| (β) English               |                           |
| (γ) French, Dutch (a few) |                           |

Foreign words generally, coming through the medium of European languages, should be considered as European words:—e.g., চা « cā » *tea*, (Chinese), জুলু « julu » *Zulu* (Bantu), সাগু, সাবু « sāgu, sābu » *sago* (Malay), হারাকিরি « hārākiri » (Japanese), বালশেভিক « bālsēbhik » (Russian), কুইনাইন « kuināin » *quinine* (Peruvian), ম্যাঞ্জেন্টা « myājēntā », folk-Bengali ম্যাঞ্জেন্টার « myājēṅḍār » *magenta red* (Italian) etc., etc.

#### TADBHAVĀ AND DĒŚĪ WORDS.

115. The *tadbhava* element is the most important one in the philology of a NIA. language. OIA. took special and definite forms in the different parts of the country, and became characterised as MIA. of the various tracts (e.g., Udīcya, Madhya-dēśīya, Prācya ; Śaurasēni, Mahārāṣṭrī,

Māgadhr). But no NIA. language of the present day is the result of an unimpeded development of a particular MIA. dialect. In a country like India (which, however vast it may be, presents one whole, and where intimate communication between even the most distant parts was never absent, both through the domination of political powers and through cultural and commercial contact), there have always been influences and cross-influences in the linguistic life of the people; and this has made the development of most NIA. speeches appear complicated and irregular in some points. At times it is impossible to unravel the tangle presented by the diversity and contrariness of development, in the *tadbhava* forms found in the same NIA. speech,—a diversity which is due to the influence of sister-dialects.

The main lines of development in a NIA. speech, however, are generally clear. In the section on *Phonology*, an attempt has been made to trace these main lines along which the sounds of OIA. have changed into Bengali: mention being made of those points where the lines are blurred, and the history is obscured. It is comparatively easier in Morphology.

*Tadbhava* words are connected with every-day life, and these had to do by far the greatest amount of work, so to speak, in the language. Frequently, through phonetic decay, the Modern Bengali forms have preserved but very little of their OIA. originals. Yet this whittling down of the forms of the words is only their historical development; and the lines along which this development has occurred, after they have been found out, give the *phonological laws* of the language. Thus, the Bengali word (Standard Colloquial) এয়ে, এও « ē(y)ō » is all that is left of the OIA. word « avidhavā » ( « awidhawā » > \*aviḍhawā > avihavā > \*āihā > \*āyihāwā > āihā > আইহ āihā > আয়া āyā > ēō »); স্বমৌ, স্বও, সৌ « s(u)ō » [ ḥ(u)o ] *favourite wife* represents the OIA. word « subhagā » ( « subhagā » > \*subhagā > \*subhā > \*subhā > \*subhā > \*subhā > suō > sō »); আয়ান « Āyān » a name in the *Kṛṣṇa legend* is all that remains of « Abhimanyu » ( « abhimanyu » > \*abhimanyu > ahivanya > \*ābhivanya > আইহণ āihāṇa > \*āihāṇa > āyān »); বৌ « jhī » *daughter, servant-*



woman, of « duhitṛ » (« dubitā » \*dihitā » dhītā » dhīdā » \*dhīdā » \*dhīā » dhīā » jhīā » jhī » ); ॐर्षी « ॐjḥā » scholar, exorcist, curer of snake-bites, of « upādhyāya » (« uvajjhā » \*ojjhā » ॐjḥā » ); पार « pār » to wear, of « pari-dhā- » (« pari-ha- » \*pairha » पारḥ pārḥā » pār » ); बह्वै, वै « bæi, bēi » son's or daughter's father-in-law, of « vāivāhika » (« vēvāhīa » \*vevāhī » \*bēvāhī » \*bēhāi » बह्वै bēhāi » वैवै bēvāi » bæi » bei » ), and मासौ « māsī » of « mātṛ-ṣvasṛ » (« \*mātṛ-ṣvasr-ikā » \*mātuśśāsikā » \*māduśśāsīgā » \*māduś-śāsīgā » \*māuśśāsīā » \*māuśśīā » \*māuśī » \*māuśī » \*māśī » māsī », written with « -s- »).

The study of the *dēśī* words is the least satisfactory part of IA etymology. We have the modern *dēśī* words in the various languages, from which, with the help of some of the Prakrit *dēśī* words, MIA. originals may be reconstructed. Quite a number of *dēśī* words begin with a cerebral sound, and many with a palatal. In Dravidian, initial cerebral is rare, if not non-existent (see footnote, p. 38): and *dēśī* words with an initial cerebral would thus seem to be not from Dravidian. Quite a number of words in IA. have been traced to a Dravidian origin (see references under *Appendix B*; also pp. 42, 64 ff.). A great many are undoubtedly Kōl or Austro-Asiatic. The new method inaugurated by J. Przyluski in the study of IA. borrowings from Kōl, by comparing forms in the Austro-Asiatic and Austro-nesian languages, has led to some sure results in this most obscure branch of IA. etymology. (Cf. J. Przyluski in the *MSL.*, Paris, XXII, pp. 205 ff., XXIV, pp. 118 ff.; cf. also S. K. Chatterji, 'The Study of Kōl,' in the *Calcutta Review* for September, 1923). But in the absence of any knowledge of the Kōl and other Austro-Asiatic speeches of an early period (barring, however, the Khmēr of Cambodia: cf. G. Maspero, 'Grammaire Khmère,' Paris, 1915, p. 23), nothing definite can be said. There is also the possibility of non-Aryan speeches (other than Dravidian, Kōl and the later Tibeto-Chinese), speeches now extinct, being present in India during the first half of the first millennium A. C., and contributing some *dēśī* words and in other ways influencing Indo-Aryan. In the present state of our knowledge, the *dēśī* words in NIA. may be considered along with





old *tadbhavas*. And this has made the Bengali pronunciation of Sanskrit notoriously bad, from the Sanskrit standard, so much so that the most erudite Bengali Paṇḍit, following the traditional Bengali pronunciation, would be understood only with great difficulty when talking Sanskrit to a Paṇḍit from Benares, Poona or Conjeeveram.

The use of a large proportion of *tatsama* words has familiarised the Bengali reader and writer with a number of Sanskrit affixes, but the nicer points in the genuine Sanskrit forms cannot always be noticed by an ordinary writer or reader without a sufficient grounding in the grammar of the classical language. The result is that since Early Middle Bengali times (and the thing has never been so prominent as in the 19th century, which brought in 'journeyman work' in literature), Bengali has been flooded with solecisms, showing the vulgarisation of the Sanskrit forms. Wrong spelling, wrong *sandhi*, false gender, mistaken use of the various affixes like < -ta > and < -ita >, changes of meaning, and hybrids with *tadbhava* and foreign words, new coinings not warranted by grammar, and barbarisms of all sorts are perpetrated. Even the best writers are not free from them. But forms like স্বজন < sṛjānṣ > for < sarjana >, রাজকিনী < rājākinī > for < rajakī >, পাশ্চাত্য < pāścātyā > for < pāścātya >, কিম্বা < kimbā > for < kimvā >, পিতৃনাশ্রয় < pitṛ-māṭṛ-bhīnṣ > in the sense of *orphan* for < mātā-pitṛ-bhīna >, and a host of others, have become naturalised in Bengali; and as to false or incorrect forms, used by the lesser writers, their name is legion. Here and there we have protests from students of Sanskrit grammar, whose pedantic zeal for 'correct' writing and for strict adherence to Sanskrit grammar is in strange contrast to their total ignorance and neglect of Sanskrit pronunciation. (The wrong orthography and bad grammar of a large portion of the *tatsama* element in Bengali, borrowed and coined, has been ably treated by Lalit-Mōhan Banerji in 'Vyākaraṇa-Vibhīṣikā,' and in 'Bāṇān-Samasyā,' Calcutta, San 1320, where copious examples will be found.)

#### THE FOREIGN ELEMENT: PERSIAN.

117. The Persian influence on the Bengali language has been mainly

lexical. With the substitution of English for Persian as the language of the law courts in Bengal in the year 1836, it may be said to have come to an end. There is, however, the possibility of a revival of Persian influence in the language in the hands of Persian-knowing Mohammedan and Hindu writers of Bengali.

The language came to Bengal at the beginning of the 13th century, and the influence it has exerted on Bengali for nearly 600 years can be very well estimated now. The first Mohammedan conquerors of India (neglecting the Arab episode in Sindh at the beginning of the 8th century) were Turks who had settled in what is now Afghanistan : and they were not Afghāns or Paṭhāns. The Afghāns, right up to the 14th century, were confined to the south-eastern part of the country to which they now give their name, and they began to take a leading part in Indian affairs from the 15th century, after they had established themselves in the Peshawar region, in the highway between India and Persia. Before that, they were but not very important auxiliaries of the Turkī invaders of India, occasionally siding with the Indians as well. The Afghāns became dominant in India in the early part of the 16th century, only to be conquered finally, and to have their power broken for ever in India by the Moghals (who were at first a Turkī-speaking people), in the course of that century.

The Turks who had settled down in North-eastern Persia and 'Afghanistan' were Persianised in culture. They ruled over the Persian-speaking Tājiks, and the Turk and the Tājik both took part in spreading the Persian language in India. Persian exerted an enormous influence in Northern India ; and the speech of Delhi, the head-quarters of the Mohammedan (Turkī, Afghān, Moghal) power in India, became saturated with Persian, and ultimately came to be transformed into Urdū. In Bengal, Persian did not have much influence before the time of the Moghals, *i.e.*, from the last quarter of the 16th century. Under the Turkī and Afghān rulers, the administration of Bengal was left mainly in the hands of Hindu feudatories, who were mostly Kāyasthas by caste, and ordinarily very little influence could be exerted on the life and language



of the people from the Mohammedan court at Gaur or Sonargaon. The Turkī and other foreign Moslems who settled down in Bengal came themselves to be influenced by their subjects. At the end of the 15th century and beginning of the 16th, we find that the Moslem king of Bengal and his lieutenants in Chittagong were active patrons of Bengali literature. But contact with the Moslems certainly brought in a number of Persian words into Bengali during the early period of Mohammedan rule. Many of the practices of the Sultān's *darbār* at Gaur were adopted by the petty chiefs of Bengal, and engrafted on the old Hindu court customs and etiquette which were preserved in the independent states of Orissa (Jājnagar), Vishnupur, Tirahuṭ, Tippera, Sylhet and Kāma-rūpa. This meant an addition of Persian terms to the vocabulary of the Bengali. The Moslem *Kāzī* (*Qāḍī*) or district officer, who had control over the general administration, the *Āmīn* or governor, and in later times the *Fauj-dār* or military magistrate, as well as the revenue officials, brought to the people of Bengal Persian words connected with justice, revenue and general administration: and the number of such words even now in use in Bengali is quite a large one. Constant fighting in Bengal brought in a number of Persian military terms like তীর < *tīr* > *arrow*, কামান < *kāmān* > *bow*, later *gun* (= *kamān*), কতল < *kātāl* > *execution* (= *qatl*), কেল্লা < *kellā* > *fort* (= *qilah*), বুরুজ < *buruj* > *battlement, tower* (= *burj*), লস্কর < *lāskār* > *army*, হাজারী < *hājārī* > *captain over thousand* (= *hazārī*), ফতে < *phātē* > *victory* (= *faṭḥ*), মুরুচা < *murucā* > *intrenchment* (= *mōreah*), etc., etc. The Mohammedan preacher taught the Bengali converts and their Hindu kinsmen words like কলিমা or কল্মা < *kāl(i)mā* > *creed*, কোরান < *kōrān* > *the Coran*, ভেষ্ট < *bhestā* > *paradise* (= *bihist*), জাহান্নম or দোজখ < *jāhānnām, dōjākh* > *hell* (= *jahānnum, duzax*), গোন < *gōnā* > *sin* (= *gunāh*), পাক < *pāk* > *holy*, পীর < *pīr* > *saint*, পয়গম্বর < *pāygāmbār* > *prophet* (= *paygambar*), কেতাব < *kētāb* > *the book* (= *kitāb*), খোদা < *khōdā* > *God* (= *xudā*), হজ < *hāj* > *pilgrimage* (= *hajj*), সন্নৎ < *sunnāt* > *circumcision*, রোজা < *rōjā* > *fast* (= *rōzah*), হারাম < *hārām* > *forbidden* (= *ḥarām*), and বোৎ, বুৎ < *bōt, but* >, Indianised to ভূত < *bhūt* >, *idol* (= *but*), etc., etc.

In all these ways, quite a number of Persian words came in by

the end of the 16th century, as it is attested from literature.<sup>1</sup> In the first century of the Moslem conquest, some Moslem names were in all probability familiarised to the people of Bengal, like তুৰুক < turuk > *Turk*, *Mohammedan* (= turk), ম(হ)ম্মদ < mā(ha)mmād > *Muhammad*, গাজী < gājī > *warrior* (= gāzī), ফকীর < phākīr > *mendicant* (= faqīr), সেক < sēk > *Sheikh* (= sayx). Intimate relations between the Turkī and other Moslem conquerors of Bengal and the Bengalis soon began. In the first quarter of the 15th century, the Varēndra Brāhman chiefs of North Bengal were a power in the Moslem state, so much so that one of them, Rājā Kāns or Gaṇēśa, made himself king, and his line, which became Mohammedan after his death, continued for some time. Persian as the cultural and administrative language of the Mohammedan rulers came to be studied by some Hindus in Bengal, probably shortly after the establishment of the Turks in the land: it may be from the beginning of the 14th century. During the first quarter of the 16th century, a Bengali Brāhman was the < dabīr-xāṣ > or private secretary of the Mohammedan king of Bengal. But it was not before the 17th century that Persian came to exert any preponderant influence on Bengali. In the middle of the 16th century, Jayānanda in his 'Caitanya-maṅgala' makes Caitanya describe the evils of the Kali age, among which are the wearing of a beard by Brāhmins, their reading Persian, putting on high boots, holding a stick and a bow, and reciting 'mansari' (= maṣnavī?) (p. 139, VSPd. edition). These remarks show that many Brāhmins were reading Persian and doing all these things, but the orthodox thought it was wrong. In the 18th century, however, the poet Bhārata-candra's people were angry with him because he wanted to

<sup>1</sup> The following rough figures will give some idea of the rate of admission of Persian words into Bengali, in the course of the several centuries. Fourth quarter of the 14th century: 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana,' about 9,500 lines, only 4 Persian words; fourth quarter of the 15th century: Vijaya Gupta's 'Padmā-Purāṇa,' some 18,000 lines, about 125 words, including some names; middle of the 16th century, Māṅika Gāṅgulī's 'Dharma-maṅgala,' about 17,000 lines, over 225 words; fourth quarter of the 16th century, Mukunda-rāma Cakravartī's 'Caṇḍī-Kāvya,' some 20,000 lines, between 200 and 210 words; middle of the 18th century, Bhārata-candra's 'Annadā-maṅgalā,' some 13,000 lines, a little over 400 words.



read Sanskrit instead of Persian: and Bhārata-candra belonged to a good Brāhman family. The attitude apparently had changed.

The Persian language was most dominant in Bengal in the 18th century, when the importance of it in the country was like that of English at the present day. Hindōstānī, Bihārī and Bengali *Munshīs* taught Persian to sons of rich people, and there were *maktabs* and *madrasahs* frequented both by Hindus and Musalmāns. The Moghal rule in Bengal, which began with Akbar's conquest of the province from the Paṭhāns, caused the Bengali language to be exposed to a greater degree than before to the influence of Persian.

A direct and more intimate connection was established between the capital cities of Delhi and Agra and the distant *ṣūbah* of Bengal. The real ruler of the country was no longer the Hindu *bhūyā* or *rājā*,—the feudal chief or semi-independent ruler, as before; the *bhūyā* became the mere *zamīn-dār* or land-holder under the Moghal, and his powers were transferred to a great extent to officers of the emperor. The average Bengali came in greater touch with the administrative machinery than before. The services of Bengalis were largely requisitioned to carry on the complex business of the state—executive and judicial, fiscal and military. Bengalis looking for preferment had to pay greater attention to the Persian language. By coming in touch with the men in the court of the Nawāb Nāzīm (military ruler) and the Diwān (civil administrator), by mixing with Hindu and Mohammedan officials sent out from Hindostan, the Bengali of the upper classes (who until recent times has always accepted the guidance of Upper India in matters of culture), became far more refined and polished, far more open in mind, and far more astute. New things—ideas and objects—freely came to Bengal, and for a time Bengal was no longer isolated, but became a real province of Hindostan. The Moghal empire united all Northern India; and the 17th century, which witnessed the zenith of Moghal power, saw also the establishment of a new *lingua franca* for India—Hindōstānī. In the 12th and 13th centuries, India was the battle-ground of two peoples, Hindu and Turk-Tājik, with different sets of ideas. By 1605, when Akbar died, a synthesis

had been effected, out of which arose an Indo-Moslem culture, and the Hindōstānī speech became its vehicle. Hindōstānī made itself the inheritor and propagator of the Persian and Moslem spirit in India, from the 17th and 18th century; and it came to Bengal, and Persian words which formerly were brought into Bengali mostly directly, now began to be admitted in larger numbers through Hindōstānī into Bengali and the various other vernaculars of the land.

The result of it all was that towards the end of the 18th century, the Bengali speech of the upper classes, even among Hindus, was highly Persianised. But a turn came from the next century. A great many words which were used by the people in the 18th century continued to be employed till the middle of the 19th century, but they were not able to take root in the language (Cf. S. K. De, 'History of Bengali Literature, 1800-1825,' Calcutta University, 1919, pp. 142, 169, 279, 280, 283); although some still retain their place in the speech of Musalmān Bengalis, and have thus become class-dialect words. A few new words have been admitted, mainly through Hindōstānī, within the 19th century: e.g., বীমা < bīmā > *insurance*, খাকী < khākī > *khaki*, আঞ্জমান < āñjumān > *a society*, etc. But so far as the standard Bengali of the present day is concerned, the nett result of the Persian influence has been the imposition, as a permanent addition to the vocabulary, of some 2,500 words (as in Jñānēndra-Mōhan Dās's Bengali Dictionary: see § 123), which would be admitted as Bengalised words by most sections of the people: together with a few Persian affixes which have become thoroughly naturalised. (See under *Morphology*: Formative Affixes.)

118. These words can be roughly classified under the following heads:

(1) Words pertaining to kingly state, warfare, chase: some 200 such words are commonly found in Bengali.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E.g. আদীশ, গমরা, উজীর, খানদান, খেতাব, খেলাৎ, খাস, তজ্জ, তাজ্জ, দরবার, দৌলৎ, নকীব, নবাব, বাদশা, মৌজা, মালিক, হজুর, হজরৎ; আদোয়ার, কুচ, কাওরাজ, কাতার, কাবু, খঞ্জর, গালিম, জখম, জিন্নির, জমাদার, তবক, তাঁবু, তোপ, দুশমন, নগদী, নেজা, ফৌজ, ফৌৎ, বাহাহুর, মনসবদার, রসদ, রেসালা, শিকার, শমশের, সরদার, হলকা, হিন্দৎ।



(2) Words relating to revenue and administration and to law: over 600 words under this head, besides a number now obsolete or restricted in use.<sup>1</sup>

(3) The Mohammedan religion<sup>2</sup>: naturalised words under this head, as understood by Hindus and others, cannot much exceed 100; but naturally Musalmān Bengalis employ a larger number of Persian (and Arabic) terms connected with their faith and its ritual. But in any case, the number of such words actually in use among Bengali Mohammedans can be laid down as not exceeding 300.

(4) Intellectual culture<sup>3</sup>: education, music, literature, general refinement: not more than 100 words.

(5) Material culture<sup>4</sup>: objects of luxury, trades, arts and crafts: some 400 words of this type are found in Bengali.

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* আয়মাদার, আওলাদ, আদমশুমারী, আবাদ, এস্তেমরারী, এজিয়ার, ওয়াসীল, কজা, কসবা, বাজন, খারিজ, গোমস্তা, চাকরান, জমা, জমী, জায়দাদ, তহবীল, তালুক, দারোগা, দপ্তর, নাজির, পিয়ারা, ফিরিশ্তি, বাব, বীমা, মহকুমা, মাক, মোহর, রাইরং, শহর, সন, সরকার, সুবা, হদ্দ, হিসাব, হিসসা; অকু, অছিলা, আইন, আদালত, আর্দাস, ইশাবী, উকীল, এজাহার, এলাকা, ওজর, ওয়ারিস, কহুর, কাজিয়া, কানুন, ক্রোক, খেলাক, সেরেস্তা, ছোলেনামা, জঞ্জ, জবান, জব্দ, জারী, জেরা, তকরার, তামিল, দরখাস্ত, দলীল, দস্তখত, নাকাল, নাবালক, নালিশ, পেশা, ফরিয়াবী, ফেরার, বখরা, বাঞ্ছয়াপ্ত, মকদ্দমা, মুনসেফ, রদ, রায়, রজু, শনাজ, সাফাই, সালিস, হক, হাকিম, হাজং, হলিয়া, হেফাজৎ।

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* অজু, আউলিয়া, আল্লা, ইঞ্জিল, ইদ্দৎ, ইমান, ইসলাম, ইদ, কবর, কাফন, কালন্দর, কাফের, কাবা, কোরবানো, খৎনা, গাজী, জবাই, জেহাদ, জুমা, তোবা, দর্গা, দরবেশ, দীন, দোয়া, নবী, নমাজ, নিকা, নূর, ফেরেস্তা, বিসমিল্লা, বুজরুক, মসজিদ, মহরম, মুরীদ, মোমিন, মোল্লা, শরীফ, শহীদ, শিরনী, শিয়া, হদীস, হালাল, হরী।

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* আখুঞ্জী, আদব, আলিম, ইচ্ছৎ, এমতেহান, এলেন, কেচ্ছা, খৎ, গজল, তরজমা, দরদ, কসীদা, মজলিস, মুনশী, বয়েৎ, রেখতা, শাপরেদ, সরম (শরম), সেতার, হরফ।

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* অন্তর, আয়না, আখনী, আবুর, আচকান, আতর, আতশবাজী, আবলুস, আরক, এমারৎ, কাগজ, কলপ, কুলুপ, কিংখা, কিশমিশ, বরকী, কোর্দা, কসাই, কাঁচা, খরমুজ, খাতা, খানসামা, খাসী, খাস্তা, পজ, গির্দা, গোলাপ, গোস্ত, চরণা, চশমা, চাপকান, চাবুক, চিক, জরী, জর্দা, জহরৎ, জামা, জিন, জোকা, জোলাপ, তাপ্তা, তকমা, তরাজু, তসবীর, তাকিয়া, হালাল, দস্তানা, দাওয়ারাই, দুরবীন, দোয়াত, নারাদী, পরদা, পাছানা, পোলাও, ফরাশ, ফাহুস, ফোয়ারা, বরফ, বাগিচা, বাবাম, বারকোশ, বুলবুল, বেলায়ারী, মখমল, ময়দা, মলম, মশলা, মালাই, মিছরী, মিনা, মুহুরী, মেজ, রিফু, রুমাল, রেকাব, রেশম, লাগাম, সানকী, শানাই, শাল, শিশি, সিন্দুক, সুরবী, সোরাই, হাউই, হাওদা, হালুয়া, হঁকা, হৌজ।

(6) Some 30 to 40 names of foreign peoples.<sup>1</sup>

(7) Some 500 words relating to common things and notions of life.<sup>2</sup>

Over 2,000 words can thus be accounted for, to give a general idea of the character of the Persian vocabulary in Bengali. The rest consists of variant and dialectal forms, or forms which are obsolescent, which will come under one or the other of the above heads.

119. Among the speakers of Bengali, more than half are Mohammedans. The percentage of Hindus and Mohammedans in the various parts of Bengal is as follows (according to the census of 1911) :

	Hindus.	Mohammedans.
West Bengal	82·3	13·4
Central Bengal	50·5	48·0
North Bengal	37·3	59·2
East Bengal	30·8	67·5

This may be compared with figures for other parts of North India :

United Provinces	85·0	14·0
Panjab	48·0	50·75
(including Sikhs)		
South Bihar	90·4	9·3

The above tracts, along with portions of West Bengal, were exposed to Moslem influence from the beginning ; and yet Islām could not win so many adherents in the lands round the seats of Mohammedan culture—Delhi, Lucknow, Jaunpur and Patna—as in far away Eastern Bengal : and the percentage in the easternmost parts of Bengal can compare well with that for Western Panjab, which lies in the highway of Mohammedan invaders—Turki, Paṭhān, Persian, and has always had to bear the first brunt. The affiliation of the large masses of Eastern Bengal population to Islām

<sup>1</sup> E.g. আরব, আরমানী, ইংরেজ, ইউনানী, ইছবী, উজবক, তিলতী, বিলাতী, হাবশী, ( হিন্দু ) ।

<sup>2</sup> E.g. অন্দর, আওলাজ, আকছার, আব-হাওয়া, আসমান, আসল, ইয়ার, ইল্লৎ, ওজন, কদম, কম, কারবা, কারখানা, কোমর, পবর, খোরাক, গরজ, গরম, গুজরান, চাঁদা, চাকর, জলদী, জানোয়ার, জাহাজ, জিব্ব, তলাশ, ভাজা, দখল, দম, দরকার, দরদ, দাণা, দানা, দোকান, নগর, নমুনা, নরম, নেহাৎ, নেশা, পছন্দ, পরী, ফুরসৎ, বজ্জাত, বন্দোবস্ত, বাহবা, বেকুব, বৌচকা, মজবুত, মিরাঁ, মোরগ, দুর্জক, রকম, রোশনাই, দাদা, দাক, হস্তা, হাজার, হজম, হ'শিয়ার, হজুগ ।



is partly due to the hostility felt by the non-Brāhman people, who were followers of Buddhism, to Brāhmanism,—a hostility of which we find an evidence in that interesting Middle Bengali fragment—নিরঞ্জনের ক্রমা « Nirāñjānēṛ Ruṣmā » *the Wrath of the Sinless One* (i.e., Dharma), in which it is stated that the Gods were angry with the Brāhmins because they persecuted the Saddharmīs or Buddhists, and they came down on earth in the form of Musalmāns and destroyed Hindu temples—a thing which meets with the evident approval of the Buddhistic writer ('Śūnya-Purāṇa,' VSPd., pp. 140-141). A form of debased Mahāyāna Buddhism seems to have been quite the popular faith in East Bengal before the advent of the Mohammedan Turks, and the masses could not be wholly weaned over to the Puranic Hinduism of the Brāhman, even when Brāhmins from Rāḥa and Varēndra settled in Vangā in large numbers after the conquest of West and Central Bengal by the Turks. The masses professed in large numbers the simple creed of the conquering Turk when the latter came to Bengal and to the eastern parts of the province. The Mohammedan invasion of Bengal took place just when finishing touches were being given to a newly-formed Hindu nation with a language and a mentality of its own; and the Moslem faith quickly affiliated to itself, even though in a nominal manner, a large proportion of the people about to be merged into this new Hindu nation. There was no greater amount of religious persecution of the people by the Mohammedans in East Bengal than in other parts of Bengal and Northern India. There was, however, a certain amount of Moslem missionary enterprise in East Bengal, from Northern India, and, it is said, from among the Arab merchants at Chittagong: this might very well have taken advantage of latent anti-Brāhmanical feelings among the masses and of the neglect of them by the Hindu higher castes.

But this large proportion of Moslems among the Bengali-speaking people did not produce any appreciable increase of Persian influence on the language: since the masses in East Bengal, inspite of their extra-Indian religion, remained culturally and mentally Hindu (or Buddhist, with a veneration of Hinduism), and carried on the native Bengali traditions in literary and other matters. The greatest Middle Bengali Moslem Poet

is Alāol (17th century), whose Bengali version of Mālik Muhammad Jaīsi's 'Padumāwatī' (see p. 13) is as Sanskritic in language as the works of any of his Hindu contemporaries. But during all these centuries, the Mohammedans of Bengal were acquiring a respectable Persian vocabulary, mainly in connection with their religion and to some extent of their social life as well.

The real conversion of the Bengali Mohammedans to Islām began from the commencement of the 19th century, when some reform movements seeking to bring their life and thought more in accordance with the cosmopolitan Mohammedan notions took place. Urdū began to exert a greater influence from a centre like Calcutta. The Musalmāns of the old school, however, in matters literary, continued to follow the old Bengali tradition; and Musalmāns trained in schools and colleges did not seek to differentiate themselves from their Hindu kinsmen in the style of Bengali they employed. Side by side with the Hindu writers of Bengali have come forward a number of Musalmān writers, some of whom have made a valuable contribution to the stock of national literature, and a young generation of Musalmān poets and prosateurs are taking a part in transforming the stilted literary Bengali into a natural language, on a Sanskrit basis, and keeping true to its native spirit as a Sanskritic language. But within the last century has been established, in the hands of some Urdū-knowing Maulavīs, a form of Bengali which is known as 'Musalmānī Bengali,' in which a considerable literature consisting of adaptations of Moslem and Persian stories and romances and religious works and tracts has grown up. Works like the 'Jang-nāmah,' narrating the tragedy of Karbalā, biographies of Muḥammad, legends of Mohammedan saints, Persian epic and romance like the 'Shāh-nāmah' and the 'Sikandar-nāmah,' Arab romance like the 'Amīr Hamzah' and the Arabian Nights, and a host of other works, have been rendered into 'Musalmānī Bengali,' and are quite popular with a large Mohammedan Bengali audience. The 'Musalmānī Bengali' employed in these works, however, is often too much Persianised; but the metres are Bengali, and a large percentage of Sanskrit words are retained, cheek by jowl with the



Perso-Arabic importations. It is the Maulavi's reply to the Paṇḍit's *sādhū-bhāṣā* of the early and middle part of the 19th century. The percentage of Persian words in a typical 'Musalmānī Bengali' work, the 'Barā Dāstān Āmīr Hāmzā' *the Great Tale of Amīr Hamzah*, is about 31·74, as seen from computing the words in 5 pages of a folio edition from the popular Baṭṭalā printing houses of Calcutta. This is to a considerable extent less than in literary Urdū: 5 *ghazals* in the latter language, by Dāgh, Maqbūl, Zafar, Ātish and Laṭīf, showing 235 Persian words in a total of 636, a percentage of about 40. The ordinary colloquial Bengali of the Hindu middle and upper classes of Calcutta, as in the 'Hutōm Pēcār Naksā,' shows 7·1 of Persian words (see §123). In the language of the Hindu women of the upper classes, the percentage would be somewhat smaller; and in a Bengali Moslem home, it would rise to higher than 7·1%, it may be even 15%, but it could never be as high as 30%, even in the most preponderatingly Mohammedan parts of Bengal. One of the features of 'Musalmānī Bengali,' which demonstrates its rather artificial character, is the frequent use of Hindōstānī words and forms (*e.g.*, পাঙ < pāw > for পি < pī > *foot*, ভেস < bhēs > *dress*, খোড়া < thōṛā > for একটু < ēkṭu > *a little*, মেরা তেরা < mērā, tērā > for আমার তোমার or মোর তোর < āmārṣ tōmārṣ, mōrṣ tōrṣ > *my, thy*, ওয়াস্তে খোদার < wāstē khōdār > for খোদার কারণে < khōdār kāranē > *for God's sake*, এছা তেছা < ēśā tēsā = aisā taisā > for এমন তেমন < ēmānṣ tēmānṣ >, *in this way, in that way, etc., etc.*), which have no existence in the Bengali as spoken by the Musalmāns in the villages, within the different dialectal areas. 'Musalmānī Bengali' thus savours of the mixed Bengali-Hindōstānī-Awadhī jargon which is heard in the bazaars of Calcutta among Mohammedan working classes, cabmen, petty traders and others, who speak Calcutta Bengali and Hindōstānī equally badly, and unlike the Mohammedan masses in the country, have no proper dialect. Books in 'Musalmānī Bengali' begin from the right side, following the way of an Arabic or Persian book, although the alphabet is Bengali. The literature in Musalmānī Bengali has no merit, and some of the deathless tales of pre-Moslem Persia, as in the 'Shāh-nāmāh,' and of early Islām, have been ruined by the hack

versifiers of Calcutta and Chittagong in rendering them in this jargon. The culture which is native to Bengali village life, Hindu and Moslem, is often entirely crushed out of it; and we have still to fall back upon the songs, and folk-tales, and ballads, in the standard literary language, slightly modified by dialect, which are still current among Bengali Musalmāns in the countryside, especially in East Bengal,—to appreciate the literary tradition that yet lives among them. Educated Mohammedans of the present day have not taken kindly to this form of Bengali. The earlier Musalmān writers did not employ such a Persianised language: witness Ālāol, who may be reckoned among the greatest poets of Early Bengal; and witness the language of scores of late Middle Bengali works by Musalmān writers, as, for example, in Munshī Ābdul Karim Sāhitya-viśārada's Descriptive List of Bengali MSS., mostly from Chittagong ('Bāṅgālā Prācīn Puthir Vivaraṅ,' 2 parts, VSPd., San 1321). As an ever-increasing number of Musalmān writers of Bengali are coming to the front, the accession to the language of more Perso-Arabic words, specially relating to the Mohammedan religion and to Islāmic culture, will be in the nature of things: but this accession can very well be without interfering with the spirit of the language by introducing Urdū forms and idioms. (Muhammad Yākūb Āli, born 1666, a younger contemporary of Ālāol, wrote a 'Jang-nāmāh' in 1699: his work as preserved in MSS. and in printed editions, shows an almost equally Persianised style as an ordinary modern work in Musalmānī Bengali of Calcutta; but it is a question how far the current recensions, both in MS. and in print, represent the 17th century Bengali of the poet, as their Bengali is modern, and has modern Urdū forms,—the latter being as yet an undeveloped language in the 17th century: cf. 'Jang-nāmā,' by Ābdul Gafur Siddikī, in the VSPdP., 1324, No. 2.)

120. By 'Persian Element in Bengali' is to be meant not only native Persian words, but also the host of Arabic words naturalised in it, and also a few Turkī words which the Persians received from their Turkī neighbours and rulers. It does not seem as if Turkī exerted any influence on Indian languages, although it was the home language of the Moslem



ruling houses in the early centuries of Moslem conquest and rule, and again in the early part of the 16th century when Bābar wrested the Northern empire from the Paṭhāns and the Rājapūts. Hindōstānī has less than 100 Turkī words (in Fallon's Dictionary the number is about 70), and Bengali does not seem to possess more than 40.<sup>1</sup> A few of these Turkī words in Hindōstānī and Bengali may have come direct from Turkī as spoken in India: but it is convenient to include them under Persian.

A few Paṣṭō words, not even half a dozen, can also be included under Persian.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have been able to find the following: অগা 'āgā' *master* (Turkī 'aga'); আলখাল্লা 'ālkhāllā' *a loose robe* (alxaliq); উজবক, -বুগ 'ujbak, -bug' *an idiot, an uncultured fellow* (Persian 'uzbag,' Turkī 'ozbek' *name of a Turkī tribe*); উরদু, উর্দু 'uradu, urdu' *market, the Urdū language* (Persian 'urdū,' Turkī 'ordu' *camp*); কলকা, কলগা kalkā, kalgā *aigrette* ('qalga'); কাঁচী 'kāñcī' *scissors* ('qaincī': but cf. Old Bengali of Sarvānanda [p. 109]—'kāśī' = 'karttarikā'); কাবু 'kābu' *possession, reduction to one's power* ('qapu' *gate, opportunity, possession, hold, grasp*); কুলী 'kūlī' *porter* ('qulī' *slave*); কৌতকা 'kōū:kā' *stick* ('qutka'); কোর্মা 'kormā' *meat stew* ('qawurma'); খাতুন 'khātun' *lady* ('xatun'); খান, খাঁ 'khān' *lord, prince* ('xān, xaqān'); খানুম 'khānum' *lady* ('xānum'); গালিচা 'gālicā' *carpet* ('qalica, galica'); চকমকি 'cakmaki' *flint stone for lighting fire* ('caqmaq'); চাকু 'cāku' *knife* ('caqu'); চিক 'cik' *screen made of finely split bamboo* (Persian 'cigh,' Turkī 'ciq'); তকমা 'takmā' *badge, shield-badge* ('tamga'); তবক 'tabak' *gun, rifle* ('tupak, topak'); তাগাড় 'tāgār' *trough, mason's lime-pit* ('tagār'); তুজুক 'tujuk' *regulation, retinue, pomp, dignity* ('tuzak'); তুরুক, তুরু 'turuk, turk' ('turk'); তোড়া as in তোড়া বন্দি খান 'tōṛā-bandī khānā' *feast with dishes arranged* ('torāb, torā'); তোপ 'tōp' *gun, cannon* ('top'); দারোগা 'dārōgā' *an officer*; বকশী 'bakšī' *a surname* (Persian 'baxšī,' Turkī 'baksi' *pay master*); বাবুচী 'bāburcī' *cook* ('bawarcī'); বাহাদুর 'bāhādūr' *brave* ('bahadūr'); বিবি 'bibī' *a lady*; বেগম 'begam' *lady, princess* ('begum'); বৌচকা 'bōū'ckā' *bundle* ('bugeca, buqca'); মুচলকা 'muclakā' *bond, note of hand* ('mucalkā'); রক, রওয়াক 'rak, raoāk' *ledge, raised platform* ('rawaq'); লাস 'lās' *corpse* ('lās'); সগোত 'sogāt' *present*; সুরুক, সুরাক 'suruk, surāk' *trick, ruse* ('surāg' *spying*); and the affix চী '-cī' in some words (e.g., মশালচী 'mašālci' *torch-bearer*, খাজান্-চী 'khajāñci' = xazān-cī' *treasurer*).

<sup>2</sup> The word পাঠান = পট্ঠান 'pāṭhān < paṭṭhāna' from 'Paṣṭāna,' is an Indianised form. The other Paṣṭō words are তাপাস 'tapās' *search* (a borrowed word in Paṣṭō, from the Arabic 'tafahḥuṣ'), রোহেলা, রোহিলা 'rōhilā' (a tribal name, Paṣṭō 'roh' *mountain*), besides a few other names of tribes.

Of direct Arabic influence, there has been practically nil, although the Urdū form of Hindōstānī in the hands of Mohammedan writers at the present day sometimes borrows Arabic words and phrases straight from Arabic itself, and not through Persian.

The Persian language was brought to India by the Turks, and some of the peculiarities characterising the language as used by Turkī speakers, in pronunciation and in vocabulary, are also found in the speech as employed in India. The Persian language has changed in Persia itself, but in India the early Persian pronunciation is still followed, e.g., *majhūl* sounds of ج and ع. Persian words in Bengali naturally show an early Persian basis in their phonology. (See *Phonology of the Foreign Element : Persian*).

#### PORTUGUESE, DUTCH, FRENCH AND ENGLISH WORDS.

121. The other foreign elements in Bengali consist of between 100 and 110 Portuguese words, a few Dutch and French words, and an ever-increasing number of English words. The Portuguese words are names of objects and ideas introduced by the Portuguese into India, and they indicate the extent of the material culture which Bengal and India owe to the adventurous Lusitanians. The Portuguese came to Bengal early in the 16th century, and the influence of the Portuguese language continued down to the close of the 18th. (Cf. Abināsh Chandra Ghōsh, 'Vaṅgē Pōrtugīj-prabhāv Ō Vaṅga-bhāṣāy Pōrtugīj-padāṅka,' VSPdP., San 1318, No. 1; J. J. A. Campos. 'A History of the Portuguese in Bengal,' Calcutta, 1919, pp. 214-220. J. J. A. Campos, following R. Dalgado's lists in 'Influencia do Vocabulario Portugues em Linguas Asiaticas,' gives 174 words in Bengali as Portuguese. But some 8 of these are native Bengali, and about 100 are now obsolete, although they might have existed in 18th century Bengali; and a few are English rather than Portuguese, as their phonetics would show [e.g., কোচ < kōc > is from the English *couch*, the Portuguese *coche* would give in Bengali the form < \*kuci > or < \*kuśi >; কর্নেল < kārnel > appears rather to be from the English *colonel* than the Portuguese *coronel* from which the Bengali form expected would be < \*kuronel >; so অর্গান < ārgān > is from English



*organ*, rather than Portuguese *orgão* which would give « \*ārgām, ārgāu » in Bengali]. The following words, not noted in the above papers, are also from the Portuguese: কাতান « kātān » a sword = Portuguese *catano*; খানা « kbānā » ditch, cf. Portuguese *cano*: and কোণ, কোণ « kōṅ(g)ā » bent double, as with age, cf. Port. *cunha* = wedge).

The French and Dutch words do not appear to be over 10 in number. Of course, there are numerous French words *through English*, but very few are derived directly from French. French speakers (and Dutch speakers) had occasion to come in touch with Bengalis at Chandernagore (and at Chinsurah). The following words are from the French: কার্তুজ « kārṭuj » *cartouche*, বারুশ « bāruś » *barouche*, কুপন « kupān » *coupon*, ইস্তোর « iskātōr » *escr. toire, écritoire*, আনিস « ānis » *anis* (liquor); কাতুর « kātūr » *quatre*, ঔশ « ōś » or ঔশ « ōś » *onze*, দোশ or দুশ « dōś, duś » *douze*, and a few others, in connection with card games; and names of some European peoples, as in 18th century and modern Bengali: ফরাস, ফরাসী « phārās, -sī » *Français*; ওলন্দাজ « ōlāndāj » *Hollandais*, দিনেমার « Dinemār » *Danemark*, এলমান « ēlēmān » *Allemand*, and possibly also the form আংরেজ « āṅgrēj » *Anglais* for ইংরেজ « iṅgrēj » = Portuguese *Ingles*. The Dutch words directly borrowed are: the names of cards—হরতন « hār(ā)tān » *hearts* = *harten*, রুইতন « ruitān » *diamonds* = *ruiten*, ইস্তাবন « iskābān » *spades* = *schopen* (but the name for *clubs*, চিড়িতন « cīṛitān » is Indian: cf. Hindōstānī « cīṛiyā » *bird*), and ত্রুপ, তুরুপ « t(u)rup » *trump in cards* = *troef*; ইস্ক্রুপ, ইস্ক্রুপ « isk(u)rup » *screw* = *schroef*; বোম « bōm » *shaft of carriage*, 'beam' = *boom*; and পিসপাস « pispās » a *dish of rice and meat* = *poespas*. In addition to the above, there are probably a few more from the French and Dutch, but they have not been identified. The Germans and the Danes also came to Bengal, but no German and Danish word seems to have been borrowed direct by Bengali.

122. Of English words it is not yet the proper time to estimate the number and character. There is a steady increase going on in the English element. The English loan-words are names of objects, ideas and institutions brought into India by the Britons. In some cases, there have been attempts to substitute for the English names of material articles or

of new ideas Sanskrit (and vernacular) neologues, but these have almost invariably failed when they referred to material objects : although Indian equivalents of the English idea words and institution words, being confined to the speech of the educated, have sometimes caught on : e.g., বাষ্পশকট « *bāṣpā-śākātā* » for *railway*, কোতুকাগার « *kautukāgārā* » for *museum* have failed, the speech of the masses employing either রেলওয়ে « *rēlōē* » or রেলগাড়ী « *rēl-gārī* » or কলের গাড়ী « *kālēr-gārī* » = *machine-carriage*, and যাদুঘর « *jādu-gharā* » = *magic-house* ; but সম্পাদক « *sāmpādākā* » for *editor*, অধ্যক্ষ « *ādhyākṣā* » for *manager* etc. are freely used in speech. Many of the English words admitted early in the 19th century have become completely Bengalised : e.g., হাসপাতাল « *hāspātāl* » *hospital*, লাট « *lāt* » *lord*, ইস্কুল « *iṣkul* » *school*, ডাক্তার « *ḍāktār* » *doctor*, গেলাস « *gelās* » *glass*, আপিস « *āpis* » *office*, টেবিল « *ṭēbil* » *table*, বেঞ্চ « *beñci* » *bench*, মাস্টার « *māṣṭār* » *master*, গারদ « *gārād* » *guard, prison*, লণ্ঠন « *lanṭhan* » *lantern* etc., etc. The presence of the English language and the spread of a knowledge of the English words in their proper pronunciation is preventing a Bengalisation of the words admitted within recent years. A few vocables, however, have assumed a totally un-English appearance through folk etymology : e.g. *municipality* = মুনসীপাল « *munśī-pāl* » = *band of clerical officers, or the officer-protecting* ; *honeysuckle* = হানিশিকল « *hāni-śikāl* » = *a chain of injuries*, and *artichoke* = হাতিচোখ « *hāti-cōkh* » = *elephant-eye*, among the gardeners and vegetable dealers of Calcutta. These popularised forms are used only among those who have no English.

The English element is bound to be of the widest extent possible. Any newspaper would show the amount of English which finds place in Bengali journalese of the present day. Trades, literature, science, art, politics, history,—in fact almost all the avenues of life and of literature are favorable for the introduction of English terms : since English is the medium through which the Bengali (and Indian) mind holds commerce with the outside world. In the early part of the 19th century, and down to the 4th quarter of it, the words adopted by Bengali were mainly names of material objects, the achievements more or less of modern science. Intimate acquaintance with European life and thought, and ideas and



institutions, and the introduction of the latter into India, are responsible for a vocabulary of culture words from English, such as is absent in early 19th century Bengali. Words like ভোট < bhōṭ > *vote*, ব্যালট < byālāṭ > *ballot*, সেক্রেটারী < sēkrētārī >, প্রিন্টার < printār >, গেজেট < gējēt > *gazette*, টাইমটেবল < ṭāim-ṭēb(ā)l > are in common use now; and even such words as রোম(্য)ান্স < rōm(y)āns > *romance*, রোমান্টিক < rōmāṅṭik >, ক্লাসিক < kl(y)āsik > *classic*, ট্রাজেডি, কমেডি < ṭrājēḍi, kāmēḍi > (for < viyōgāntā, milānāntā nāṭākḥ >), আর্ট < ārt >, ফিউচারিজম < phiucārīz(ā)m > *futurism*, প্রি-র‍্য‍্যফেলাইট < pri-ryāphēlāit > *Pre-Raphaelite*, সায়েন্স < sāyēns > *science*, প্রোটোপ্লাজম < prōṭōplāz(a)m > *protoplasm*, প্লিষ্টোসিন < plīṣṭōsīn > *pleistocene*, ল < lā > *law*, প্লট < plāṭ > *plot (of a story)*, কেমিস্ট্রি < kēmiṣṭri > *chemistry*, ফিজিক্স < phiziks >, etc., etc., are being bodily adopted at the present day. Foreign names come to Bengali through English; and even Indian names of persons and places outside Bengal. These are written in Bengali according to the English pronunciation, although acquaintance with the original sources or source forms sometimes gives us, in more careful writers, Bengali forms near enough to the original, and not two degrees removed. Thus we have প্লেটো < Plētō >, but also প্লাতোন < Plātōn >; but commonly it is the English forms that obtain: e.g., ইসকাইলাস < Iskāilās >, এরিস্টোটল < Eriṣṭōṭ(ā)l >, ভল্টের < Bhālṭēyār > *Voltaire*, গেটে < Gētē > *Goethe*, ভিক্টর হিউগো < Bhiṭṭār Hiugō >; and we have careful transliterations like গী-দে-মোপাসাঁ < GI-dē-Mōpās-ā > and রোদাঁ < Rōdyā > *Rodin*, টুর্গেনিয়েভ < Ṭurgēniēbh > and কার্ডুচি < Kārducci > *Carducci*, side by side with আইটো < Āitō > = Marquis *Ito* of Japan and গিওকোণ্ডা < Giōkōṅḍā > for < Jōkōndā > *Gioconda*, ট্যাং < Ṭyāṅ > and সাং < Sāṅ > (= *T'ang, Thang* and *Sung* dynasties of China), and even জাতিশান < Nyāṭīśān > and ভেঙ্কাটা < Bhēṅkāṭā > for the South Indian নটেশন and বেঙ্কট < Naṭēśan, Vēṅkaṭa >.

In considering the phonology of the foreign element, only those English words which occur in popular speech, and have become Bengali in form, alone have a right to be studied, side by side with the naturalised Persian and Portuguese words; and only such naturalised words have been treated in the present work. (See later, *Phonology of the Foreign Element: English*.)

## PROPORTION OF THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS IN THE BENGALI LANGUAGE.

123. The latest Bengali dictionary, which is the biggest yet published, and by far the best (by Jñānēndra-Mōhan Dās: Calcutta, 1323 San = 1916), has, as the compiler states in the Preface, some 75,000 words and compounds. A rough survey of this dictionary showed between 32 to 33 thousand Sanskrit words (*tatsamas*); and there are some 2,400 Persian (Perso-Arabic) words, about 700 English, and some 100 Portuguese, with a few Dutch (not identified) and French and other foreign. The rest are either native Bengali (*tadbhava* and *dēśī*), or old borrowings from Sanskrit (completely naturalised *semi-tatsamas*), or borrowed from cognate NIA. speeches. Taking, in round numbers, the *tatsama* element at 33,000, and the Persian at 2,500, and the English and other European at 1,000 (considering possible omissions, and also the fact that many *tadbhava* words occur in different spellings), the percentage of words, on the basis of Jñānēndra-Mōhan Dās's dictionary, would roughly be—

Native Words ( <i>tadbhavas</i> , <i>semi-tatsamas</i> ) and <i>tadbhava</i> borrowings from sister-speeches ...	51·45
<i>Tatsama</i> or Sanskrit Words ...	44·00
Foreign Words { Persian ...	3·30
{ English, Portuguese, etc. ...	1·25
	100·00

Somewhat less than half is thus *tatsama*: and this in a dictionary which is conspicuous for the large number of common *tadbhava* words it has included. In a dictionary, of course, all learned words have a place, and the percentage of the various elements in a dictionary is not the true guide to that in the ordinary speech.

The native *tadbhava* element has been suffering from curtailment ever since the characterisation of the language as Bengali. The 47 Caryā-padas contain, including repetitions, some 2,000 words and compounds (1,957, to give something like an exact number, from Mm. H. P. Śāstri's lists in the 'Bauddha Gān Ō Dōhā'). Of these, 310 are spelt exactly as in Sanskrit, but a great many of these 310 are equally



*tadbhava* and *tatsama* in form : words like « kulisa, nalinī-vana, vivāha » are as much of the original stratum of the language as « bāja < vajra, « dūdhū = dūdhā < dugdha, rūkha = rūkha < vṛkṣa », etc. There are a number of *semi-tatsamas* like « niti = nitya, jaūtuka = yāūtuka, sādhi = sādhu, adhiātā = adhyātma, avidā = avidyā, svapana = svapna » etc., etc. In fact, of the 310 words, real *tatsamas* are comparatively few. Genuine *tatsamas* like « sadguru » (occurring 7 times), « sadbhāva, vidyā, padma, -artha, avadhūti, karṇa-kunḍala-vajra-dhārī, sva-, sarva, sukha, duḥkha, bhava-nirvāṇa, māṇsa, vāk-patbhātita, samjñā, iṣṭā-mālā, dvādaśa, unmatta, caryyā, caṇḍālī, bhava-jaladhi, rāga, puṇya, avakāśa, nāukā » cannot be more than 100, at the highest computation : which would work to 5% for the language of the Caryās, leaving the remaining 95% pure *tadbhava* and *dēśī* words, with some *semi-tatsamas*, for the language of the 10th-12th centuries.

But Bengali began to lean on Sanskrit from the beginning. The old native *tadbhava* forms were dropped to a great extent, even from the popular speech, *tatsamas* and *semi-tatsamas* taking their place. It would be interesting to note the rate of admission of *tatsama* words. In Caṇḍī-dāsa's 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana,' out of 863 words (the sum total occurring in 7 pages taken at random from the printed edition of that work), 109 are pure *tatsamas* (at least in spelling), and the rest are *tadbhava* and *dēśī*, with a few *semi-tatsamas*. The percentage works out at 12.5 for pure *tatsamas*. Thus Early Middle Bengali has a marked excess over the Old Bengali of the Caryās. Words like « saala, sāra, mēha, bōha, naarī, niada, nai » either wholly give place to their Sanskrit proto-types which most speakers of Old Bengali knew, like « sakala, sāgara, māgha, bōdha, nagarī, nikaṣa, nadī », or are considerably restricted in use, as archaic, poetic or dialectal forms. But still, in the 14th century, a great many *tadbhavas* prevail, only to be gradually eliminated in the subsequent periods : although here and there in the dialects and in place-names we find old *tadbhavas* lingering (e.g., Chittagong বয়র « bayār » = « vāta- » ; North Bengali বাসো « basō » = « vasaha, vṛṣabha » ; Bengali poetic সাগর « sāyār » = « sāgara » ; নৈহাট « Nai-hāṭī », name of a West Bengal

town, preserves  $\text{নে} \ll \text{nai, nai} \gg$ , but every one says  $\text{নদী} \ll \text{nâdî} \gg$  and no one would understand  $\text{নে} \ll \text{nai} \gg$ , although  $\text{নে}$  is a living word in Assamese). In ordinary Middle Bengali, as in the popular legendary tales which are understood by the masses everywhere, the percentage of *tatsama* words is 33·2, and that of *tadbhavas* (with *dēśī* and a few *semi-tatsama* and fewer foreign words) is 66·8, as worked out from the words occurring in 10 pages of the 'Vāṅga-Sāhitya-Paricaya' of Dinēsh Chandra Sen, representing 5 works (2 pages from Kētakā-dāsa Kṣemānanda's 'Manasār Bhāṣān,' c. 1650: 78 *tatsama* words out of 338; 2 pages from Kavi-kaṅkaṇa Mukunda-rāma, c. 1580: 119 *tatsama* words out of 322, of which 2 are Persian; Kāśī-rāma Dāsa's 'Mahābhārata,' 17th century: 147 *tatsamas* out of 336; Kṛttivāsa's 'Rāmāyaṇa,' 15th century: 89 out of 366 [the small proportion in this Early Middle Bengali work is noteworthy]; and Nārāyaṇa-dēva's 'Manasā-maṅgala,' Early Middle Bengali, but date unknown: 146 out of 313: total, 579 *tatsama* words out of 1,744).

It is noticeable that the use of Sanskrit words depends a great deal on the preference of the writer; but in the Middle Bengali literary language, a third of the vocabulary had become Sanskrit by the middle of the 17th century. The Sanskritising tendency was steadily on the increase, and although the inherent grace and vigour of the language was much encumbered by the gorgeous trappings of Sanskrit, it would not be quite correct to say that the language of Middle Bengali poetry, such as in Kavi-kaṅkaṇa or Kāśī-rāma Dāsa, or Bhārata-candra, was or is too learned for the masses. People were steadily becoming familiar with a Sanskritised Bengali ever since the 14th century: but the language was never stilted or artificial. It was when the Paṇḍits of the College of Fort William at Calcutta began writing text-books to order, that the vicious habit of writing in strings of Sanskrit words and phrases, with a Bengali verb or particle here and there, came in, and partly paralysed the Bengali literary style (in prose) for half a century. The work of the Paṇḍits did not affect the living Bengali speech at all: their legacy to posterity was a laboured prose style, like 18th century and 19th century journalistic Johnsonese in English; and this laboured prose in the hands of



capable authors like Akṣaya-Kumāra Datta, Īśvara Vidyāsāgara, and Bankim Chandra Chatterji in his earlier novels, as well as a host of lesser names, became an admirable instrument of expression, and formed the basis of the literary dialect of the present day.

In Modern Bengali, the colloquial has a surprisingly small percentage of Sanskrit words: one of the reasons, of course, is that in the language of ordinary conversation, the range of the vocabulary is not large. Taking four works in the colloquial style, one by Bankim Chandra (his 'Indirā,'—the grammatical forms in this work are the full ones of the literary language, but the style and vocabulary are entirely of the colloquial), the second by Girish Chandra Ghosh (his drama 'Praphulla'), the third a collection of folk-tales, in a slightly archaistic but none the less living speech of East Bengal villages, retold in the literary form going close to the Calcutta dialect (the 'Ṭhākur-dādār Jhulī,' one of the inimitable compilations of Dakṣiṇā-Rañjan Mitra Majumdār), and, finally, the 'Hutōm Pēcār Naksā' of Kālī-Prasanna Siṅha (see p. 135), and counting up the words in several pages of each, and arranging them in classes, and then working out the percentage, the following figures are arrived at: 79·1% *tadbhava* and *dēśī*, with some *semi-tatsama*s; 17·1% *tatsama*; and 3·7% foreign, mostly Persian ('Indirā,' 5 pages = 536 *tadbhava* and *dēśī* + 153 *tatsama* + 7 foreign; 'Praphulla,' 4 pages, respectively 724 + 137 + 20; 'Ṭhākur-dādār Jhulī,' 5 pages, 734 + 125 + 14; and 'Hutōm Pēcār Naksā,' 1st edition, 4 pages, 576 + 140 + 81; total, 2,570 *tadbhava*, *dēśī* and *semi-tatsama*, 555 *tatsama* and 122 foreign words). In treating a literary, political or philosophical subject, the vocabulary has to be more Sanskritic, although the treatment may be entirely colloquial. Avoidance of *tatsama* words is almost impossible in Bengali; and long sustained narrative, as in the Hindi novels of Inshā' Allāh Khān and Hari Audh, in which a purely native, i.e., *tadbhava*, *dēśī* and *semi-tatsama* Hindōstānī has been employed, without Sanskrit or foreign words (see LSI., Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 103, 111), cannot be thought of in Bengali; although whole sentences in *tadbhava* Bengali are frequently met with in poetry, sentences perfectly natural and well-balanced. But the Sanskrit vocabulary of an ordinary newspaper

or novel of the present day is understood by all who speak Bengali. In the colloquial Bengali style discoursing of intellectual topics, the following statistics will give a general idea of the percentage of Sanskrit loan-words. In Rabīndra-nāth Tagore's discourse on Bengali metre (in the 'Sabuj Pattra' for Caitra, 1325), a most admirable treatment of an intricate subject entirely in the colloquial, 4 pages, presenting a total of 860 words, show 482 *tadbhava*, 352 *tatsama* and 26 foreign words: i.e., a percentage of 56·0, 40·9 and 3·0 respectively; and 4 pages of a paper on a political topic by Pramatha Chaudhuri (Mr. Chaudhuri is an active champion of the use of the colloquial in literature), a paper named 'Rāyatēr Kathā,' or *the Tenant-farmer's Standpoint* ('Sabuj Pattra' for Phālguna-Caitra, 1326), an aggregate of 857 words shows 495 *tadbhavas*, 247 *tatsamas* and 115 foreign words (Persian and English): a percentage of 57·7, 28·8, and 13·4 respectively. So that in Modern Bengali as used in literature by the best writers, the percentage of Sanskrit words does not exceed, generally, that of Middle Bengali. The early 19th century tradition of the Paṇḍits is not dead, but the language cannot be said to suffer from it any more. Some of the early works in the Sanskritic Bengali will always remain classics in style; and the best writers of the present day have passed through the discipline of the « sādhu-bhāṣā ». Percentage of words of various kinds from 5 pages of the 'Kādambarī' of Tārā-Śankar Tarkaratna will give an idea of the amount of Sanskrit in this kind of Bengali: 5 pages = 670 Sanskrit words and compounds + 328 *tadbhava* forms + 2 Persian, respectively 67·00, 32·8 and 0·2 per cent.

The percentage of the Persian element may be briefly reviewed. The proportion in Bengali, as in Jñānēndra-Mōhan Dās's Dictionary is less than 4·00 (see p. 218). In Rai Bahadur Yōgēsh Chandra Vidyānidhi's Dictionary (VSPd.), the number of Persian words is less than 1,450: the total number of words in this 'Śabda-kōṣa' does not seem to exceed 18,000, on a rough computation; and as these are mostly folk-words, the percentage of Persian words in the popular Bengali of West Bengal and West Central Bengal, as presented in this dictionary, would be about 8%. This is slightly higher than what we find in the living Calcutta colloquial of the



'Hutōm Pēcār Naksā': in 15 pages of this book, taken at random, containing some 3,000 words at the rate of 200 words per page, 213 Persian words occur: the percentage is thus 7·1 for the speech of educated Hindus of Calcutta over 50 years ago; and this would seem to hold good at the present day as well. The percentage, 13·4, as in the article by P. Chaudhuri mentioned above, is due to the nature of the subject discussed, the land-tenure and law vocabulary of Bengali being mainly Persian. The percentage in Musalmānī Bengali, and in the ordinary language of Bengali Musalmāns generally, has been discussed before at p. 211.

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## APPENDIX E

### BENGALI ORTHOGRAPHY.

124. The Bengali language has always been written in the Indian alphabet. The history of the origin and development of the Bengali alphabet has been treated in detail in 'the Origin of the Bengali Script' by R. D. Banerji (Calcutta University, 1919), and Mm. H. P. Śāstri's paper to the VSPdP., Vol. XXVII, No. 1, 'Bāṅgālār Prācīn Akṣar,' is also to be mentioned. The story of the development of the various letters in their present-day forms is a complicated one, but the general pedigree is clear. The Bengali alphabet is derived from an Eastern alphabet current in what is now Eastern United Provinces, Eastern Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, and Bengal and Assam, from the 6th century onwards. This Eastern Alphabet is a variety of the Gupta script (400-550 A. C.), which is a sort of cursive development, through the intermediate Kuṣāṇa writing, of the primitive and monumental Brāhmī, the mother of all the national Indian alphabets. In the early and later history of this Eastern Alphabet, there was some influence of the script current in other parts of Northern India (except Kashmir) from the 8th century onwards, a script equally derived from the Gupta Alphabet, which later became the Dēva-nāgarī. This western North-Indian script, which may be called 'Proto-Nāgarī,' was characterised in the Gujarat-Rajasthan and Midland tracts, and it seems to have spread into Eastern India and modified the local alphabet; and this might be noted in connection with what has been said about the spread and influence of the Western (Śaurasēnī) Apha-brañśa in Eastern India (Bihar, Bengal), at pp. 91, 113 ff. The earliest graphic documents in Bengal are the Susunia Rōck Inscription, end of the 4th century (see pp. 75-76), and the Gupta inscriptions, of the 5th century. From the 8th century onwards, we have a fair number of inscriptions in Bengal. It seems that there was in Bengal a cursive hand



which differed from the more formal and archaic inscriptional alphabet ; the latter showing greater western influence. MSS. written in this cursive form of the Eastern alphabet, dating from the 7th century, the MSS. preserved in the temple of Horiuzi in Japan, have been found. This cursive Eastern alphabet is the immediate source of (1) Bengali-Assamese, (2) Maithilī and (3) Oṛiyā alphabets. (1) and (2) are practically identical : almost all the forms in (2) are found in old MSS. written in (1). In fact, Sanskrit MSS. in Maithilī characters used to be read quite easily by Bengali Paṇḍits, to whom these characters were known as *তিরুটে* « *tiruṭē* = *tirahuṭiyā* » letters (*Tirahuṭi* = *Tirabhukti* = *Mithilā*). In Magadha, the same alphabet was in use as in *Mithilā* and Bengal, and numbers of pre-Moslem MSS. written at *Nālandā* and *Vikrama-silā* in Magadha have been found preserved in Nepal. But the Moslem conquest put an end to the indigenous learning of Magadha ; and in later times, after the land had come under the influence of Hindostan, the cursive or short-hand form of the old *Dēva-nāgarī* style of the Indian alphabet which prevailed in Northern and Western India (as has been said before) from the 7th century, namely, the « *Kaithī* » script, came to Magadha by way of the *Bhōjpuriyā* tract ; and this *Kaithī* alphabet has held the ground till now. *Kaithī* because of its simplicity has spread to *Mithilā* as well, where only the *Brāhmans* and other upper classes keep up the old Maithilī character. The latter has never been printed from types ; and *Dēva-nāgarī*, strengthened by the spread of Hindi, and by its special association with Sanskrit at the present day, is now employed in printing Maithilī. In Orissa, the old cursive alphabet of the East changed as early as the 15th century into the *Oṛiyā* alphabet as current now, with its characteristic top-loops and its minute essential parts. The peculiar form of the *Oṛiyā* letters, and their deviation from the Bengali-Maithilī norm, is due primarily to the writing materials used in Orissa, *viz.*, palm-leaf and an iron stylus, whereas the reed pen and ink and paper have kept up the angular shapes in Bengal and *Mithilā*. It is probable that the *Oṛiyā* script has unconsciously followed the model of the neighbouring *Telugu* alphabet, in which the absence of angular shapes is

a noticeable feature: the culture of Andhra or the Telugu-land has influenced that of Orissa in many ways.

The inscriptions and other early documents give us valuable hints as to contemporary habits of pronunciation. In the 7th century, the characters, for < b > and < v > (= व, व of Dēva-nāgarī) are confused, and evidence is not wanting for their loose use in the 5th century. After the 8th century, only one letter, that for < v >, is used for both, showing that in the pronunciation of the eastern area, these two sounds had fallen together; and from the state of things in the 'Bihārī' speeches, and in Oṛiyā and Bengali, it can be seen that in Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa of the 8th century, and perhaps earlier still, all initial < v- > s of MIA. became < b- >, and medially only the < v > or < w > sound occurred, merely as a euphonic glide. In later times, distinction between < b > and < v, w > was sought to be indicated in Bihārī and Assamese by means of diacritical marks on the letters for < b > (Kaithī व = < b >, व = < w >; Assamese ব = < b >, and ঝ = < w >; but in Maithilī, व = < w >, व = < b >). Misspellings of Sanskrit words, which are not infrequent, show vernacular pronunciation of the former: e.g., < ri > for < ṛ >, indiscriminate use of < ś, ṣ, s >, use of < kṣ > for < kh >, in one instance at least (Manahali Grant of Madanapāla-dēva, c. 1118)—< likṣita > for < likhita >, showing the < kkh > pronunciation of < kṣ > in the 12th century: and we are thankful for these mistakes. The occurrence of the anunāsika (candra-bindu = °), as distinguished from the anusvāra (° = Modern Bengali ঙ), is an indication of a nasal pronunciation in the eastern languages at least from the end of the 11th century.

In Bengali, the spelling has been influenced by Sanskrit to a very great extent during the 12th century. In Middle Bengali, too, this influence was present, and it prevented a tradition and a system for the *tadbhava* words from growing up. Scribes were careless, and they were careless even with regard to the Sanskrit words. There was no uniformity, the same word being written differently in the same page and even in the same line. Under the tutelage of the Paṇḍits well acquainted with Sanskrit, whose influence was great at the beginning of the 19th century,



when the modern literary style was established for prose (and when printing was introduced), a rigid adherence to the correct orthography for Sanskrit words naturally came in, and brought in a needed uniformity for *tatsama* words, in the place of the chaos which reigned before. But the scholastic tendency went beyond its legitimate area, and sought to model the spelling of vernacular *tadbhavas* on their Sanskrit prototypes and on theories of orthography: e.g., জে, জাহা, জিনি, জত, √জাওয়া < jē, jāhā, jini, jātā, √jāōā > etc. came to be written with য < y >, instead of জ < j >, because of the Sanskrit < yad > and < √yā >; < kārya > kajja > kāja > was written কায < kāya >, < y > pronounced as < j >, and not কাজ < kājā >, as before; and the ঞ < ṅ > of Sanskrit was restored to কাঞ = কান < kāñ < kaṅṇa > = kaṅṇa >, and was brought in unjustifiably to রাঞি, = রানো < rāñi < raṅṇi = rājñi >, etc., etc. The old group ও < oā > for < wā >, without the intervening, unnecessary ঝ (ওঝা < oṃyā >), was given up as barbarous. Some sort of system was attempted in this way: but in the matter of writing the *tadbhavas*, especially the verbal and other forms which figure in the colloquial, Bengali orthography is still lamentably backward and ununiform. The old spellings of the MSS. are of very great help in tracing the history of the sounds, as they are frankly phonetic, when the scribes were not troubled by the ghost of Sanskrit.

According to Middle Indian notions, which form the basis of the mystical treatment of the *akṣaras* in the Tantric works, the number of primary letters or radical signs (< māṭṭkākṣara >) in Sanskrit, and following that, in the vernaculars, is 50,—16 vowels and 34 consonants. In this enumeration, there is both scholastic theorising and popular misconception. The former added ঞ < ṅ > to the list of vowels, although it is not found in any OIA. word or form (< ṅ > is recognised by the 'Kātantra'), to bring about symmetry; and anusvāra < ṅ (ñ) > and visarga < ḥ > are classed under vowels—which may be justified. The latter is probably responsible for the inclusion of ঞ < ṅ > in the list of radical characters. Inclusion of < ṅ > among simple consonants is as old as the 'Lalita-vistara' (Chap. X), the romantic biography of Buddha in mixed Sanskrit, which goes back to the 1st century after Christ. This may have

been due to the differentiation, in the written form, of this consonant group from other consonant groups with « k », aided by some modification in its pronunciation in Sanskrit (which might have been that of a « kkh », or of « kkhy », or of the palatal stop and aspirate sounds of [cch]). A modification of the pronunciation of the group « kṣ », in Sanskrit words, from « k + ṣ » [kʃ] to something else, in early MIA. times,—to [kʃɪ], in all probability,—is at the basis of the Middle Bengali value of « kṣ » as « kkhy » (in *tatsama* forms); and this is perhaps not unconnected with the representation in the Kharōṣṭhī alphabet of « ch » when derived from OIA. « kṣ » by a separate letter from that used for an original OIA. « ch » (cf. A. M. Boyer, 'Inscriptions de Miran,' JA., Mai-Juin, 1911, pp. 423-430). In any case, the medieval Paṇḍits of Bengal had some justification for regarding ऋ « (k)khy » = ऋ « kṣ » as a special consonant, because of its « y » element. The ligature ॠ = « jū » which came to obtain the value of « (g)gṛ » in medieval Sanskrit, ought to have been recognised as a separate *akṣara* in MIA. or early NIA. times, in a similar way. In Early Bengali, writers always speak of the '34 consonants,' and a class of composition, called চৌত্রিশি « Cautiśā » (= *catuśtriṅśatikā*), was very popular, in which consonants in their order, from « k » to « kṣ », would be used in successive verses for alliteration or for the head word.

The Indian alphabetical principle of *akṣaras*, i.e., of words being divided into syllables which were not closed by a consonant, was a result of the system of writing. This idea of *akṣaras* for a long time dominated the Bengali theory of versification. (See below, under *Phonology* : Accent.)

125. There has never been any attempt on a large scale to make the Bengali language adopt a different kind of writing from the one in which it was born, so to say. In the 18th century (and it may be earlier), some Musalmāns in Chittagong employed the Perso-Arabic script in writing Bengali. A number of these Perso-Bengali MSS. have been found (cf. Munshī Ābdul Karim Sāhitya-viśārada, 'Prācīn Bāngālā Puthir Vivaraṇ,' VSPd., Part I, No. 1, MSS. No. 87, 99, 124, 211, 278, for instance). But Musalmāns in other parts of Bengal knew of no other script for their mother-tongue than the national one, and consequently



the likelihood of the language being divided by the script has been averted. The language of these Perso-Bengali MSS. is good Bengali, with special Mohammedan religious and other terms. The spelling of the Bengali and Sanskrit words is phonetic, so far as the Arabic script would allow it, but Persian and Arabic words, naturally enough, follow their original spellings. Through the courtesy of Munshī Ābdul Karim, I have been enabled to obtain specimens of this Perso-Arabic writing for Bengali. They are highly interesting, and are valuable for East Bengali dialectal phonology. A few specimens are given below.

From the 'Yōga-Kālandar.'

أَبَ اتَّشْ خَاكْ بَادُ اجَّارِي مَقَامُ

< ābō ataš xāk bād ō cārī maqām >

(= আব আতশ খাক বাদ এ চারি মোকাম।

< ābḥ ātāšḥ khākḥ bādḥ ē cārī mōkāmaḥ >

*Water, Fire, Earth, Air: these are the four abodes:*

مَنْدِيَا سُنُّرُ كَهِي جَارُ جِي نَامُ

< mōn diyā šunū kaḥi jārō jēḥi nām >

(= মন দিয়া সুন কহি যার যেই নাম ॥.....

< mānḥ diyā šunḥ kaḥi jārā jēi nāmḥ > )

*Listen attentively, I tell the name of each ....*

تَاتَتْ فَرِشْتَا اسَ عَزْرَائِيلُ بِهَرِي

< tatātō fērēštā asō 'azrā'il pihri >

(= তথাতে ফেরেস্তা আছে আজ্জাইল পহরি ॥

< tāthā-tē pherestā āchē āzrā'il pāhārī > )

*There abides as watch-man the Angel 'Azrā'il:*

بَاغَرُ اَكَارُ سَهِي دَهْرِي مُرَاتِي

< bāgḥr akār šēḥi dahrayē mūrati >

(= বাঘের আকার সেই ধরয়ে মুরতি।

< bāghērḥ ākārḥ sēi dhārāyē mūrati > )

*A tiger's form is the figure he bears.*

دَرَجًا اسْمِي تَارِ ادْرِي سَرَبِن

« darjā asaʔē tārdjē dūʔi sarban »

(= দরজা আছে তার এ দুই শ্রবণ।

« dārājā āchāyē tārà ē dui śrābāṇa »)

*Doors there are to it,—these two ears.....*

From the 'Nasiyat-nāmā.'

پَرَبُو اَغْر شَرِي پَتِي زَانِيك بِش

« parabū āgē śari pōti zānībēk bēš »

(= প্রভু আগে শরি পতি জানিবেক বেশ।

« prābhu āgē śmāri pāti jānībēkḥ bēśḥ »)

*Thinking him even before the Lord, know the husband to be great.*

پَتِي كِ شَيْبِ نَارِي شَيْ دُكْ كِلَش

« pōti kē šēbē [=šēbībā] nāri śahi duk kēlēš »

(= পতিকে সেবিব নারী সহি দুখ ক্লেশ ॥

« pāti-kē sēbibā nāri śahi dukḥḥ klēšḥ »)

*A woman serves (should serve) her lord, enduring sorrow and pain,*

كُنْسَتْمَانْ هَتِ شَرَامِي زَدِي اِنْسِ كَهْر

« kōnō stahān hōtē šōwāmī zādī aʔiśē ghōr »

(= কোন স্থান হ'তে স্বামী যদি আইসে ঘর।

« kōnā sthānḥ hā(i)tē swāmī jādi āisē ghārḥ »)

*If the husband were to come home from somewhere,*

سَبْ كَزِ تِيَاغِي نَارِي اَكْ دِيَا لَر

« śab kāzē tēyāgi nāri āgē dībā lar »

(= সব কাজে তেয়াগি নারী আগে দিবা লড় ॥

« śabḥ kājē tēyāgi nāri āgē dībā lārḥ »)

*Leaving all works, O Woman, you should run.*



پَتِيكِ اُدَّشِ نَارِي كَرِيْلِ غَمْنِ

« pōtikē uddēši nārī karilē gōmōn »

(= পতিকে উদ্দেশি নারী করিলে গমন।

« pātikē uddēši nārī karilē gāmānḡ » )

*When a woman walks towards her husband,*

مَكَّةَ اُدَّشِ زِنْ جَاءِ حَاجِيْنَ

« mōkkah uddēši zēnō jā'ē ḡājī-gōn »

(= মক্কা উদ্দেশিয়া যেন যায় হাজীগণ ॥

« mākkā uddēsiyā jēnā jāyḡ ḡājī-gānḡ »

*(It is) as if Hājīs go towards Mecca.*

نَفْلُ نَمَازِ نِيَّتِ بَانِدِ

« naful namāzē [du'ī] niyyat bāndē'ē »

(= নফল নমাজে হুই নিয়ত বান্দয়ে।

« nāphālḡ nāmājē dui niyātā bāndhāyē » )

*She performs regularly the nafl (extraordinary prayers) and the  
namāz (prescribed prayers) ;*

هَنْ شَمِ پَتِي زَدِي دَاكِي

« hēnō šōmē pōti zōdi [nārīkē] ḡākē'yē »

(= হেন সমে [সময়ে] পতি যদি নারীকে ডাকয়ে ॥

« hēnā šāmē pāti jādi nārīkē ḡākāyē » )

*If the husband were to call the woman at such a time,*

(নমাজ এড়িয়া নারী দিবেক উত্তর ॥ [Perso-Bengali missing].

« nāmājḡ ēriyā nārī dibēkḡ uttārḡ » )

*The woman will give a reply, leaving her namāz.*

From the 'Ökāt Rasul.'

جِبْرَائِيلُ شَعَرَ غَيْسٍ مُرْتُو رَدِيْقِي

< Jibrā'il šaggə (= šangə) gəysə mirtū wadīpati >

(= জিব্রাইল সঙ্গ গ়েছে মৃত্যু অধিপতি।)

*With Jibrā'il, the lord of the death (= 'Azrā'il) has gone to Muḥammad :*

دَخِي زَيْغِيَا شَلَنْتُ رَسُوْلَ مَهَامَتِي

< dēxi ziggyāšiləntə rasula mahāmōti >

(= দেখি জিজ্ঞাসিলেস্ত রসুল মহামতি॥)

*Seeing him, the high-souled prophet asked :*

كَهَائِي جِبْرَائِيلُ شَرُّبَ بَصْنِ

< kaha bā'i Jibrā'il šarūp bašan >

(= কহ ভাই জিব্রাইল স্বরূপ বচন।)

*Tell me, brother Jibrā'il, the true words :*

تَمَّارُ شَعْتِي دَخِي زَهِي كَنْزِنِ

< tōmār šaggati (= šangati) dēxi wahi kanazan >

(= তোমার সঙ্গতি দেখি অহি কোনজন॥)

*Who is that person I see in your company ?*

Some lines have been given at length to show the nature of the orthography. Spellings like نَسِيْ < nissa'əy > for نِسْعِي < nišcayī >

certainly, پُوسِ < pusə > = پُحِه < puchē > asks, سَارِيَا < sāriyā > = حَارِيَا

< chāriyā > having left, بَائِي < bā'i > = بَاهِي < bhāi > brother, پَرَبُو < parabū >

= পরভূ, প্রভূ < prābhū > master, بَائِكُّ < bā'ikkə > = বাক্য < bākya >, indicate



the typical East Bengal pronunciation ; and زِيغِيَّاشِيلَنْتُ < ziggyāsiləntō > =

Middle Bengali জিজ্ঞাসিলেন্ত < jiggyāsilitā > asked (honorific), پِرْتِمْبِي

< pirtimbī > for পৃথিবী < pṛthibī > give folk-pronunciations of tatsamas.

It would appear that in the spelling, there was not much of a rigorous

system which was followed, গ < g > being represented by গ < g > and

ক < k >, জ < j > by both জ < z > and জ < j >, and খ < kh > by খ < k-h > as well

as by খ < x >—the latter, however, indicating the dialectal Chittagong

pronunciation. There was not much attention paid to the genius of the

Bengali language, in the adaptation of such a different alphabet as the

Perso-Arabic for it. But vowel quantity is ignored : and herein there is an

agreement with the habits of early and present-day Bengali : the signs *ē*

and *pēsh* are used for এ and ও < ē, ō > ; and *رِوِي* are used for ই ঐ, উ ঊ

< i, ī, u, ū >. But on the whole, the system lacks consistency, and compared

with it, the orthography of Urdū is a scientific one. The Perso-Bengali

script of the Chittagong MSS. now only remains as a curiosity—the

outcome of a belief in the sanctity of an alphabet.

126. The Portuguese employed the Roman alphabet in writing Bengali books. We have evidence that Portuguese missionary activity began in Bengal from the third quarter of the 16th century, and before 1599 a translation of a Christian tract and catechism was made by a Jesuit Padre named Dominic Sosa, who 'indevoured to learne the Bengalan language,' and this work was taught to Christian children at school at Siripur ('Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes,' Glasgow, 1905, Vol. X, p. 205<sup>1</sup>). A Christian literature in Bengali, probably in the Roman charac-

<sup>1</sup> See J. J. A. Campos, 'A History of the Portuguese in Bengal,' Calcutta, 1919, pp. 100-101. Nīkhil-Nāth Rāy, in his 'Pratāpāditya,' Calcutta, San 1313, has given (pp. 463 ff.) the original Latin letter of 1599 from the Portuguese Jesuit missionary Francisco Fernandes to Nicolas Pimenta, Visitor of the Society of Jesus, narrating the work of the Portuguese mission, including that of Sosa (de Souza), in Bengal, at Sripur and elsewhere : cf. also S. K. De in the VSPdP., No. 3, pp. 180-181. (For the reference to the passage in 'Purchas,' I am indebted to Dr. S. N. Sen.)

ter, thus seems to have grown up. Towards the end of the next century, we have the mention of another work in Portuguese-Bengali. Two at least of these Bengali works in the Roman character were printed, the *Crepar Xaxter Orthbbhed* (see p. 136), and the *Vocabulario em Idioma Bengalla e Portuguez* (Lisbon, 1743), both by Padre Manoel da Assumpçam, and both are in existence. (S. K. De, 'History of Bengali Literature in the 19th Century, 1800-1825,' Calcutta University, 1919, pp. 69-76). The Kōṅkaṇī dialect of Goa was similarly written in the Roman character: but Portuguese-Roman Bengali did not take root.

Nathaniel Brassey Halhed in his Bengali grammar (Hugli, 1778) framed a scheme of Roman transliteration for Bengali on an English basis. There are MSS. of French-Bengali vocabularies (1781-83) by Augustin Aussant, the romanisation following the French values of the letters ('Catalogue sommaire des Manuscrits indiens etc.' par A. Cabaton, Bib. Nat., Paris, 1912, pp. 106-107; S. K. Chatterji in the 'Bhārati' for Jyaisṭha 1330, pp. 136-137). Gilchrist's 'Oriental Fabulist' (1803) gives the fables of Æsop in several languages, including Bengali, in the Roman character, the system of transliteration being on the basis of English. At subsequent periods, in the 19th century and in the 20th, there have been sporadic attempts at making the Roman alphabet come into current use in Bengal (as well as in other parts of India), but so far they have not been successful.

127. In the border districts of Bengal, a number of alphabets allied to Bengali have been used to a small extent in writing the language, through contact with peoples using these characters: e.g., Oṛiyā in Midnapore, Dēva-nāgarī and Kaithī in the extreme west of Bengal, and Maithilī in the north (in the Siripurīyā dialect). In Sylhet, a kind of modified Dēva-nāgarī, called 'Silēṭ Nāgarī,' has a restricted use among the local Musalmāns, and this use of Nāgarī in distant East Bengal, and among Mohammedans, too, is explained as being the result of the influence of early colonies of proselytising Moslems from Upper India who wrote their vernaculars (Eastern and Western Hindī dialects) in Dēva-nāgarī—Persianised Hindī (or Urdū) being not yet in the field—and taught it to the local con-



verts: a tradition in employing this alphabet was thus established and has continued down to our times. Recently this alphabet has been used in printing. (Padma-nāth Śarmā, ‘Silēṭ Nāgarī,’ VSPdP., 1315, No. 4.) In Chittagong, the Chakma dialect of Bengali, spoken by Bengalised Maghs or Aracanese and other Tibeto-Burmans who are Buddhist by faith, is written in an alphabet which is a modification of the Khmēr-Mōn (Burmese) system of writing, based ultimately on an ancient South Indian alphabet (LSI., V, Part I, pp. 321 ff.).

The use of these various characters is a relic of the past, and the prestige of the native alphabet of Bengali has never been seriously assailed.<sup>1</sup> The language has become intimately associated with it, and Bengali speakers, like people everywhere, consider the alphabet as part of their language. It forms a great link with the past, with Prakrit, with Sanskrit: the phonetic history and the story of the development of the language are, howsoever imperfectly it may be, embodied in its alphabet and orthography.

<sup>1</sup> While admitting and appreciating all the arguments in favour of the Indian system of writing, I remain a believer in the Roman alphabet for all Indian languages, because of the simplicity of the symbols of which it consists, because of its true alphabetical nature is not subordinating the vowels, because of its manifold advantages in teaching, and in printing, and because of its wide use in the civilised world. The Roman alphabet, modified, supplemented and arranged according to the scientific scheme of the Indian one, would be a desideratum for India. But under the present conditions of the country, the idea cannot be taken up in earnest now for popular acceptance. Sentiments are stronger than convenience, and the sentiment in favour of the national script, which is natural enough among any people, here has something real to stand upon. The cause of the illiteracy of the masses is certainly not the so-called complicated nature of the Indian system of writing, as some missionaries and others fondly imagine. The use of the Roman alphabet in India will remain for a long time a matter of scientific and academic interest only. There must be fifty years or more of biliteralism, *after literacy in the current alphabets has sufficiently spread among the masses*, before the romanisation idea can filter down among the people from the more educated classes. But all that is rather remote; and abandoning the Roman alphabet as an impracticable thing for India at the present moment, I would strongly advocate the unity of our country in the matter of script through that truly national script of all India—the Dēva-nāgarī, as the next best thing.





# PHONOLOGY





# PHONOLOGY

## CHAPTER I

### PHONETIC HISTORY OF INDO-ARYAN

#### OLD INDO-ARYAN SOUNDS.

128. The OIA. Sound-system may be said to be represented by that of the Vedic speech, and it was the following :

#### VOWELS.

		Back	Central	Front
Close (High)	...	u: u		i: i
Half-Close (High-Mid)	...	o:	(ə)	e:
Half-Open (Low-Mid)	...	(? ɔ: ?ʌ)		(?ɛ:)
Open (Low)	...	a: a		
Diphthongs	...	a:ũ		a:i(=? a:i)
[Vocalic]	...			[r: r, ʃ]

## CONSONANTS.

	Glottal	Velar	Palatal	Caecuminal (Retroflex)	Alveolar	Bilabial
Stops ...		k g	c ɟ	ʈ ɖ	t d	p b
Aspirate Stops		kh gʰ	ch ɟʰ	ʈʰ ɖʰ	th dh	ph bh
Nasals ...		ŋ	ɲ	ɳ	n	m
Laterals ...				(l ɭ)	l	
Flapped ...					r	
Fricatives ...	h ɦ	(x)	ç	ʃ	s	(ʁ)
Semi-vowels ...			ɹ(j)			ʋ(w)

The symbols in the tables above are those of the International Phonetic Association.<sup>1</sup>

129. Of the above, it may be noted that—

[o:, e:], as in *bone, bane* in Northern (Scottish) English, were pure vowels, originating from earlier, pre-IA. short diphthongs [aũ, aɪ] through

<sup>1</sup> Our materials for the reconstruction of OIA. Phonetics are the following: (i) Modern pronunciations in the various parts of India and Ceylon, which have preserved a great deal of the old pronunciation through a line of uninterrupted tradition for some 3000 years; (ii) Ancient theory and practice, as in the *Śikṣā* and *Prātiśākhya*s, and in Sanskrit grammatical treatises, representing faithfully the actual state of things in late OIA. times; (iii) Evidence of the Greek transcription of Indian words and names, and of Greek vocables into Indian speech, throwing a flood of light on Indian Phonetics of the end of the 1st MIA. and Transitional MIA. periods. (Chinese transcriptions, later than Greek, are practically of no value; and those in Iranian and Kucheian, as well as Mōn and Khmēr, Siamese, Tibetan and Burmese, Javanese and Malay, Mongol, and Arabic, are on rare occasions helpful for medieval Indian pronunciations); (iv) Evidence from the phonological development of MIA., and of the NIA. languages; (v) Evidence from that of cognate IE. languages like Avestan and Old Persian, Greek and Gothic, Church Slav and Latin: all these checked by (v) the Principles of General Phonetics, and phonetic development of Speech in general.



an intermediate stage of [ɔː, ɛː]. Ancient Indian grammarians were fully conscious of this diphthongal origin of [oː, eː], which were called « sandhyakṣara » or combined syllables. [a+u, a+i] regularly became [oː, eː] in Vedic and in Sanskrit; but the relation of [oː, eː] with « av, ay », i.e., [aw, aj], or [aũ, aĩ], was quite patent, in groups like « śrō-tar : śrav-as, ē-ti : ay-ana ». It may be quite reasonably presumed that in the earliest OIA. period, [oː, eː] had the lower, more open sounds of [ɔː, ɛː], like the sounds of Southern English *awe, ere*; and, at that period, they might even have retained the original short diphthongal values of [aũ, aĩ > aĩ?] which obtained in Indo-Iranian.

[ɑː; ɑ, ʌ, ə]: the short ॠ « ă » originally had an open, « vivṛta », sound, low back open [ɑ], and the long ॡ « ā » was the same sound with long quantity, [ɑː]. But it is not impossible that the slightly close, « saṁvṛta », and withal back sound, traditionally = the *u* in Southern English *but*, originated already in the early OIA. period; it certainly did, at least dialectally, at the time of Pāṇini (5th century B.C.), in the North-western speech. In an unaccented position [ɑ], or [ʌ], seems to have been pronounced as [ə], like the *a* in English *along*, as can be seen from elision in *sandhi* (« tē laṅkṛtāḥ > tē' laṅkṛtāḥ »), and from cases of aphæresis and syncope in early MIA., e.g., Pali « laṅkāra < alaṅkāra, numati < anumati, okka < \*ukka < \*utka < \*ud'ka < udaka » (cf. E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,' London, 1884, § 7; W. Geiger, Pali Grammar in the Grundriss der Indo-Ar. Phil. u. Altertumskunde, § 20).

[ɑː, ʌ] were low back sounds; and although the short « ă » [ɑ, ʌ] has been raised in most MIA., there has never been noticeable any tendency to front it to [a]<sup>1</sup>: the typical NIA. representatives of the OIA. [ɑ, ʌ] being all back vowels, e.g., Northern Indian [ʌ], Bengali [ɔ], and Marāṭhī [ɐ], the last being an [o] with spread lips.

<sup>1</sup> But possibly in the old Prācya speech, which changed OIA. «-as, -aḥ» to «-ē,» [ɑ] before the *risarga* was fronted to [a, æ] before passing into «ō»: cf. the IA. change of Indo-Iranian «\*-az-» to «\*-ē-» («\*mazdha-» > Skt. «médhas,» Avestic «mazda-»; «\*azdhi-» > Skt. «ēdhi,» Avestic «zdi,» etc.)

The long diphthongs [a:ǎ, a:i (=a:i?)] had their first elements long in the Vedic period, but later, immediately before the MIA. period, they seem to have become short, and converged towards [aǎ > o: , aǐ > e:], to be ultimately merged into original [o:, e:] in MIA. The quality of the « ā » vowel in « āi » it may be presumed, was fronted from the back [a:] to the front [a:] in connection with the palatal [i] forming the second element of the diphthong. The medieval and modern Sanskrit values of these diphthongs do not make the first element long.

130. As for the consonants, the glottal sound of [h] is the *visarga*, which is voiceless *h*, as in English *hand, happen*, occurring in OIA. only finally after a vowel, and after the unvoiced stops in aspirates ([kh, th etc.]); and [fi] is the fully voiced sound, the normal Indian « h », which is found commonly in an intervocal position in English, in words like *behind, perhaps*: [fi] is found in all positions except the final in OIA., and it occurred also in the voiced aspirates ([gfi, dfi etc.]).

[k kh, g gfi] are well-known sounds; [ŋ] is the velar nasal; [x], the « jihvā-mūliya » sound, that of *ch* in German *ach*, occurred only as a variant of [h] before [k]: « tataḥ kim » = [tatax kim].

The palatal stops and aspirates [c ch, ɟ ɟfi] were made with the front of the tongue striking against the hard palate, above the teeth-ridge; there was very little of a spirant off-glide, and the sounds were rather different from the NIA. (and MIA.) affricates with a pronounced *sh* or *zh* element, into which they developed: they resembled *ky, gy*, or rather, were more like *ty, dy* sounds, than anything else; and in early MIA., in most of the dialects, « ty, dy » fell together with [c, ɟ]. [ɟ] is the French and Italian *gn*. The palatal fricative [ç] was originally pronounced, as its frequent interchange with [k] and [c] would show, like the *ch* in Standard German *ich*. Later, it developed, during the OIA. period, the sound of a forward kind of *sh*, [ʃ], such as is found in Bengali; and this can be seen from numerous cases of interchange with [s] in Vedic and Sanskrit; but in most MIA., [ç > ʃ] was reduced to the dental [s].

The retroflex or cerebral sounds, [ʈ ʈh, ɖ ɖfi, ɳ], were produced by striking the curled tongue-tip well against the dome or the highest point of the



palatal arch. The retroflex sibilant, «*ṣ*» [ʃ], an *sh*-sound, seems to have been produced exactly in the same way. This would result in a sound approaching the velar spirant, [x]; and it seems in certain forms of OIA., the [x] sound was actually the one employed for [ʃ], as we can infer from a medieval pronunciation of [ʃ] as [kh], which still obtains—[kh] being the nearest Middle Indian approximation to a traditional [x]. Cf. [-s->\*ʃ, ʃ>x] in Slav: «*snūxa*, *synūxŭ*» = Skt. «*snuṣā*, *sūnuṣu*» etc.: compare also the dialectal Paṣṭō pronunciation of [ʃ] or [ʃ] as [x]. In the MIA. vernaculars, [ʃ] fell together with [ʃ] or [s]. The retroflex laterals [ɭ], [ɭi] seem to have occurred dialectally only, in the speech which formed the basis of the Rig-Veda dialect; they were from an original [ɖ, ɖi] in intervocal positions. Sanskrit does not use the [ɭ, ɭi], but Pali does.

[t th, d ḍi], according to the evidence of the 'Prāṭisākhya's,' were «*danta-mūliya*» or alveolar sounds (like *t* or *d* of English), and not interdental (like the Italian sounds), which they are now. [n, l] have always retained their alveolar sounds. The vocalic [ɭ], as in the second syllable in the English word *little* (without its guttural quality), was an exceedingly rare sound, and Vedic preserves it only in the root «*kḷp*». [ɭ] was an alveolar sound: it is described in the 'Ṛk-prāṭisākhya' as being produced in the «*vartsa* (= *barsva*)» *teeth-ridge* region. It is also described as a cerebral sound, owing probably to its influence in changing dentals to cerebrals in certain forms of early MIA. Probably it was, as in NIA., a slightly rolled alveolar sound, of about two flaps of the tongue initially, and medially a sound of one flap only. [ɭ] was also vocalic or syllabic, occurring both long and short: ऋ, ॠ [ɭ: , ɭ]. The 'Prāṭisākhya's' describe the [ɭ] as being made up of a very short «*ā + r + ā*», forming  $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{4} = 1$  *mora* [ɭ = *arā*]. This gives a sound like the Avestan «*ərə*», an Iranian equivalent of IA. [ɭ]: it was evidently a sound of one flap of the tongue, when it was short vocalic. When it was long, [ɭ:], it was in all likelihood a fully trilled sound. [ɭ] has been described as a guttural sound by the 'Ṛk-tantra-vyākaraṇa': perhaps it was due to the back sound of [a] figuring in it [*arā*].

The bilabial sounds do not require any note, excepting [ɸ], which is the sound made in blowing out a candle, and is a very common phone in

NIA. speech. In OIA. it was found as a modification of [h]—the « upadh māntya » sound—before a [p] : « punaḥ punaḥ » = [punaḥpunaḥ].

The semivowels were [i] and [ū] : they preserved the vocalic character well in the OIA. period ; but by the time of Pāṇini, [ū] became a spirant, a denti-labial [v], in the speech which is treated in Pāṇini's grammar ; and a bilabial spirant value, [v], quite a common IA. sound of the present day, seems to have been present in late OIA. [i] became a spirant, which developed into a frank *zh*-sound, [ʒ], in Early and Transitional MIA.

The vowels in OIA. could be nasalised ; and the nasalisation was in a peculiar way, by bringing in a nasal glide, « anusvāra », after a pure vowel : « अं अँ अँ » « aṁ (aṁ), iṁ (iṁ), uṁ (uṁ) » being [ã, ĩ, ũ], which practically resulted in [aṅ, iṅ, uṅ]. Long vowels under certain conditions could be « anuṅsika » or nasalised properly : e.g., महँ अस्मि = [mahā: asi] ; so रस्मिँ रिव, सुन्नुँ वुँ वस्वँ हत् [raṣmī:r iṅa, su:nū:r iṅaṅiṅr ut]. (Cf. W. D. Whitney, 'Sanskrit Grammar,' §§ 209 ff. : also §§ 70 ff.) In the case of [r], it was evidently a question of a simple nasalisation following the sonant [r], the vowel basis of the nasalisation being an [i, u, e, a] : e.g., अँ र् अभि = [aṅ:r abhi]. That the « anusvāra » in OIA. was not a mere nasalisation, but a nasal continuation of, or a nasal glide following a pure vowel, is borne out by MIA., and also by the traditional pronunciations of Sanskrit in different parts of India, which have altered [̃] of OIA. to a definite nasal [ṅ, ṇ, ṁ] : e.g., OIA. [sãskṛta, saṅskṛta], in Bengali pronunciation [ʃṅ(ṅ)ʃkrito], Northern Indian [sanskrit], Western Indian [saṅskrut].

#### CHANGES OF THE OIA. SOUNDS IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN.

131. The Sound-system of OIA. was modified to a great extent during the First and the Transitional MIA. stages.

[ɣ, ʃ, ʒ] were dropped, pure and simple vowels taking their places. [a:u, ai] were altered to [o:, e:], and the fortunes of these were joined to those of the original [o:, e:]. A short [o, e] developed before double consonants.



Among the consonants, [h], the « visarga », was dropped, and also its modifications, which, however, left traces: *e.g.*, « duḥkha » = [duxkha], whence Pali « dukkha »; « punaḥ punaḥ » = [punaɸ punaḥ], whence Pali « punappunaḥ » etc. [ʃ, ç > ʃ̣] fell together with [s] in the Midland; in the East [ʃ̣] alone was retained; and in the North-west, all the three continued side by side till the Second MIA. stage.

The consonants of the palatal and alveolar groups came to acquire a slightly more advanced articulation. The alveolars were possibly established as interdentalals during the Early MIA. period. By the end of the Second MIA. period, the palatal stops had been advanced and modified into palato-alveolar affricates, made either with the front, blade or the tip of the tongue: [c, ɟ] changing to [c̣ç̣, ɟ̣ɟ̣] [c̣ʃ̣, ɟ̣ʃ̣], or [ṭʃ̣, ḍʒ̣]; and there was a further advancing of these affricatised palatals in some forms of NIA. to the dental affricates [ts, dz] and the dental sibilants [s, z].

#### MIA. AFFRICATE PRONUNCIATION OF THE PALATAL STOPS.

**132.** The affricate pronunciation of the palatal stops seems to have been only dialectal in the Early MIA. period, and in all likelihood originated first in the Prācya area. Greek transcriptions of Indian words refer to the conditions obtaining in India mainly in the Transitional MIA. period; and from the Greek rendering of Indian « c, ɟ » by « s, z, ss, tz, tī » and « z, dī » (« Candra-gupta = Sandrakuptos; candana = tsándanon; Pañcālāḥ = Pássaloi [pāc̣ç̣a:la: ?], Pazáloi [pāʃ̣ç̣a:la: ?]; Caṣṭana = Tiastanos, Tiastánēs; Ujjayinī, Ujjēnī = Ozénē; Yamunā > Jamunā = Diamoúna: cf. J. Wackernagel, 'Altindische Grammatik,' I, § 119), we can conclude that the affricate value (denoted by « s, z, tz, ss ») and the stop value (= « tī, dī ») both obtained in Western and Northern India in the centuries immediately after Christ. The indiscriminate use of « kh » and « ch » after « i » in the Transitional MIA. (Midland dialect ?) equivalent of Sanskrit « bhikṣuṇī » — « bhikhuni-, bhichuni- » etc. at Bharhut and Sanchi (cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 7), show in all probability a palatal stop pronunciation of « ch », not far removed from a « kh » made after a palatal vowel. The name « Ciṭa », in a Buddhist inscription of the 2nd

century A. C. from Kathiawar, if it really is an Indian transcription of a Germanic (Gothic) name Hilda [xilda], would give us something like a < k̂y > value for < c > (cf. Sten Konow, JRAS., 1912, pp. 379-385).

The use of the ligature < k̂y > for a palatalised < k > in some of the Brāhmī inscriptions of the East (as at Kalsi and Ramgarh) shows that in some at least of the Eastern (and Midland ?) dialects, < c > had lost the stop pronunciation and had become an affricate by the 3rd century B. C. ; otherwise there would not have been any necessity for using a digraph < k̂y > for a fronted < k >, mainly when the latter occurred after < i >. Prakrit grammarians, from Vararuci downwards to Mārkaṇḍēya (17th century), imply or mention a twofold pronunciation of the letters of the < c > class in Second MIA. Grierson takes their statements to mean that a palatal affricate pronunciation obtained in the Māgadhī and Ardha-māgadhī areas (= [c̣ʃ, ṭʃ]), and a dental one ([tʃ]) in the Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasēnī tracts ; and he holds that later, in the North Śaurasēnī area, the clear, palatal sound [c̣ʃ, ṭʃ] was revived, and it ousted the old dental one of [tʃ], so that the latter does not obtain any longer in Western Hindī. ('The Pronunciation of the Prakrit Palatals,' JRAS., 1913, pp. 391 ff.). But it seems that the not very clear remarks of the Prakrit grammarians may be taken quite in another way. Vararuci, our oldest Prakrit grammarian, explicitly states that in Māgadhī the palatals were pronounced distinctly and pronounced in full ('Prākṛta-prakāśa,' XI, 5 : < ca-vargasya spaṣṭatā tath'uccāraṇaḥ > ). Apparently there was another pronunciation which could be characterised as < a-spaṣṭa > or indistinct, and which evidently obtained in Śaurasēnī and Mahārāṣṭrī : and such an indistinct pronunciation could not mean a dental affricate one, as Grierson is inclined to think, but rather, an elided pronunciation, in Śaurasēnī and Mahārāṣṭrī, as Basanta-Kumār Chatterji has rightly contended (in noticing Grierson's article in the VSPdP. for San 1320 : 'Ca-vargīya Varṇa-samūhēr Uccāraṇ,' esp. pp. 201-203). At the time of Vararuci, who described MIA. of the second period, Mahārāṣṭrī had already dropped its intervocal stops < k g, c j, t d >, but Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī retained them as voiced stops, and these voiced stops were really fricatives in the Northern Indian dialects. (See



pp. 83-86.) A simple stop pronunciation of the palatal sounds is easier to voice and to turn to an open sound, and thus elide it, than a compound affricate one, well-advanced with a prominent [ʃ] or [ʒ] glide: [c > ʃ, tʃ, ts] is commonly retained, or at the worst simplified to [ʃ], or to [s < ts]; but [c > j > ɟ > zero], where [j] is an open sound, would be an easy process. And according to the Prakrit grammarians, intervocal <-c-, -j-> in Māgadhī are never elided, whereas they are elided in Mahārāṣṭrī, same as <-k-, -g-, -t-, -d->; and in Śaurasēnī, apparently the unvoiced stop <-c-> became voiced to <-j->, and this derived <-j-> and the original intervocal <-j-> both became open, i.e., the voiced spirant [j, ʒ], and were elided: this can be seen from specimens of Śaurasēnī in an old drama like the 'Mṛcchakaṭīka': e.g., <bhōṇa = bhōjana; pūjjanta = \*pūjyanta = pūjyamāna; pūā = pūjā; vāṇīa = vāṇija; vaṇa = vacana; rāa (Māgadhī lāja) = rāja; vāēdu = vācayatu; mōāissasi = mōcayisyasi, etc.; also from Modern Western Hindī forms like <bainḥ = vacana; rainḥ = rajanī; gaīnda = gajendra; bīā = bīja-; sūī = sūcikā, etc. It seems genuine Māgadhī words in Bengali retain the intervocal <-c-, -j->, e.g., পৌচীল <pauctīḥ > = Sanskrit <prācīra >; বিজনী <bijānī > fan = <vyajanikā >; but such words are exceedingly rare, and non-Māgadhī forms with elided <-c-, -j->, like রাই <rāi > mustard = <rājikā >, রাই <rāyḥ > = <rājan > are largely found in Bengali. (See below, under *Phonology*: the Palatals in Bengali.) In the North-western dialect, <-c-, -j-> both became spirantised, as in Śaurasēnī, during the Transitional MIA. period; and as can be seen from Kharōṣṭhī documents, this spirant pronunciation in the North-western speech was indicated by <y>: e.g., <ayariya = ācārya; viyaa = vijaya > (see p. 84); <puyaē = pūjāyāi > (Taxila Vase Inscription, Ep. Ind., VIII, p. 296); <śuyi, suyi = śuci; gōyari = gōcarū; śōyati = śōcantē; ya(y)ēya = yajēyya, yajēta; pūyitō = pūjitaḥ; vayati = vrajati; payēti = Pali pācenti > ('Kharōṣṭhī Dharma-pada': see p. 86). The Aśōkan spelling <majulā (Kalsi), majulā (Dhauri), majura (Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra) = mayūra- (cf. mōrā, Girnar) >, showing <-j-> for <-y->, implies the presence of a fricative for the stop <-j-> in the 3rd century B.C. Vararuci does not give any rule for the treatment of <-c-, -j-> in Śaurasēnī: apparently

the rule for Mahārāṣṭrī («.....prāyō lōpaḥ », II, 2) held good here. For Māgadhi, Vararuci lays down the rule (XI, 4) that single « j » becomes « y » both initially and intervocally : « yāṇadi = jānāti, vīyalē = vijala ». This would imply a spirant pronunciation for « j » in Māgadhi as well, for there is ample evidence that « y » had a value like *ɕh* [ʃ, ʒ] during the Transitional MIA. period (see §133). Hēma-candra also notes « y » for « j » ('Siddha-Hēma-candra,' VIII, 4, 292). But *initial* « j » did never become a spirant, any more than the other initial stops. Vararuci and Hēma-candra in this case are to be supplemented by Mārkaṇḍēya, who apparently follows old authority when he says that in Māgadhi « c, j » have a « y » before them—« ŷc, ŷj » (« ca-ja-yōr upari yas syāt » : XII, 21). The ligature « ŷc, ŷj » is undoubtedly a way of indicating a 'clear,' palatal affricate pronunciation, with the spirant glide, here represented by « y », properly identified, but placed before the letters denoting the original stop sounds. The affricate pronunciation later came in no doubt in Śaurasēnī. One can compare the device employed in the Śārādā alphabet to indicate the palatal affricates of Kaśmīrī, by « c̣y, j̣y », to which Grierson draws our attention, after the original « c, j » developed the dental affricate values of « ts, dz » in that language (Grierson, JRAS., 1913, p. 395).

To sum up : it would seem that the OIA. palatal stops kept their stop pronunciation in the Midland and in the Western tracts of Āryāvarta at a time when these became pronounced affricates in the East. After the IA. speech was well on the Second MIA. stage, when Vararuci wrote his grammar, Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasēnī preserved, at least dialectally, the old stop values initially, and medially they were dropped or were reduced to a weak « y »-like sound ; but in Māgadhi (dialectally at least), the clear affricates were heard, and to Vararuci as an easterner, this affricate articulation appeared as being decidedly clear and well-enunciated beside the stop palatals of the other areas with their uncertain acoustic effect ; and Māgadhi affricates were not elided intervocally. But, from the evidence of Greek transcriptions, the affricate sounds seem to have developed, dialectally probably, in the Śaurasēnī and other Western areas



as well, in the Transitional MIA. stage; and in the late MIA. period, these became universal. Through the influence of the Midland speech, forms with elided intervocal palatal stops characterising Śaurasēni (and Ardha-māgadhi) of the Transitional and Second MIA. stages were accepted in the younger forms of Māgadhi—Proto-Bengali etc. But the palatal affricate pronunciation of < c, j > had gradually spread over all IA.; and under new conditions, the palatal affricates further were dentalised in some of the NIA. dialects—Assamese, East Bengali, Southern Oṛiyā, Marāṭhi, and dialectal Gujarātī.

133. The intervocal cerebrals < ḍ, ḍh > were changed to < l, lh > in the basic dialect of the Vedic speech. Pali also has this peculiarity. Sanskrit, except in the dialectal pronunciation followed in the South of India, retains the < ḍ ḍh > sounds. In all Indian speech, single < -ḍ-, -ḍh- > have become the so-called 'cerebral ṛ'—< ṛ, ṛh >. This sound is made by curling up the tip of the tongue and bringing it to the point of articulation for [ṛ ḍ], and then quickly making the tongue to move forward and strike against the teeth-ridge with the underneath side, and then lie flat. This modification possibly came in during the First MIA. period, if not earlier: Greek transcriptions like < Larikē = \* Lāḍa-, Lāṭa-; karuophullon = \* kaḍua-phala, kaṭuka-phala; Saraganos = \* Sāḍa-gaṇṇa, Sāta-karpi- (cf. Hāla < \* Sāḍa < \* Sāṭa < Sāta-) >, belonging to post-Christian times, show evidently a < ṛ > pronunciation of intervocal < ḍ > .

ṛ < y >, a semi-vowel in OIA., [ɹ], became a pronounced fricative by the 3rd century B.C.; e.g., Aśōkan North-western Prakrit (Shahbazgarhi) < badaya = \* badaḍa >, for < \*bādaṣa = dvādaṣa >. Epigraphical evidence from the Transitional MIA. period fully establishes the [ɹ] pronunciation of the letter for < y >. (Cf. 'Mathurā Lion Pillar Inscription,' F. W. Thomas, Ep. Ind., IX, pp. 135 ff.) The < ṛa-śruti > of Jaina orthography for Ardha-māgadhi, found also in the epigraphical remains of the Transitional MIA. period, stands equally for some sort of spirant value of < y > (see p. 85). It was this spirant value of < y > that apparently brought about the creation of the ligature < ṛs > for < z > in the Brāhmī alphabet, to write the < z > sound in the (Iranian) Śaka language from the 1st

century A. C. : «  $\hat{Y}s\hat{a}m\hat{o}t\hat{i}ka = Z\hat{a}m\hat{o}t\hat{i}ka$ ,  $\hat{D}\hat{a}m\hat{a}y\hat{s}ada = \hat{D}\hat{a}mazada$  » ; East Iranian (in Brāhmī) «  $\hat{y}\hat{s}\hat{a}ra = z\hat{a}ra$  » *thousand*, «  $\hat{b}al\hat{y}\hat{s}a = balza$  » *Buddha* (originally = *priest*). (Cf. H. Lüders, 'Die Śakas und die "nordarische" Sprache,' Sitzungsberichte der kön. preuss. Ak. der Wissen., 1913, XXIII, pp. 406 ff.; cf. also E. Leumann, 'Zur nordarischen Sprache u. Litteratur,' Strassburg, 1912.) In the Kharōṣṭhī 'Dharma-pada,' « y » is also used for the spirant representative of OIA. intervocal « c, j » (e.g., the examples quoted at p. 247).

[i > j > ɟ > ʒ] became the stop [ɟ] or the affricate [ʃʒ, dʒ] in initial positions in the Second MIA. period, and in this way fell together with the original OIA. « j » [ɟ-, ɟ- > ʃʒ-]: e.g., OIA. « yōga », Early MIA. « yōga », Transitional and Second MIA. « jōga = jōga, jōa ». This spirantised « y » changed also the groups « ty, dy » to « ce, jj » = [ce, ʃ > ceʃ, ʃʃ] in the Midland and in the West during the First and Transitional MIA. stages: [tī > tɟ > tɟ > tc > ce > ceʃ; dī > dj > dɟ > ʃ > ʃʃ, ddʒ (?)] ; but in the East, « ty, dy » had a different development during the First MIA. period: « ty, dy » > tiy, yy » respectively.

The bilabial semivowel ɱ [ũ] seems to have developed different values in the different dialectal areas—a rounded-lip bilabial semivowel [ũ = w], a spread-lip bilabial spirant [v], and a denti-labial spirant [v],—which one cannot very well find out now. Greek transcriptions give for the MIA. ɱ the following: (i) « ou (= u), o » : « Ouindion = Vindhya ; Sōastēs = Suvāstu ; Peukelaotis = Pukk(h)alāvati, Puṣkalāvati ; Imaos = Himavā(n) ; Deopalli = Dēvapalli ; (ii) « b » : « Bidaspēs = \* Vidastā, Vitastā ; Bibasis = \* Vivāsā, Vipāsā ; Erannoboas = Hiraṇya-vaha » ; and (iii) « hu », initially : « Huphasis = Vipāsā ». The characteristic NIA. pronunciation is that of a bilabial spirant. In the Gujarat area, from Girnar Aśōkan forms like « dv- > db- ; tv > tp » beside « tm > tp », one can surmise that the ɱ was a strong bilabial fricative in the First MIA. period, which became a stop in the 3rd century B. C., and assimilated the preceding dental to itself [dũ = dw > dv > db > bb = Gujarātī b, Sindhī b' ; tũ = tw > tv > tv > tp > pp ; tm > tũ > tv > tv > tp > pp].



## UNEXPLODED STOPS IN CONSONANT GROUPS.

134. The affricate pronunciation of the palatal stops, the change of intervocal « -ḍ- » to « -ṛ- », the spirantisation of « y », which have been noticed above, and the later change of the stops « k g, t d, p b » to open consonants (noticed at pp. 83 ff., also in § 132), came in only gradually. The most important characteristic of MIA. is the assimilation of dissimilar consonantal combinations into double consonants; and this characteristic primarily marks off MIA. from OIA. This change was due mainly to the first consonant in a group of two stops like « -kt-, -pt- » being pronounced without explosion, so that it was reduced to a mere stop or closure, and its position was shifted to that of the next stop: thus « lip-ta, bhak-ta » became in late OIA. « bhak<sup>h</sup>ta, lip<sup>h</sup>ta » [bhak<sup>h</sup>ta, lip<sup>h</sup>ta], which then became assimilated to « bha<sup>h</sup>tta, li<sup>h</sup>tta = bhatta, littta ». Final stops, unvoiced, were similarly pronounced without explosion, as in « vidyut, marut, pariṣat, dharmāt, syāt, dhik, manāk »; and the final unexploded or implosive « t, k » were duly lost in MIA.: e.g., Pali « vijju, maru, parisā, dhammā, siyā (assa), dhī, minā ». The 'Prātisākhya's' have noted this characteristic in (late) OIA. pronunciation (R. Gauthiot, 'La Fin de Mot en Indo-Européen,' Paris, 1913, pp. 91-92). In the NIA. languages, in consonant groups resulting from the dropping of intervening vowels (as, for example, in Bengali বাপকে « bāpā-kē » bāpkē » *to the father*, থাকতে « thākitē » thāktē » *to remain*, Hindōstānī « āpa-kā » āpkā » *of self*, « saktā » saktā » *is able*), there is complete explosion of the first stop, and this is helped by a consciousness, vague it might be, of the fact that the forms consist of essential or radical parts, and affixes. This method of fully articulating the first stop of a group, except in the case of the same stop 'doubled,' now obtains in the modern Indian pronunciation of Sanskrit and of tatsama words in the of vernaculars: e.g., « śak-ti, ab-da »: but this is merely an extension of the vernacular habit of pronunciation. The unexploded stops of late OIA. thus brought in their train their complete assimilation in the next period.

This assimilation was accompanied by other simplifications in connection with the liquids and nasals, and sibilants. Possibly a habit of

speech which preferred an open syllable to a closed one also manifested itself. A great mass of IA. speakers, at the commencement of the MIA. period (at least in the East, to start with) probably had lost the sense of distinction between root and affix. Thus what were « dhar/ma, sah/ya, śuk/ra, yaj/ña, ak/ṣi, \* sprś/ta > sprṣ/ṭa, śuṣ/ka » in the speech-feeling of the earlier generations in the OIA. period, became, after the speech had spread among peoples of different tongues, « dha-rma > dha-mma, sa-hya > sa-jjha, śu-kra > su-kka, ya-jña > ya-ñña, a-kṣi > a-kkhi (a-echi), \* spu-ṣṭa \* hpu-ḥṭa > phu-ṭṭha, śu-ṣka \* su-hka > su-kkha ». The principle of the Indian alphabetical system in having only open syllables was apparently based on this sort of syllabic division.

#### STOPS AND SPIRANTS IN MIA.

**135.** Open or spirant pronunciation of the single OIA. stops « k g, t d, p b » intervocally was established by the close of the Transitional MIA. period. This has been described before (pp. 83 ff.). After the assimilation of compound consonants, this was undoubtedly the most important change in the history of the IA. sounds. But owing to the NIA. languages having largely replenished themselves by borrowings from Sanskrit (or Perso-Arabic, as in the case of Urdū) and by new formations, the full significance and importance of this change in the history of IA. is not usually recognised. (Cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' §§ 14, 81.) In Second and Late MIA., intervocally there were no single stops, only single spirants and double stops: and these spirants, too, were dropped from pronunciation, quite early in a dialect like Mahārāṣṭrī, and later in other dialects like Śaurasēnī and Māgadhi; and the elision had taken place in words inherited from OIA. long before beginning of the NIA. period. The Indian graphic system continued to employ the letters for the voiced stop sounds of [g, d, b] (generally however, « v » was used for the last) where the corresponding open sounds or spirants were undoubtedly used in speech. The epigraphical evidence from the Transitional MIA. period, and the traditions of Prakrit spelling, with their hesitancy in using « g, d, b (v) », or omitting them, or substituting « y » for them, coupled with our knowledge



of what has happened or is actually happening in other languages, are enough to establish that. Conservatism in spelling is a common thing in languages with a long history, and letters are retained even when they have dropped from pronunciation. In Modern Spanish (Castilian), «agua, abogado» etc. are pronounced as [aŷa, avogaðo], the latter word even becoming [avoga]. The OIA. «dyūta-, dviguṇa-, śuka-, tāpa, hṛdaya, dīpa-, śāba» passed into typical NIA. «jūā, dūnā, suā, tā, hiā, diā, chā» through an intermediate MIA. stage «jūḍa-, diguṇa-, suḡa-, tāḍa, hiḍaa, dība-, chāḍa»: and this stage is that which was arrived at during the Transitional MIA. period. The rules of Prakrit (Second MIA.) grammar in this matter are inconsistent, and the examples in Prakrit literature for dialects like Śaurasēni and Māgadhi are not always reliable. Even the very spirant sounds are not recognised by the Prakrit grammarians: any more than a Modern Bengali grammarian would ordinarily notice the under-articulation of consonants which obtains in Bengali (e.g., ঠাকুরদাদা *grand-papa* [ṭhakurdada] is frequently pronounced [ṭhaḡurdaḍa], and is even reduced to ঠাউদা ঠাউদা [ṭhau(r)d:a]). (Cf. S. K. Chatterji, 'A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' London, 1921, § 31.) We can see, however, that in genuine *tadbhava* forms in all the NIA. speeches, the single intervocal stops of OIA., «k, g; t, d; p, b», are not preserved. The intervocal palatal stops of OIA. «c, j» were likewise elided in *tadbhava* words in some forms NIA., but were retained in others; and the intervocal cerebral stops «ṭ, ḍ» have in all NIA. been reduced to «-ḍ- = ṛ». Wherever a NIA. word agrees with its corresponding OIA. (Sanskrit) form in retaining a stop, voiced or unvoiced, or an aspirate, such a word is not a genuine, inherited *tadbhava*. OIA. stops in the body of a word are as a rule preserved in NIA. only when they are preceded by a nasal, and when they were doubled by assimilation in MIA. The intervocal single aspirated stops of OIA., through a similar process of spirantisation in the stop element in Transitional MIA., became a mere aspiration in Late MIA. and NIA.: e.g., «mukha» mugha > muḡha > muha; laghu > laghu > lahu; kathayati > kathēti > kadhēdi > kaḍhēḍi > kahēi, kahē; vadhū-> vaḍhū-> vahū, bahū; śēphalikā > \*śēbhāligā > \*śēbhāligā >

\* śehālia > Middle Bengali শিহলৌ śihali > New Bengali শিউলি śiuli ; gabhīra > gābhīra > gāhīra, etc. < ch, jh > are rare as intervocal sounds ; and < ṭh, ḍh > normally became < -ḍh- = ṛh > in all late MIA. and NIA. In MIA., an aspirate occurs in the body of a word only after its corresponding stop or nasal (and in NIA. *labbhava* forms, only after a long vowel, simple or nasalised).

The state of things with regard to the stops and aspirates in Typical MIA. of the Transitional and Second MIA. period, *e.g.*, in Śaurasēnī of c. 200 A. C., was something like the following :

Initially only : < k- g-, c- j-, ṭ- ḍ-, t- d-, p- b- ; h- ; kh- gh-, ch- jh-, ṭh- ḍh-, th- dh-, ph- bh- > .

Medially : < -g-, -y- (= [ɣ]), -ḍ- (= [ɽ]), -ḥ-, -ḅ-[v] ; -h- ; -kk(h)- -gg(h)-, -cc(h)- -jj(h)-, -ṭṭ(h)- -ḍḍ(h)-, -tt(h)- -dd(h)-, -pp(h)- -bb(h)- ; -ṅk(h)- -ṅg(h)-, -ñc(h)- -ñj(h)-, -ṇṭ(h)- -ṇḍ(h)-, -nt(h)- -nd(h)-, -mp(h)- -mb(h)- > .

The double consonants of MIA. derived by assimilation continued till NIA.,—to be simplified to a single consonant, with compensatory lengthening of preceding vowel : and this resultant single consonant of NIA. has persisted generally.<sup>1</sup>

But in one dialect of MIA., the Ardha-māgadhī of the Jains, in texts which from their language apparently go back to the Transitional MIA., we meet with a few cases of elision of the normal MIA. double consonants—the group < tt > : *e.g.*, < āyā = attā, ātman ; pāya = patta, pātra ; gōya = gotta, gōtra ; rāi = rātri (rādi ; also, in Mahārāṣṭri) ; saṣari = sattari, saptati ; cāri = cattāri, catvāri ; cāyālisa, cālisa = catvāriṅsat > etc. (Cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 216-217.) This sort of elision of double < tt > is entirely against the spirit of MIA. phonology, and the reasons for it are not known. Possibly a case like < rāi < rādi > is to be referred to an OIA. < \* rā-ti >, occurring side by

<sup>1</sup> In certain forms of Bengali, however, we have a further elision of these resultant single stops : *e.g.*, 'ṭhakkura, ṭhākura,' Standard Colloquial Bengali ঠাকুর 'thāur' beside ঠাকুর 'ṭhākura' ; ঠান 'ṭhān' for ঠাকুরানী 'ṭhākurāni,' *honoured lady* ; 'vappa, bāpa' *father*, Chittagong Bengali = বাপ 'bāy.'



side with « rā-tris, rā-trī »; « cāri », for « \*cāyāri », found in all NIA., may be from analogy of forms like « catur » > « caü » (cf. J. Bloch, *op. cit.*); but the early forms in most NIA. being « ciāri » (see p. 106: see also later, under *Morphology*: the Numerals), we may have to postulate the influence of Middle Persian in Late MIA.—Pahlavi « cahār », Pāzand « cibār » (= New Persian « cēhār, cār ») possibly having something to do in the use of « ciāri » for « cattāri » in Late MIA. and NIA. (cf. « sabassa » of Late MIA., ousted by the Persian « hazār »); « cāyālisa » for « catvāriṅśat » is an extension of this to the numerals for the 40-group; and « saṃyari » for « sattari » may well be on the analogy of « \*cāyāri, ciāri » for « cattāri ». The other words remain obscure—« āyā, pāya, gōya »<sup>1</sup>. Can it be that « āyā » is a blend of the *tadbhava* « attā » and a *semi-tatsama* « \*ātamā » > \*ādamā > \*āyavā »?

There seem to have been some cases of simplification of double consonants to a single one with compensatory lengthening, mainly of sibilants, in Transitional and Second MIA.

136. Phonological development of MIA. from OIA. is a subject apart, its study belonging properly to that of Pali and other Prakrits and the Apabhraṃśa. In the late MIA. period, some further modifications of the OIA. Sound-system became prominent. The Transitional and Second MIA. tendency to elide single intervocal stops of OIA. continued and manifested itself in specifically late MIA. formations as well; single « -m- » intervocally became « -ṃ- », which was reduced to a mere nasalisation of

<sup>1</sup> In Bengali, there are the words দাঁ(ও) 'dā(o)' chopper, bill = 'dātra'; গাঁ(ও) 'gā(o)' = 'gātra,' beside a regular *tadbhava* গাঁও 'gāta' < 'gatta' = 'gātra' in Middle Bengali, and an old *semi-tatsama* গাতর 'gatarā' from ' \*gattara'; and পো, Oriyā 'pua,' beside পুট 'puta' = 'pūta' < 'putta, putra.' The last form may have been influenced by ' pōta,' which would give 'pōa, pō' in NIA. গা, গাঁও, গাঁও, গাঁও 'gā, gāo, gāy, gāa' may be an analogical formation, after 'kāya' = 'kāa'; দাঁ 'dā' is explained by Grierson as being from a form '\* drāta,' attested from Kāśmīri: it is found in Hindi as 'dāw, dāū,' bill, sickle, and the occurrence in Skt. of the forms 'dāti' sickle, scythe, 'dāta' moison, cut off, 'dātṛ' mowing, moicer shows that the source of the NIA. word is not 'dātra,' but rather some form like 'dātṛ' (although the Kōl word 'datrom' sickle, evidently an old Aryan borrowing, would show that 'dātra' was quite a popular OIA. vocable).

the vowel in most cases in NIA. ; and this modification probably appeared sporadically quite early (cf. « yamunā = \*yaṃuṇā » > Greek transcription « Iobarēs » ). Intervocal sibilants single or double became « h » in some cases : a change also noticed in a few early instances (cf. « kārṣāpaṇa » = « kahāpaṇa » in Pali) ; its origin and scope in MIA. is not known.

MIA. kept in close touch with Sanskrit, and especially in later times, when it had the disadvantage of having a large number of homophones through phonetic decay. Thus, « ākāra, āgāra, ācāra » would all be reduced to « āāra », « suta, śuka » to « sua » ; and it was necessary to introduce fresh blood, as it were, into the system of the speech, in the shape of new words and forms. *Tatsamas* were being brought into MIA. from the time of its differentiation as MIA. The phonetic changes which modified these newcomers were to some extent different from those which characterised original MIA. When in these *tatsamas* there was a nexus of a stop + liquid or nasal, MIA. no longer went in for assimilation, which characterised its phonetics in the formative period, but anaptyxis (*viprakaṣa*), which is a habit of pronunciation occasionally found in OIA. (in the « *svara-bhakti* » of the Vedic speech), came in : thus « *dharma* » > *dhamma* > *dhāma* » is a *tadbhava*, « *dharma* » > *dharama* » is a *semi-tatsama* ; so « *sarṣapa* » > \**sassapa* > *sāsava* : *sarisapa, sarisava* » ; « *varṣā* » > *vassa* > *vāsa* : *varisā* » ; « *kṛṣṇa* » > *kaṇha* : *kaṣaṇa* » ; « *ratna* » ought to have a *tadbhava* « \**ratta* » > \**rāta* » (cf. « *sapatni* » > *savatti*, NIA. *saut* » ), but already in Pali we find the *semi-tatsama* « *ratana* » (Bengali *রতন* « *rātāṇḍ* » is not from this MIA. form, which would have given only « *radana* » > *raḍaṇa* > *raaṇa* > \**raṃaṇa* > \**raṇā* > \**raṇḍ* » ; it is a new *semi-tatsama* ; but cf. « *ādaraśikā* » > *semi-tatsama* in Early MIA. « \**ādaraśikā* » [instead of the proper *tadbhava* « \**ādaśśikā* » which would have become \**āśī* « \**āśī* » in Bengali] ; « \**ādaraśikā* » > \**āraśia* > *ārāśī* »). Sanskrit words in MIA. also had to conform to the phonetic habit of MIA. which would tolerate only double stops in the middle of a word, and not single ones, as single ones would be voiced and spirantised : thus « *ēka* » > *ēa* » , as in Assamese « *ē-zān* » = « *ēka-jana* » , *tadbhava* ; « *ēka* » , reintroduced in MIA., became « *ekka* » , whence a Common NIA. « *ēk* » .



137. The phonetic system of the native (i.e., of the old *tadbhava* and *dṛṣṭi*) element in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśā, the source of Bengali, was in all likelihood the following :

VOWELS.

		Back		Front	
Close	...	u:	u	i:	i
Half-Close	...	o:	o	e:	e
Half-Open	...	ɔ			
Open	...	ɑ:			

Nasalised forms of the vowels also occurred.

CONSONANTS.

	Glottal	Velār	Retroflex	Palatal	Palato- alveolar	Inter- dental	Bilabial
Stops ...		k g	ṭ ḍ			t d	p b
Aspirates ...		kh gʱ	ṭh ḍʱ			th dh	ph bh
Affricates ...					çʃ ʃç		
Nasals ...		ŋ	ɳ		ɲ	n	m
Laterals ...			(?l-)		l		
Flapped ...			-r-, -rʱ-		r		
Fricatives ...	f	(?g-)			ʃ	(s?) (?-ʃ-)	(-v-) w̃
Semi-vowels				-j- (ç)			-w- (ṽ)

About the sounds of the above system as reconstructed, the following points are to be noted.

OIA. short < ă > [a] seems to have been changed to the slightly higher sound of [ɒ], as in Southern English *hot*, which in Middle Bengali (of post-14th century times) became [o], the normal sound of the New Bengali অ; in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa and in Old Bengali it was sufficiently near [a:] to be interchangeable with it. In other words, < ă > [ɒ] in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, Old Bengali and Early Middle Bengali was slightly lower in articulation than the New Bengali অ < ă > [o]. The New Bengali sound is pronounced with the lips very slightly rounded, and this gives it its definite quality as a distinct vowel from অ < ā > [a:, a]; the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa and Old and Early Middle Bengali equivalent was in all probability not rounded.

[g, ḍ, v] possibly occurred for < g d b > in intervocal positions under certain circumstances. [ɲ] occurred before [ç], [ʃ], and 'doubly' in the middle of a word [ɲɲ = ɲ:]; and possibly it was also the modification of [m > ɱ] before palatal vowels. [ŋ] seems to have existed in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, as can be seen from the evidence of Oṛiyā and of Old and dialectal Bengali, although it now no longer exists in Bengali-Assamese and in 'Bihārī.' It is not known for certain whether Māg. Ap. possessed [l], which is now found only in Oṛiyā, where it represents an OIA. or MIA. single intervocal < l >: in all likelihood it did exist intervocally.

Evidence of Bengali and Oṛiyā would show that [r] was present in the source-form of these speeches. Probably there was a restoration (or rather importation) of [r] in Eastern Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa through Sanskrit and Northern Indian influence. Genuine Māgadhī forms would be expected to show [l] for [r] of OIA.; and that is what we find in an Old Bengali word like লাজ্জ < lāccha = lācha (= rathyā) >, as in Sarvānanda's glossary, in Middle Bengali লাজ্জ, লাজ্জ < lācchā, nācchā >, and in a Modern Bengali word like পাঁচিল < pācīlā > = < prācitra >. But [r]-words are plentiful, even in common roots like কর < kār >, দর < dbār > etc. The Central and Western Magadhan speeches in this matter are more uniform, having a tendency to reduce all laterals and r-sounds to [r]. (See p. 96.)



Palatal « ś » = [ʃ] was the only *inherited* sibilant in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa: but it is not unlikely that the dental [s] sound was also present, among the masses of non-Aryan (Kōl and Mōn-Khmēr) origin, and among Upper Indian settlers within the Magadhan area; but from the later history of the Magadhan speech in its eastern branch, it may be seen that there at least the proper Māgadhī sound resisted all [s] influence, and remained [ʃ].

The semi-vowels [j, w] were glides to prevent hiatus, and were the half-close vowels [e, o] used as consonants, which would be dropped or brought in according to option. In transliteration, these « śruti » sounds could be written « ŷ, w̄ ». The semi-vowels never occurred initially: OIA. [i, ū] in initial positions had become [j̄, b] in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, before its split into the Modern Magadhan speeches. OIA. [I] after dental stops, in *tatsama* words, no longer palatalised the latter—« nitya » [nittīa] became [nitt(ṣ)ḍ], « vidyā » [ūidīa:] became [biddēa:], etc.

#### OLD AND EARLY MIDDLE BENGALI.

138. Some important changes ushered in the NIA. period. Excepting in the North-Western and Western (i.e., Eastern Panjābī, Lāhndī and Sindhī) areas, double consonants of MIA. were simplified to a single consonant, and there was compensation for this loss of quantity in the consonant of the syllable (a 'double' consonant group means only a 'long' consonant) by lengthening the preceding vowel: e.g., « patra = patta » pāta, putra = putta > pūta, camma = camma > cāma, anya = anna > āna > [pat:a > pa:ṭṭ, put:a > pu:ṭṭ, c̄am:a > c̄ā:mḍ, an:a > a:nḍ]. Nasals preceding stops or aspirates were first 'shortened' and then 'dropped,' compensation coming in by lengthening and nasalising the preceding vowel: e.g., « canda » cāla > [c̄an:da > c̄ā:nḍḍ, c̄ā:dḍ]. Final long vowels were weakened, and assimilated to preceding vowels, in most cases: « rādhikā > rāhia > rāhī ». Euphonic glides of « ŷ » and « w̄ » became more prominent between « udvṛtta » vowels, after the dropping of intervening stops: e.g., « vāta > vāda, vāḍa > vāa > bāwa, bāya [baḍḍ, baḥḍ] = বাও, বায় bāō, bāē ». In later times, these glides weakened and were dropped.

In Bengali, a shifting of the stress system to the initial syllable came in during the formative period: this led to the dropping of unstressed long vowels in the middle of a word, and to lengthening of « ă » to « ā » initially. The « ă, ā » sounds in their normal historical relation to each other in Old and Middle Bengali may be thus indicated:

Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa short « ă » [ɒ] > Old Bengali [ɒ] > Middle Bengali [ɒ, ɔ, ɔ:] ;

Māg. Ap. « aṅa » [ɒḍɒ] > Old Bengali [ɒḍɒ, ɔ:] > Middle Bengali [ɔ:, ɔ, ɔ] ;

Māg. Ap. « ă » [ɒ] before two consonants > Old Bengali [a:, a] > Middle Bengali [a:, a] ;

Māg. Ap. initial « ă- » [ɒ] > Old Bengali [ɒ, 'ɒ] > Middle Bengali [a:, a] ;

Māg. Ap. long [a:] > Old Bengali [a:, a] > Middle Bengali [a:, a], through loss of stress [a > ɒ = ɔ].

The open [ɒ] pronunciation of « ă » probably became the partially rounded [ɔ] by the end of the Early Middle Bengali Period: [ɔ] developed a long quality, and interchange with [a:] was no longer in the nature of things in Middle Bengali and New Bengali. The MIA. vowel [e:] in initial syllables became open in Middle Bengali, [ɛ:], and possibly also in Old Bengali: cf. « dekkhaī » দেখই dēkhaī [de:kɦɔi] > দেখএ, দেখে [dɛkɦɔḍ, dɛkɦɛ] > দেখে, 'ড়াখে' [dækɦe] ; ekka > ēka [e:kɒ] > [ɛ:kɔ] > [æ:k] : and « yā » after a consonant, in *tatsamas*, became [ɛa:, ɛa:], later [æ] in New Bengali: « tyāga » > ত্যাগ [tɛa:ɡɒ, tɛɔa:ɡɒ] > [tæ:ɡ]. Post-consonantal « -ā » in *tatsamas* similarly became [ɔa: > ɔɒ > ɔ:] (see later, under 'the Origin of the New Bengali Vowels: [ɔ]'). In connection with [i], in Early Middle Bengali, the back « ā » [a:, a] received a frontal articulation [a:, a], which later became [e] in the Standard Colloquial (see p. 133; also later, under 'Vowel Mutation,' and 'the Origin of New Bengali Vowels: [e]'). [ɪ] after a vowel grew weak, and there was epenthesis. Nasalisation of the vowels was fully developed; also vowel-harmony came in quite early in the history of Bengali as a NIA. speech.





ধার্মার্থে চাটিল সাক্ষম গটই ।  
 ["dharma:ṭhē 'cāṭila | "jā:kdṛd gḍr'ṭh(ṭ)i:]

*For the sake of Dharma, Cātīla builds a bridge :*

পারগামী লোঅ নিভর তরই ॥  
 ["parogamī 'lo:(ṭ)d: | "ni:bhord tdr'ṭh(ṭ)i:]

*Men going across (can) cross with full reliance.*

ফাঙ্কিঅ মোহতরু পটি জোড়িঅ ।  
 ["phaṅki:(ṭ)d ("pha:ṭiḥ) 'moṣh-toru | "pa:ṭi: ṭṭor'ṭh(ṭ)i:]

*Having split (=cut down) the tree of Ignorance, he joins the boards :*

আদঅ দিটি টাঙ্গী নিবাণে কোহিঅ ॥  
 ["a:d(ṭ)d 'dirṭi ṭāṅgi | "ni:baṇṭ ("nibaṇṭ:) kōh'ṭh(ṭ)i:]

*With the strong axe of Advaya (=monism) he strikes (?) at Nirvāṇa.*

সাক্ষমত চড়িলে দাহিণ বাম মা হোহী ।  
 ["jākdṛd-tḍ 'cṭṭile: | "da:ṣiṇḍ | bāḥḍ mā: | 'ho:ṣi:]

*After having mounted on the bridge, turn not to the right or the left.*

নিঅড্ডী বোহি দূর ম জাহী ॥  
 ["ni:(ṭ)ḍḍi ("niḥḍṭi:) 'bo:ṣi: | "du:rd mḍ 'jā:ṣi:]

*Bōdhi (= Supreme Knowledge) is near, go not afar.*

জই তুম্হে লোঅ হে হোইব পারগামী ।  
 ["jṭh(ṭ)i | "tumṭhe: ("tum:e:) 'lo:(ṭ)d ṭhe: | "hoiḥḍ par'ga:mī:]

*If, O (ye) men, ye will be goers across,*

পুঙ্কতু চাটিল অন্তর সামী ॥  
 ["puṅktu tu 'cāṭila (ṭ)ḍn|"ut:rdḍ 'jā:wī:]

*Ask thou (=ye) Cātīla, the peerless Master.*

(Caryā 33): টালত মোর ঘর নাহি পড়বেবী ।  
 ["ṭa:ltḍ 'mor.ghord | "nāṣi pḍṭi:(ṭ)'e:ṣi:]

*On the high place (?) is my home, there is no neighbour.*

হাড়ীত ভাত নাহি নিতি আবেশী ॥  
 ["hāṭi-tḍ 'bhātḍ nāṣi | "ni:ti (ṭ)a:(ṭ)'i:ṣi:]

*In (my) pot there is no rice, (yet) daily I come in.*

বেঙ্গ সংসার বড্‌হিল জাঅ ।  
 ["beṅgṭṭ:ḍ ṣaṅsā:rd | "bḍḍḥil jāa:]

*This cripple (this frog), the world, too much wavering (hopping) it goes.*



দুহিল দুধু কি বেণ্টে বামায় ॥  
 ["du:ɦilɔ 'du:ɖɦɔ ki | "bɔ̃ɳ:ɽe ("bā:ɽe ?) ʃam'a:(ɔ̃)i:]

*The milk that is milked off, does it go back into the teat?*

বলদ বিআএল গবিআ বাবে ।  
 ["bɔ̃lɔɖɔ bi(ɔ̃)'a:(ɔ̃)ilɔ | "gɔ̃(ɔ̃)i(ɔ̃)a: 'bā:ɦɔɦe:]

*An ox has made a barren cow to bear:*

পিটা দুহিএ এ তিনা সাঁবে ॥  
 ["pi:ɽa: 'duɦi(ɔ̃)e: | "ti:na: 'ɦi:ɦɔɦe:]

*A pail (full) is milked of three evenings (= three times a day).*

জো সো বুধী সো ধনি বুধী ।  
 ["ɦɔ: ɦo: ("ɦɔ: ɦe:) 'bu:ɖɦi: | "ɦo: (ɦe:) ɖɦɔni 'bu:ɖɦi:]

*The understanding which is that (understanding), indeed is a praiseworthy understanding.*

জো ধো চোর সোহী সাধী ॥  
 ["ɦɔ: ɦo: ("ɦɔ: ɦe:) 'ɔ̃o:ra: | "ɦo:(ɔ̃)i: ("ɦe:ɦi:) 'ɦa:ɖɦi:]

*He that is the thief, he indeed is the honest man.*

নিতো নিতো বিআলা ঘিহে বম জুঝঅ ।  
 ["niti niti 'ɦi(ɔ̃)a:la | "ɦiɦe ɦɔm ɦuɦɔ]

*Day to day the jackal fights with the lion.*

ঢেঢ়ণ পাএর গীত বিরলে বুঝঅ ॥  
 ["ɖɦeɳ:ɖɦɔɳɔ 'pa:(e)erɔ | gitɔ | "biɾle: bu'ɦuɦ(e)i:]

*(This) song of Dheṛḍhaṇa-pāda one understands all alone.*

It would be seen that in the above extracts, verbal forms like « gaṛhaḃi, tarayḃi, jāyḃi, jūjhaḃi » (where in ordinary speech the final affix « aī » probably became a diphthong, « ai » to be changed into « -e » of later Middle Bengali) had the euphonic « ȳ » glide = [ɔ̃], which would come in when in verse the affix would be pronounced as two syllables; and for metric reasons, the final « -i » would be lengthened whenever required.

EARLY MIDDLE BENGALI: 'ŚRĪ-KṚṢṆA-KĪRTTANA' (SEE P. 128).

[ɳ] seems to have been pronounced in the West Bengali of this work. অ « ă » = [ɳ] was perhaps not yet [ɔ], but it is likely the higher back vowel was pronounced in groups like [ɳī = ɔī], and in other cases.

(Page 145) : দধির চূপড়ী যমুনার তীরে থুইয়া ।

["dɔdʱirɔ tʃupɔri tʃiɔwul'narɔ tirɛ 'thuɪã]

*The basket of curds, by Yamunā's bank having put down,*

ডাক পাড়ে গোআলিনী চারি পাস চাহিয়া ॥

["ɔakɔ pãɛ 'go(ɔ)alini | "tʃari pãʃɔ 'tʃai(ɦ)ã]

*The milkmaids raise a shout, having looked at four sides.*

বিহাগ আইলাহোঁ এখাঁ বেলা আপার ।

["biɦãŋɔ (ɔ)ã'laɦi(ɔ)ethã | "bɛla: (ɔ)ã'pa:rɔ]

*At dawn we have come here, the period is long.*

কত খনে যাইব আন্ধে মথুরার পার ॥

["kɔtɔ khɔŋɛ 'ɦiãibɔ ãmɦi(ɔ) | "mɔthurãɔ 'pa:rɔ]

*In how long a time shall we go to Mathurā's strand?*

ঘাটের ঘাটআল কহি গেল সে ।

["ɦɦãtɛɔ ɦɦãti(ɔ)ã:lɔ | "kɦi ɡɛlɔ 'ɦe:]

*The ghaut-keeper of this ghaut—where is he gone?*

দধির চূপড়ী মোর পার করি দে ॥

["dɔdʱirɔ tʃupɔri mɔɔ | "pa:rɔ kɔri 'de:]

*Do take to the other side my basket of curds."*

নাএর আস্তরে গেলী চন্দ্রাবলী রাহী ।

["na(ɔ)ɛɔ (ɔ)ãstɔɛ ɡɛli | "tʃɔndrãboli (-ɔ)li 'raɦi]

*For the sake of a boat went Candrãvatī Rãdhikã.*

তার পাছে আর যত গোআলিনী সই ॥

["taɔ paɦɦɛ 'ãɔ tʃiɔtɔ | "go(ɔ)alini 'ɦɦi]

*Behind her, all the other milk-maid friends.*

কথো দূর গিয়াঁ দেখিএ একখানী নাএ ।

["kɔthɔ dũɔ 'ɦɦiã deɦiɛ ɛkɦãni 'na(ɔ)ɛ]

*After going some distance, a boat is seen.*

সত্বর হইয়াঁ রাহী তার পাস বাএ ॥

["ɦɦɔt:ɔɔɔɔɦɦiã raɦi taɔ paɦɦɛ 'ɦɦiã(ɔ)ɛ]

*Being quick, Rãdhikã goes beside it.*

তার খান গিয়াঁ বোলে রাধা গোআলিনী ।

["taɔ thãŋ 'ɦɦiã bɔle raɦã go(ɔ)ã'lini]

*Going to its place (= near it), the Milkmaid Rãdhã says :*





কে না বাঁশী বাএ বড়ারি সে না কোন জনা ।

[ "ke nā bāʃi 'ba(ə)e bɔɾaɪ | "ʃe nā konɔ 'ʃiɔnɔ ]

*Who is it indeed, O Grandmother, that plays on the flute, what man indeed is he ?*

দাসী হআঁ তার পাএ নিশিবো আপনা ॥

[ "daʃi ʃiɔã 'tara pa(ə)e | "niʃibɔ(ə)a'pɔna ]

*Being his slave, at his feet I shall cast myself.*

কে না বাঁশী বাএ বড়ারি চিত্তের হরিষে ।

[ "ke nā bāʃi 'ba(ə)e bɔɾaɪ | "tʃit:erɔ ʃiɔ'riʃe ]

*Who is it indeed, O Grandmother, that plays on the flute in (his) heart's joy ?*

তার পাএ বড়ারি মৌ কৈলো কোণ দোষে ॥

[ "tara pa(ə)e 'bɔɾa(ə)i mo | "kailɔ konɔ 'doʃe ]

*At his feet, O Grandmother, what fault have I done ?*

আকর ঝরএ মোর নয়নের পানী ।

[ "aʃiɔrɔ ʃiɔ'riɔ'rd(ə)e moɾɔ | "no(ə)noɾɔ 'pani ]

*Without stint drop tears from my eyes :*

বাঁশীর শব্দে বড়ারি হারাইলো পরাগী ॥

[ "bāʃiɔrɔ ʃɔbɔdɛ bɔɾaɪ | "ʃaraɪlɔ pɔ'raɔi ]

*At the sound of the flute, O Grandmother, I have lost my life.*

আকুল করিতে কিবা আকার মন ।

[ "akulo koritɛ kiba | 'am:ʃaraɔ 'manɔ ]

*Is it only to make my mind agitated,*

বাজাএ সুসর বাঁশী নান্দের নন্দন ।

[ "baʃiɔ(ə)e ʃu'ʃɔrɔ bāʃi | "nānderɔ non'dɔnɔ ]

*The son of Nanda plays on (his) melodious flute.*

পাখী নহৌ তার ঠাই উড়ী পড়ি জাগ' ।

[ "pakhi nahɔ 'tara thā(ə)i | "uɾi pɔɾi 'ʃiɔ(ə)ɔ ]

*I am not a bird, that I might fly and fall near him.*

মেদনী বিদার দেউ পসিআ লুকাও' ॥

[ "medni bi'dara de(ə)u | "pɔ(ɪ)ʃiã lu'ka(ə)ɔ ]

*Let the earth open up, that having gone in I may hide.*

বন পোড়ে আগ বড়ারি জগজনে জানী ।

[ "bɔnɔ pɔɾe 'aɔɔ bɔɾaɪ | "ʃiɔɔɔʃiɔnɔ 'ʃiɔni ]

*The forest burns, O Grandmother, everybody knows it :*



মোর মন পোড়ে বেহু কুম্ভারের পণী ॥  
 [ "mord mɔnd 'pore ʃiʒɔnd | "kum(b)fiarerd 'pɔni ]

*But my heart burns, like the potter's kiln.*

আন্তর স্থখএ মোর কাহু আভিলাসে।  
 [ "āntɔrd ʃu'kha(ð)e mord | "kanɔd abʃi'laʃe ]

*For the desire of Kṛṣṇa, my heart is dried up.*

বাসলী শিরে বন্দী গাইল চণ্ডীবাসে। (=last line of preceding extract).

#### LATE MIDDLE BENGALI AND NEW BENGALI.

140. In Middle Bengali of times post 14th century, certain other phonetic changes came in (*e.g.*, epenthesis), which have been touched upon before (see p. 133). The development of one modern dialect in particular can be taken up in discussing the history of Bengali: and the dialect *par excellence* for that purpose is that of West Central Bengal (the Standard Colloquial). The phonological history of this dialect through Middle and Old Bengali has been attempted in the chapters that follow, side by side with that of the literary speech; and a survey of the phonetics of Late Middle Bengali is hardly necessary here.

The sounds of New Bengali, in the Standard Dialect as spoken by the educated people of Calcutta and West Central Bengal, have been described in 'A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics' (by S. K. Chatterji, London, 1921: originally in the BSOS., London, Vol. II, Part I; specimens of dialectal Bengali in the phonetic script have been given in the same journal, Vol. II, Part II. See also the LSI., V, 1). Below are given in tabular form the sounds of the Standard Colloquial.

#### VOWELS.

		Back	Central	Front
Close	...	u ū		i ī
Half-close	...	o ɔ		e ē
Half-open	...	ɔ ɔ̃	(ʌ)	æ æ̃
Open	...	ā	ɑ	

## CONSONANTS.

	Glottal.	Velar.	Retroflex.	Palatal.	Palato-Alveolar.	Alveolar.	Dental.	Denti-labial.	Bilabial.
Stop ...		k g	ʈ ɖ				t d		p b
Aspirate ...		kh gʱ	ʈʰ ɖʱ				th dh		ph bh
Affricate ...					ɟʃ ʒʃ				
Nasal ...		ŋ					n		m
Lateral ...							l		
Flapped ...			ɾ				r		
Fricative ...	h f				ʃ	s z		f v	F ʋ
Semi-vowel				ɛ					ɔ

Of the above sounds, it may be noted that [ɔ] is the sound of English *awe*, occurring in Bengali both long and short, and [æ] is very nearly that of Southern English *a* in *hat*, being somewhat lower than the English sound; and [ʌ] is found only in foreign words not naturalised. There is a large number of diphthongs, some 25, although the script recognises only 2; and there are some triphthongs also.

The retroflex [ʈ ɖ] are no longer the cerebrals of OIA. (such as are still found in the Dravidian languages, and in Panjābī for instance among NIA. speeches), but they have advanced forward considerably towards the palato-alveolar region, so much so that to a Bengali there is no difference between the so-called cerebrals of his language and the *t d* of English, alveolar sounds. [n, l] when before the retroflex



sounds, have a retroflex colouring, and [n] is also slightly palatalised before the palatal affricates. [s] is practically a variant of the [ʃ] phoneme under certain conditions; and [z] occurs in foreign vocables, and, rarely, as a modification of the native [ʃʒ(ʃ)]. [f v, ʋ v] are commonly substituted for the aspirates [ph, bh] of careful speakers. [h] is the sound occurring in the unvoiced aspirates, and is found by itself, in a final position, in interjections. [ə, ɔ̃] occur only as intervocal glides.

Length in vowels is not of significant importance, but the length (or doubling) of consonants is important. The stress in predominantly initial, and word-stress yields to sentence-stress, or to the dominant stress in the sense-group.

The more important sounds of dialectal Bengali may be noted.

[ɛ]: half-open front vowel, intermediate between [e] and [æ] of Standard Bengali, is found in the East Bengali dialects, as well as in the Bengali of the extreme West (see p. 142).

[a]: low or open front vowel, like *a* in English *man* as pronounced in the North of England: found in most Bengali dialects, but it cannot be said to characterise the speech of Ca'cutta and the surrounding area, where it is occasionally heard as subsidiary form of [ɑ]: e.g., Dialectal Bengali কাল=কাল [ka:l] *yesterday, to-morrow* (besides কাল, কালৈ [ka:l, kail, kail], from Old Bengali কালি [kali]), and কাল [ka:l] *time, death*: but Calcutta Bengali, both the words=কাল [ka:l]; Dialectal Bengali আজ, আ'জ, আজ, আইজ [a:ʃʒ, a:dz, a:z; a: dz, aidz, aiʃʒ; aidz, aiʃʒ] *to-day* (from Old Bengali আজি [aʃʒi]), but Calcutta Bengali আজ [a:ʃʒ].

[ts, dz]: dental affricates, which are the common East and North as well as North Central Bengali equivalents of the Standard Bengali [tʃ, ʒ]. [z] is frequently found for [dz]; and [tʃh] becomes [s] outside the West Bengal area.

[ŋ] occurs in Bengali of the extreme West, but it is rather rare.

[ʔ] the glottal stop = the *Alif Hamzah* of Arabic, is found in some forms of East Bengali for [h], in initial positions (see page 143).

A kind of bilabial [ʋ], in which the lips are much more widely separated from each other than in the case of the Standard Bengali

[ph > ɸ], with the acoustic effect of [f] to the unaccustomed ear, is the East Vanga equivalent of a single [p, ph] of Standard Bengali.

[x]: the velar fricative, unvoiced, is found for [k, kh] in East Vanga, and in some forms of West Vanga as well.

[g, ɖ, v] also occur in most forms of Bengali owing to the under-articulation of intervocal stops, which is a common enough Bengali habit (see 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' § 31); and [ʋ] or [w̃] is similarly found for intervocal [m].

#### PERCENTAGE OF FREQUENCY OF NEW BENGALI SOUNDS.

141. Standard Colloquial Bengali has thus the following sounds, viewed historically, with reference to the language as a whole :

Seven vowel sounds : [i, e, æ, a, o, u]; and the rare foreign vowel [ʌ]. All these, except the last, are capable of nasalisation, [̃].

Eight stop sounds : [k g, t̃ d̃, t d, p b];

Two affricates : [tʃ, dʒ];

Ten aspirates, stops and affricates : [kh gʱ, t̃ʰ d̃ʱ, tʰ dʱ, ph bʱ]; (besides, the aspirated [ɽʱ] is found, as well as [nʱ, mʱ, lʱ]);

Three nasals : [ɳ, n, m];

One lateral : [l];

Two flapped sounds : [ɾ, ɽ];

Four fricatives : [h, ɦ, ʃ, s]; (the fricative sounds of [f v, ɸ v] and [z] are not used by all speakers, and [ph, bʱ] and [dʒ] respectively for these would be quite normal).

Two semi-vowels : [ɔ̃, ɔ̃].

Whitney in his Sanskrit Grammar (§ 75) has given an average of percentage of frequency of each sound in Sanskrit, which may be regarded as holding good for OIA. in general. I have tried to find out the comparative frequency of sounds for New Bengali, as in the colloquial speech in the educated Calcutta pronunciation. Taking 6 passages<sup>1</sup> from

<sup>1</sup> These 6 passages, presenting an aggregate of over 9,900 sounds, were from the following works : from Kāli-Prasanna Siṃha's 'Hutōm Pēṃcār Naksā' (see p. 135), over 4,600 sounds; Baṅkim-Chandra Chatterji's 'Kapāla-kunḍalā,' some 1,200 sounds; Madhusūdan Datta's 'Mēghanāda-vadhā K4vya,' about 900 sounds; Girish Chandra Ghosh's 'Bilwa-



PERCENTAGE OF FREQUENCY OF SOUNDS IN BENGALI 271

as many writers, I transcribed them phonetically, and counted up the total numbers of sounds, individually and collectively, and then worked out the percentage. The results are given below : and for comparison with Sanskrit (OIA.), Whitney's figures are quoted side by side. The order is that of the Indian alphabet. The Bengali diphthongs have been split up and included under the simple vowels making them up. Long (or the so-called 'double') consonants have been computed as two consonants, following general usage.

VOWELS.

Bengali.	Sanskrit.
অ [a]—6·63 ;	◀ a ▶ [ a, ʌ, ə ]—19·78,
আ [ā]—11·32 ;	◀ ā ▶ [ a: ]—8·19 ;
ই, ঐ [i]—6·77 ;	◀ i ▶ [ i ]—4·85, ◀ ī ▶ [ i: ]—1·19 ;
উ, ঊ [u]—3·08 ;	◀ u ▶ [ u ]—2·61, ◀ ū ▶ [ u: ]—0·73 ;
এ [e]—8·96 ;	◀ ɛ ▶ [ ɛ ]—0·74, ◀ ē ▶ [ e: ]—0·01,
ঐ, 'ঐ' [æ]—0·98 ;	◀ ɪ ▶ [ ɪ ]—0·01 ;
ও [o]—7·82 ;	◀ ē ▶ [ e:, ? ɛ: ]—2·84 ; ◀ ō ▶ [ o:, ? ɔ: ]—1·88 ;
'অ্য' [ʌ]—0·03 ;	◀ āi ▶ [ a:i, a:i ]—0·51 ; ◀ āu ▶ [ a:u ]—0·18 ;
◌ [~]—0·58.	◀ ũ, ù ▶ [ ~ ]—0·63.

CONSONANTS.

Bengali.	Sanskrit.
ক [k]—4·15,	ক [k]—1·99, [kh]—0·13,
খ [kh]—0·88,	গ [g]—0·82, [gh]—0·15,
গ [g]—1·59,	ঘ [gh]—0·17,
ঙ, ঞ [ŋ]—0·59 ;	ঞ [ɲ]—0·2? ;

'mañgal,' a little less than 1,000 sounds ; from Mm. Hara-Prasād Śāstri's Presidential Address to the Vañgīya Śāhitya Pariṣad, San 1321, about 1,000 sounds ; and from among the recent poems of Rabindra-nāth Tagore, some 1,200 sounds.

Bengali.		Sanskrit.	
চ [ç]—1·37,	ছ [çh]—0·79,	[c]—1·26,	[ch]—0·17,
জ, ঞ [ʃ]—1·46,	ঝ [ʃh]—0·21 ;	[ʃ]—0·94,	[ʃh]—0·01,
ট [t̪]—0·74,	ঠ [t̪h]—0·14,	[ɽ]—0·35 ;	[t̪]—0·26,
ড [d̪]—0·17,	ঢ [d̪h]—0·18,	[t̪h]—0·06,	[d̪]—0·21,
ড় [r̪]—0·64,	ঢ় [r̪h]—0·02 ;	[d̪h]—0·03,	[n]—1·03 ;
ত [t]—3·83,	থ [th]—0·59,	[t]—6·65,	[th]—0·58,
দ [d]—2·51,	ধ [d̪h]—0·75,	[d]—2·85,	[d̪h]—0·83,
ঞ, ঞ, ন [n]—		[n]—4·81 ;	
	4·97 ;		
প [p]—2·14,	ফ [ph (f, ɸ)]—0·36,	[p]—2·46,	[ph]—0·03,
ব [b]—4·44,	ভ [bh̪ (v, ɸ)]—0·47,	[b]—0·46,	[bh̪]—1·27,
ম [m]—2·78 ;		[m]—4·34 ;	
য় [ɣ]—1·06,	র [r]—7·01,	< y > [ɣ, j]—4·25,	[r]—5·05,
ল [l]—4·14,	ঔ, ও = ব [ɔ]—	[l]—0·69,	< v > [ũ, w, v, ɸ]—
	0·09 ;		4·99 ;
শ, ষ, স [ʃ̪]—3·64,	ষ, স [s]—0·35,	< ś > [ç, ʃ̪]—1·57,	< ṣ > [ʃ]—1·45,
হ [h̪]—1·40,	: [h]—2·02.	[s]—3·56,	[h̪]—1·07,
		< ḥ > [h, x, ɸ]—1·31.	

In the above comparative tables, certain points are interesting, showing the result of transformation from OIA. to NIA.

OIA. < ă > became [ə] as well as [a:, a] in Bengali through compensatory lengthening in connection with the simplification of double consonants groups), as well as [o] in New Bengali times : hence the decrease in < ă > [ə] and the increase of ঞ [a] and ও [o] sounds in Bengali. The large percentage of [e] in the Standard Bengali Colloquial is due to the habit of umlaut in that dialect, which has transformed many an [a] and [i] into [e].



In literary Bengali, the [e] would present a smaller figure. On the whole, vowel sounds in New Bengali are slightly in excess of what the case was in OIA. as presented by Sanskrit (46·17% and 44·15% respectively).

The excess of [k] and [kh] in Bengali is due partly to the doubling of these sounds before < y, r, l, v > in *tatsama* words; and to some extent, the increase of [kh] is due to the modifications of Sanskrit < kṣ >. [ŋ] has developed from OIA. [ɲ, ŋg], as well as from *anusvāra*: hence the excess over Sanskrit.

The substantive verb-root < āch > is partly responsible for the percentage of frequency of the [ç(h)] sound. The palatal affricates have been largely due to the assimilation of the dentals with < y >. [ç(h)] and [ʃ] acoustically are the most prominent sounds of Bengali.

The excess in the cerebrals is noteworthy—and it is just what can be expected from a descendant of the Māgadhī form of MIA.

The dentals have kept close to the OIA. figures, but the decrease of [t] is to be noticed. [t] was a common OIA. sound; it has been dropped in intervocal positions in NIA. (as, *e.g.*, in the present verbal forms in < -ti >, and the passive participle in < -ta >); and besides, it has been in many cases cerebralised or palatalised. The [n] sound in Bengali has been re-inforced by the cerebral and palatal nasals.

Bengali [ph] in many cases is due to the aspiration of [p] in connection with a sibilant, which took place in MIA. All initial < v- > s have become [b] in Bengali, in *tadbhavas*, and intervocally in *tatsamas* also: hence the increase in [b]. The weakening of [bh], one of the most characteristic sounds of OIA., to [fi], is partly the reason of the decrease of the sound in Bengali: we may note that < -bh- > figured in some common inflections of the noun in OIA., which have been lost. The loss of final < -m >, so common in Sanskrit, and the transformation of intervocal < m > to a mere nasalisation, has led to the decrease of that sound in Bengali.

The semivowels of OIA., [i=j] and [ü=w], have been changed respectively to [ʃ] and [b] when initial; and in the interior of a word, they have been either assimilated, or reduced to zero. Bengali started afresh with its own semi-vowel glides [ɔ̃, ɔ̃], which are optional intervocal

sounds only ; and hence this low percentage in Modern Bengali with its large number of diphthongs not admitting a pronounced glide.

Some common suffixes of Modern Bengali—the plural and the genitive—have < r > : this certainly has helped the high frequency of this sound in the language. It will be seen that [r] is the most frequent consonant sound in Bengali, as [t] is in Sanskrit. ([r, ʀ, ɽ:], combined, however, come second in Sanskrit).

[l] was quite a popular sound in the dialects of the East ; and the Bengali verb has its simple past form, as well as a conjunctive indeclinable, with an [l] affix. These are the reasons of the discrepancy between Sanskrit (representing OIA., of the West) and Bengali.

The sibilants have become curtailed to some extent, owing to their assimilation in groups like < śc, śṭ(h), śṇ, st(h), ṣp, ṣk, sp, sk > etc. In Bengali, [ʃ] takes the place of [s] of Sanskrit, the [s] sound being of rare occurrence ; and [ʒ] is lost.

[f] shows a slight excess. But the weakening of intervocal [kh gʱ, th dʱ, ph bʱ] to [f] in MIA., would make us expect a bigger figure for this sound in Bengali. A great many intervocal [f]s are dropped in New Bengali.

[h] was lost in MIA., and the sound is of independent development in Bengali where it occurs only finally in interjections.

The history of the development of the sounds of Modern Bengali from OIA., is now proceeded with from the next Chapter.



## CHAPTER II

### PHONOLOGY OF THE NATIVE ELEMENT: VOWELS.

#### ACCENT SYSTEM AND ITS INFLUENCE ON VOWELS.

##### STRESS ACCENT IN INDO-ARYAN.

142. The MIA. vowel system was transformed into that of NIA., but there were certain losses, and changes in quality and quantity in NIA., which are remarkable; thus, an OIA. (Sanskrit) word like < utpātayati, utpāṭayati > became in MIA. < uppāṭēti, uppāḍēdi, uppāḍēi, uppāḍai >, which was transformed into New Bengali উপড়ে > উপড়ে, উপড় < upārē, > upārāy, upārāy >: here we see the loss of the long medial vowel < ā > of OIA. Similarly, in OIA. word < bhrāṭṛ-jāyā > = late MIA. < \* bhāu-jāā, bhāujja > = Bengali ভাউজ > ভাজ < bhāujā > bhājā >, we see the loss of final and medial vowels in NIA.; and in a case like Bengali উন < unun > oven = OIA. < \* uṣṇāpanikā >, we see not only loss of final vowels, but also change of < ā > to < u >.

All these modifications were due in the first instance to the accent system obtaining in the Aryan speech, specially during the transitional stage between MIA. and NIA., and to the subsequent operation of special phonetic habits which were developed in the various NIA. speeches (e. g., Vowel Harmony and Vowel Mutation or Umlaut in Bengali).

The kind of accent which was attended by the loss apparently of weak syllables, by concentrating on a particular syllable most of the effort required in pronouncing the whole word and thus neglecting the other ones, was undoubtedly an accent of force, a respiratory accent, or stress accent. This stress accent is often intimately connected with the raising or lowering of the tone of voice, or pitch (cf. Daniel Jones, 'An Outline of English Phonetics,' Leipzig, 1922, p. v); and in some cases, stress, or pitch, or both, means increase in the length of the syllable. Stress and pitch are both present in all languages, but each language has its

predilection one way or the other, either making stress the dominant speech attribute, subordinating pitch or musical tone to it (as for instance in English), or *vice versá* (as in the Old Greek). This pitch is with reference to the syllable in individual words,—apart from intonation or modulation of voice in connected speech, which is present in all languages in a more or less pronounced way.

In the oldest form of IA., as preserved in the Rig and the other Vedas and in the 'Brāhmaṇas,' pitch or musical accent was the predominant one ; and the ancient Indian grammarians in explaining accent in Vedic have only thought of pitch or raising and lowering of the voice in the different syllables (*udātta*, *anudātta*, *svarita*), and not stress. We have no indication as to how far the stress accent was present in OIA., or how strong it was. But it has been assumed by some scholars (preëminently H. Jacobi) that there developed in the Indo-Aryan speech a pronounced stress accent, in the closing centuries of the 1st millennium B.C. (i.e., in the First and Transitional MIA. stages), which was distinct from the earlier, predominantly musical, accent of OIA. ; and this stress usually was on the first long syllable from the end of the word, and there was a secondary stress on the first syllable. This new stress accent roughly corresponded in place with that obtaining in classical Latin. (Cf. H. Jacobi, 'Ueber die Betonung im klassischen Sanskrit und in den Prakrit-Sprachen,' ZDMG., XLVII, pp. 574-582.) In the medieval and modern pronunciation of Sanskrit, when verses are simply read and not chanted to a set tune, it is this stress accent that obtained and still obtains now (cf. G. Bühler, 'Leitfaden für den Elementarcursus des Sanskrit,' Vienna, 1883 ; J. Wackernagel, 'Altindische Grammatik,' I, § 254 ; also the paper of H. Jacobi) ; and Grierson accepts this view of the presence of a 'Latin' stress in Early MIA., which formed the basis of the accent system of the NIA. speeches (G. A. Grierson, 'On the Stress Accent in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,' JRAS., 1895, pp. 139 ff.). Against Jacobi's view is Pischel's, who differentiated between the various MIA. dialects in their accent systems, and thought that certain dialects (like Mahārāṣṭrī, Ardha-māgadhī, Jaina Māgadhī, poetic Apabhraṅśa, and poetic Jaina Śaurasēnī—in short,



dialects originating in the South-western IA. area, or employed, as in the case of Ardha-māgadhī and Jaina Śaurasēnī, by people of the South-west) preserved the Vedic (OIA.) accent, at least with regard to the place where it occurred in the word ; but other dialects of MIA. (like Śaurasēnī, Māgadhī, Dhakkī [=Ṭakkī, a North Panjāb speech ; see p. 88] ) developed the new arrangement of stress which is preserved in classical Sanskrit. This theory of Pischel's, of two systems of accentuation prevailing in MIA., is supported and developed by R. L. Turner, who notes the difference between Gujarātī and Marāṭhī (the former having a definite stress which differs in acoustic effect considerably from the absence or weakness of any stress in Marāṭhī), and seeks to establish that the original Indo-European accent as preserved in OIA. (Vedic), did not change its place, although it became a stress from pitch, and was carried on in Marāṭhī, a descendant of Mahārāṣṭrī, but it was the new stress system of MIA. (Śaurasēnī etc.) that was continued into Gujarātī and the rest. (R. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen,' § 46 ; R. L. Turner, 'The Indo-Germanic Accent in Marāṭhī,' JRAS., 1916, pp. 250-251.) Jules Bloch is sceptical about the speculations as to the presence of a stress accent in MIA., and does not think that the NIA. speeches possess a stress either, and believes that the rhythm in NIA. is mainly quantitative ; but he admits that accent is not a stable phenomenon in speech, and that in India the Aryan speech, in its development in the various parts of the country at different times, underwent different modifications with regard to the accent, through contact with different non-Aryan tongues which have given place to it (J. Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' §§ 32, 36 ; 'l' Accent d' Intensité,' in the Bhāṇḍārkar Comm. Volume, pp. 359-364).

The question of accent (stress accent) in IA. is indeed a complicated one, and the absence of sure evidence in this matter for OIA. and MIA. leaves room only for a hypothesis about its existence in the earlier phases of IA. In NIA., a stress or expiratory accent does exist, at least in some forms of NIA., e.g., Standard Bengali, Hindōstānī, Sinhalese ; and my impression is that it is found in all forms of NIA., although it is frequently associated with length. This side of NIA. phonetics, however, has

not been fully enquired into. The loss of unstressed vowels, initial, medial and final, in a breath group of a single word or a group of words, as we can see from most languages, is generally the result of a strong expiratory stress.<sup>1</sup> Witness the development of the Romance languages from Latin, witness cases of contraction like English [ˈboʊsɪŋ] from < bāt + svein >, [ˈhazif] from < hūs-wif >, Parisian French [titˈmɛːʁ] = < petite mère >, Bengali দেবখো [ˈderk(h)o] *wooden lamp-stand* from < \*dīwa-rākh-ūā (= dipa-rakṣa + ūka-) >, Hindōstānī [dubˈlaː] from < dubbala-, durbala- >, [ˈpjaːr] from < piya-āra, priya-kāra >; witness also cases in Bengali like নেমেগেবা [ˈneʃgeʃba] for নিয়া আসিন্ গিয়া বা < niyā āsis giyā jā > = *go and get, do* (lit. *having taken, come, having gone, go*).

In OIA., the loss of unstressed syllables is found, but is rather rare: e.g., < ānu vartīṣyē > ān-vartīṣyē >; < su-vārṇa > svarṇa >; < jānu + bila > jān-bila >; < sn-nu-mās > su-n-mās >; < sūnara > \*sūnra > \*sundra > sundara >; < \*avis > vis > *bird*, cf. Latin < avis >; < tila-pīñja > til-pīñja >; Vedic < tmán > ātmán >; etc. (A. A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar,' § 18; the article by Jacobi in the ZDMG., XLVII; J. Wackernagel, 'Altindische Grammatik,' I, § 53). Cases are on the increase in MIA., as in Pali and the Prakrits of the Second MIA. stage; as well as weakening of unaccented syllables: e.g., Pali < jaggati < \*jāgrati < \*jāgarati < jāgati >, < dhītā < duhitā >, < daka < udaka >; < kīnāti < krīṇāti >, < kāhāpaṇa = kāṛṣāpaṇa >; < dānīm = idānīm >; Prakrit (Ardha-māgadhī) < lau = alābu >, < rahaṭṭa = arahaṭṭa >, < sanakha-pada > \*sanakha-pada > saṇappaha >, < katta < kalātra < kalatra >, < popphala < pūgāphala = pūgaphala >; < utkhāta = ukkhāta >; < sāhāyya = sāhājjja >; < surabhi > \*surbhi > subbhi >; < ḍhilla < siḍhila = sīthila >; sirīsa < śirīṣa >; < pōsaha = upavasatha >; < haū < ahakam, aham >; < ōkkhala, ūkkhala = \*udkhala = udūkhala >, cf. Bengali উখলি < ukhali > etc., etc. The presence of a strong stress accent in

<sup>1</sup> Cases of loss of a syllable as a result of low pitch are found, but are extremely limited: e.g., London English [ŋkju, kju] for a conventional *thank you* [ˈθɒŋkju], where the high pitch in which the second syllable is pronounced makes the preceding one almost inaudible, although normally it is the stressed syllable in this sense group. Here pitch is more powerful than stress.



MIA., a new development in the Aryan speech which was brought in after the decay of the old tone, at least in the Northern Indian plains, can thus be very well assumed.

## ACCENT IN OLD BENGALI.

143. The general lines of NIA. vowel phonology, as a phenomenon connected with stress, have been laid down by Grierson ('On the Stress Accent in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,' JRAS., 1895; also cf. R. L. Turner, 'The Indo-Germanic Accent in Marāṭhī,' JRAS., 1916). The Northern IA. languages, Western Hindī, Eastern Hindī, Rājasthānī Gujarātī, Sindhī, Panjābī (Eastern and Western), Bhōjpurīyā, Maithilī, and Magahī, seem in the main to agree with the stress system which characterised all Aryan speech, except perhaps in the South-west (the Marāṭhī area). The stress system of Modern Bengali, however, presents a striking contrast with other NIA. speeches. All Bengali dialects, however, cannot be said to possess a uniform system of stressing: the accent habits of the various dialectal areas have not been studied, and only some general remarks can be made about the Standard Colloquial Speech. In this form of Bengali, the stress is dominantly initial; and word-stress surrenders itself entirely to sentence stress, the initial syllable of the first important word in a sense-group having the stress, and the other words losing their stress if they possess it when isolated. Learned Sanskrit words not fully naturalised, however, frequently retain a non-initial stress, which is generally on the first long syllable or closed syllable from the end. (S. K. Chatterji, 'Bengali Phonetics,' *op. cit.*, § 58.) The main point of difference between pan-IA. accent and the Bengali Standard Dialect accent therefore consists in this: Bengali accent is initial, and a Bengali phrase, or breath-group, or sense-group, has only one stress, an initial one. The history of Assamese and Oṛiyā, the sister-speeches of Bengali, in this matter is not known; but Oṛiyā in the 15th century seemed to possess a non-initial stress, on the ante-penultimate syllable (cf. p. 107); and in Modern Oṛiyā, the stress is not initial, unlike that of Standard Bengali. Early Assamese seems also to have possessed a non-initial stress like

Oriyā (see p. 94), but the actual conditions have not been studied ; but it seems that in Modern Assamese, although we find plenty of initial stress, the general speech habit is not such as we meet with in Standard Bengali, in favouring a dominant initial stress, verbal and phrasal.

Non-initial stress is now found in some of the dialectal forms of Bengali, *e.g.*, in the dialects of the extreme West, and it seems also in the Western Vanga dialects. As it frequently happens, stress is confounded with length and with pitch. This matter, however, has not been investigated at all, and opinion cannot be safely given about any form of Bengali except the Standard Colloquial. But a strong initial phrase stress seems to be present in most forms of Bengali. This might be due to a recent influence of the West Central Dialect, the dialect *par excellence* for initial stress. But judging from the general trend of pan-Bengali phonology, it seems that a strong non-initial stress was prevalent all over Bengal, in the formative period of the language, and gave to Bengali as a whole some of its distinctive features in vowel phonetics. The rule of the short antepenultimate in Maithili (Grierson, 'Maithili Grammar', ASB., pp. 16 ff.), or a similar shortening of long vowels through lack of stress in Western Hindī (cf. S. H. Kellogg, 'Hindī Grammar', § 84 ; see also before, p. 160), turning a borrowed Persian word like « jān-war » *animal* to « jānāwar » in Hindōstānī, is a phonetic habit more or less common to most forms of NIA., which has been inherited by NIA. from MIA. But this has been discarded by Bengali entirely. The oldest Bengali, judging from forms actually preserved, was only in partial agreement with its sister and cousin speeches by not wholly doing away with the vowel and stress system inherited from MIA.

In fact, it seems that during the formative period of Bengali, there were two systems of accent which were both current in the language,— (1) the pan-Indian system, which by preference placed the stress on a long penultimate, and (2) the peculiarly Bengali system, which sought to bring all stress to the head of the word. Examples of the first system are furnished by the following forms of names from the inscriptions : « Hādī-gāṅga » = হাড়ী + গাঙ্গা « Hādī + gāṅga = Haḍḍika-gāṅgā » (see p. 183) ;



« Lācchu-vaḍā (p. 185) = \*Lācha-vaḍā » for « \* Lācha-vaḍā », which would give a New Bengali নীচড়া « \*Nāchḍrā » (cf. « ghāṭa = ghaṭṭa », with simplification of MIA. double stops, in the same inscription); « Jau-galla < \*Jau-galla » (p. 185); « Ambayillā » for « \*Āmbayilla » (p. 186), compare « Khāṇḍayilla » in the same inscription; « Nīca-ḍahāra » for « \*Nīca- » (p. 187); « Cīṭāḍī- » for « \* Cīta- » (p. 187); « Aṭha- » in a compound form, for « āṭha- » (p. 188): compare « Sāta-kōpā » at p. 183. One can compare also the form « kṣṇā-mōṭika » for « \*kṣṇā-mōḍia » (p. 180): here « kṣṇā » evidently is for a MIA. « kaṣṇa- = karṇaka » *edge*; and the simplification of the double consonant, with compensatory lengthening weakened to short quantity, is remarkable for the early date of this inscription. In the Caryā-padas, there are a number of forms showing, from the arrangement of vowels, the normal NIA. stress: it is quite likely that from the fact of the MS. of the Caryās having been written in Nepal, the characteristic stress and quantity of Northern NIA. have insinuated themselves in these cases. Still, the following forms are noteworthy: « āvanāgavaṇa (Caryā 7: āgamanaka-gamana-, New Bengali আনাগোনা ānāgōnā); āhāriṇi (19, 26: = āhāritam); bhātāra (20: \*bhartāra = bhartṛ); kālā (21: kāla-); āpāṇē, āpāṇā (22: appaṇa- = ātman); ādhā-rāti (2, 22: ardha > addha, ādha + rāti); bāpā (32: bāpa < vappa, vappa *father*); gāvīā (33: gāvī-); māi āhāriḷa pāṇiā (35: mayā + ēna \*āhārita + īla pāṇiya-); pātāvāla oar (38: patra > patta, pāta + pāla); hāthā (41 = hātha-, hasta-); ādasa (46: *semi-tatsama*, = ādarśa); sāmāya (40: = sāmāyāti *enters*: but cf. sāmāya, in 33); etc., etc. From Sarvānanda's 'Ṭikā-sarvasva' (see p. 109), we can note « pāgāra » (prākāra): in New Bengali, this word has preserved the short « ā » in the initial syllable—পাগার « pāgārḍ » *ditch*; « āmbāḍa (āmṛāta); sāṅkrāma = sā(ṅ)kāma (saṅkrāma); jhāmpāṇa = jhāpāṇa *litter* (= yāpya-yāna, New Bengali জাপান « jhāpāṇḍ) ». With the above forms, showing in general a stress scheme √ / or √ √ /, √ / √ or √ / √ √, or √ √ / √, we can compare the following, from Old Bengali as well: « Kāliyā (p. 181); Kāṇā-dvīpikā (p. 181); Kāṭā-bācha, Sāta-kōpā, Bhāṭa-vaḍā (p. 183); Sānti-vaḍā (also Sānti-vaḍā) (p. 184); Kānti-jōṅga, Ghāsa-sambhōga Bhāṭṭa- (= Bhāṭa-)vaḍā (p. 186); Khāṇḍayilla, Vālla-hiṭṭā

p. 186); Bārayī-paḍā, Vira-kāṭṭhī (p. 188); Sāṅkara-pāśā (p. 188); Bāgha-pokhirā (p. 188). In Sarvānanda we have also the following; < bāsa-hara > (=vāsa-gṛha) = Middle and New Bengali বাসর < bāsārṣ > *chamber to which a wedded couple retire* (a non-initial stress would have given a New Bengali \*বসর < \*bāsārṣ >); < kālaja, kālēja > (kālēya), cf. Western Hindi < kālējā > borrowed into Bengali as কলেজা, কলিজা < kālējā, kālijā >; < kāhara > (kāragṛha, \*kārahara); < dāḍha-kāka > = New Bengali দাঁড়কাক < dāṛṣ-kākṣ > *jackdaw*; and < cāmāṭhi > (carma-yaṣṭi). The Caryās give us < Kāmaru (Carya 2: Kāmarūpa), sāṅkama = sākāwa (5: saṅkrama) = New Bengali সাকো < sākō > *bridge*; < kācchi (8: kacchikā); cānda-kānti (31: candra-kānti); Jālandhari (36: cf. W. Hindi Jālandhari); paṇḍiācāyē (36: paṇḍitā-cārya); pāñiā (43: pāñiya-); bāsasi (15: vasasi); hāu (10, 18, 20, 25: \*haū, ahakarṇ = aham); kāma-caṇḍālī (18: karma-caṇḍālikā); āhārā (21: āhāra-); bālāga (26: bālāgra = kēśāgra), etc., etc.

From the above instances, it might be inferred that there were two systems of stress in Old Bengali, and also in pre-Bengali, and neither of these could be said to have been finally triumphant, to the entire exclusion or suppression of the other, during the Old Bengali period. But the initial stress had the victory ultimately, and by the end of the Early Middle Bengali period, it is very likely that it was active in West Central Bengali and in most Bengali dialects, thus giving to Modern Bengali words their typical forms. The following examples will illustrate the case:

Old Bengali	Middle Bengali	New Bengali
< āmbāḍa, *āmbāḍā (āmratāka):	āmbārā, āmārā:	আমড়া āmārā >
< paḍiyēśī (prativēśin):	pāriśī:	পড়ী pāri'śī >
< *tāmbōli, *tābōli (tambulika):	tāmuli:	তামুলী tām'li >
< *akhāḍā (akṣa-vāṭaka):	ākhārā:	আখড়া ākhārā >
< *kumbhā(ā?)ḍā (kuṣmāṇḍa-):	kūmārā:	কুমড়া kūmārā >
< *pakhālai (prakṣālayati):	pākhāle, pākhālē:	পাখালে pākhālē >
< Campā-hiṭṭī > (as in inscriptions, a village name):		চম্পটী < Cāmpāṭī > a surname.

In Old Bengali, forms with initial stress seem also to have occurred side by side with those quoted above. In the Early Middle Bengali of



the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana,' there are indications that initial stress obtained : e.g., the initial অ < ā > [ɔ] occurs as < ā > [a:, a] in this work—a tendency, although controlled by *tatsama* forms, which has persisted even at the present day : e.g., আবুদি < ābudhi > (abuddhi), আশুখ < āśukha > (a-), আনল < ānala >, আনুমতী < ānumatī >, আনুপাম < ānupāma > (anupama), আলক < ālaka >, etc., etc.; also in *tadbhavas*—আইহব < Āihava > (Abhimanyu), আঅর < āara > (apara); cf. also আইহ < āihā > (avidhavā). Compare also বাথান < bākhāna > (vyākhyāna: W. Hindi bākhān); কাঁঠাল < kāñṭhāla > (cf. Old Bengali < kāñṭha-bhāla > [Sarvānanda], = New Bengali কাঁঠাল < kāñṭhālā > jack-fruit; কাঁহাণী < Kānhāñī > (Kṛṣṇa: cf. W. Hindi Kānhāi, Kānhaiyā), New Bengali কানাই < Kānāi >; পালাএ < pālāē > (= pālāē: palāyātē); বাজাএ < bājāē > (vādyā + -āpayati); বার্হাএ < bārḥāē > (vardhāpayati); বান্ধাএ < bāñdhāē > (bandhāpayati: cf. Caryā 31, bāñdhāvaē); পাঠাএ < pāṭhāē > (prasthāpayati); সামাএ < sām(b)āē > (samāyāti); etc., etc. Middle and Modern Bengali forms with long vowel in initial syllables demonstrate sufficiently that of the two systems of accentuation which can be noticed to exist side by side in Old Bengali (and possibly also in Māgadhī Apabhrañśa as spoken in Bengal, during the closing centuries of the MIA. period), the system which may be called pan-Indian, preferring the accent on a long syllable from the end, had to yield to that which was peculiarly of Bengal.

It may be presumed that the agreement in matters of stress with the sister-speeches of Northern India was a point which characterised the Proto-Bengali speech (as well as Māgadhī Prakrit, as brought by settlers from Bihar and Upper India who introduced the Aryan speech into Bengal), and that the initial stress habit was the indigenous one which was imposed upon the language as it became the speech of the masses, who were originally of non-Aryan race and language. It may be that the two systems of accentuation at first characterised class dialects: Sarvānanda in his glossary makes a passing reference to < nicōkti > or *vulgar speech*, apparently in contrast to a respectable dialect. The initial stress might originally have characterised the speech of the lower classes,—at least in certain districts. It is quite possible that even in the pre-Bengali period, the initial stress had already become established, but in writing the words of the language,

the earlier tradition came out in the spelling. But in any case, it can be legitimately assumed that the indigenous habit got the better of the Upper Indian one, originally belonging to the Aryan language, and shaped the forms of Bengali. These two cross influences, together with the fact of dialects, have helped to deprive Bengali of a regularity in its phonology. The languages which were replaced by the Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa in Bengal were Dravidian, Kōl and Mōn-Khmēr (Austro-Asiatic), and Tibeto-Burman. It has been presumed that in Primitive Dravidian, the accent was on the initial or root syllable (K. V. Subbayya, *I Ant.*, 1909, p. 161); the Tibeto-Burman (Boḍo) is said to have a strong initial phrase stress (cf. J. D. Anderson, 'Accent and Prosody in Bengali,' *JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 857 ff.); and as for Austro-Asiatic, nothing definite seems to have been established.

#### ACCENT AND VERSIFICATION IN BENGALI.

##### ORIGIN OF THE BENGALI SYLLABIC METRES.

144. Nothing is known about sentence stress in OIA. and MIA. The position of the pitch accent of OIA. with reference to the sentence, however, is partly known (A. A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar,' §§ 109, 110, 111). The sentence accent of Old Bengali—the West Bengali dialect from which the modern Standard Colloquial is derived, at least—can possibly be guessed from the development of Bengali verse. Old Bengali (and also Eastern Magadhan) verse had a special course of its own, differentiating itself from that of Central and Western Māgadhī versification (and from that of other IA. speeches), by substituting a syllabic cadence for one on a moric basis. Late MIA. and Early NIA. possessed the *mātrā* or moric rhythm in verse, in which each half or quarter of a couplet consisted of a fixed number of instants distributed among long or short syllables of which the number was immaterial. The Upper Indian *mātrā* metres were apparently introduced into Bengali and into other Eastern Magadhan dialects during their formative period, as a literary imposition, but they were never naturalised in the East,—in Bengali, Assamese and Oriyā. In the 15th and 16th centuries, Hindī and Maithilī influences revived the Western (Apabhraṅśa) traditions in versification in Bengali,



Assamese and Oṛiyā, but these local speeches, which had by this time found themselves metrically, as it were, refused to take up the *mātrā-ṛtta* metres; and the *mātrā* metre had to use the artificial Braja-buli dialect, with its Maithili basis, as its vehicle in the East. There seems to have been present a system of indigenous versification, based on Proto- and Pre-Bengali speech rhythm, and possibly non-Aryan in origin, in Bengal, of which we have no knowledge, but which apparently altered the general character of Eastern prosody. Bengali-Assamese and Oṛiyā developed some common metres, which may be an inheritance from the Eastern Magadhan Apabhraṅśa: e.g., the 'Payār' metre (Bengali পয়ার < pāyārā >, Assamese < pādā, pāyārā, pāvārā >, Oṛiyā < pāyārā >), which is entirely syllabic, in its purest form. This metre takes the place of the 'Dōhā' and the 'Caupāi' of Northern India in popularity. The 'Payār' is a rimed couplet of two lines, each consisting of 14 syllables; and there is a pause after the eighth syllable. The < ā ē ī ō ū > vowels of common IA., and vowels which were long by position (i. e., when they occurred before two consonants), did not have any prominence over the short < ă ǒ ı ǔ > in the line, and neither did the diphthongs. This sort of levelling in verse implies the loss of vowel quantity as a significant element in speech. We have also to consider that verses in Old and Middle Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā (and even at the present day in these languages), were chanted, and the tune made an adjustment of irregularities in the shape of absence of or excess over the requisite number of syllables. In the Payār as used by Bengali-Assamese and Oṛiyā during their oldest periods, we cannot tell for certain how far the stress accent played a part. In the Payār as read or chanted now in Bengali, there is a stress on the first syllable of each line, generally followed by a stress on the fifth syllable, and then comes the pause after the eighth syllable, the second part of the line commencing with the stressed ninth syllable, and the thirteenth also has a stress, which is quite strong, as it is frequently accompanied by length. Examples from the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana' have been given at pp. 250-254. This stress system is a noteworthy thing in the Bengali Payār: and although in the Modern Bengali Payār, or in the Bengali blank verse based

on the Payār, the stress arrangement becomes much more varied, the basis commonly remains as follows :

"                    '                    "                    '  
 × × × × | × × × × || × × × × | × × ||

In Assamese and Oṛiyā, too, the arrangement of the Payār is exactly as in Bengali, the pause being after the eighth syllable, and the thirteenth is always a strong syllable, but the stresses on the other syllables—namely, on the first, fifth and ninth, are not so strong as in Bengali : but nevertheless, some sort of stress does exist on the first and the ninth, which can be easily distinguished when the Assamese and the Oṛiyā Payār are chanted : and the great point common to the Bengali Payār and those of Assamese and Oṛiyā lies in the division of the line into two parts of 8+6 syllables respectively, and in the thirteenth being a syllable which is stressed or made long, i.e., in some way or other made more prominent than the rest. Specimens of Oṛiyā and Assamese Payār are given below.

Oṛiya : < sādhu-jānā- | mānē śuṇā || ēkā-mānā | kāri ||  
 bicitrā dē | uḷā tuḷā || kāhibi bis | tāri || . . .  
 kāhā māhā- | muni mōtē || sē āpūrbā | līlā ||  
 kē kēmāntē | Jāgannāthā- || dēuḷā tu | līlā || >

*Listen with one intent, ye good people :*

*I shall describe in detail the wondrous Raising of the Temple . . .*

*Tell me, great sage, that marvellous gest :*

*Who raised the Temple of Jagannātha, and how. (From the 'Dēuḷā-tōḷā'  
 or 'Śrī-kṣētrā-māhātmya,' Contai edition, p. 3).*

Assamese : < bihānē bā | jāilā khēri || khelāibārā | tāre ||  
 bhāi gailā bi | yālā putā || ēbhō nāilā | ghārē ||  
 Jāmunārā | tīrē tīrē || phirē Nāndā- | jāyā ||  
 bhailā ācē | tānā sātī || Kṛṣṇākā | nā-pāyā || >

*He went out at dawn to play his games :*

*It has become afternoon, yet (my) son has not come home.*

*The wife of Nanda wanders along the banks of the Yamunā :*

*The good wife became senseless not having found Kṛṣṇa. (From the 'Cōra-  
 dharā Nāḷ' of Mādhava-dēva, edited by Bāṇī-kānta Kākatī, p. 8.)*



It is quite possible that the Payār metre when it was formed did not have the stresses which characterise it now—it was only a question of quantity. But the total disregard of Common IA. quantity is surprising. In the 14th century Early Middle Bengali of the ‘Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana,’ in the 15th century remains of Assamese, and in the 16th century specimens of Oṛiyā, the Payār is in a perfectly developed form. We have evidence of literary culture and of song-craft and verse-making in Bengal in the 10th-12th centuries. The Payār can only be expected to be a 14th century development of a metre in use in vernacular poetry of the 10th-12th centuries. In the specimens of Old Bengali as in the Caryās, we have no Payār, but we find that a 16 moric metre is quite popular. In its pauses, it agrees with the Payār, and often in the number of its syllables too, 14. This we can see also from the songs of the ‘Gīta-gōvinda.’ This 16 moric metre is the ‘Pādākulaka,’ which evidently was introduced into Bengal during the late MIA. period. It has become the ‘Caupāi’ of Northern India, from the Panjab and Gujarat to Bihar. (Cf. ‘Prākṛtā-Paiṅgala,’ pp. 223-224; Kellogg’s ‘Hindī Grammar 2,’ p. 578.) All sorts of arrangements for the 16 *morae* were possible; but the type which was preferred in Bengal was the one in which each line of the couplet was divided into four feet of 4 *morae* each, which could be arranged in one of the following ways—(i) ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪, (ii) - -, (iii) ∪ ∪ ∪, (iv) ∪ - ∪, (v) ∪ ∪ -, the second scheme being preferred in the fourth foot. There was usually a pause after the second foot (i.e., after the 8th instant). The bulk of the Caryās are in this metre (see pp. 250-251). It may be that here there was the influence of a 15 moric metre, arranged into four *pādas* of 8 and 7 instants, in the fixing of the pause in the 16 moric one. In Old Bengali, however, the OIA. and MIA. quantity is lost, and vowels which historically ought to be long are pronounced short. A common type of Pādākulaka, which thus seems to have been specially liked in Bengal, and in the Eastern Magadhan area, is this :

∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ || ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ | - - ||

Jaya-dēva had a fine ear for music, and in writing his *pādas* (whether in the vernacular, i.e., Old Bengali, or in Western Apabhraṅśa, or in

Sanskrit—see pp. 125-126), which were unquestionably meant in the first instance for a Bengali audience, he frequently arranges his 16 moric lines according to the above scheme: *e.g.*,

- « vibarati Haririha | sarasa-vasantē || » (Song 3, refrain);  
 « rāsē Harimiha | vihita-vilāsam ||  
 smarati manō mama | kṛta-parihāsam ||  
 (= ? \* sumarāi maṇa mama | kia-parihāsath ||) » (Song 5, refrain);  
 « sarasa-masṛṇamapi | malayaja-paṅkam ||  
 paśyati viṣamiva | vapuṣi saśaṅkam ||2||  
 śvasita-pavanamanu | pama-pariṇāham |  
 madana-dahanamiva | vahati sadāham ||3|| » etc., etc. (Song 9);  
 « paśyati diśi diśi | rahasi bhavantam |  
 tadadhara-madhura-ma | dbūoi pibantam ||1||...  
 « madhu-ripurahamiti | bhāvana-śīlā ||4|| » etc. (Song 12);  
 « dalita-kusuma-dara- | vilulita-kēśā ||1||...  
 mukharita-rasana-ja | ghana-gati-lōlā ||4||...  
 śrama-jala-kaṇa-bhara- | subhaga-śārīrā | 7 | » (Song 14);  
 « janayasi manasi ki | miti guru-khēdam ||6|| » (Song 15).

The arrangement, v v v v | v v v v || v v v v | - - ||, as in most of the lines quoted above, gives a perfect Payār of 14 syllables, with a strong thirteenth syllable. Couplets in the vernacular or Apabhraṅśa were known as « pada » in Old Bengali, as we can see from the Sanskrit commentary to the Caryās. The syllabic metre which arose out of the moric « padas »<sup>1</sup> came to be called « payāra » or « pawāra » (= padākāra) in Bengali-Assamese and Oṛiyā, and the old term also continued to be applied to this new form of couplet (cf. Assamese « pada »).

<sup>1</sup> The connection between the syllabic Payār and the moric metre of the 'Gīta-gōvinda' was suggested long ago by Rāma-gati Nyāya-ratna in his work on the Bengali Language and Literature (see page 187), p. 37. But this connection has been disputed by some (*e.g.*, Śaśāka Mōhan Sēn, in the 'Pravāsī' for Āṣāḍha, 1321, p. 267).



## VERSIFICATION IN BENGALI : STRESSED METRE.

145. The tendency to divide the line into sense or breath groups of four instants (which became four syllables, normally, as in the Payār metre, as developed out of the 16 moric Pādākulaka), is a noteworthy one, and it savours of an initial sentence stress such as characterises New Bengali. There is another common Eastern Magadhan metre, the « tripadī » or « lācārī, lēcharī (< rathyā) », which is also on this basis of four instanced or four syllabled breath-groups. Specimens of it we find as early as the 12th century, in the ' Gīta-gōvinda,' e.g.,

« rati-sukha- | sārē || gatamabhi | sārē  
 madana-ma | nōhara- || vēśam » || (Song 11) ;  
 « samudita- | madanē || ramaṇī- | vadanē ||  
 cumbana- | valitā || dharē || » (Song 15).

Also lines like « vadasi yadi | kiñcidapi | danta-ruci- | kāumudī ||  
 harati dara- | timiramati- | ghōram || » (Song 19),

would seem to be based on the principle of breath groups detached from each other by initial stress ; and such lines, the quantity apart, would be perfectly natural in Bengali. The speech habit of Bengali in dividing the sentence into a number of convenient sense or breath groups of about equal length, with a dominant initial stress ; is responsible for the development of the stressed metres of Bengali. The syllabic principle of a fixed number of *akṣaras* no doubt came into operation, but the general history of Bengali versification implies the presence of a strong initial phrase stress in the language. The theory of *akṣaras*, however, became rigid, and influenced all versification in formal literature in Late Middle Bengali times, and prevented the principle of stress in metre from being recognised for a long time. The habit of chanting verses also was responsible for this to some extent.

In Bengali, at the present day, three different systems of versification obtain.<sup>1</sup> These are : (1) the « mātrā-vṛtta », or the old moric metre : this

<sup>1</sup> The most systematic study of Bengali versification, hitherto published, is by Prabōdh-Chandra Sēn, in a recent series of articles to the ' Pravāsi ' (Pauṣa, Māgha, Phālguna and

remains more as an exotic versification, the popularity of the Vaiṣṇava lyrics in Braja-buli having familiarised the people with it. In it, all diphthongs and closed syllables or syllables followed by two consonants, are long. (2) The « akṣara-vṛtta », or syllabic metre, which started from a fixed number of *akṣaras* or syllables, but the elision of vowels in these *akṣaras* brings about a decrease of syllables, which is compensated by lengthening the syllable preceding the vowel elided, and by a rhythmic adjustment of the line; and the fixed number of *akṣaras* can be increased by adding fresh *akṣaras* with quiescent vowels. It thus can be described as being in principle a moric metre; but it differs from the proper moric metre in not necessarily increasing the quantity of a vowel or a syllable, because it is a diphthong or because it is followed by two consonants. Thus, in moric lines like the following—

ললাটে | জয়-টীকা || প্রহ্ন- | হার গলে || চলে রে | নীর চলে ।

সে কারা | নহে কারা || বেথানে | ভৈরব || রুদ্ৰ- | শিখা জ্বলে ||

[lələṭe | ʃʃiɔ̃ɔ-ṭiḱa || pɔʃʃunə- | ʃiɑ:r ɡole || ɕiɔ̃le re | bi:r ɕiɔ̃le ||

ʃe kara | nəʃhe kara || ʃʃiɕekhane | bʃiɔ̃rəbə || rud:rə | ʃiḱha ʃʃiɔ̃le ||]

*Mark of victory on his brow, wreath of flowers on his neck, he goes, oh,  
the hero goes;*

*That prison is not a prison where the terrible flame of Rudra flashes  
(from Kāzī Nazrul Islām),*

each foot consists of 3 + 4 = 7 *morae* (« ā, i, ū, ē, o » of Sanskrit as a rule not having length, except in lines frankly on the Sanskrit, Prakrit or Brajabulī model), and the diphthong [oi] and the closed vowels in [ʃiɑ:r, bi:r, rud:rə=ruddrə] are equivalent to 2 *morae*. Or in lines like—

Caitra, 1329 San, and Vaiśākha, 1330 [=1922-23]), which clearly distinguishes between the three types of metre in Bengali, and classifies them on a scientific basis. Some of the examples quoted above are from Mr. Sēn's articles. The most suggestive papers of Rabindra-nāth Tagore (in the 'Sabuj Patra' for Jyaiṣṭha and Śrāvṇa, 1321, and Caitra 1324), and of the late Satyēndra-Nāth Datta (the article 'Chanda-Sarasvatī' in the 'Bhārati' for Vaiśākha, 1325) are other important contributions in this line; as also the articles by Śaśāṅka-Mōhan Sēn ('Bāṅgālā Chanda,' in the 'Pravāsi' for Āṣāḍha, 1321) and Bijay-Chandra Mazumdar ('Bāṅgālā Chanda,' 'Pravāsi' for Agrahāyṇa, 1322).



লজ্বি এ | সিদ্ধুরে | প্রলয়ের | নৃত্যে  
ওগো কার | তরী ধায় | নির্ভীক্ | চিত্তে ?

[ loŋ:ɡɦi (ð)e | ʃin:dɦure || prələðer | nrit:e ||  
ogo ka:r | tori dɦa:ð || ni:rɦɦi:k | cit:e ? || ]

*Setting at naught the Ocean, in its dance of destruction,*

*Whose boat it is, oh, that speeds on, fearless in mind ? (from Kāzī*

*Nazrul Islām),*

each foot except the last has four *morae*, the diphthongs and the closed syllables being long. A certain amount of stressing is inevitable, as New Bengali has strong stresses, but that is not absolutely necessary. But in « akṣara-vṛtta » lines like—

ধীরে ধীরে সিদ্ধ-মুখে, | তিত্তি অশ্র-নীরে,  
চলে সবে, পূরি দেশ | বিবাদ-নিিনাদে ।

[ dɦire dɦire ʃindɦu-mukhe | titi os:ru-nire ||  
tɦole ʃobe, puri de:ʃ (<deʃə) | biʃa:d (<biʃadə)-ninade || ]

*Slowly, towards the Sea, wetted with tears,*

*They march, filling the land with the sound of lamentations (from the*

*'Mēghanāda-vadha' of Madhusūdan Datta),*

there is no question of quantity as the basis of versification, but of a rhythm which holds itself within the limits of 14 syllables or instants ; and in counting these instants, [ʃindɦu] and [os:ru] are as much two instants as [dɦire] and [titi], and the rhythm requires the lengthening of [de:ʃ] and [biʃa:d] to make up for the loss of final [ə] which counted as a syllable. And, similarly, lines like

দুর্দান্ত পাণ্ডিত্য-পূর্ণ | হুঃসাধ্য সিদ্ধান্ত ।

[ durdantə paṇdit:ə-purnə || du:ʃad:ɦə ʃid:ɦiantə ]

*A most difficult doctrine, filled with terrible scholarship (an example given by Rabīndra-nāth),*

and

কাননে কুহুম-কলি | সকলি ফুটিল ।

[ kaṇəne kuɦu:m (kuɦumə) koli || ʃəkəli puɦilə ]

*In the woods, the flower-buds all have burst open (Madan-Mōhan Tarkālaṅkāra)*

are equally regarded as good Payār lines, of the same value.

(3) The third type of metre is the stressed one, « svara-vṛtta », as it has been happily named. The pivot of this metre is stress : a line divides itself into a number of feet, in which the quantity or the number of individual syllables is of secondary importance, although the whole foot takes up a certain length, and each foot has one stress, mostly initially, and only one. The preponderance of closed syllables in the colloquial, i.e., in the actual, living Bengali, which alone is suitable for this metre, gives it a force and a swing which is totally absent in the other metres which are based on the tamer movement of Early Middle Bengali (which did not, from the fact of final and medial vowels being not as yet dropped, have closed syllables, except in Sanskrit *tatsamas*). Thus, for example,—

সাম্নেকে তুই | ভয় ক'রেছিস্ ! || পেছন তোরে | ঘিরবে, ||  
 এমনি কি তুই | ভাগ্য-হারা ? || ছিঁড়বে বাধন | ছিঁড়বে ! ||  
 [ 'jamneke tuī | 'bhāyō korec̣hiṣ̣ ! || 'pec̣hon tore | 'g̣hirbe, ||  
 'emni ki tuī | 'bhāg:o-hāra ? || 'c̣hiṣ̣ibe bādhan | 'c̣hiṣ̣ibe || ]

*Thou art afraid of the front ! and the rear will surround thee !*

*Art thou so luckless ? (Thy) bonds will break, (sure) they will break*  
 (Rabindra-nāth),

where we have this arrangement :

× × × × | × × × × || × × × × | × × ||.

This is on the basis of the Payār, only the verse has abandoned itself to the stress as the dominant principle, and the division of the line into breath groups forming the feet is essential ; whereas in the syllabic Payār, the first eight syllables may be arranged without bringing in a break after the 4th ; the stress on the 5th can be done away with ; and the number of syllables (or instants) for the whole line must not exceed 14. In the common syllabic Payār, the whole line can be looked upon as one unit. But not so in the stressed metre. The foot is more or less a self-sufficient item there, as it confines the sense : *e.g.*,

মুক্ত বেণীর | গঙ্গা যেথায় | মুক্তি বিতরে | রঙ্গে, ||  
 [ 'mukta-benir | 'gaṅga j̣iṭhāỵ || 'mukti bitore | 'raṅge, || ]



আমরা বাঙালী | বাস করি সেই | বরদ তীরে | বঙ্গে ||.....

বাঘের সঙ্গে | যুদ্ধ করিয়া | আমরা বাঁচিয়া | আছি ||.....

এক হাতে মোরা | মগেরে রুখেছি, | মোগলেরে আর | হাতে, ||

চাঁদ-প্রতাপের | হুকুমে হঠিতে | হয়েছে দিল্লী- | নাথে ||

'amra baṅgali | 'baʃ kori ʃeɪ || 'bərədɔ tirthə | 'bɔŋge. ||

'baɣɦɐ ʃɔŋge | 'ʃʊd:ɦɔ korɪa || '(ɔ̃)amra bācɦɦɪ | '(ɔ̃)acɦɦɪ. ||

'ækɦɪtə mɔrɪ | 'mɔgɐrə rukɦecɦɦɪ, || 'mɔgɔlɐrə (ɔ̃)ar | 'ɦɪtə, ||

'cɦɦɪd-prɔtɐpɐr | 'ɦʊkʊmɐɦɦɪtɪtə || 'ɦɪɔ̃cɦɦɪtɪ dɦlɦɪ- | 'nɪtɦɪ. || ]

*Where the Ganges of the freed plaits (i.e., with its numerous branches,  
which is the freeing of the tributaries received in Upper India)  
spreads salvation in merry glee,*

*We Bengalís live in that boon-giving, holy land of Bengal...*

*Waging war with the tiger we remain alive.....*

*With one hand we have checked the Magh (Aracanese), with the other  
the Moghal ;*

*The Lord of Delhi had to fall back at the command of Cānd and Pratāp.  
(From Satyēndra-Nāth Datta).*

In the above extract, where there are more than four syllables in the foot, they are pronounced very quick, some of them being almost slurred. The remark of the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala,' that two or three syllables when quickly uttered are to be taken as one (Bib. Ind. edition, p. 11), is to be recalled.

On the whole, however, the stressed metre prefers feet of four syllables. New Bengali has recognised this metre, and its possibilities are immense, as has been seen from experiment. It certainly originated in early Bengali speech rhythm: in all probability, in the Old Bengali period. But the practice of chanting verses, and the theory of *akṣaras*, as has been said before, prevented it from coming to its own. Old Bengali of the Caryās preferred feet of four instants, as we have seen before: and to read these feet with initial stress, as in the lines quoted at pp. 261-263, will not be to go counter to the rhythm. We have also seen that initial stress was asserting itself in words in Old Bengali. Lines from Middle Bengali,

like the following, seem to be equally of the « akṣara-ṽṛtta » when chanted and of the « svāra-ṽṛtta » when read like normal prose :

কোণ স্বৰ্গে | কংশ তোর || মুখে উঠে | হাস |  
 নাহি জাগ | এবে তৌ || অপণার | নাশ ||  
 [ 'koṅḍ ſukhē | 'kənʃ tor̥ || 'mukhe (ḥ)uṭṭhe | 'haʃ̃ḍ ? ||  
 'naʃi ʃ̃ḍaṅḍ | '(ḥ)ebḥ tō: || '(ḥ)apḅṅar̥ | 'naʃ̃ḍ || ]

*Through what joy, O Kaiṅsa, there rises a smile on thy face?*

*Thou dost not know now of thine own destruction. (ŚKK., p. 3) ;*

গঙ্গা-তীরে | দাঁড়াইয়া || চতুর্দিকে | চার |  
 রাত্রি-কাল | হইল ওঝা || শুভিল ত | থায় ||.....  
 মালী-জাতি | ছিল পূর্বে || মালঞ্চ এ | খানা | ... ..  
 [ 'gōṅga-tire | 'dāra(ḥ)i(ḥ)a || 't̃uṭ̃ur̃dige | 'ca(ḥ)e ('t̃̃aʃ̃ie) ||  
 'rat:rikal̃(ə) | 'hõĩl̃(ḥ)õʃ̃ḍ̃ĩa || 'ʃ̃uṭ̃il̃ t̃ | 'tha(ḥ)e ||  
 'mali ʃ̃ḍ̃ati | 't̃̃ĩhil̃ pur̃be || 'mal̃õṅ̃(ḥ)e | 'khana || ]

*Standing on the bank of the Ganges, he looked at the four sides.*

*It became night time ; the Ojhā (scholar, 'clerk') slept there...*

*Formerly, people of the gardener's caste used to live, and here (was) a flower-garden. (From Kṛttivāsa, 15th century: VSP., I, p. 889).*

In the above cases, of course, too many open syllables make the cadence tame and weak beside that of the New Bengali lines quoted immediately before. Instances like the above are extremely frequent in Middle Bengali, which undoubtedly possessed the stressed metre. The loss of final, and frequently of intervocal vowels, in bringing about which the initial stress system had some hand, gave to the Bengali language a greater number of strong or closed syllables, and the stressed metre obtained a greater scope. (This loss is treated in the next section.) It continued to be freely employed in a mass of popular literature, in proverbs, in riddles, in charms, in ritualistic and other verse current among the women, in poetic contests in which the conversational style was supreme,—in fact, everywhere in Bengali—except in formal poems on classic or religious themes, which used the « akṣara-ṽṛtta », and in the Vaiṣṇava poems in Braja-buli, which preferred the « mātrā-ṽṛtta ».



From all that has been said above, in §§ 144 and 145, the conclusion may be drawn that initial phrase stress, to which the stress in individual words was subordinated, characterised one form of Old Bengali, or East Magadhan Apabhraṃśa, as much as did initial stress in individual words. Breath groups of four syllables were preferred in it. The moric metre of Northern India had to yield to a metre based on this grouping or dissection of a line into bits or breath-groups of fixed length, bearing a dominant head-stress. The Modern Standard Colloquial, and the Middle Bengali literary language, which are both based on West Central Bengali, show these characteristics. And it is quite likely that the source form of the Payār metre (and the stressed metre) was in this Pre-Bengali or Old Bengali dialect of West Bengal, and thence it spread into Orissa and Assam. In these last two tracts, initial stress was not the rule, and the development of a stressed metre (the presence of which can be postulated in Old Bengali from Early Middle Bengali examples) consequently did not take place there.

METRICAL AND OTHER EVIDENCE FOR THE DROPPING OF FINAL  
AND MEDIAL VOWELS IN MIDDLE BENGALI.

146. In later Bengali, the Payār continued as a 14-syllabled metre, when it was regular. But from the 15th century onwards, we notice irregularities—Payār lines showing occasionally less than 14, and frequently more syllables, or *akṣaras*—15, 16, 17 or 18. When the number was less than 14 (as it is at times in the ŚKK. : see pp. 264, 265 etc.), there would be dwelling upon a suitable syllable for a sufficiently long period to make up for the wanting syllable ; and when there were more syllables than 14, as in post-14th century Bengali, the extra ones were dropped by the elision of final and medial vowels. This elision was certainly present already in the spoken language of the 15th century : and it was undoubtedly the result of a strong stress on the initial syllable.

In the 14th century Bengali of the ŚKK., we find Payār couplets with more than 14 *akṣaras*, but these extra *akṣaras* consist entirely of the vowels « i, u » forming only the weak finals of diphthongs. A case like the following, however, is exceptional in the ŚKK. :

p. 2—তাহার হাথে হৈবে কংশাসুরের বিনাশে।

< tāhārā hāthē | hāibē kāñśā|surērā bi|nāśē || >

*From his hands there will be the destruction of the demon Kañśa,*  
would appear irregular—to the eye; but really it is not so—the word  
তাহার < tāhārā > unquestionably being pronounced in reading and chanting  
as < tārā >—< tārā hāthē | hāibē kāñśā|surērā bi|nāśē || > .

Final syllables were not as yet dropped in the 14th century. Rimes  
like the following are conclusive that the final < -ā > was pronounced in  
the 14th century in nouns and adjectives as in verbs: *e.g.*,

p. 24—ভাল < bhālā >, always ending in < -ā > = [o]: গোআল < gōālā > ;

p. 42—লেখা কর < lēkhā kārā > (< kārāhā >): বাসলী বর < bā·ālī bārā > ;

p. 50—কাহ < kānhā, kānā > *Kṛṣṇa*: দান < dānā > ;

p. 51—চাপ < cāpā > (< cāpāhā >) *press*!: স্তাপ < sātāpā > ;

p. 84—গদাধর < gādādhārā >: পরিহর < pārihārā > (> -hārāhā) *abandon*! ;

p. 90—শুন < śuñā > (< śuñāhā >) *hear*!: আলিঙ্গন < āliṅgānā > ;

p. 95—সাজ বাস < jājā bāsā > *think it a shame*: দুধবাস < dudhā·bāsā >  
*smell of milk* ;

p. 254—ধর < dhārā > *hold*! : ভিতর < bhitārā > *within*.

The final < -ā > was thus retained in the pronunciation in the 14th  
century as much as the long < ā > [o:] derived from earlier < -āwā, -āhā >  
(see p. 260). But finally and medially, the epenthetic as well as the original  
< i > (as well as < u >) had become weak, and formed a diphthong with a  
preceding < ā, ā >, so that the two *akṣaras*, < āi, āi, āyi, āyi > would form a  
diphthong < āi, āi >. The *akṣara* principle was thus modified in this way in  
14th century Bengali: *e.g.*, in the ŚKK.,

ভাগে পুনে আজি তোর পাইলো দরশন।

< bhāgē punē āji tōrā | pāilō darāśānā > (p. 16),

*Through luck and through merit today I have obtained thy sight:*  
we have 15 *akṣaras*, but < pāilō > = < pāi-lō > is a word of two syllables.

আমর মানায়িবৌ করী আশেষ জুগতি ॥

< āyārā mānāyibō (= mānāibō) kārī | āśēṣā jugāti > (p. 13),

*And I shall make (her) consent, using no end of device.*



আকারণে আল রাখা নিন্দাসি কৃষ্ণ কালা ।  
 « ākārāṇe, ālā rākhā, | nindāsi (= nindāis) kṛṣṇā kālā » (p. 93),  
*For no reason, O Rādhā, dost blame dark Kṛṣṇa.*

হের ভাল মতে চাহি নেহ কাঙ্ক্ষি বাদী ॥  
 « hērā, bhālā mātē cāhi | nēhā, kāṅkhī bādī ॥ » (p. 331),  
*Look, Kāṅkhī, ask for (thy) flute in good grace.*

See also page 265, last line of Bengali text, and p. 266, line 17.

Barring the above cases of apparent irregularity, 14th century Payār is quite regular, as the final and medial vowels remain. But from the next century, we find remarkable breaches of the rule of the 14 akṣaras. For instance, in Kṛttivāsa's ‘Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara-kāṇḍa’ (in the VSPd. edition based on a MS. of 1580), we have lines like the following :

Uttara Kāṇḍa, p. 31b :

ভাইএর বলে ভাইএর ধনে নাহি ভাই বাটা । (18 akṣaras)  
 « bhāiērā balē bhāiērā dhānē nāhi bhāi bāṭā »

*There is no sharing, O brother, in a brother's forces and a brother's wealth.*

This was evidently pronounced as

[ 'bha(ə)er ('bhaəro?) bole | 'bha(ə)er ('bhaəro?) dhane ॥ 'nafi  
 bha(ə)i | 'bāṭa ॥ ].

Ibid., p. 30b :

যথির তরে তোমার বাপে করিল কন্যাদান ॥ (17 akṣaras)  
 [ j̥ithir ('j̥ithiro?) tore | 'tomar ('tomaro?) bape ॥ 'koir̥lə k̥on:sa|'da:n ॥ ]

*For whose sake your father made a gift of his daughter.*

Ibid, p. 30b :

দূরে থাকিঞা প্রহস্ত কুবেরে নোঙার মাথা । (16 akṣaras)  
 [ 'dure thāik̥ēā | 'pr̥h̥ost̥o ॥ 'kubere n̥w̥ač̥ | 'matha ॥ ]

*Remaining afar, Prahasta bowed his head to Kubēra.*

Ibid., p. 43a :

রাবণ রাজার সানা টোপর বাণের তেজে কাটে । (18 akṣaras)  
 [ 'rab̥on-raj̥ār | 'jana ṭop̥or ॥ 'baner tej̥e | 'kaṭe ॥ ]

*He cut the corslet and the helmet of king Rāvaṇa with the force of (his) arrows.*

From other Middle Bengali works :

Vijaya-gupta's 'Padmā-purāṇa,' (end of the 15th century : VSP., I, p. 191):

হিন্দুৱানী হল রাজ্য তোমার কিসের কাজ । (16 akṣaras)

পেরাদা পাইক যত আছে শীঘ্র করি মাজ ॥ (16 akṣaras)

[ 'hinduani | 'hoilo raɪjɔtɔ || 'tomar kiʃer | 'ka:ɔtɔ ('kaɔtɔ) ||

'psada pa(ɔ)ik | 'ɔtɔtɔ aʃhe || 'ʃig:firo kori | 'ʃa:ɔtɔ ('ʃaɔtɔ) ||

*It has become the regime of Hinduism, what business have you now ?*

*All the footmen and soldiers that be, get ready quick.*

Śrī-Karaṇa-Nandī's 'Mahābhārata': beginning of the 16th century (VSPd. edition, based on MS. of 1663)—

p. 72a—কৃষ্ণের নন্দন বীর রুধিল । যেহেন প্রচণ্ড ॥ (17 akṣaras)

[ 'kriʃt̪ēr n̪ɔnd̪ɔn | 'bir ruʃilo || 'ɔt̪iɛheɔ pro|'t̪ɔnd̪ɔ ||

*The hero, the son of Kṛṣṇa, angered, so fierce.*

p. 83a—না পারিব কদাচিত বাণে মারিতে তাহাক । (16 akṣaras)

[ 'na paribo | 'kɔd̪aʃit̪ɔ || 'bane maɪrte | 'tak̪o ||

*Shall never be able to kill him with an arrow.*

'Mayanāmatīr Gān,' 17th century (Dacca SPd. edition):

p. 9—অদুনাএ বোলে বইন গ পছনা সোন্দর । (16 akṣaras)

সাত কাহিতের বুদ্ধি আমার ধরের ভিতর ॥ (17 akṣaras)

[ 'ɔd̪un̪aɔ bole | 'boin go: || 'pɔduna san|'d̪ɔr(ɔ) ||

'ʃat ka(ɔ)iter | 'bud:ʃi(ɔ)amar || 'd̪h̪ɔre:r b̪hi't̪ɔr(ɔ)||

*Adunā says, 'O sister, beautiful Padunā, the wi' of seven clerks (Kāyasthas) is within my body.'*

Examples like the above can be culled by the hundred from Middle Bengali literature. They show that the earlier MB. poets were guided not by the eye, but by the ear. If in a *tatsama* word, a vowel with two consonants after it did not make any difference, for metrical purposes, then it was recognised in the 15th century, after the medial and final vowels had dropped off from pronunciation, the same thing could happen in *tadbhava* words: কৃষ্ণ < kṛṣṇā > and নন্দ < nāndā > were two akṣaras of equal value in metre, and so could be কৃষ্ণের < kṛṣṇēr̥ > and নন্দন < nāndān̥ >, with quiescent < -ā̃ >. But with the later poets, during the 16th-18th and 19th centuries, the magic word akṣaras seemed to have exerted an influ-



ence, and the system of writing was brought to bear upon the versification : *akṣara* was taken in its wrong sense of a *written character*, the syllabic value of which might be zero, and not of a *syllable*. As a result, the tendency grew not to allow too many *akṣaras* with mute « -ṣ = -ṣ̣ », and to avoid the diphthongal use of the vowel ই « -i », which became in late Middle Bengali orthography the j = « -y » subscript: হইল « hāilā » was = হাল্য « hālyā = hāi-lā »; পাইল « pāilā » obtained = পাল্য « pālyā = pāi-lā »; করিয়া « kāriyā » having done = কর্যা « kāryā = kāi-rā »; জানাইব jānāibā » I shall make known = জানাব্য « jānābyā = jā-nāi-bā » etc., which made a line to appear to the eye as one of 14 *akṣaras* or letters, and 14 only. This cannot be said to have been detrimental to the Payār, this attempt to make it rigid and to avoid too many diphthongs and closed syllables in the line. But the undue influence of the graphic system disguised the true nature of Bengali versification, and prevented an early recognition of the stress principle in orthodox literature.

From a study of Middle Bengali versification, therefore, it can be seen that the dropping of the final « -ṣ », and of the medial vowels (under certain circumstances) was well established from the 15th century.

147. Another evidence for the dropping of the final « -ṣ », and occasionally of the medial « -ṣ- », is the early Roman transcription of Bengal names in European works and maps dating from the middle of the 16th century. Thus, for instance, Joaõ de Barros (middle of the 16th century) in his 'Da Asia' has given some Bengal names, and we find the following in the Lisbon edition of 1777 ff. : in the map of Bengal in that work, IV, 9, p. 451, we have « Fatiabas = Fateḥ-ābāḥ, -ābāz ; Betor = বেতড় Bēṭarḥ̣ḥ̣ ; Bernagar = বর্নগর Bārḥ̣-nagarḥ̣ (= Varāha-nagara ?) ; Mandaram = মান্দারম Māndārāḥ̣ḥ̣ ; Noldii = নলদী Nālḥ̣-dī (< Nala-dvīpa) ; Nazirpur = Nāzirpur »,—place names showing loss of final « -ṣ » in the 16th century : at p. 454, we have « Caor », which is কাওর « Kāwūrḥ̣ (< kāwārū < kāma-rūpa) » (cf. Map 2 in 'Delle Navigazione e Viaggi raccolte da M. Gio. Battista Ramusio, etc.,' Vol. I, Venice, 1606). Compare these with « Gouro = গৌড় Gauṛā », a word showing retention of final « -ṣ » in pronunciation, in De Barros' map. Forms like « Comotah = কামতা Kāmātā » ; « Cospetir,

Gaspatii = গজপতি *gājā-pāti* > ; « Noropatii = নরপতি *Nārāpati* > ; « Pipilipatam = পিপিলী *Pip(i)li-* », in De Barros, show that internal unstressed vowels were not yet dropped in all cases in 16th century Bengali: cf. in Ralph Fitch (1583-91: 'Purchas,' X, pp. 181 ff.): « Couche = কোচ *Kōcē* ; Snelcounse = স্নেকল (স্নক) কোচ *Sukālē Kōcē* ; Satagam = সাতগাঁ *Sāt-gā* ; Serre-pore = স্রীপুর *Srī-pur* ; Bacola = বাকলা *Bākālā* », which indicate similar conditions.

The loss of medial vowels can only have been due to strong initial stress in Middle Bengali. In this respect, Bengali was in advance of its sister IA. speeches: Western Hindi, for instance, kept its final vowels (« -ū, -ā, -ī ») as late as the 17th century, and Oriyā does it even now, preserving a 'Middle NIA.' stage, whereas Bengali shed off the final « -ā », which formed by far the most common final vowel, by the middle of the 15th century.

The initial stress of Bengali in individual words has given us contracted forms of common *tadbhava* words which are rather removed from those of Hindōstānī, which may be said to preserve the NIA. norm: e.g., Bengali বোনাই, বুনোই, বুনুই « *bōnāi, bunōi, bunui* » = Hindōstānī « *bahānōi* » (*bhaginī-pati*); dialectal Bengali নায়ের « *nāyēr* » *father's family (of a married woman)* = Hindōstānī « *naihar* » (*jñāti-gṛha*); কব্জি « *kāṣṭṭi* » *touchstone* = Hind. « *kasauṭi* » (*karṣa-paṭṭikā*); রাখাল « *rākhāl* » *herdsman* = Hind. « *rākhāwāl* » (*rakṣā-pāla*); পরে « *pārē* » *puts on* = Hind. « *pahirai* » (*paridhīyatē*); চক « *cākā* » = Hind. « *cakṣwā* » (*cakravāka*); পয়লা « *pāyḷā* » *first* = Hind. « *pabilā* » (*pratha + illa-*); etc., etc.

The changes of OIA. vowels to MIA. in the formation of Bengali are discussed in the following chapter.



## CHAPTER III

### PHONOLOGY OF THE NATIVE ELEMENT: VOWELS

#### [A] OIA. AND MIA. VOWELS IN BENGALI

#### [I] FINAL VOWELS

148. Final vowels of OIA. were continued down to Late MIA. and Early NIA. times. The long final vowels « -ā, -ī, -ū », however, were shortened to « -ă, -ĭ, -ŭ », and « -ē, -ō » were weakened and shortened to « -ĭ, -ŭ » in late MIA. (Apabhraṅśa), and these shortened vowels « -ă, -ĭ, -ŭ » fell together with original short « -ă, -ĭ, -ŭ ». All NIA. inherited these short vowels, but in later times in Bengali, during the Middle Bengali period, they were all dropped, or assimilated: except « -ĭ, -ŭ » where they were preceded by vowels of a different quality.

The *anusvāra* which followed a final vowel in Late MIA. was possibly a very weak nasalisation, which did not in any way affect it in its development into NIA.

(1) OIA., > MIA. « -ă, -ā ».

[a] OIA. « -ă ».

149. OIA. « -ă » > MIA. « -ă » > OB., eMB. « -ă = -â -> » NB. « -ă », or zero, Examples: আট « āṭṭṣ »; MB. আঠ « āṭṭhā » (aṭṭha, aṣṭa-); † আব « ābṣ < ābhā » *cloud* (abhra), cf. Standard Coll. আবহা « ābṣ-ehā » *hazy*; আম, আঁব « āmṣ, ābṣ » (amba, āmra); এক « ēkṣ » (MIA. *sts.* ēkka < ēka); কাকণ « kākāṅṣ » (kaṅkaṅa); কাম « kāmṣ » (karma); কুঠ « kuṭṭṣ » (kuṣṭha); † কুড় « kuṛṣ » (kōḍha, < \*kōṭṭha < \*kōṭṭṭha = kuṣṭha); গাছ « gācṣṣ » *tree* (gaccha); ঘাম « gbāmṣ » *sunshine, sweat* (gharma); চাঁদ « cāḍṣṣ » (candra); চিন « cinṣṣ » (cihna); ছাঁদ « chāḍṣṣ » (chanda); জাড় « jāṛṣṣ » *cold* (jāḍya); OB. জাম « jāṃṣṣ » (jamma, janma); তাত « tāṭṣṣ » (tapta); তেল « tēḷṣṣ » (tēlla, tāila); MB. থান « thānṣṣ » (sthāna); দাঁত « dāṭṣṣ » (danta); পাত « pātṣṣ » (patra); বউল, বোল « baūḷṣ, bōḷṣ »

(baūla, mukula); বীস < bisṣ > (eMIA. [Pali] vīsaṃ, OIA. \*viṣat = viṣati : cf. triṣat, etc.); মাজ < mājhṣ > (madhya); হান, হোন < hāwānṣ, hāōnṣ > being (bhavana); হাত < hātṣ >, MB. হাথ < hāthā > (hasta); etc., etc.

Examples are quite common.

Loss of final < -ṣ > by assimilation with a preceding vowel (see also *post*, § 172, 'Vowels in Contact') :

(i) MIA. < -ṣṣ > : normally, this becomes a single < -ṣ > in Bengali, pronounced [ɔ] or [o]. Unelided final অ < -ṣ > in *tadbhava* words and forms, commonly pronounced [o], comes from a MB. < -ṣ > [ɔ:] derived from an earlier group like < -ṣṣ = ṣwṣ, ṣhṣ > : the phonetic change here is really that of contraction, the nature of which is not seen at once. শ' < śṣ > (śaa, śata); জ' < jṣ > *measure of length* (jaa, yava); চল < cālṣ > *you walk* < MB. চলহ < cālāh > (= OIA. calatha); তের < tērṣ > < OB. < \*tēraha > (tēraha, trayōdaśa); দান, দানো < dānṣ, dānō > *ghost, spirit* < OB. < \*dāṇawa > (OIA. dānava); ভাল, ভালো < bhālṣ, bhālō > < MB. bhālā (bhallaṃ, bhallāṣ = bhadraka); etc.

(ii) MIA. < -ṣṣ > becomes < -ṣ >. Late MIA. < -ṣṣ >, from OIA. < -ṣṣ > etc. (i.e., < ṣ + consonant + ṣ >), gave OB. < -ṣ >, NB. < -ṣ >, as a common affix : also < -ṣha > -ṣṣ > in LMB., through loss of < h > : e.g., ওজা < ōjhṣ > (uvajjhā, upādhyāya); কড়া < kāṛṣ > (kaṭāha); বা < ghṣ > *blow, wound, sore* (ghā, ghāta); ছা < chṣ > (śāba); -জা < -jṣ > (jāta); তা < tā > (tāpa); না < nṣ > (nāva = nāu); পলা < pālṣ > (\*palāwa, prabāla); পা < pṣ > (pāda), also \*পাও < pṣō > < MB. pāwa >; বা < bṣ >, also বার, বাও < bṣṣ, bṣō > < \*bāya, \*bāwa > (vāta); বিয়া, MB. sts. বিভা < biyṣ, bibhṣ > (vivāha); এক < ēkṣ > (ēkka, ēka), but একা < ēkā > *alone* (\*ēkkāka = OIA. \*ēkāka, cf. ēkākin); কাল, কালো < kālṣ, kālō > *black* (kālaa, kālaka), but কাল < kālṣ > *the black one* (\*= kālāṣ, \*kālāka); OB. < tā > *his* (tāha, tasya); etc.

(iii) MIA. < -iṣ, -iṣṣ > became < -i > in OB. = < -i, -i > in NB. : MB. আগি, NB. † আগ < āgi, āg > (< \*aggiṣ = \*agnikā >; the feminine gender for this word in Hindi etc. is a proof that it is not from MIA. < aggi > = OIA. nominative < agniṣ >); আরতি < āṛati > (ārātrika); OB., MB. করী, করি < kāri, kāri > (MIA. karia, OIA. \*-karya = -kṛ-t-ya = kṛtvā); MB. কাতী < kāti >, cf. Assamese < kāti > (kārttika), the name of the month, now ousted by the



ts. form; ঘী, ঘি, « ghī, ghi » (ghia, ghṛta); MB. মূতি « muti » = NB. মতি for মোতি « mōti » through Hindōstāni influence (mōttiā, māuktika); eMB. *sts.* আবসী « āvasī » (\*avaśiya, \*avaśia = avāśya); etc., etc.

The OIA. passive participle in « -ita », = MIA. « -ia », similarly became « -i » > « -i » in Bengali: see under *Morphology*: 'the Past Base.' The common NIA. adjectival affix indicating connection, « -I », is derived in this way from OIA. « -Iya, -ika »: cf. the non-feminine forms পাঁচই, সাতই, আটই « pācāī, sātāī, āṭāī » etc., from \*pañcamika, \*saptamika, \*aṣṭamika » (and not from the feminine « pañcamī, saptamī, aṣṭamī » etc.).

(iv) MIA. « -uā, -ūā » became « -ū » in OB. = « -u » in NB., in some cases turned into an epenthetic vowel: also MB. « -uhā » > « -uā »: e.g., OB. কামরূ « kāmārū, kāwārū », MB. কাঙুর « kāṅurū = kāwūr » (Kāma-rūpa); গোরু « gōrū » cattle (gō-rūpa); MB. ছামু « chāmu » (\*chammuha, sanmukha); নেবু « nēbu » (nimbuka); মু « mu » (muḷa, mukha); etc.

(v) MIA. « -ēā » > OB. « -ē(w/ŷ)a » > NB. « -ē »; also MB. « -ēhā » > « -ēā »: দে « dē » a surname (dēva); MB. দে « dē » (dēha).

The affix for the instrumental, ঐ, ঐ « -ē, -ē », can be considered here; only the loss of « -ā » took place in MIA. of the Third Period: e.g., OIA. « hastēna » > Māgadhi MIA. « hatthēṇa », Apabhraṅśa « hatthēn, hatthē » > OB. « hāthē, hāthē » > NB. হাতে « hātē ». In মুই তুই « mui, tui » I, thou, from OB. and MB. « mōñē, mōyē, moē, \*mōī, maī, muñi; tōñē, tōyē, tōē, \*tōī, taī, tuñi » etc. (= \*may'ēna, tvay'ēna, i.e., mayā, tvayā + ēna), the influence of the « -y- » in the OIA. and the MIA. compounded form helped to alter the vocalism of these words to « -i ».

(vi) MIA. « -ōā » > OB. « -ōwa » NB. « -ō »: বো « jō » (jōā, yōga); cf. রো « rō » (rōā, rōma).

Final অ « -ā » in *Tatsamas*.

*Tatsama* and *Sami-tatsama* words as a rule drop the final অ « -ā »: e.g., দরশন, দর্শন « dār(ā)śānā »; রতন « rātānā »; নয়ন « nāyānā »; কটিক, « pbāṭikā » (sphaṭika); অধীর « ādhīrā »; পরস « pārāsā » (sparśa); গরাস « garāsā » (grāsa); etc., etc.

But in the case of *ts.* and *stss.*, there are certain exceptions, when the final < -ă > is retained in pronunciation, and these may be noted :

(i) Bengali Phonetics does not allow two consonants to end a word : there must be, in the absence of an anaptyctic vowel, a final vowel, to prop up the consonants, as it were : e.g., পূর্ব < pūrbā > (pūrva), or পূর্বব < pūrbāḅ > ; চন্দ্র < cāndrā > or চন্দ্রব < cāndrāḅ > ; বীরত্ব < bīratwā > [birot:ɔ] (vīratva) ; সত্য < sātyā > [ʃot:ɔ, E. Beng. ʃoit:ɔ] ; ন্যায় < nyāyā > [næj:ɔ] ; সূর্য < sūryā > [ʃur:ɔ] ; বিজ্ঞ < bijñā > [big:ɔ] ; হংস < hānsā > [hɔŋ:ɔ] ; দুঃখ < duḥkhā > ; প্রাণ < prāṣnā > ; ধর্ম < dhārmā > ; etc., etc.

(ii) < -ă > after < -h- >, in a final syllable, is retained : স্নেহ < snēhā > (beside *bbh.* নেই < nēi >) ; দেহ < dēhā > (cf. MB. *bbh.* < dē >) ; বিবাহ < bibāhā > (*bbh.* < biyā >) ; অনুগ্রহ < ānugrāhā > ; বিদ্রোহ < bidrōha > ; etc., etc.

(iii) Adjectives :

(a) the *ts.* < -ta, -ita > affix retains the < -ă > : প্লাকিত, গীত, গত, নত, অনুদিত, ব্যাখ্যাত < pulākitā, gītā, gātā, nātā, ānūdītā, byākhyātā >, etc., etc. The < -tā > forms, when used as nouns, drop the < -ă > : গীত, মত, বিহিত, নিশিত < gitā, mātā, bihitā, niścītā >, etc., etc. ; and a few adjectives which are commonly used also drop < -ă > optionally : e.g., চলিত, গর্হিত, বর্জিত < cālītā, gārhitā, bārjitā > etc. ; cf. পালিত < pālītā >, adjective, but < pālītā >, a surname.

(b) the *ts.* affix < -yā > retains the vowel : শ্রেয়, পেয়, দেয়, বিধেয় < śrēyā (= śrēyas), pēyā, dēyā, bidhēyā >, etc.

(c) the *ts.* affixes তর তম < -tārā, -tāmā > .

(d) the *ts.* forms in চ < -ṛha = -ḍha > .

(iv) *Ts.* words, which are not naturalised, as a rule can be pronounced with final < -ă > ; the tendency would be to drop the < -ă >, but usage differs. The following cases are noteworthy. Words of two syllables with < r, āi, āu > in the first syllable, keep the < -ă > as *ts.* forms : বৃষ, কৃশ, তৃণ, মৃগ, তৈল, শৈল, মৌন, গোপ < bṛṣā, kṛśā, tṛṇā, mṛgā, tāilā, śāilā, māunā, gāuṇā > ; (but note the *semi-tatsama* forms—more heard in pronunciation than seen in writing—শইল, তইল, মউন, গউন < śā-ilā, tā-ilā, mā-unā, gā-unā >). Words ending in < -ṇā > optionally retain the < -ă > : দ্রোণ, ব্রণ, গণ, রণ < drōṇā, brāṇā, gāṇā, rāṇā > .



The retention of the final < -ā >, or otherwise, depends upon the extent to which the *ts.* word has become naturalised; e.g., নগ < nāgā > *hill*, নব < nābā > *nine, new*, সম < sāmā >, শম < śāmā >, যুব < yubā > *youth*, মম < māmā > *my* etc. retain the vowel. *Ts.* words occurring in a compound as its first part as a rule do not drop the vowel: e.g., রণ-মুখো < rāṇā-mukhō < -mukhā > *facing, going to the fight*; পদসেবা < pādā-sēbā >; জনতন্ত্র < jānā-tāntrā >; দানবীর < dānā-bīrā >; চিকুরভার < cikurā-bhārā >; ভারবাহী < bhārā-bāhī >; etc.: the dropping or retention of the < -ā > is, however, determined by the rhythmic consideration of the whole line.

The rules (i) and (ii) for *ts.* words also obtain in foreign words: e.g., Persian < mard > *man* > মরদ < mārād > or মর্দ, মদ < mārā, māddā >; < śāh > *king* > শাহ < śā > or শাহ < śāhā >; English *box* > বাক্স < bāksā >, *inch* > ইঞ্চি < iñci >, etc.

## [b] OIA. &lt; -ā &gt;.

150. OIA. < -ā > > MIA. < -ā > (< -ā > in nominative, < -ā > in oblique), IMIA. < -ā > > OB., eMB. < -ā > > NB. < -ā >, i.e., zero. Examples: আশ < āśā > (āsā); † উক < ūkā > (ulkā); † ওস < ōśā > *dew* (avaśyā); কল < kālā > *machine* (kalā); কাঁথ < kāthā > *wall* (kanthā); খাট < khāṭā > (khaṭvā); খেল < khēlā > (khēlā); গাঙ্গ, গাঙ, গাং < gāṅ(g)ā > *river* (gaṅgā); MB. গিম, গীম < gīmā = gīwā > (gīvā); ঘিন < ghinā > (ghṛṇā); জাং < jāṅā > (jaṅghā); জিব, জীভ < jibā, jībhā > (jibbhā, jihvā); তিয়াস < tiyāsā > (tṛā, tṛṣṇā + pipāsā); ধার < dhārā > *edge* (dhārā); নথ < nāthā > *nose ring* (nastā), possibly an old borrowing, ultimately from a Panjab dialect, in post NIA. times in Bengali; ননদ < nānādā > (nanandā); নিন্দ, নী'দ, নিদ্ < nindā, nīdā > (nindā, niddā, nidrā); পরখ < pārakhā > (parīkṣā); পাছ < pāchā > (pacchā, paścā, paścāt); পিয়াস < piyāsā > (pipāsā); পান < pānā > as in আমাপানে < āmā-pānā > *towards me, looking at me, recognising me* (paṅṅā, prajñā [?]); ফণ < phāṅā > (phanā); বাত < bātā > (vattā, vārtā); বান < bānā > (vanyā); বাঁজ < bāñjā > (vandhyā);<sup>1</sup> MB. ভাষ < bhāṣā > (bhāṣā); ভিখ, ভীখ < bhikhā > (bhikṣā); ভুখ < bhukhā >

<sup>1</sup> Cf. বে আছে বাঁজ । সে বেয় সাঁজ । 'jē āchē bāñjh, sē dēy sāñjh'—*Let her who is childless (in the family) light the evening lamp.*

bhūkhṣ > (bubhuksā); মাজ < mājṣ > as in মাজ কাঠ < mājṣ-kāṭhṣ > *heart of timber* (majjā); মাল < māḷṣ >, mainly in compounds (mālā); মিছ < michṣ >, cf. মিছকউনে < michṣ-kāunē > = মিছ-কহনিয়া < michṣ-kāhāniyā > *liar* (mithyā); MB. মূদড়ী < mudā-ṛī > *ring* (mudrā); মেল < mēḷṣ > (mēlā); রাড় < rāṛṣ > (raṇḍā); লা < lā > *lac* (lāhā, lākṣā); MB. লাছ, নাছ < lāchā, nāchṣ > (rathyā); লাজ < lājṣ > (lajjā); লাল, নাল < lālṣ, nālṣ > (lālā); লালস < lālāsṣ > (lālasā); শাল < śālṣ > in compounds, e.g., হাতীশাল < hāṭī-śālṣ > *elephant-stable*: cf. গোহাল < gō-hālṣ > *cow-pen* (śālā); শিল < śilṣ > (śilā); শেজ < śējṣ > (śayyā); সাজ < sājṣ > (sajjā); সাঁধ < sājhṣ > (sandhyā); সাধ, \*শাধ < sādṣṣ = śā- > (śraddhā): see p. 190; সান < sānṣ > *gesture*, as in হাতসান < hāṭṣ-sānṣ > *gesture with the hand*, also হাত-ছান < hāṭṣ-chānṣ > (saṇṇa, saṇjñā); হলুদ < hāludṣ > (haridrā); etc.

The plural affix of OIA. < -ā, -ā > nouns, < -āḥ >, in eMIA. < -ā >, was similarly reduced to < -ā > in Apabhraṅśa, and lost its force in OB.: e.g., < dēsāḥ > dēsā > dēsā; vārtāḥ > vattā > vattā > bātā. New plural forms had to be built up for the nominative with the help of the genitive and instrumental plural, as well as by adding nouns of multitude, as a result.

In the OIA. affixes < -ānām, -ēsām >, which became < -āṇā(ṭh), -ēsām, \*-ēsām, -ehām > in the MIA. period, there was pre-Apabhraṅśa weakening of < -ā- > to < -ā >; < \*tānām >, occurring beside < tēsām >, gave early MIA. < tānām, tānā > and < tēsām, \*tēsām >, Late MIA. < tānā, tānā, tēhā >, whence the NIA. forms—Bengali † তান < tānṣ > *his* (honorific, < *their*), তী- < tī- > = oblique of honorific singular 3rd personal pronoun, তেহে, তিহে < tēhā, tihā > *he* (honorific, < *they*); Assamese < tēo > *he* (honorific); Oṛiyā < tā(hā)n- > = oblique of 3rd pers., plural > honorific singular; Maithilī < tan-i-k > *his* (honorific), Magabī and Bhōjpuriyā < tinh > = oblique of 3rd personal pronoun plural; Awadhī < ten(h)- >, 3rd person plural obl.; Hindōstānī < tin- >, 3rd pers. pl. obl.; etc., etc.

*Tatsama* words do not drop the OIA. < -ā > vowel, and in many cases, the *ts.* forms occur side by side with the *lks.*, like খেল, খেলা; শিল, শিলা etc., quoted above. A *sts.* like রেখ < rēkhṣ > (rekhā), or সীম < sīmṣ > (sīmā), drops its < -ā > .



Cases of loss of OIA. final < -ā > by assimilation (see later also, under 'Vowels in Contact'):

(i) OIA. < -ā, -ā + cons. + -ā > Late MIA. < -āā -aā, -āa, -aa, -ā > OB. < -āa, -āwā, -ā, -awa > NB. < -ā, -ā > : ए० < ēō >, from < āīā > = MB. आहैह < āihā > (avidhavā); मा < mā >, † म० < māō > < OB. < māwa > (māā, mātā); शला < śalā > (śalākā); in NB. ভাজ < bhājā >, MB. ভাউজ < bhāujā >, the loss of the final < -ā > had taken place before the Apabhraṅśa stage (bhrāṭr-jāyā > bhāu-jāā, \*bhāujjā > \*bhāujjā > OB. < -bhāujā >); so শলাজ < śalājā > (śyālaka-jāyā); etc.

(ii) OIA. < -ikā > MIA. < iā, -iā > OB. < -I > NB. < -ī, -i >. Examples: আঞ্জি, আঞ্জি, আহৈ < āji, āyi, āi > grandmother (āryikā); কাহিনী < kāhīnī > (\*kathīnikā); NB. গী < ghī > OB. (Sarvānanda) < ghīwī >, brains (\*ghṛtikā); চুরি < cūri > (\*cōriā, caurya + ikā); ছুরি < churi > (kṣurikā); † ছেলি < chēli > goat (\*chayāliā, \*chagalikā); জুড়ী < juṛī > pair (\*yōktrikā); বাড়ী < bārī > (vāṭīkā); বালী < bālī > sand (\*bālikā = bālukā); মই < māī, māi > ladder (madikā); মাটী < māṭī > (mṛttikā); রুটী < ruṭī > (rōṭīkā); লুড়ী, লুড়ী < luṛī, nuṛī > (\*lōḍhia < \*lōṭhiā = \*lōṭṭhikā, \*loṣṭīkā); OB. < sēji = sējī > (\*śayyikā); etc. Examples illustrating this dropping of OIA. < -ā > in feminine forms in < -ikā > are very numerous, and this < -ikā > > < -iā > > < -I > gave the most common feminine and diminutive affix of all NIA., taking the place of the OIA. feminine affixes < -ā > and < -I >. The vowel was originally long, < -iā > = [iə] becoming [i:] ; it remains long in most NIA., e.g., Hindōstānī, but in Bengali, absence of stress made it short, even from the OB. period.

(iii) OIA. < -ukā, -upā > etc. > NIA. < -ū, -u > : see below, § 172, under 'Vowels in Contact.'

(2) OIA. < -ī, -I > .

151. (i) OIA. < -ī, -I > Late MIA. < -ī > OB. < ī > > (MB. epenthetic < i >) > NB. zero, in the Standard Dialect, when occurring after a consonant.

Examples: অঁখ < ākh > (\*aṅkhi, akkhi, akṣi); আঁচ < āc > flame (\*añci, acci, arcis); আঞ্জি, আঞ্জ, আঞ্জ < āji, āj, āi j, āj > (MIA. \*ajjīn = adya); so

কালি, কাল, কাল < kālī, kālī, kālī, kāl > (MIA. kallirñ = kalya); গাঁট, গাঁঠ < gāṭ, gāṭh >, † গাঁইট, গাঁট < gāit, gāit > (gaṅṭhi, granthi); গাবিন, গাভিন < gāb(h)in > *big with young* (garbhini); চারি, চার, চার < cārī, cārī, cārī, cār > (ciārī = cattārī, catvāri); ছুঁচ < chñc > (\*chuñci, \*suñci, sūci): also হুচ < sūc >; জুৎ < jūt > *convenience, advisability* (yukti); ডাইন, ডান, ডান < dāin, dāin, dān > (dākinī); তাল < tāl > (tālī); তাঁত < tāṭ > (tantrī); তিন for তীন < tin > (tiññi, trīñi); তেঁতুল < tētul >, OB. (Caryā 2) < tentali > (\*tintali = tintiḍī); পাত < pāt >, MB. < pāti > (panti, paṅkti); পারুল < pārul >, OB < pārālī > (see p. 186) (pāṭālī); বেহান, বেহাইন < bēyān, bēhāin > (\*vāivāhinī); বোন, †বুন, †বইন, †বুইন < bōn, bun, bāin, buin >, cf. Oṛiyā < bhāūñī > (bhaginī); ভিত < bhīt > (bhitti); মুঠ < mūṭh > (muṣṭi); রাত, রাইত < rāt, rāit >, OB., < rāti > (rātri); রাস < rās > (i) *zodiacal sign; heap, mass*, (ii) *bridle* (in this sense probably influenced by the Perso-Arabic < rās >) (rāśī; \*raśī = raśmi); লহর < lāhār > *wave* (laharī); বাট, বাইট < bāt, bāit > (baṅṭhi); সং < sāt > as in সং মা < sāt-mā > *step-mother* (savattī, sapatnī); সত্তর < sātṭār > (saptati); সিঁধ < sīdh > *breaking through a wall* (\*sindhi, sandhi); etc., etc. The OIA. feminine forms in < -inī >, as in the instances given above, would become < -in > in NIA., with the dropping of final < -ī >, but in Bengali there was from MB. times an influence of the full *ts.* form.

In a number of *sts.* words as well, the final < -ī, -ī > is lost; e.g., আদ, † আইদ < ād, āid > (ādi); জাত, † জাইত < jāṭ, jāit > (jāti); জুৎ < jut > as in চোখের জুৎ < cōkhērḍ jut > *sight of the eye* (\*juti, jyōtiṣ); † যুগৎ < jugit > *device* < OB. *sts.* < \*jugiti > (yukti); পিরীত < pirit >, MB. পিরীতি < piriti > (priti); মুরত < mūrāt > (mūrṭi); রৌত < rit(i) >; etc.; but cf. দিঠি = দীঠি < dīṭhi > (dṛṣṭi), with < -ī > preserved, which remains an archaic, poetic (MB.) word. But *ts.* words keep the final < -ī, ī >.

(ii) OIA. < -ī, -ī > > MIA. < -ī, -ī > > OB. < -ī >, retained, when it occurred after a vowel in OB. and MB.; e.g., কই < kāī, kāi > *a fish* (kavayī); ছই < chāī, chāi > *thatch, thatched cabin of a boat* (chadis); জামাই < jā māi, jāwāi > (\*jāmāti = OIA. jāmāṭṛ); নই < nāī, nāi > (i) *ninety* (also = নব্বই < nābbaī >), (ii) † *river*, (iii) *new or young heifer*: (navati; nadī; navī, navikā); দই < dāī, dāi >, MB. দহি < dā(h)ī > (dadhi); বাড়ই < bārāī > (vardhakin); ভাই < bhāī > (\*bhāti = OIA. bhrāṭṛ); সই < sāī, sāi >, MB.



«sā(h)i» (sakhi); also in the word «-pati» > -paī, -vaī» in compounds, e.g., দলহে, দলহে «dālāī, dālui» a surname (dalapati), নন্দাহে «nāndāī» (nanandī-pati), বোনাহে «bōnāī» (bhagini-pati: see p. 300); OB. and eMB. বোলাহে, করহে, চলহে «bōlāī, karaī, calāī» etc., verbs of 3rd person singular, where the final «-i» remained,—to be assimilated with the «-ā-» preceding to «-ē». OIA. instrumental plural «-bhis», MIA. «-hi», and the locative «\*-dhi» > -hi», reduced to «-i» in Proto-Bengali, also underwent assimilation, but in some cases it is found in MA.: e.g., আমি, তুমি «āmi, tumi», OB. «āmhē, tumbhē», Oṛiyā «āmbhē, tumbhē» (= \*ambahi, \*tumbahi [or -ēhi]: asmābhis, yusmābhis). This «-(h)i» affix seems to have attached itself to the genitive plural form, in forming the new nominative (honorific) of pronouns, etc.: see under 'Declension of the Noun,' and under 'Pronouns.' In আশী «āśī» (aśīti), there is assimilation of «-i» with preceding «-ī-» in the MIA. form «aśī».

In MB. সন্ধি «sundhi» = «sugandhi», the «-i» is probably for «-ika», with assimilation of final «-a» as under § 149, p. 302: সন্ধি=সুন্ধী «sundhī» < «\*sondhī» < «\*suwandhī, \*suandhī» < «\*sugandhika»: cf. NB. সোঁধা «sōdhā» = «sōdh-+ā» foetid (= sugandha-); ননৌ «nānī» is from «navanīta» rather than «navanī». In the eMB. of the ŚKK., we have *ts.* and *sts.*, as well as *tōh.* words, like «ānumātī, ākhī (= akṣi), ātī (ati), ārātī (ā-rati), ābudhī, gātī, girī, tutī (stuti), thitī (sthiti), dādhi (dadhi), dhunī (dhvani), nidhī, pātī, pātī (paṅkti), bihī (vidhi), buddhī (buddhi), bhākātī (bhakti), māṇī, mātī, munī, yugātī (yukti), yutī=jutī (jyōtiṣ), rātī, sāngātī, sāndhī, sidhī (siddhi), hārī», with long «ī»: this lengthening is possibly a reminiscence in orthography of a stage in OB., when original «-ī» from OIA. «-ī, ī» was tending to be lost, and the presence of a large number of words in «-ī», from «-ikā, -ikā» etc., served to make the long «-ī» the more common form of the «i» sound in a final position.

Words and forms in OB. with original «-i» (i.e., final «-i» derived from Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa) in many cases fell together with the «-ā» words. The nominative form in «-i», which seems to have characterised Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, has entirely dropped out of Bengali, as well as the

locative affix in < -i > < OIA. < -ē >, occasionally found in OB. : *e.g.*, Caryā 36 : < pākhi > = < pakṣē >. See § 153.

(3) OIA. < -ū, -ū >

152. (i) OIA. < -ū, -ū > > MIA. < -ū, -ū >, Late MIA. < -u > > OB. < -ū > > MB. epenthetic < -ū, -ī > > NB. zero, when occurring after a consonant. Cases also occur, where < u > has become < -ā >. Examples : আখ, আউখ < ākh, āukh > (\*akkhu < \*akṣu = ikṣu); আঁশ, আঁইশ্ < āś, āiś > fibre (aśśu); খোশ < khōś > < খউস < khāus >, OB. (Sarvānanda) < khasu > itch (\*khaechu, kacchu); চৌচ < cōc > < চউচ < cāuc > (cañcu); জাম < jām > (jambu); তাঁত < tāt > (tantu); দাদ < dād > < দাউদ < dāud > (daddu, dadru); পাঁশ < pāś > ashes (pāśśu); ফাগ < phāg > (phalgu); OB., MB. বাহ < bāh > (bāhu); মোছ < mōch > (mhacchu, śmaśru); শাঁশ, সাস < śāś, śās > in compounds (śvaśrū); সা, সাহ < sā, sāh > merchant (sādhu); হিঙ < hiṅ > (hiṅgu); etc., etc. In *sts.* words also, < -u > is frequently dropped : ধাত, † ধৌত, ধাউত < dhāt, dhāit, dhāut > (dhātu); দয়াল < dāyāl > (dayālu); etc.

*Ts.* words preserve the final < -ū, -ū >.

(ii) OB. < -u > is retained in NB., when in OB. and MB., the < -u > was immediately preceded by a vowel : *e.g.* † আউ, also আই < āu, āi > (āu, āyuṣ); জাউ < jāū, jāu > loc (jatu); বাউ, জাউ < jāu > (yavāgū); বাউ < jhāu > (jhābu; also jhābu-ka); বউ, বৌ < bāu, bāu >, MB. < bā(h)u >, OB. < bahū > (vadhū); † বাউ < bāu > (vāyu); মউ, মৌ < māū, māu >, MB. < mā(h)u > (madhu); লাউ < lāu > (alābu); etc. The affix < -u > for the imperative 3rd person, = < -tu > of OIA., remained in OB. and MB.; but in MB. it was lengthened by a < -kṣ >, and became medial, and was dropped after a vowel : *e.g.*, MB. দেউ, জাউ, হোউ, কর, চল, < \*dēu, jāu, hōu, kāru, cālu > beside < dēu-kṣ, jāu-kṣ, hōu-kṣ, kāru-kṣ, cālu-kṣ > = NB. দিউক or দিক্, বাউক or বাক্, হোউক (হৌক্) or হৌক্ < diukṣ, dikṣ; jāukṣ, jākṣ; hōukṣ, hōkṣ > and করক, চলক < kārukṣ, cālukṣ >.

Some exceptional cases : † কাউ < kāu > (kāka) is through vocalisation of a MB. < kāwa < kāa >; পরশু < pārśśu > = OB. < parasū > = OIA. < para-śvaḥ > : < -śū > represents a Māgadhī < \*śuvē >, (cf. Pali < suvē >), in Māg. Ap. < \*śuvi >, which ought to give an OB. < \*śui >, which is



not found isolated in NIA.; <śu> in <parāśu is> probably due to the reduction of the expected final <-i> to <-ă>, giving a Māg. Ap. form <\*śuva>, which was normally simplified to <śū, śu>. MB. পহু, পহু <pāhu, pāhū> (prabhu) is not found in NB., where it would occur as <\*pāu, pāu>: the nasalised form is noteworthy; বন্ধু <bādhu> friend, lover (bandhu-ka); খাড়ু <khāru> bracelet, গাড়ু <gāru> pitcher, ছাড়ু <chātu>, টাড়ু <ṭāku>, লাড়ু <lāru>, ঝাড়ু, ঝাড়ু, ঝাড়ু <(h)āṭ(h)u> = OB. <aṇḍu> (?) knee, seem to show assimilation of <-ă>, coming respectively from MIA. <khaḍḍuā, gaḍḍuā, śattuā=śaktu-ka, ṭakkuā=takru-ka, laḍḍuā, \*aṇḍu-ă? (but cf. aṣṭhī-vant- knee)>: cf. §149, (iv).

Words like the following—*tbhs.* দুধু <dudhu> (dugdha), মিতু <mitu> friend in affectionate address (mitra), উবু, উবু <ub(h)u> (ūrdhva); *stss.* like ধুতু <dhuttu> (dhūrta); *ts.* like দুশু <duṣṭu> (duṣṭa), have an <-u> affix, derived ultimately from <-u-ka>. (See under *Morphology*: 'Formative Affixes.') The literary influence of the Western Apabhraṅśa brought in a number of <-u> forms into Bengali; and in the 16th century MB., the <-u> affix also sought to enter into Bengali through Braja-buli and through Braj-bhākhā (see p. 103); e.g., forms like OB. (Caryās) <kiu, ahāriu, tasu> etc. (p. 115), MB. যজু, তজু <jāchu, tāchu>, মজু <mājhu> to me, of me, অজরু <ājharu> tears, লাগু <lāgu> fixed, etc. But this Western <-u> < MIA. (Śaurasēnī, Mahārāṣṭrī) <-ō> did not take root in Bengali.

(4) OIA., MIA. <-ē>

153. OIA. <-aḥ, -am, -ē> > MIA. (Māgadhī) <-ē> > Māgadhī Ap. <\*-i> > OB. (?) <-i>, but mostly reduced to <-ă> > eMB. <-ă> > NB. <-ā> or zero.

The Māgadhī affix for the nom. sing. and for the loc. sing. of <-ă> nouns would come under this: <dēvaḥ> dēvē > \*dēvi > OB. \*dēwi>; <dēvē > dēvē > \*dēvi > OB. \*dēwi>; but in OB., the <-i> for the locative is occasionally found, but that for the nominative is almost entirely lost, relics possibly only being found in a few forms (which are discussed under *Morphology*: 'The Noun: Inflections, Nominative'). The representative of <\*dēvi> in OB. is <\*dēwa> = MB. দে <dē>. For the locative, the <-ē, -ē>

affix ousted the old < -i > : this new < -ē, -ē > of OB. being from < -ahī, -ahi ; aī, aī > of Late MIA. (See under *Morphology* : 'Inflections : Locative.')

The following cases, among others, show loss of OIA. < -ē > > Early NIA. < -i > in the locative : আস-পাস < ās-pās > *around* (\*āsi-pāsi : asrē pārśvē : cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 57) ; পার < pār > *on the other side* (\*pāri, pārē) ; পর < pār > *after* (\*pari, parē) ; ঘর-ঘর < ghār-ghār > *in every home* (\*ghari ghari, gṛhē gṛhē) ; etc., etc.

OIA., MIA. < -ō > was extremely rare in Māgadhī, and we have no sure case in Bengali. The Oṛiyā ablative affix < -u > probably represents the MIA. < -tō > = OIA. ablative < -tas >. < -ō > does not occur in the base form of any OIA. word, any more than < -ē >.

154. The above in general show the apocope of final vowels in Bengali. In many cases, however, *ts.* forms with the final vowels have been reintroduced, or made to influence the *tbh.* ones, by restoring the final vowels—the unmodified *tbhs.* being found as archaic words in poetry : e.g., আশা < āśā >, beside আশ < āś > ; মালা < mālā >, beside মাল < māl > ; মিছা < michā > for < mīcḥ >, influenced by < mithiyā > ; so মায়ী < māyī >, but cf. OB. < māa > = < māwa > ; ছায়া < chāyā >, frequently pronounced as ছাওয়া < chāwā >, shows imperfect influence of the learned form < chāyā > on a *tbh.* without the final < -ā > and with the euphonic < w >—OB. < chāā, chāwā >, NB. < chāwā, chācā > ; বাঁজা < bājā >, see, p. 305 (vandhyā) : here however, there may be the NIA. < -ā > affix, cf. সঁচা < sācā > from < sāc > (satya) ; কাঁথা < kāthā > (kathā) ; etc. The cases of restitution for < -i, -u >, e.g. মুঠি < muṭhi > for মুঠ < muṭh >, are in the nature of reversion to archaic forms, and MB. epenthesis of < -i, -u > prevents it to a great extent : and the language here prefers the full *ts.* forms, rather than palpably false forms.

#### [II] VOWELS IN INITIAL SYLLABLES.

155. These have generally been preserved in Bengali. So long as the stress was on non-initial syllables, in Apabhraṅśa and in Old Bengali, there remained the likelihood of an original initial long syllable being shortened, or of a short syllable being dropped. Instances of such weakening of original long syllables in Bengali have been given in § 143 :



and dropping of initial vowels through absence of stress is not unknown to MIA. (see pp. 241, 278). Bengali has inherited a few words which underwent this aphæresis in the MIA. period : *e.g.*,

(i) < ā- > : তিসি < tisi > *linseed* (\*atisi, atasī), < a- > dropped in the OIA. or eMIA. period ; so MB. পিন্ধ < pindhā > (api-nah, api-naddha) ; হিলান, হেলান < hilānā, hēlānā > *to lean* (? abhilagna), aphæresis in the IMIA. period ; রৌঠা < rīṭhā > *soap-nut* (ariṣṭa-) ; ভিজ < bhij > *to moisten* (abhyañj) ; ভিজায় > ভেজায় < bhijāy, bhējāy > *closes the door* (? abhyajyātē) ; ভিতর < bhitārā > (abhyantara) ; OB. হাঁউ for হউ < hāu < haū > (hakaṁ, abakaṁ = aham), aphæresis in Early MIA. ; হিলে, হেলে < hilē, hēlē > *leans* (abhilagati ? abhiliyātē ?), a Late MIA. case ; লাউ < lāu > (alābu) ; and সওয়ার < sāvārā > *horseman*, an eMIA. borrowing from Old Persian < asa-bāri > = Skt. < aśva + bhṛ >, later strengthened by the New Persian < suwār >.

< ā- > : inherited forms with loss of initial of < ā- > not found.

(ii) Loss of initial < i- > is not seen in any word in Bengali : in the word ডিল, ডিলা < ḍhilā, ḍhilā >, generally connected with < \*ṣiṭhila = ṣiṭhila < \*ṣṛṭh-ila >, however, there seems to be loss of an initial syllable with < -i- >.

(iii) Aphæresis of < u- > : ডুমুর < ḍumurā > (udumbara) ; বইসে, বৈসে, বসে < baīsē, bāīsē, bāsē > (uvaīśai, upaviśati), a Late MIA. case ; †পানই < pānāi > (upānah-), aphæresis in eMIA.

(iv) < ē-, ō- > : no case in Bengali, except রেড়ী < rēṛī > (ēraṅḍikā).

A few cases of Bengali aphæresis are also found : OB. < antarē >, eMB. আন্তরে < āntarē > : NB. তরে < tārē > *for the sake of* (dative post-position) ; NB. < jābālā > (ajā-pāla) ; NB. ছিল < chilā > *was*, beside আছিল < āchilā > ; MB. ছিতে < chitē > *to be for* আছিতে < āchitē > (aceh, āch) ; MB. সিয়া, সিঞা < siā, siā > for আসিয়া, -ঞা < āsiyā, -iñā > *having come* (ā-viś) ; NB. ধার < dhārā > *loan* < MB. উধার < udhārā > (uddhāra) ; NB. *sts.* পর < pārā > *upon* (upari) ; NB. হেন < hēnā >, MB. এহেন < ēhēnā > *such, so like* (through analogy of কেন < kēnā, kēhēnā >, বেন < vēnā, jēhēnā >).

(1) Initial < ā- >, and < -ā- > in Initial Syllables.

156. (i) Initial < ā- >.

OIA. and MIA. < ă- > followed by a single consonant, seems to have become < ā- > in eMB., through initial stress : e.g., আজল, আজুলী < ājalā, ājuli > a foolish boy and girl (\*aju- < rju-); আশী < āśī >, cf. Oriyā < āśī > (aśīti); আর < ārā > < eMB. আকর < ārā > (avara, apara); আলতা < ālātā > (alakta-); এও < ēō > < MB. আইহ < āihā > (avidhavā); আয়ান < Āyānā > < MB. আইহন < Āihānā > (Abhimanyu); আসুর < āsurā > (asura); অলস < ālasā > (alasa); MB. আমির্জা < āmiā > (amṛta-); etc. In the Early MB. of the ŚKK., *ts.* words almost invariably show < ā- > for < ă- > : আনুমতী < ānumatī >, আতি < āti >, অপার < āpārā >, আপমান < āpāmānā >, আধিপতী < ādhipatī >, আবতার < ābātārā >, অলপ < ālāpā > (*sts.*), আধীন < ādhinā >, অপরাধ < āpārādhā >, আভিসার < ābhisārā >, etc., etc. The privative affix < ă- > became < ā- > in MB. in *tbhs.*, *stss.*, and *tss.* : e.g. *sts.* আভাগী, NB. আবাগী < ābhāgi, ābāgi > (abhāgya + ikā); আবুদী, আবুদ্ধিরা < ābudhī, ābuddhiyā > fool; আসুখ < āsukhā >; আশুভ < āśubhā >; আভর < ābhayā >; আমূল < āmulā > *tbh.* (amūlya); NB. আলুনি < ālunī > for < ālōnī > (alavanika); আসমান < āsāmānā > *uneven*. The MB. intensive prefix < ă- > equally became < ā- > : আঘোর < āghōrā > (=ghōra), আত্রৈখা < ātrēthā > (vr̥thā), আকুমারী < ākumārī > (kumārī), আরঙ্গা < ārangā > coloured (rangā-), আছিদর āchidārā > vicious (chidra ?), etc., etc. In eMB., through an increasing influence of Sanskrit forms, this < ā- > fell into disfavour, and < ă- > became supreme in *ts.* words; and some *tbhs.* also took up < ă- >. But here and there we have the < ā- > forms lingering in NB., commonly in pronunciation, and at times in orthography as well : e.g., in addition to the *tbh.* words given before, we find আবস্থা < ābāsthā > plight, distress (avāsthā), †আষ্ট < āṣṭā > eight, †আবাগী < ābāgi > (abhāgya + -ī), আরন্ধ(ন) < ārāndhā(nā) > 'no cooking' (a feast-day when people eat things prepared on the previous day) (arandhana), আচম্বা, আচম্বিত, আচম্বকা < ācāmbā, ācāmbitā, ācāmbakā > suddenly (? : cf. Hindōstānī acāmbhā); আষ্পদা < āṣpāddā > (\*āṣpāddhā = spardhā), আস্তেব্যস্তে < āstē-byāstē > (asta-vyasta), etc.

The initial < ă- > of Persian loan-words similarly became < ā- > : e.g., < āzān (āzān) > আজান ājān > call to prayer; < āmīr > আমীর āmīr > prince, dignitary; < ānār > আনার ānār > pomegranate; < āwāz > আওয়াজ, আবাজ āwāj, ābāj > sound; etc., etc.



## 157. (ii) Consonant + « ä » + consonant.

The « -ä- » in this case remains « ä=â » in Bengali : e.g.,

কইলা « kâilā » as in কইলা গোরু « kâilā gōru » (kapila-); কড় « kārḍ » (iron) bracelet (kaṭa); কড়ুয়া « kārūā » (kaṭuka-); কনুই « kânui » (kaphōṇi-); করে « kārē » (karaī, karōti); কহে « kâhē » (kathayati); খন্ডা « khāṅḍā » (khanitra-); গড়ুর « gārurḍ » (garuḍa); গলাশী « gālāśī » (gala-pāsika); ঘর « ghārḍ » (ghara, grha); চলে « cālē » (calati); জউ, জৌ « jāu, jāu » (jatu); জন « jāṅḍ » (jana); জল « jāḷḍ » (jala); জড় « jhārḍ » (cf. jhaṭikā); টলে « ṭālē » (ṭalati); ডর « ḍārḍ » fear (dara); MB. তড় « tāṛḍ » (taṭa); থল « thālḍ » (sthala); দই, দৈ « dâi, dâi » (dadhi); দল « dālḍ » (dala); ধড় « dhārḍ » body, torso (\*dhaṭa, dhṛta); নই, নৈ « nâi, nâi », as in নই বাছুর « nâi bāchurḍ » heifer calf (navikā); ননদ « nānāḍḍ » (nanandṛ); পইতা « pāitā » (pavitra-); MB. পড়িছা « pāṛichā » (pratīkṣaka-); পড়ে « pārē » (patati); পড়ে=পড়ে « pāṛ(h)ē » (paṭhati); পয়লা « pāylā » first (pratha+ila); পয়ার « pāyārḍ » (padākāra); পরশু « pāṛṣu » (paraśvaḥ); পলা « pālā » (\*pālāva, pravāla-); ফল « phālḍ » (phala); ফলার « phālārḍ » (phalāhāra); বউ, বৌ « bāu, bāu » (vadhū); বন « bāṅḍ » (vana); বহিন « bhāin » (bhaginī); ভড় « bhārḍ » a surname (bhaṭa, bhṛta); মউ, মৌ « māu, māu » (madhu); মরে « mārē » (\*marati, mriyatē); ময়াল « māyālḍ » a large snake (mahākāla); মশান « māśāṅḍ » (śmaśāna); মড়া « māṛā » (\*maṭa-, mṛta); রস « rāṣḍ » (rasa); রসান « rāśāṅḍ » ingredients in working metals (rasāyana); শরা « śārā » (śarāva); MB. শশা « śāśā » (śāśa); সহে « sāhē » (sahatē); হলদ « hāludḍ » (haridrā); etc., etc.

The following cases, and a few others, at first sight look irregular, but they seem to be from « ā » forms : e.g. হালকা « hālḍkā » (lāghu : lāghava, \*lāhaa, \*hālaa + kka); শাঁই « śāi » (śāmī : \*śāmika); and বানিয়া « bāniyā » (vāñij : vāñija-), probably extra-Māgadhī in IMIA.

Perso-Arabic words also retain the « -ä- » : কম « kām » little (kam); খবর « khābār » news (xabar); গজল « gājāl » a poem, a kind of composition in verse (gazal); জবান « jābān » speech, word (zabān); নামাজ « nāmāj » prayers (namāz); রফা « rāphā » settlement (raf'a), etc. Hindōstānī pronunciation of « ä » as [ʌ], however, frequently influences the « -ä- » > « -ā- » in becoming the frank « ā » in Bengali, especially in recent admissions from the Persian.

158. (iii) OIA. and MIA. < ă > in initial syllables, followed by two consonants.

In words which were originally of two syllables, or three or more syllables with a weak or short penultimate or second syllable, < -ă- > is lengthened to < -ā- > and one of the consonants is dropped; and if it is a case of nasal + consonant, the nasal is reduced to a mere nasalisation of the lengthened < -ā- >, and the following consonant too is often reduced to its corresponding nasal. *E.g.*, আক < ākṣ > (aṅka); আখর < ākhārṣ > (akṣara); আখ, আখি < ākh(i) > (\*aṅkhi, akkhi, akṣi); †আগি < āgi > (āgi, aggiā, agni-); আট < āc > (\*añci, arcis); আছে < āchē > (acchaī, OIA. \*acchati); আজ < āj > (ajjim, adya); আট < āṭṣ > (aṣṭa); আঠি < āṭhi > *stone of fruit* (asthi-); আঁত < āṭṣ > (antra); কাঁকণ < kākāṅṣ > (kaṅkaṅa); কাছ < kāchṣ > (kakṣa); কাঁদন < kādānṣ > (krandana); কাঁধ < kādhṣ > (skandha); কান < kānṣ > (karṇa); কাম < kāmṣ > (karma); †খাজুর < khājūrṣ > (kharjura); খাট < khāṭṣ > (khaṭvā); খাঁড় < khāṛṣ > (khaṇḍa); খাজা < khājā > *a sweetmeat* (khādyā-); গাধা < gādhā > (gaddaba-, gardabha-); MB. গাজে < gājē > (garjati); গালি < gāli > *abuse* (garha-); বাম < ghāmṣ > *sweat* (gharma); চাউল < cāulṣ >, MB. তাউল, তাঁড়ুল < tāulā, tāṛulā > (taṇḍula); চাক < cākṣ > (cakra); চাত্র, চাতাল < cātārṣ, cātālṣ > (catvara); চাঁদ < cāḍṣ > (candra); চাঁপা < cāpā > (campaka-); ছাত < chātṣ > *roof* (chatra); ছাঁদ < chādṣ > *style, fashion* (chanda); জাঁতা < jāṭā > (yantra-); জাম < jāṃ > (jambu); MB. তাজে < tājē > (tarjati); তাকে < tākē > (tarkayati); তাত < tāṭṣ > *heat* (tapta); তাঁত < tāṭṣ > (tanta, tantra); থাম < thāmṣ > (stambha); দাপ < dāpṣ > (darpa); দাম < dāmṣ > *price* (dramya, Greek drakhmē); নাচে < nācē > (naccāi, nṛtyati); পাখ < pākṣ > *wing, side* (pakṣa); পালং, পালঙ্ক < pālāṅ, pālāṅkā > (pallāṅka, paryāṅka); বাজ < bājṣ > (vajra); বাড়ই, বাড়ুই < bārāi, bārui > (vardhakin); ভাল < bhālā > (bhadra-); মাকড় < mākaṛṣ > (markaṭa); শাঁখ < śākhṣ > (śaṅkha); শাঁশ < śāśṣ > *substance, fleshy part of fruit* (\*śamśa, \*śaśśa = sasya) etc., etc.

In words of more than two syllables, the < -ă- > in initial syllables, although followed by two consonants in MIA. (one of which is dropped in NIA.), remains as < -ă- > without being lengthened to < -ā- >, when a following syllable, the penultimate or the ante-penultimate generally, was a strong one (i.e., long, or stressed, or both). This seems to have been



due to the Māgadī Apabhraṃśa habit of stressing, before initial stress asserted itself in Bengali: and OB. forms like < āndhāra (andha-kāra), bāṅgāla (Caryā 49: vaṅgāla), bhātāra (Caryā 20: bhartṛ, \*bhattāra), kāpāsa (Caryā 50: kappāsa, karpāsa), kāṅṭhabhāla (Sarvānanda, = \*kaṅṭha-hāla, \*kaṅṭha-āla), bāndhāvai (Caryā 22: \*bandhāpayati), sāntāra (Caryā 37: santāra), bākhāṇa (Caryā 37: bakkhāṇa = vyākhyāna), sāṅkrāma (Sarvānanda: saṅkrama), āmbāḍa (Sarvānanda: āmrāta), Aṭha-pāga (grant of Viśvarūpa-sēna, see p. 188: aṣṭa-) > etc., show < ā > for an expected < a > through something like the law of the weak ante-penultimate obtaining in some form of Bengali in the OB. period. (See *ante*, pp. 280-82.) MB. also shows, in words like পখালে, পখালে < pākhālē: pākhālē > (praskhālayati), পলায়, পলায় < pālāy, pālāy > (palāyati), a hesitancy between the < ā > and the < -ā- >. In NB., the initial stress has made the < -ā- > before a simplified double consonant group an < -ā- > as a regular thing, no matter if a succeeding syllable was strong: e.g., আধার < ādhārā >, < OB. āndhāra > (andha-kāra); কটারী < kāṭāri > (kartarikā), cf. Hind. < kāṭārī >; কাঁকাল, -কী < kākāl(i) > *waist, spine* (kaṅkālīkā); ভাতার < bhātārā > (bhartṛ-), cf. Hind. < bhātār >; কাঁটাল < kāṭālā > *jack fruit* (kaṅṭāla), cf. Hind. < kāṭār >; পাঠায় < pāṭhāy > (paṭṭhāvai, prasthāpayati); সাজার < sājāy >, MB. সজাএ < sājāē > (\*sajjāpayati); কাছারী < kāchārī > *office* (kacca-haria, kṛtya-grha-) cf. Hind. < kac-harī >; খামার < khāmārā > *baru* (khambhāra, skambhāgāra); সাভার < sābhārā > *a place-name* (sabhyāgāra); গাবরাট, beside গবরাট < gābṛāṭā, gāb- > *lintel-wood* (garbhāgāra-kāṣṭha); বাখান < bākhānā > (vyākhyāna); etc., etc. OB. also shows this sort of lengthening: this has been discussed before. In certain cases, however, in NB., we find no lengthening: possibly these are relics from the age when dialectally in West Bengal the non-initial stress *cum* absence of lengthening obtained: e.g. যখন < jākhānā > *when* (jakkhāna, yat-kṣāna): so তখন < tākhānā > *then* (tat-kṣāna), কখন < kākhānā > *when?* (kakkhāna, \*kat-kṣāna); জঞ্জাল < jāñjālā > (jañjāla); *sts.* দখিন < dākhinā > *south* (dakkhīna, dakṣīna), but cf. the *ibid.* ডাহিন < ḍāhinā >; the numerals পনের, পনর < pānērā, pānārā > (pañṇaraha, pañcadaśa), সতের, সতর < sātērā, sātārā > (sattaraha, saptadaśa), but cf. আঠার < āṭhārā > (aṭṭhāraha, aṣṭadaśa); পঁচিশ < pāciśā > (\*pañcāśīśa,

pañca-viñśati) », but cf. সাতাশ < sātāśā > (sāttāwīśa, sapta-viñśati), Oṛiyā < sātāśā >, etc.

Words with the < -ā, -ī (< ikā >) affix at the end, serving to modify the original form in a special manner (or even when employed pleonastically), seem to have been stressed on the < ā > in Māgadhi Apabhrañśa, as can be surmised from the evidence of Oṛiyā and other Magadhan (see *ante*, pp. 94, 96, 280). OB. also shows words without lengthening of < ā > before a simplified consonant group of MIA., through this stress on the final syllable : *e.g.*, < hāthā (Caryā 41 : hattha-), bāpā (Caryā 32 : bappa-), cākā (Caryā 14 : cakka-), pākā (Caryā 4 : pakkha-) >, etc. : cf. Oriyā < rājā, cākā, gācha >, etc. In MB., these forms with short < -ā- > were reduced to those with the normal < -ā- >, though here and there the < -ā- > forms have survived : *e.g.*, চকলা, চকল < cākālā, cākālā > *slice*, beside চাকলা < cākālā > *district* (cakra) ; খপরা < khāpārā >, beside < khāpārā > *sherd, tile* (kharpara-) ; বধনা < bādhānā > *pitcher with spout* (vardhana-) ; কবি < kāśi > *line, under-lining* (karṣikā) ; etc.

Absence of compensatory lengthening of < ā > to < ā̄ >, after the loss of one of two following consonants, is a phonological puzzle, which is found in a number of words (apart from the cases noted above, where we have the question of stress) in Bengali, as well as in other NIA. languages like the other Māgadhan speeches, and Eastern Hindī, Western Hindī, Rājasthānī and Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī. All these languages normally drop one consonant in a MIA. double consonant group, and lengthen the preceding vowel ; or nasalise and lengthen the vowel, and in this way assimilate the nasal in a MIA. group of nasal + consonant. Thus, the normal development is along this line : < garva : গাব gāvā >, cf. NB. গাবান < gāvānā > *vaunt* ; < adya : আজি, আজ āj(i) > ; < sarpa : সাপ sāpā > ; etc. But cases like কচু < kācu > (kacvī) ; খল < khālā > *apothecary's mortar* (khalla) ; থক < thāk > *be at stand-still*, beside থাক < thāk > (stabh-ka) ; ছক < chākā > *chess-board* (ṣaṭ-ka) ; নথ < nāthā > *nose-ring* (nastā) ; MB. নঠ < nāṭhā > beside NB. নাট < নাট < nāṭ(h) > (naṣṭa) ; বটে < √bāt > *remain* (cf. Bhōjpurīyā < bār >, from < vaṭṭ, vart = vṛt >) ; লখ < √lakh > *notice, see* (lakṣ) ; রতি < rāti > *a minute weight with the red guñjā berry* (raktikā) ; সব < sāvā > (sarva) ; etc., appear irregular. Some of the



above instances can be explained as being due to the literary influence of 'Prakrit' in the Early NIA. period (e.g.  $\sqrt{\text{thāk}}$  < thāk-ka >,  $\sqrt{\text{nāṭhā}}$  < nāṭhā > by < nāṭṭha >), or as being forms borrowed from other NIA. (e.g.,  $\sqrt{\text{rāti}}$  < rāti > > Hind. < ratti >,  $\sqrt{\text{nāṭh}}$  < nāṭh > < Hind. < nath >,—the Hind. forms themselves being based on, or influenced by, Panjābi ones, Panjābi being a NIA. speech not showing simplification of double consonants with accompanying vowel length); or again, as in the case of the word  $\sqrt{\text{sābḥ}}$  < sābḥ > = < sabba, sarva >, there is in all likelihood the influence of the stress. Thus, < sabba > would mostly come in composition in MIA., in forms like < sabba-jaṇa, sabba-kāḷa, sabba-dēsa, sabba-lō(k)a, sabba-manussa, sabba-mahārāja >, etc., etc.; and in such compounds, the initial syllable would lack the stress in Common MIA., so that the word < sabba > could be shortened to < sābā- > in compound forms like these even before the NIA. stage, and passed on to NIA. as < sābā >,—a wide employ of the word as the head-word of plural-indicating compounds preventing a normal < \*sāba < sabba > from developing in NIA. The form < sābā > is found in all Aryan India, from the Afghan frontier to Assam, and < \*sābā > is unknown: and the frequent use of < sābhā >, also occurring as < sāmbhā, sāmā >, side by side with < sābḥ > all over the NIA. area, indicates the influence of the *ts.* < sabbā > *assembly, mass*, in making < sabba > sāba > preserve the < sā- > and not change it to < sā- > in Early NIA. But still, a number of forms with < ā > do present a difficulty; e.g. < vartatē >  $\sqrt{\text{vaṭṭati}}$  >  $\sqrt{\text{baṭṭai}}$  >  $\sqrt{\text{bāṭē}}$  > for < \*bāṭē > ( $\sqrt{\text{bāṭ}}$  > *remain* is a defective verb in Bengali: cf.  $\sqrt{\text{bāṭē}}$  > *pounds, crushes (as spices for cooking)* = < vartayati, vaṭṭēti, baṭṭei >: can it be due to a sort of sense of relationship between the causative  $\sqrt{\text{bāṭē}}$  > with < ā > and the neuter form, on the analogy of  $\sqrt{\text{cālē}}$  > *causes to move*:  $\sqrt{\text{cālē}}$  > *walks*,  $\sqrt{\text{pārē}}$  > *falls*:  $\sqrt{\text{pārē}}$  > *falls* etc. [for which see *Morphology*: 'the Verb, Roots']—that the < ā > vowel was brought into  $\sqrt{\text{bāṭē}}$  > for < \*bāṭē > (?);  $\sqrt{\text{lākḥ}}$  > (*lakṣatē*), etc. (Cf. J. Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 65).

< ā > after MIA. < p-, b-, m- >, labial sounds, is found as < ō > in Bengali, in  $\sqrt{\text{pōhā}}$  >, cf. OB. < pōhāili > (*pahāa-illa-, prabhāta-*); MB.  $\sqrt{\text{pōār}}$  > *pōārā, pōārā* > (*pavāla, prabāla*); MB.  $\sqrt{\text{pōā}}$  >

(paṇa); বোয়াল < bōālṣ > (bawāla, vadāla); MB. মোঞ etc. < mōñā > for OB. < maī > (may'ēna); মোড়ল < mōrālṣ > *head-man* (maṇḍala; or muha-ḍala = mukha-?); and a few others.

Monosyllabic words in NB. (Standard Colloquial) frequently prefer [o] for < -ā- >: this tendency may have been very old in Bengali: e.g., বন < bānṣ > [bo:n] (vana); মন < mānṣ > [mo:n] (manas); জন < jānṣ > [jō:n] (jana); ধন < dhānṣ > [dho:n] (dhana). Generally these words are closed with a nasal, but we have রণ < rānṣ > [rɔ:n], not [ro:n] (raṇa); cf. বল < bālṣ > [bɔ:l] (bala), মত < māṣ > [mɔ:t] (mata), etc.

(2) Initial < ā- >, and < -ā- > in Initial Syllables.

159. (i) OIA. < ā > before a single consonant in an initial syllable has normally remained < ā > in Bengali: e.g., আইল < āilā > (āyāta + ıla); আইসে < āisē > (āvisati); আউল, আলু < āulṣ, ālu >, cf. আলুথালু < ālu-thālu > *dishevelled* (ākula); আউশ, আশু < āušṣ, āśu > *rainy-season rice-crop* (generally connected with *ts*. < āśu > *quick*, but seemingly from < ā-√vrṣ- >); আওজ < √āōjā > *close* (āvṛj-); আওটা < √āōṭā > *stir* (ā-vartt-); কাই < kāi > (kvātha); *sts.* কাগ, *tbh.* † কাউআ < kāgṣ, kāuā > (kāka); কাঁচ, কাচ < kāčṣ, kāčṣ > (kāca); কায়েত < kāyētṣ > (kāyastha); কালো < kālō > *black* (kāla-); খাই < khāi > (khāta-); খায় < khāṣ > (khādati); গাঁ < gā > (grāma); বা < ghā > *sore, blow* (ghāta); বানী < ghāni > *oil-mill* (cf. < ghrānaka >, Siyadoni Inscription, Lalitpur, U. P., Ep. Ind. I, p. 169 ff.); ছায় < chārṣ > *ashes* (kṣāra); জাগে < jāgē > (\*jaggai, jāgartti); বাড় < jbarṣ > (*dēsi*, jhāṭa); ঠাই < ṭhāi > (sthāman); তা < tā > (tāpa); তাল < tāl > (tālī); দাড়িম < dārimṣ > (dāḍimba); দানো < dānō > (dānava); ধায় < dhāṣ > (dhāvati); না < nā > *expletive* (nāma); না < nā > *boat* (nāva = nāu); পা < pā > (pāda); পাড়ে < pāṛē > (pātayati); পানী < pāni > (pāniya); পারে < pāṛē > *is able* (pārayati); বা < bā > (vāta); বাইগণ > বাগুন, বেগুন < bāigāṇā > bāgunṣ, bēgunṣ > (vātingaṇa); MB. বাএ < bāē > (vādayati); ভাই < bhāi > (bhrātṛ); ভায় < bhāṣ > (bhāvayati); মা, †মাই < mā, māi > (mātā, mātṛ); *sts.* মাপে < māpē > (māpayati: or *tbh.* < mappati < māpyatē > *is measured* > *measures* [?]); রা < rā > *shout* (rāva); রাই, রাহী < rā(h)i > (rādhikā); রাই < rāi > (rājikā); রায় < rāy > (rājan); রাউৎ < rāut > (? rāja-putra; ? *sts.* < rāja-dūta >); MB. রাউল



< rāulā > (rāja-kula) ; সাই < sāi > (svāmin) ; সাড়ী < sārī > (sāṭikā) ; শালা < śālā > (śyāla-) ; শাউন < śāwānṣ > (śrāvāṇa) ; সাউল < sāvāulṣ > (śyāmāla) ; MB. শাঁও, শাঁও < śāō > (śāpa) ; সাগর < sāyārṣ > (sāgara) ; নাহে, নাহ < nāhē, nāḥ > (nhāi, snāti) ; হানে < hānē > *strikes* (hānayati) ; etc., etc.

In Late MIA., < ā > of OIA. before one consonant became weakened to < ă > through absence of stress : cases are found in OB., MB., and NB. : *e.g.*, *sts.* < ākāsa > (Carya 50 : ākāsa), < \*bātāsa >, cf. Oriyā < bātāsā > (vāta-) ; †বয়ার < bāyārṣ > (vāta-) ; *sts.* পগার < pāgārṣ > (prākāra) ; বনারসী < bānārāsī > (vārāṇasīya) ; থইলী > থলী < thāilī > thālī > *bag* (sthālikā) ; ঝরখা > ঝরকা < jhārāk(h)ā > *lattice* (jālakkha-, jālākṣa-, ? jāla-gavākṣa), cf. Hindī < jhārōkhā > ; MB. রজপুত < rājā-putā > (rāja-putra), NB. রাজপুত < rājṣ-putṣ > ; জামাই < jāmai > (jāmāṭṛ) might have been < \*jāmāi > in Old Bengali, dialectally. Evidence of OB. and NB. forms, however, shows that the < ā > in long words also remained as < ā > (or was restored back from < ă > to < ā >) through initial stress, primary or secondary : *e.g.*, বাসর < bāsārṣ > < OB. < bāsa-hara > (vāsa-gr̥ha) ; †নায়ের < nāyēṣ > (jñāti-gr̥ha) ; OB. < kāhara > (kāra-gr̥ha), etc. (see pp. 281, 282).

#### 160. (ii) OIA. < ā > before two consonants.

The change was to < ă > in MIA., and this < ă > followed the fortunes of OIA < ā > > MIA. < ă > before double consonants in Bengali. *E.g.*, আদা < ādā > (ādra-ka-) ; আম, আঁব < āmṣ, ābṣ > (āmba, āmra) ; কাজ < kājṣ > (kājja, kārya) ; MB. কাঁতি < kāti > (kānti, kānti) ; কাঁসা < kāśā > (kaṅsa-, kāṅsya-) ; জাড় < jāṣṣ > *cold* (jādḍa, jāḍya) ; তামা, তাঁবা < tā mā, tābā > (tāmba-, tāmbra-) ; বাঘ < bāghṣ > (bāggḥa, vyāghra) ; বাজে < bājē > (bajjāi, vādyatē) ; †বাত < bātṣ > (vārtā) ; পাশ < pāśṣ > (\*pāśśa, pāśva) ; বামুন < bāmūn > (bāmbhāṇa, brāhmana) ; ভাঁড় < bhāṣṣ > (bhāḍḍa, bhāṇḍa) ; মাগে < māggē > *asks* (māggēi, \*māggēi = mārgayati) ; মাস, মাস < māśṣ, māśṣ > (māṅsa, māṅsa) ; লাস < lāsṣ > (\*lāśśa, lāśya) ; সাথ < sāthṣ > *with*, *in company* (sāttha, sārtha) ; হাস < hāsṣ > (hāśśa, hāśya) ; etc.

Occurrence of OIA. < ā > < MIA. < ă > as < ă >, after loss of a consonant, is also found in OB. : *e.g.*, < kāpāsa > (Carya 50 : kārpāsa), bākhāṇa- (Carya 37 : vyākhyāna) ; ambāḍa (Sarvānanda : āmrāta) , etc. In NB. we have < ā > : কাপাস < kāpāśṣ > , বাখান < bākhānṣ > , আমড়া < āmṣṣā > .

161. In connection with a nasal, Bengali < ẵ > in initial syllables, when followed by < ā > in the next syllable, has a tendency to be advanced from its ordinary back value of [ã] to a frontal [æ], which becomes a frank [æ] or [ɛ], in both standard and dialectal Bengali. The colloquial of Calcutta is specially noticeable for this. *E.g.*, কাঁকাল [kākāl, kækāl] *spinal cord, waist* (kaṅkāla); কাঁটাল [kātāl, kætāl] *jack fruit* (kaṅṭāla); কাঁসারী [kās̄ari, kæs̄ari] (kāṅsya-kārika); টাকা for \*টাকা < ṭākā < ṭākā > [ṭaka, ṭæka] *rupee* (ṭaṅka-): cf. South-eastern Bengali টেয়া < tēyā > for [ṭækā]; পাকাল [pākāl, pækāl] *a fish* (paṅkāla); বাকা [bāka, bækā] (baṅka, vakra); ভাঁটা [bhāṭa, bhæṭa] *a ball* (\*bhaṅṭa-); শাঁখা [śākhā, śækhā] *conch-bracelet* (śaṅkha-); সাথৎ [śaṅat, śæṅat] *friend* (saṅga-); etc., etc. This change of [a] to [æ] is frequently indicated in spelling by ɔ < -ē- > or ɺ < -yā > (বৈকা, ব্যাকা < bēkā, byākā >).

162. The difference in quality between < ẵ > and < ā >, which was existent from Late OIA. (as [ʌ, ɒ] and [ɑ:]), and became further prominent in MB., when < ẵ > = [ʌ, ɒ] became [ɔ], has been instrumental in keeping < ẵ > and < ā > distinct from each other in Bengali; and this distinction of < ẵ > from < ā > by quality enables us to form some idea of the < ẵ, ā > in relation to each other in OB. But in the case of the < i > and < u > vowels, there has never been any difference—at any rate, any remarkable difference—between the qualities of their long and short forms. Length of vowels early became immaterial in Bengali, so that a historically long or short syllable no longer could retain its proper spelling when scribes were careless in their writing. In addition to these root causes, there was the influence of Sanskrit orthography in unsettling the proper indication of length in writing. Bengali spelling thus from OB. times has been most unsatisfactory in the matter of length for < i > and < u >, and is not at all a sure guide to the early pronunciation. For the expected \*দীতি < dīṭhi > (dīṭṭhi, dṛṣṭi), \*চীন < cīnṣ > (cīhna), \*নীঠুর < nīṭhurṣ > (niṣṭhura), \*তীন < tīn > (tiṅṅi, tri-), \*জুবে < jūbhē > (yudhyati), \*উতরে < ūtārē > (uttarati), \*দুখ < dūkhṣ > (dukkha, duḥkha) etc., we find দিতি < dīṭhi >, চিন্ < cīn >, নিঠুর < nīṭhurṣ >, তিন < tīn >, যুবে < jūbhē >, † উতরে < ūtārē >. Words like < iṣṭa > > ইট, ইঁট < iṭ, iṭ >, < bhitti > > ভিত < bhit >, < śuṣka- > > শুখা



< śukhā >, etc., are not written with the long vowel—unlike the case of original < ā > under similar circumstances, for which we have normally < ā > in Bengali—because quantity does not matter at all in Bengali speech, and because the Sanskrit prototypes on which the spelling is mainly modelled have short vowels; cf. দীঘি < dīghī > = (dīrghikā), সূত্র < sūtrā > (sūtra-), where the long vowels are on the model of the Sanskrit prototypes. Maithilī, Awadhī, Hindōstānī and Gujarātī, etc. are much more careful, and this carefulness is due to the very nature of their phonetic character in which length of vowels is an important thing.

Old spellings in MSS., and modern spelling and pronunciation both may ignore vowel length for < i > and < u >, but it may be surmised that in OB., and in Māg. Ap., the line of development of < i > < u > (as well as of < e, o >) was similar, as in the case of < ā, ā >: i.e., long < ī, ū > occurred in the oldest Bengali before a simplified consonant group, although there was weakening of < ī, ū > to < ĩ, ü > through absence of stress.

In MB. and NB., the rules of Vowel Harmony modified [i, u] sounds to [e, o]: this is discussed later. There is a certain amount of interchange of [i, u] in root (i.e., initial) syllables in some *dēsī* and *tbh.* forms, for which see below, under 'Origin of the NB. Vowels: [i], [u].'

(3) Initial < ĩ-, ĩ- >, and < -Ī-, -Ī- > in Initial Syllables.

163. (i) OIA. and MIA. < ĩ, Ī > in initial syllables, followed by one consonant, retained its quality in Bengali. Following the Bengali habit of length, monosyllables have the vowel long, and polysyllables short. The quantity is ignored in writing.

কি, কী < ki, kī > (kiṁ, kim); কিনে < kinē > (kiṅai, kiṅāti); কিল < kilṣ > *fisticuff* (kila); কীড়া < kīṛā > (kiṛā-); কীনা < khīnā > (kṣīṅa); কীর < khīrṣ > (kṣīra); MB. গিম < gimā, giwā > (grīvā); গিলে < gilē > (gilati); ঘি, ঘী < ghī > (ghia, ghīta); ঘিন < ghinṣ > (ghīṅā, ghīṅā); চীনা < cīnā > *Chinese* (cīna-); OB. চিরায়িত < cirāyitā > (Sarvānanda), NB. চিরাতা, চিরেতা < cirātā, cirētā > (kirāta-tikta-); জী < jī > (jīva); জী < jhī > (dhitā, duhitā); MB. তিঅড়ী, তিউড়ী < tiārī > tiūrī > *oven* (with three lumps for the pot) (trivṛt-ikā); তিয়ার < tiyārṣ > (trṣā + pipāsā); থির < thirṣ > (sthira);

তিরছা, তেরছা < tirāchā, tērāchā > (\*tiraceh-, tiryac-); \*দিঅটা, দেউটা < \*diātī, dēūtī > (dīpa-varttikā); দিয়াশলাই > দেয়াশলাই, দেশলাই < diyāsālāi, dēyās(ā)lāi, dēśālāi > (dīpa-śālākā-, \*-śālākikā); দেবখো < \*dia-rakhuā > dērākhō > (dīpa-rakṣa-); দেয়ালী, দেয়ালী < diyālī, dēālī > (dīpāvalī-); দিল < dilā > (OIA. dīta-); MB. নিয়ড় < niyāṛḍ > (nikaṭa); নিরালা < nirālā > (nirālaya-); নিশী < niśī > (\*niśītha, niśītha); নিষুতি < niṣuṭi > (niṣupta-); \*নিহাঈ, নেহাই < \*nihāi, nēhāi > *anvil* (\*nidhāpikā); নিহারে, নেহারে < \*nihārē, nēhārē > (nibhālayati); MB. পিয়া < piyā > (priya-); পিয়াল < piyālā > (priyāla); পিয়ারী, পেয়ারী, প্যারী < piyārī, pēyārī, pyārī > (priya-kārikā); \*পিঅলী, পিউলি < \*piālī, piulī > (pīta-la-); † পিয়ে < piyē > (pibati); \*পিউশী, পিশি < \*piuśī, piśī > (piṭṭ-ṣvasrikā); পিষে < piṣē > (\*piṣati, pinaṣṭi); পিঙ্কে, পিঁধে < piṅkē, piṅdhē > (apinaddha-); MB. বিহি < bihi > (vidhi); বীড়া < bīṛā > *packet, coil* (vīṭa-); † শির < śirā > (śiras); শিথান < śithānā > from \*শিরথান < \*śirā-thānā > *head of the bed* (śiras-sthāna); \*শিহর, শিঅর, শিয়র < \*śihārā, śi(y)ārā > (śikhara); শিল < śilā > (śilā); শিয়াল < śiyālā > (śiāla, śrīgāla); † সীয়ে < śiyē > (śivati); সৌতি < sūti > (śmantikā); হিলে, হিলান < hilē, hilān > (abhi-√/I, abhi-√lag ?), see p. 313; হিয়া < hiyā > (hiaā-, hīdaya-); etc.

(ii) < ī > of MIA. followed by two consonants < < ī, ṛ, ṣ > in OIA. ইঁট, ইঁট < Itā, Itā > (\*iṅṭa-, \*iṅṭha-, iṅṭ(h)a- = iṣṭa-ka); MB. ইঁছিল < ichilā > (icchita-ila); ইঁদুর < idurā > (indura); ইঁদারা, ইঁদেরা < idārā, idērā > *masonry well* (indrāgāra-); \*কিঁকুআ, কেঁচো < \*kiṅcuā, kēcō > *earth-worm* (cf. kiṅcu-la-ka); চিকন < cikānā > *fine, thin* (cikvaṇa); চিন < cinā > (cinna); চিল < cilā > (cilla); \*চিঁচান, চেঁচান < \*ciṅcānā, cēcānā > (\*cieca-, \*ciṅca, cf. cit-kāra); ছিঁট < chiṅṭā > *chintz* (kṣipta + citra); ছিঁড়ে < chiṅṭē > *tears* (chiṅṭati); জিঁভ < jibhā > (jibbhā, jihvā); টাঁট, টাঁট < ḍhīṭ(h)ā > (\*ḍhiṅṭṭha, dhṛṣṭa); তিন < tin > (tiṅṇi, triṅṇi); MB. তীথ, তীক্ষি, তীক্খি < tīkhā, tīkhi > (tīkṣṇa-); তিস < tiśā > in ছত্তিস < chāttisā > etc. (triṅṣat), restricted by the *sts.* তিরিশ < tiriśā >; MB. দিঁঠি < diṅṭhi > (diṅṭhi, dṛṣṭi); MB. দীঘল < dīghālā > (dīrgha-la); নিকাস < nikāśā > (niṣkāśa); নিঁহুর < niṅhurā > (niṅṭhura); MB. নিবড় < nibār- > *finish* (nir-vṛṭ); নিবায় < nibāy > (nirvāpayati); নিম < nimā > (nimba); MB. নিছনী < nichānī > (nirmaṅchanikā); নিদয় < nidāyā > (nirdaya); MB. নিশাস < niśāsā > (niṅśvāsa); MB. নিসান < niśānā > *music* (niṅśvāna); পিঁজে < piṅjē > (piṅjati); পিঁছল < piṅḥālā > (picchala); MB. পিঁঙল < piṅḥālā >



(piṅgala); \*পিপল, পিপুল < \*pipālṣ, pipulṣ > (pippali); পিঠ < piṭhṣ > (piṭṭha, pṛṣṭha); পিঠা < piṭhā > *cake* (piṣṭaka); পিতল < piṭālṣ > (pittala); বিভল < bibhālṣ > (bibbhala, vihvāla); বিছা < bichā > (vṛṣcā-, cf. vṛṣcika); বিছানা < bichānā > *bed* (vicchādāna-); বিটলা < biṭṣlā > *ugly, vicious* (dēśi viṭṭhāla- *polluting*); বিনতি < bināti > (viṅṅattia, vijñaptikā); ভিখ < bhikhṣ > (bhikṣā); ভিন < bhinṣ > (bhinna); ভিল < bhilṣ > (bhilla-); ভীমরুল < bhīmṣ-rulṣ > for \*ভিঃরুল < bhiṅ-rulṣ > *hornet* (bhṛṅga-rōla); মিশে < miṣe > (miśriyatē); মিশায় < miśāṣ > (miśrāpayati); রৌবে, রিবে < riṣe > (riṣyati); \*লিঙ্গট, লেঙ্গট < \*liṅgāṭṭā, lēṅgāṭṭṣ > (liṅga-paṭṭā); শিকা < śikā > (śikyā-); শিঠা, শিটা < śiṭ(h)ā > *lees, dregs* (śiṣṭa-); সিঁদুর < sidūrṣ > (sindura); সিধা < sidhā > (siddha-); হিং < hiṅ > (hiṅgu); হিতাল, হেঁতাল < hitālṣ, hētālṣ > (hintāla); etc., etc.

(4) < ũ, ū > Initial, and in Initial Syllables.

164. (i) < ũ, ū > followed by one consonant remain < u > in NB., except where altered to < ō > by Vowel Harmony. The NB. < u > is long in monosyllables. উপাস < upāsṣ > *sts.* (upavāsa); MB. উরে, উএ < uē > (udēti); উনিস < uniṣṣ > (una-viñṣā); OB., MB. উয়ারী < uārī > *adorned palace or pavilion*, as in বার-উয়ারী, বাবোরারী < bārṣ-uārī, bārwārī > *festivity in a pavilion erected by public subscription*: cf. উয়ারী or ওয়ারী, *place-name in Dacca district* (upakāra, -ika); উরত, উরত < uruṭṣ, urātṣ > (\*uru-vant- = ūru: cf. ūrv-asthī-vant- *thigh and knee*; or? ūru-asthī *thigh-bone*); কুঁচিরা, কুঁচে < kūciyā, kūcē > *a fish, like the eel* (kucika); কুল < kulṣ > (kula); MB. কুমার, কোমর, কোয়ার < kuwārā, kōwārṣ, kōwārṣ > (kumāra); কুয়া < kūā > (kūpa-); কুর, খুর < khurṣ > (kṣura); গু < gu (= gū) > (gūtha); গুয়া < guā > (guvāka); চুবে, চোবে < cuṣe > cuṣē, cōṣē (cuṣati); চুঁচ < chūc > (sūci); চুঁএ, চুঁয় < chūc, chōy > (MIA. chuvāi = sṛṣāti); জুয়া < juā > (dyūta-); জুঁই, য়ুঁই < jūi > (yūthikā); তুলা < tūlā > *cotton* (tūla-); তুষ, তুষ < tūṣṣ, tūṣṣ > (tūṣa); তুরিত < turitṣ > (\*turanta: \*tvar-ant-); ধুয়া < dhūā > (dhrūva-); ধুন < dhūnē > (dhūṅai, dhūnōti); পুঁই < pūi > (pūtikā); পুড়ে < puṛe > *burns* (puṛati); পুরানা < purānā > (purātana-); পুরে < pūrē > (pūrayati); ফুড়ে < phuṛe > (sphuṛati); ভুখ bhukṣṣ > (bubhukṣā);

ভূই < bhūi > (bhūmi); ভোমা < bhōmā > < \*bhuma > (as in Early Assamese) *eyelash* (\*bhuva, \*bhruva, bhrū); ভুজালি, ভোজালি < bhujāli, bhōjāli > (bhujapāla-); মু < mu > (mukha); মূলা < mūlā > (mūla-); সূঁয়া < sūā > *tendrils* (sūka-); সুনৈ < sūnē > (sūnāi, śrṇōti); শূঁয়া < sūā > (śūka, sū-); etc., etc.

(ii) OIA. < u, ū > before two consonants = MIA. < ũ > Bengali < u, ū > : †উক < uk > (ulkā); উখড়ে < ukhāre > (ukkhāde, utkhāyati); উগরে < ugāre > (udgārayati); উচা < ũcā > (\*uñca, ucca-); উজায় < ujāy > (ud-yāti); উজাড় < ujār > *treeless, waste* (?ud-jhāṭa); উঠে < uṭhē > (ut-sthā-); উড়ে < urē > (uḍḍē, uḍḍayatē = uḍḍiyatē); †উদ < ud > (udra); উথল < uṭhal > *overflow* (utsthala); †উন < ũn > (urṇā); উনানী, উনান < unāni > *oven* (\*uṣṇāpanikā); উমড় < umār > (unmarda); উভা < ubhā > (ubbha-, ūrdhva-); উমায় < umāy > *shimmers* (uṣmāyatē); উলসে < ulāsē > (ullasati); কুঁকড়া < kūk(u)ṛā > (kukkuṭa-); কুমার < kumār > (kumbha-kāra); কুমীর < kumīr > (kumbhīra); কুঁচি < kūci > *bristle, hard broom* (kureikā); কুঁচিকি < kūcki > *groin* (kuñc-); কুমড়া < kumṛā > (kuṣmāṇḍa); কুঁদ < kūd > *a flower* (kunda); কুঁদে < kūde > *jumps* (kurdati); কুঁজা < kūjā > (kubja-); খুড়া < khurā > (khulla = kṣudra + tāta); খুদ < khud > *broken rice* (kṣudra); গুছান < guehānā > *arranged* (guecha-); গুজরাট < gujārāṭ > (gurjara-trā, Beng. -t- < rāṣṭra); চুম্বে < cumē > (cumbati); চুক < cuk > *mistake, fall* (eukka, cyut-kṛ); চূণ < cūṇ > (cūrṇa); জুনা < jhunā > *old, dried-up coco-nut* (?jūrṇa-); জুতার < chutār > (\*sūtra-kāra = sūtra-dhāra); OB. ছুধ (Caryā 9) > ছুত < ehudha > chut > *impurity, the touch of which is pollution* (?kṣudha : infl. of √chu- touch); জুবে, জুবে < jujhē > (yudhyatē); টুটে < ṭuṭē > (truṭyati); ডুমুর < ḍumur > (udumbara); ডুবে < ḍubē > *sinks* (dēśi buḍḍāi); হুঁড়ে < ḥūrē > *seeks* (dēśi ḥuṇḍhāi); তুমি < tumi > (MIA. tumhē); তুঁতিয়া, তুঁতে < tūtiyā, tūte > (tūttha-); হুঁদিয়া, হুঁদে < dūdiyā, dūde > *quarrelsome* (\*dunda-, dvandva-); হুদ < dudh > (dugdha); ধুঁয়া < dhūt(h)urā > (dhūstura-); পুঁড় < pūr > (puṇḍra); পুঁয়ী, পুঁয়, OB. পোখিরী < pukhur(i), pōkhiri > (puṣkarinī, puṣkiriṇī in the 'Divyāvadāna'); পুছে < puchē > (pucchāi, pṛechati); পুত < put > (putra); MB. পুনিম < pūṇima > (pūrṇimā); পূব < pūb > (pūrva); ফুটে < phuṭē > *bursts* (sphuṭyatē); বুবে < bujhē > (budhyati); বুড়া < burā > (buḍḍha-, vṛddha); বুঁদ < būd > (\*bundu, bindu); মুগ < mug > (mudga); MB. মুড়ী < mudārī > *ring* (mudrā); মুখা < muthā > (musta-); MB. মুঠা



< ruṭhā > (ruṣṭa-); শুখা < śukhā > (suṣka-); শুড় < śūrṣ > (suṇḍa); শুঠ < śūṭhṣ > (suṇṭhī); MB. শুন < śūnṣ > (śūnya); etc., etc.

OIA. < i, I, u, ū > occurred as < ě, ǝ > in MIA., before two consonants : the reason for this lowering of the high vowels of OIA. is not clear (see Pischel, 'Gramm. der Prakrit-sprachen, §§ 119, 122, 125). NIA. retains the < ē, ō > vowels in some words inherited from MIA. In Bengali, instances are বেল < bēlṣ > (bēlla, bilva); হেথা < hēthā > (ēttha, itthā); OB. বণ্ট < beṅṭa > (Caryā 33 : = bāṭṭa?) (vēṅṭa, for \*viṅṭa = vṛnta); কৌখ < kōkhṣ > (\*koṅkha: cf. kuṅṣi); গোছা < gōchā > (gōccha, for guccha = \*gṛp-sa); ছেঁদা < chēḍā > (\*chēḍa-, chidra); তেঁতুল < tēṭul > (tēṅtali, tintiḍi dēṣi); মোড় < mōṛṣ > head of street, (?) মোড়ল < mōṛālṣ > head-man, chief (see p. 320) (mōṇḍa, muṇḍa); MB. পোথ < pōthā > big book (pōtthaa, pustaka); OB. পোখিরি < pōkhirī > (\*pōkkhira-, puṣkara-); MB. মৌল < mōla > (mōlla, mūlya); cf. also MB. খেড় < khērṣ > (khēḍḍā = \*khīḍḍa, kiḍḍa = krīḍḍā); OB. তাঁবোলা < tābōlā > (tambōlla : tāmbulā).

(5) MIA. < ě, ē; ǝ, ō >.

165. MIA. < ě, ē > and < ǝ, ō > < OIA. < ē, ai, ay > and < ō, au, av >, remain in Bengali, except where they are modified in post-Bengali times by Umlaut or Vowel-Harmony. From Early Middle Bengali times, it would seem that < ē > in initial syllables, with a low position, became the open < è > = [ɛ]; this occurs in New Bengali as [ɛ] or as [æ]. It is possible that < ō > similarly tended to become the open < ò > = [ɔ], but in New Bengali this is not a noticeable feature, although in the Bengali of the extreme West this broad pronunciation is at times heard.

(i) OIA. < ē > before one consonant > MIA. < ē > Bengali < ē > [e, ɛ, æ] : e.g., এ < ē > this (ēa, ēṭad); এগার < ēgārā > (Late MIA. < ēgārāha >, for < ēārāha > = OIA. < ēkādaśa > : < ēga > a Late MIA. sts. from < ēka >) † একরি < ēj(w)ārī > (ēka-jvara-); কেয়ারী < kēyārī > flower bed (kēdārikā); কেউ, কেহো < kēu < kēhō > (\*kēvō, \*kēvi, \*kē'pi = kaḥ api); খেয়া < khēyā > ferry (kṣēpa-); খেই < khēi > thread wound round (kṣēpa); খেল < khēlṣ > (khēlā); চেলা < cēlā > [cēlāla] (cēlāka); চেড়ী < cērī > (cēṭikā); ছে < chē > (chēda); ছেঁচে, সঁচে < chēcē, śēcē > (\*śēñcayati, śēcayati); MB. দে < dē >

(dēha, dēva); দেৱ < dēor > [dæor] (dēvara); MB. দেৱা < dēyā > *sky, cloud* (dēva-); দেৱালিয়া > দেউলে < dēwāliyā > dēulē > *pauper* (dēva-kulika-); MB. দেহা < dēhārā > (dēva-grha-); দেয় < dēy > (\*dēti = dāti, dadāti); \*দেৱী > দেউড়ী < \*dēwāri > dēurī > (cf. Skt. dēhālī); MB. দেৱাসিনী < dēyāsini > *priestess* (dēva-vāsini); নেহ > নেই < nēha > nēi > (snēha); নেউছা < nēuchā < \*nēwāchā > (nēpathya-); পেঁচা < pēcā > (pēcaka); পেঁড়া < pērā > (pētaka); ভেড়া < bhērā > (\*mheḍa-, \*mēha-ḍa-, mēṣa-); ভেলা < bhēlā > (bhēlaka); MB. রেহ < rēhā > (rēkhā); হেঁয়ালী < hēyālī > *riddle* (hēmālikā); সোঁতী < sōṭī > *a flower* (sēvanti); etc., etc.

(ii) OIA. < ē > before two consonants > MIA. < ẽ > before two consonants > Old Bengali < ē > before single consonant = NB. < ē > [e, ɛ, æ]. Also MIA. formations, *sts.* or *dēsī*, or otherwise, with < ẽ > before two consonants.

Examples: এক < ẽkṣ > (MIA. *sts.* ẽkka); এত < ẽtā > (MIA. ẽttia-); এবে < ẽbē > (MIA. ẽmba-); এথা, হেথা < (h)ẽthā > (MIA. ẽttha-); খেত < khẽtṣ > (kṣẽtra); MB. গেঁড়ুয়া < gẽruā > (MIA. \*gẽṇḍu-); জেঠা < jẽṭhā > (jyẽṣṭha-tāta); দেখে < dẽkhē > (dẽkkaḥā, ḍṛkṣ-); নেড় < nẽṛṣ > (*dēsī* lẽṇḍa); নেত < nẽtṣ > *fine cloth* (nẽtra); MB. পেম < pẽmṣ > (pẽmma, prẽman); পেলে > ফেলে < pẽlē, phẽlē > *casts, throws down* (pẽllāi, prẽrayati); পেট < pẽtṣ > (*dēsī* pẽṭṭa); বেটা < bẽṭā > *son* (bẽṭṭa- < ? vētra-: cf. vaṅśa *family*); বেত < bẽtṣ > (vētra); বেড়া < bẽrā > (vēḍha, vēḍḍha, vēṭṭha, vēṣṭa-); শেষ, শেষ < sējṣ > (sẽjja, śayyā); শেল < sēlṣ > (sẽlla, śalya); শেঁঠ < sēṭṭṣ > (sẽṭṭhi, śrẽṣṭhin); হেঁট < hẽṭṭṣ > (hẽṭṭha = ? \*adhiṣṭāt; Sanskritisation, in the 'Mahā-vastu,' hẽṣṭā); etc.

(iii) OIA. < ai > > MIA. < ē, ẽ > > Old Bengali < ē > > NB. < e > [e, ɛ, æ]; also OIA. < -ay- > > MIA. < ē, ẽ > > Bengali < ē >. গেরুয়া < gẽruā > (\*gāiruka); MB. চেঁঅন < cẽwānā > (cāitanya); তে < tē > in compounds (tray-); তেল < tẽlṣ > (tẽlla, tāilā); MB. বেঁজ < bẽjā > (vāidyā); বেহাই, বেয়াই < bẽhāi, bẽyāi > (vāivāhika); শেঁয়াল < sēyālā > (śāivāla-); etc.

*Dēsī* words like চেঁর < ḍhẽrṣ > *much* (cf. MIA. *dēsī* ḍaharī, Beng. ḍaharṣ *deep*), চেঁকী < ḍhẽkī > *husking machine*, চেঁড়স < ḍhẽṛāṣṣ > *a vegetable, 'lady's fingers,'* চেঁড়ী < ḍhẽṛī > *an ear-ornament*, চেঁকুর < ḍhẽkurṣ > *belching*, চেঁকা < ḍhẽkā > *a push*, etc., are of uncertain origin.



## (6) MIA. &lt; ɔ̄, ȳ &gt;.

166. (i) OIA < ȳ > before one consonant remains in Bengali: e.g., MB. কোইল, কুইলা < kōilā, kuilā > (kōkila-); কোল < kōlā > (krōḍa); কোণ < kōṅā > (kōṅa); কোষা < kōṣā > (kōṣa-); গোআলা < gōālā > (gōpāla-); গোরু < gōru > (gō-rūpa); গোসাঁই < gōsāi > (gōsvāmin); বোড়া < ghōrā > (ghōṭa-, *dēśi*); জো, যো < jō > *opportunity, chance* (yōga); বোয়ায় < jōāy > *is supplied* (yōgāyatē); তোড়ে < tōrē > (trōṭayati); তোলে < tōlē > (tōlayati); থোড়া < thōrā > (stōka-+ḍa-); দোলা < dōlā > (dōla-); †পোলা < pōlā > (pōta-la-); পোষ < pōṣā > (pōṣa); ফোড়া < phōrā > (sphōṭa-); MB. মো < mō > (mōha); মোআ < mōā > (mōdaka-); মোচা < mōcā > *plantain* (mōca in Pali: *dēśi*); রৌ < rō > (rōman, lōman); রোয় < rōy > (rōpayati); MB. শোহে < śōhē > (śōbhatē); ষোল < ṣōlā > (ṣōḍaśa); সোতা < sōtā > (sōnta-, srōtas); etc.

(ii) OIA. < ȳ > before two consonants > MIA. < ɔ̄ > before two consonants > Bengali < o >: e.g., MB. ওঠ < oṭhā > (oṭṭha, oṣṭha); কোটাল < kōṭālā > (kōṭṭa-pāla, kōṣṭha-pāla); কোল < kōlā > *Kōl, non-Aryan people* (MIA. kōlla); বোপা < khōpā > (MIA. khōmpa- < ?); গোড় < gōṛā > *fleshy navel; a non-Aryan tribe* (MIA. *dēśi* gōṛḍa); গোঠ < gōṭhā > (gōṣṭha); গোট < gōṭā > (gōtra); ঘোল < ghōlā > (MIA. ghōlla = ghūrṇa-?); গৌফ < gōpā > (\*gōmpa, gumpā); গোফা < gōphā > *cave* (\*gōppa-, gumpā < ?); জোত < jōtā > (yōktra); জোংড়া < jōṅṅā > *shell fish* (MIA. \*jōṅga-ḍa-, *dēśi*, as in OB.); জোনাকি < jōnā-ki > *moonlight*, as in Assamese, = *fire-fly* in Bengali (jōṅha-, jyōtsnā); টোপর < ṭōpārā > *helmet, bridegroom's tinsel crown* (MIA. \*ṭōppa-ra-: *dēśi*); ডোম < ḍōmā > (ḍōmba); ঢোল < ḍhōlā > *drum* (MIA. ḍhōlla-: *dēśi*); পোখা, পোখী > পুখী < pōkhā, pōthī > puthī > (potthā < \*pōstaka, Skt. pustaka, pustikā); বোড়া < bōrā > *a snake* (bōḍra-); যোত < jōtā > (yōtra); লোধ < lōdhā > (lōdhra); etc.

(iii) OIA. < āu-, āv-, āv-, uv- > before single and double consonants; also OIA. groups < -am-, -up-, etc. > < -av-, uv-, > Late MIA. < ȳ-, uv- > before single consonant, < ɔ̄ > before two consonants > Bengali < o >: e.g., ওজা < ojhā > (ōjjha, uvajjhā, upādhyāya); ওড়ন, ওড়ন < oṛ(h)ānā > (ōḍḍhāna, \*ōvōḍḍhāna, ava-vēṣṭana); †ওস < ośā > *dew* (\*ośśa, avaśyā); ওড়িয়া, উড়িয়া < oṛiyā > uriyā > (ōḍḍiya-, āṇḍriya-); কোচ, কোচ < kōcā, kōcā > *a North*

*Bengal tribe* (\*kaṵōca: cf. Sanskritisations kuvaca, kambōja); গোরী < gōrā > (gāura-); চোর < cōrṣ > (cāura); ছোঁঞ < chōṅ > (MIA. chuvai = sprṣati-); ছোঁচ < chōcṣ > (\*soñca, sāuca); থোর < thōy > (thāvei, sthāpayati); দোন < dōnā > leaf-cup (damanaka-); ধোঁবা < dhōbā > (√dhāv; -b-< ?); নো, লো, লোহা < nō, lō, lōhā > (lāuha-); সোনা < sōnā > (suvarṇa-); সোহাগ < sōhāgṣ > husbands' love (sāubhāgya); MB. লোণ, লুন > লুন < lōṅṣ, lunṣ, nunṣ (lavaṇa) >; মো, তো < mō, tō > (mama, tava); সোর < sōy > (suvai, svapiti); পোয়া < pōā > ¼ (pāvaa, \*pāḍaga, pāda-ka); etc., etc.

Cases of interchange between < i > and < ē > and between < u > and < ō >, which characterise Bengali phonology, are treated later, under Vowel Harmony.

### [III] VOWELS IN THE INTERIOR OF WORDS.

#### (1) Vowels not in Contact in MIA.

167. Elision of vowels in the middle of words through absence of stress occurs sporadically in the earlier forms of IA. Examples have been adduced at p. 278. Elision of whole syllables by haplogy sometimes occur in OIA.: e.g. Vedic < tuvīra(va)vān, ir(adh)adhyāi, ma(dhu)-dugdha, śīrṣa-(sa)kti >, etc. (Cf. Maedonell, 'Vedic Grammar for Students,' p. 19.) But a regular tendency to drop unstressed vowels in the interior of words manifested itself only as late as the 15th century in Bengali, as we have seen before (pp. 295 ff.). It would be seen that the preference which Bengali has developed for words of two syllables, or *morae*, is responsible for the loss of a medial vowel: this loss commonly takes place when a primitive word (primitive so far as Bengali is concerned) is extended by the addition of an < -ā > or < -ī > affix. This is the dimetric or bimoric (dvi-mātrika) principle operating on length in Bengali words (see 'Bengali Phonetics,' § 55).

Loss of vowels in the interior of words through lack of stress, in MB. and NB.:—

(i) Loss of OIA., MIA. < -ā- >: e.g., আগলার < āgālāṣ > guards (argalayati); \*আটতৌস, আটত্রিস < āṭṭ(r)isṣ > (aṣṭa-triṅsat); ওড়না < ōṛṇā > veil (ava-vēṣṭana-); উনিশ < unīṣṣ > (una-viṅṣati); করনা, কন্ন < kārṇā, kānnā >



(karaṇa-), and similar cases of the verbal noun in <-ana->, like ধরনা < dhāraṇā > (dharana-), কলনা, কল্লা < kālāṇā, kālā > *coquetry* (kalana-), কাঁদনা, কান্না < kāḍāṇā, kāṇnā > (krandana), etc., etc.; কাঠড়া < kāṭṭhāṛā > *lumber* (kāṣṭha + ṛa-); কলমী < kalāmī > (kalambika); গুমসা < gumṣā-sā > (? grīṣma-); ঘোড়গাড়ী < ghōṛṣ-gāṛī > (ghōṛa- \*gaddikā); চিতল, চিথল < cit(h)āḷ > *a fish* (cittabala, citra-phala); টাকশাল < ṭākṣ-sāl > *mint* (ṭaṅka-sālā); গাধা < gādhā > (gaddaha-, gardabha-); পঁয়ত্রিস for -তীস < pāyṣ-t(r)is > (panna-tiṅsa, pañca-triṅsat); বধনা < bādḥāṇā > *water-jug* (vardhana-); বাদলা < bādḷā > *rains* (vardala-); পসারী < pāsārī > < \*paṇṣ-sārī >, cf. Hindi < pansārī > (paṇya-śālika); নরণ < naraṅ > < \*naruṅ > < nāruṅ > (\*naha-haraṇīā, nakha-haraṇikā); ময়রা < māyārā > (madaka-); ময়না < māynā > (madana-); ভিন্নরুল, \*ভিন্নরুল < bhimṣ-rula, \*bhiṅṣ-rula > (bhṅga-rōla); সিঁথা < sīthā > < \*sīṭhānta > (sīṃanta-); সবড়ী < sākṣṛī > *leavings of meal, refuse* (\*saṅkaṭikā); শিথান < śithāṇ > < \*śirṭhāṇā > *head of bed* (śiras + sthāna); ভাসুর < bhāsūr > < \*bhāi-śvaśūrā > *husband's elder-brother* (bhrātṛ-śvaśūra); দেবখো < dēṛkhō > < \*diā-rākh-uā > (dīpa-rakṣa-); sts. কদমা < kāḍāmā > *a sweet-meat* (kadamba-); ঘটকালি < ghāṭṭkālī > *profession of a match-mater* (sts. ghaṭaka + āla-); ছকড়া < chākṣṛā > (\*chakkaṭa-, śakaṭa-); মেঘলা < mēghlā > (mēgha-la-); and in recent polysynthetic expressions like 'অ্যাদিন' < æddin > *so many days*, (= ētā diṅ), যদি < jāddin > *so long* (= jāṭā diṅ), তখনি < tākhāni > *immediately* (= tākhāṇ + i), etc.

In the affix <-tava->, giving the future (and verbal noun) affix of Bengali, -ইব- <-ibā->, there is loss of <-ā->: করিব < kāribā > (kāribba, kariabba, \*karitavya, kartavya); দিব < dibā > (\*diabba, \*ditavya = dātavya); চলিব < calibā > (\*caliabba, calitavya, cf. cartavya); নিব < nibā > (\*niabba, nētavya), etc., etc. This loss of course, is of Vowels in Contact (q.v.), and is pre-Bengali. Also in the past and adjectival affix ইল <-ilā > < -(i)ta + -ila >: সূতিল < sutilā > (\*suttilla, sutta-illa, supta + ila); পাকিল < pākilā > (\*pakkilla-, pakka-illa, pakva + ila-); etc.

(ii) OIA., MIA. <-ā->: loss in Bengali, in Late MB. and NB. times: অখড়া < ākhṣṛā > (akṣa-vāṭa-); অঙ্গরা < āṅṛā > (aṅgāra-); উখড়ে, উখড় < ukhāṛē, ukhṣṛāṣ > from উখড়ে, উখাড় < ukhāṛē, ukhāṛāṣ > (utkhātayati); so উপড়ে, উপড় < upāṛē, upṣṛāṣ > (utpātayati); OB.

< kāhārā > (kāra-gṛha) ; কুমড়া < kuṃṣṛā > (kuṣmāṣṭa-) ; Calcutta Bengali গয়লা < gāyḷā > = গোয়লা < gōālā > (gōpāla-) ; গাবরাট < gābṛātḥ > (garbhā-gāra-kāṣṭha) ; বাঙ্গলা < bāṅ(g)ḷā > (vaṅgāla-) ; etc. Cf. Standard Colloquial forms of names, with implication of contempt, like রাখলা < rākhḷā > from < rākhālḥ > a personal name (= rakṣā-pāla-), গোপলা < gōplā > sts. (= gōpāla-) ; etc. ; and ' কোজ্জাক ' < kōjjācā > = কোথা যাইতেছ < kōthā jāitēchā > where are you going? , কোথেকে < kōthēkē > = কোথা থাকিয়া < kōthā thākiyā > from where? etc., etc.

Unstressed original < -ā- > and < -ā- > -ā-, when flanked before or after, or on both sides, by a high vowel (preferably an < -i >), are changed to < -u- > in Late MB. and NB. The intermediate stage of this change was an [o] sound : [o > o > u]. This is due to Vowel Harmony which characterises Bengali phonology : see next chapter.

(iii) OIA., MIA. < -ī-, -i- >. Between consonants, the < i > vowel in the interior of a word in Bengali is reduced to < ā >, as it is found in MB. and NB. orthography, and it is now dropped in NB. Possibly in Late MB. the elision of the < i > vowel characterised the pronunciation ; although the orthography, by not using the *virāma* in the place of the elided or quiescent < i >, suggests the presence of, and, it seems, even helped to bring in, an < ā = ā > pronunciation. Examples : কুটনী < kuṭnī > *bawd* (kuṭṭinī) ; খন্তা < khantā > (khanitra-) ; ঘরণী < ghār(ā)nī >, OB. < gharinī > (gṛhinī) ; চাঁদনী, চাঁদিনী < cādni < cādinī > *moonlight* (\*candrinikā) ; পরখ < pārākhḥ >, পরখা < pārākhā > (parikṣā, parikṣ-) ; পয়লা < pāyḷā, \*pāhlā, pābālā, pāhilā > (pahilla-, pratha+ila-) ; পরে < pārē > from MB. পহে < pārhē, pāhrē = pāhirē, pārihē > (\*parihai, paridhiyatē) ; পড়শী < pārśī > from MB. পড়িশী, পড়িশী < pārīśī, pārāśī >, OB. < paḍiyēśī > (prativēśin) ; পরশে < pārśē > *serves food*, OB. < \*pārīyēśai > (pārivēśayati ; cf. Hindī parōsai) ; পান্তা < pāntā > *watery* (pānī, pāniya-) ; পিপড়া < pīpṛā > MB. পিপীড়া < pīpīṛā >, OB. < \*pimpīḍā > (also < pimpaḍā >, as in Sarvānanda) (cf. Skt. pipīlikā) বড়শী < bār(ā)śī > *hook* (baḍiśa-) ; মিন্সা < minsā > *fellow, man (in contempt)* < \*minisā, munisā >, cf. †মুন্সি < munisḥ > *day-labourer* (Aśōkan Prakrit munisa = manṣya) ; সরষা, সরিষা < sārṣā, sārīṣā [jōriṣa] (sarisava-, sarṣapa-) ; sts. form like পেত্নী < pētnī > (prētnī) ; colloquial forms of names,



contemptuous, like বিপনে, রসকে, ফটকে < bipnē, rāskē, phāṭkē > etc. (vipina + iyā, sphaṭika + iyā, rasika + iyā); etc., etc.

In NB. compounds also: চিরুন-দাঁড়ী < cirun-dāṭī > *comb-toothed* from চিরুনী < cirunī > (= \*cirāwanī) *comb*; পানফল < pān-phālā > for পানী-ফল < pānī-phālā > *water chestnut*; পান-কোড়ী < pān-kāurī > a *water-bird* (pānī + kāurī, cf. kukuḍā, kukkuṭa-); পাখ-মার < pākh-māṭā > a *bird-killer* (pākṣī + māra-); গাড়মান < gār-ānā, gārāvānā > *cab-man* (gārī + wānā), etc.; সেদিনে < sē-dinē > *on that day* > colloquially 'সিদ্দনে' [jīdne], etc. Intervocal < -i- >, after < -ā-, -ā >, is the most common Bengali vowel to have been dropped in the development of NB. from MB. The vowel < i > wherever possible underwent epenthesis in MB.; and the epenthetic < i > was weakened and dropped in West Bengali, altering the quality of the contiguous vowels, although this epenthetic < i >, full or weakened, still remains in East and North Bengali. (See under 'Epenthesis.')

There is loss of < -i- > in the formation of the past and adjectives base -ইল < -ilā > of Bengali: and this loss is pre-Bengali: e.g., চলিল < calilā > (\*calilla-, \*calia-illa-, calita + ila-); আনিল < ānilā > (\*āñilla-, cf. Ardhamāgadhi āñillīya; \*āñīa-illa-, āñita + ila); রাখিল < rākhilā > (rakkhilla-, rakkhia-illa-, rakṣita + ila); etc., etc. (See later, 'Vowels in Contact.')

(iv) OIA. and MIA. < -ū-, -ū- >. Between consonants, this vowel behaved like < i > in Bengali—although the < ā > pronunciation of < -u- > is not so common. Examples: আঙ্গটা, আঙ্গটী < āṅṭā, āṅṭī > *ring* (aṅguṣṭha-); আকশী < ākṣī > *pole-hook for gathering fruit* (aṅkuṣikā); উচ-কপালী < ūc-kāpālī > *high browed (term of abuse among women)*, cf. উচু < ūcu > *high*; কুকড়া < kūkrā > (kukkuṭa-); কুড়মী, কুর্মী < kuṛmī, kurmī > a *caste* (kuṭumbin); ঠাকরন < ṭhākrān > *honoured lady* (MIA. \*ṭhakkurānī); বাবলা < bāblā > *acacia* (barbula-); MB. নিহড় < nihṛ- > *return* (ni-ghuṭ) is found as নিহড় < nihāṭ- >; similarly, বাহড়, বাহড় < bāhṛ-, bāhāṭ- > *return* (vi-ā-ghuṭ); বিজলী < bij(ā)lī > from বিজুলী < bijulī > (vijju-, vidyut-); familiar forms of names, like 'ওংলা' [otlo] for অতুল, অতুল-উআ < ātulā + uā >, etc. Cases of loss of < -u- >, however, are not so common as that of < i >.

Through epenthesis also < -u- > is lost. In Late MB., and in most Bengali dialects, this epenthetic < -u- > became < i >, and fell together with it.

(v) MIA. < -ē- >, from various sources in OIA., is rarely lost in early Bengali. It is weakened to < i > in some cases, when followed by < i > in the next syllable, and to < ä >. E.g., OIA. < ākhēṭika > (< ? >) = OB. < ahēri > *hunter*; MIA. < amhēhi, tumhēhi > > Bengal অমি, তুমি < āmi, tumi >; OIA. < prativēsin > > MIA. < \*paḍivēśi > > OB. পড়বেশী < \*paḍavēśi > in MS. = < \*pariyēśi > > MB. < pāriśi > > NB. পড়শী < pāriśi >; OIA. < parivēśayati > > Late MIA. < \*pariwēśēi, -ai > > OB. < \*pariyēśai, \*paravēśai > > MB. \*পরিশে, পরশে < pāriśē, \*pārāśē > > NB. পরশে < pārāśē >; OB. < bahēnci > > NB. বহঁচী < bāci > *a fruit*; OIA. > bahēṭaka(?) (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' §115) > MIA. < bahēḍaa- > > OB. < bahēḍā, bahaḍā > (Sarvānanda) > MB. বহড় < bābāṛā >, NB. বহড় < bāyṛā > [bōḍṛā]; OIA. < kāravēlla, \*kāravēlla- > > Late MIA. < karavēlla > > NB. করেলা, ঙরলা < kārēlā, kār(ā)lā > *a vegetable*; sts. সন্দ < sāndā > > OB., MB. < \*sandaha > (sandehā); etc. Cf. Bengali আধলা < ādhilā > *a half piece*, Hindōstāni < adhēlā > .

The MIA. form in < -ē- > for the causative is lost to Bengali, having followed the simple verb form: OIA. < cālayati >, > Late MIA. < cālēi > > < \*cālai > > Beng. চলে < cālē >; MIA. < kārapayati = kārayati > > Late MIA. < karāvēi, karāvai > > B. করায় < kārāē >; etc.

In NB., following the bimoric principle, < -ē- > is commonly dropped in familiar forms of names, like < Varēndra- > > বরেন < bārēnḍ > : বরনা < bārṇā >, < Gaṇēśa- > : গণ্শ < gāṇśā >, < Narēśa- > : নর্শ < nārśā >, etc.

(vi) MIA. < -ō-, -ō- >, from various sources: loss rare in Bengali. MIA. < tambōla > > NB. তামলী < tāmlī > (tāmbulika); আলুনী < আলোনী < āluni < \*ālōni >, occasionally < ālṇi > (\*ālōṇia, alavaṇika); NB. দামড়া < dāmṛā >, cf. OB. < dāmbōḍā > (Sarvānanda) (dāmya-); পড়োল, পরোল, পরলা < pāṛōlḥ pāṛōlḥ, pār(ā)lā > (paṛōla-); etc. Cf. NB. গামছা < গা+মোছা < gāmehā < gā+ mōchā > *towel*, lit. *body-wiper*.

Like < -ā-, -ā- > -ā- > of Bengali flanked by high vowels, < -o- > in the interior of a word becomes < -u- >: this is treated under Vowel Harmony.

168. Interior vowels remain in Bengali when they occur (through loss of original MIA. or OB. final vowel) in the last syllable of the word in NB., and are closed by a consonant.



(i) < -ā- > : আঁচল < āncāla > (āncala); আশথ, অশথ < āśāthā, āśāthā > (āśvattha); উজল < ujalā > (ujjala); কাঁদন < kādāna > (krandana); কেওট, কেওট < kēāṭā, kēōṭā [kəoṭ] > (kēvaṭṭa, kāivarta); গাড়ল < gārāla > (gaḍḍala); ঘায়ল, ঘায়ল < ghāyāla, ghāyēla > (ghāta-la); চরণ < cārāṇā > (carāṇa); ছাঁদন, ছাঁদন < chāāna, chāōna > (chādāna); ছাঁদন < chāāna > (\*chādāna); জীঅন, জীঅন < jīāna, jīōna > (jīvana); ঢাকন < ḍhākāna > (\*ḍhakkāna, √sthag); তাতল < tātāla > (tapta-la); দেঅর, দেওর < dēārā, dēōrā [dēor] > (dēvara); নায়র < nāyārā > (nāgara); নিয়ড় < niyārā > (nikaṭa); নেঅছ, নেওছ, নেউছ < nēāch-, nēōch-, nēuch- > (nēvaccha, nēpathya); পাঁজর < pājārā > (pañjara); পিছল < picchāla > (piccha-la); পিতল < pitāla > (pittala < pita-la); কোড়ন < phōrāna > (sphoṭāna); বাঁধন < bādhāna > (bandhana); লালস < lālāsā > (lālasā); শাবল < śābāla > (śarvalā); সায়র, সায়ের < sāyārā, sāyērā > (sāgara); হঅন, হওন < hāāna, hāōna > *being* (\*ahāna < √as ? bhavana ?); etc., etc.

In a few words, < -ā- > occurs as < -i- > : the reason of this change is not clear : আঁগিনা < āṅ(g)inā >, besides আঁগন < āṅ(g)āna > (aṅgana); কাঁছিম < kāchīmā > (\*kacchiṅā, \*kacchiva, \*kaśśipa < kaśśyapa > kacchapa); ছাঁতিম < chātimā >, MB. ছাঁতিঅন, ছাঁতিয়ণ < chātiāna, chāniyāṇā > (chattavaṅṅa, chattivaṅṅa [Vararuci, II, 41] sapta-parṇa); OB. < pōkhira- > (puṣkara, puṣkariṅī, also puṣkiriṅī, as in the 'Divyāvādāna'); ফড়িঙ্গ, ফড়িৎ < phāṅiṅ(g) > *grass-hopper* (MIA. phaṅṅga, \*paṅṅga, patanṅa); etc.

In the present participle affix < -anta- > < ইত, ইতে < -itā (itā), itā > we have a regular change of < -ā- > to < -i- > in Bengali : e.g. চলিত < calit- > (calenta, calanta); বাঁহিত, জাঁহিত < jāit- > (jā-enta, jāanta = yant-); খাঁহিত < khāit- > (khāenta, khāanta, khādant-); তুরিৎ < turit > *quick* (turanta, \*turenta, \*tvarant-), etc. It is not unlikely that here there is the influence of the past and future bases in < -il-, -ib- >. The 3rd persons plural affix < -anti > became in MB. এন্ত < -entā >, now এন < -ēnā > in NB. : করেন < kārēnā > < করন্ত < kārentā > (karanti, kurvanti) : it is a case of Umlaut in Early MB. Change of < -ā- > to < -o- >, through influence of a < -w- > glide, is found in a few instances given above. This, and cases of change of < -ā- > to < -u- > from this < -o- >, through influence of a high vowel < i, u > in the word, are treated under Vowel Harmony : see later. < -ā- >

becomes < e > in Bengali through contact with the < y > glide : a few examples can be found above.

In certain cases, < -ă- > occurs as < -ā- >, both before one consonant and two consonants of MIA. : e.g., করাত < kārāt̃ < \*kara-vāta > (MIA. < kara-vatta >, OIA. < kara-patra > ; cf. Marāṭhī, Gujarātī < karvat >, Hindī, < karaut, karōt >); চড়াই < cārāi > *sparrow*, beside চড়াই < \*cārui < \*cārāi > (caṭaka, \*caṭakikā); MB. নয়ান < nāyāñ > (nayana); MB. বয়ান < bayāñ > (bāyāna, vadana); † সয়াল < sāyāl̃ > (sakala); MB. পড়াহ, পড়া < pāpū(hā) > (paṭaha). Instances are not very many.

(ii) < -ā- >, = MIA. < -ā-, -ă- > : আনাঙ্গ < ānāṅ̃ > (annājja, annādyā); OB. < ācāya > (ācāyya, ācārya); উজায় < ujāṅ̃ > (ud-yāti); এগার < ēgārā > (ēkādāśa); কড়াই, কড়া < kārāi, kārā > (kaṭāha); কেয়ারী < kēyārī > (kēdārikā); কাপাস < kāpās̃ > (karpāśa); গোহাল < gōhāl̃ > (gōsālā); গোয়াল < gōālā > (gōpāla-); চাঁড়াল < cārāl̃ > (caṅṅāla); চিরাতা < cirātā >, OB. < cirāyita > (kirāta-tikta-); দেবান < dē-dhāñ > (dēva-dhānyā); নেহাই < nēhāi > *anvil* (\*nidhāpikā); MB. নিহালে < nihālē > (nibhālayati); MB. নিসান < nisāñ > *music* (niḥsvāna); MB. নিশাস < niśās̃ > (niḥśvāsa); পাঁচালী < pācālī > *a kind of verse composition* (pañcālikā); পয়থান < pāyāthāñ > (pada-sthāna); বাঙ্গালী, বাঙালী < bāṅ(g)ālī > (vaṅgālika); বাখান < bākhāñ > (vyākhyāna); বেয়াল < bēyāl̃ > (viḍāla); বিহান < bihāñ > (vibhāna); MB. মেহার < mēhār̃ > (\*mayālaya, mahālaya; mahāgāra?); মশান < māśāñ > (śmaśāna); যোয়ান < jōāñ > (yamāna, yamānika); সাতার < sātar̃ > (santāra); শিথান < śithāñ > (śiras-sthāna); শিয়াল < śiyāl̃ > (śṅgāla); সোহাগ < sōhāṅ̃ > (sāubhāgya); হেঁতাল < hētāl̃ > (hintāla); etc., etc.

(iii) OIA < -ī-, -i- >; MB. আশিন < āśinā > (āśvina); আথির, অথির < āthirā, āthir̃ > (asthira); † আইষ < āiṣ̃ > [āiṣ] (āmiṣa); আলিপন < ālipāñ > *decorative designs painted on the floor with rice-paste* (ālimpana); আহীর < āhīr̃ > (ābhīra); কাহিনী < kāhinī > (\*kathinikā); কুমীর < kumīr̃ > (kumbhīra); MB. কণিয়ার < kāṅiyārā > (karṅikāra); † গহীর < gahīr̃ > (gabhīra); গাভিন, গাবিন < gāb(h)in > (garbhīṅ); চল্লিশ < cāllis̃ > (catvāriṅśat); চাঁদিনী < cādinī > (\*candrinikā); তীস < tīs̃ > in বতীস < bāttis̃ > etc., OB. < batisa > (-triṅśat); জামীর < jāmīr̃ > (jambīra); ডাহিন, দাহিন < dāhiñ, dāhiñ >, also *sts.* দখিন < dākhiñ > (dakṣiṅa); দাড়িন



« dārimṣ » , ডালিম « ḍālimṣ » (dāḍimba) ; নাতিন « nātin » (\*naptrinī) ; পাঁচিল « pācīlṣ » (prācīra) ; MB. পড়িছা « pāriḥā » (pratīkṣaka) ; বহিত, বোহিত, বৃহিত « bhātā, bō-, bu- » (vahitra) (see p. 319, bottom) ; MB. বাণিজার « bāṇijārā » (vāṇijya-kāra) ; বানিয়া, বেনে « bāniyā, bēnē » (vāṇija-) ; বাহির « bāhirṣ » (bāhira, bahir) ; MB. মাদির « mādirā » (mandira) ; হরিণ « hāriṇṣ » (hariṇa) ; হরিয়াল « hāriyālṣ » (hārita, harit + āla) ; etc., etc. Cf. also MB. -ই- « i » in passive forms, from MIA. « -i- » : করিয়ে « kāriyē » (kariāi, kriyatē) ; কাটিয়ে « kāṭiyē » (kaṭṭiāi, kṛtyatē) ; দেখিয়ে « dēkhiē » (dekkhiāi, \*dṛkṣyatē = dṛsyatē) ; etc.

(iv) OIA. « -ū-, -ū- » : আকুশী « ākuṣī » (aṅkuṣa-) ; আকুর « ākurṣ » (aṅkura) ; ইঁদুর « idurṣ » (indura) ; MB. কাপুর « kāpūrā » (karpūra) ; কুকুর « kukurṣ » (kukkura) ; † খাজুর, খেজুর « khājurṣ, khējurṣ » (kharjura) ; গরুড় « gārurṣ » (garuḍa) ; চৌধুরী « cāudhuri » a tittle (caturdhurika) ; জড়ুল « jāṛulṣ » (jaṭula) : MB. তাঁড়ুল « tāṛulṣ » (taṇḍula) ; MB. দাড়ুর « dādurṣ » (dardura) ; দোছট « dōchuṭṣ » two pieces of cloth, dhōṭī and chādar (divisūtra) : MB. পাহুন « pāhunā » (prāghurṇa) ; নিঠুর « niṭhurṣ » (niṣṭhura) ; নিশুত « niṣutṣ » (niṣupta) ; বহড়ী « bhāṛī » (vadbūṭī) ; বাধুলী « bāḍbulī » (bandhuka-) ; ভাসুর « bhāsurṣ » (bhrātṛ + śvaśura) ; মানুষ « mānuṣṣ » (manuṣya) ; মউরী « māurī » < মহরী « māhurī » (madhurikā) ; MB. রাতুল « rātulṣ » (\*raktula) ; রাউৎ « rāutṣ » (rāja-putra) ; শাসুরী « śāsurī » (śvaśrū + ṭI-) ; সিঁদুর « sīdurṣ » (sindura) ; MB. সাঁপুড়া « sāṅpūrā » (samputā-) ; হিঙ্গুল « hiṅ(g)ulṣ » (hiṅgula) ; নেউর « nēurṣ » (nūpura) ; etc.

(v) MIA. « -ē- », from various sources in OIA. (« ē, āi » etc.) : এর « -ērṣ » genitive affix (kēra < MIA. sts. \*kāira < kārya) ; অঢেল, আঢেল « āḍhēṭṣ, āḍhēṭṣ » plentiful (\*aḍḍhā-ēlla, āḍḍhya + ila) ; OB. « ahērī » hunter (ākhētika) ; MB. উদেশ « udēṣṣ » (uddēśa) ; OB. « uēkh- » MB. sts. উপেক্ষা « upēkṣā » ; গণেশ « gāṇēṣṣ » ; OB. « sābēṣa » (Caryā 26 : saṁvēdana) ; etc.

(vi) MIA « -ō- », from various sources in OIA. « -ō- », occurs as « -u- » through Vowel Harmony. আকোর « ākōrṣ » (aṅkōṭ[h]a) ; কনুই < \*কণোহি « kānuī < \*kāṇōhi » (kaphōṇi) ; MB. আমোল « āmōla », NB. অমূল « āmūlā » (amōlla, amūlya) ; MB. বিছোহ « biḥōhā » (vikṣōbha) ; MB. হিলোল « hilōlā » (hillōla) ; OB. « kiñcōhi » (Sarvānanda), NB. কেঁচুই, কেঁচো « kēcui, kēcō » earth-worm (cf. kiñculikā) ; সাঁজোরা « sāṅjōrā » armour (raṁyōga-) ; etc.

## (2) Vowels in Contact.

169. OIA., at least in prose, did not allow hiatus, and vowel groups except the diphthongs < āi, āu > were unknown to it. In MIA. of the Transitional, Second and Third periods, with the loss of the single intervocal stops, OIA. separated vowels became MIA. vowels in contact (*udvṛtta*, *uddhṛta* or *śeṣa* vowels : cf. Pischel, §164), except where a glide sound, < ŷ > or < v (ṡ) >, intervened. In Late MIA. (Apabhraṅśa) and Early NIA., there was a threefold treatment of the OIA. vowels brought into entire or partial contact (i.e. contact with intervening < ŷ, ṡ > glide) by the elision of stops. (Cf. J. Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 53 ff.) The three kinds of treatment were—

[a] the retention of the original OIA. vowels as separate vowels, by inserting a euphonic < ŷ > or < ṡ > ;

[b] the *udvṛtta* vowels were turned into diphthongs ;

[c] they were contracted into a single vowel.

## [a] Insertion of Euphonic Glides.

170. Insertion of glides was brought in (at least in some dialects like Ardha-māgadhī, to judge from the < ŷa-śruti > in spelling) at a period when the spirant pronunciation of the original intervocal stops was dying out, but was not entirely dead. (See before, pp. 85, 252.) At that stage, when its memory was not lost, there was a consciousness in the speaker that there was a consonant between the vowels, even when it existed no more ; and the time taken up by the original stop, or its later spirant modification, in pronouncing the whole word, was now utilised in passing from one vowel to another. This sort of deliberation, so to say, between the resultant detached vowels, when the tongue position changed from one vowel to another, resulted as a matter of course in the production of intermediate vocalic sounds, or *glides*. In a rapid passing from one vowel to another, the glides would not be audible ; but during the Transitional and Second MIA. stages, the effect of the historical presence of the old intervening stop was still in force in the IA. speech, and the glides were quite audible



sounds, taking the place of the original consonants. The glides were very short vowels; and whether they tended to be a front or back sound depended on the character of the preceding or following original vowels. In this matter, there was no reference to OIA. and Early MIA.: < -p- > -v- > becoming < -ṽ- >, and then < -ý- >, through influence of preceding vowel; also an original < v >: e.g., < dīpa- > dīva > dīṽa > NIA. diṽā >; < āviśati > āviśai > NIA. āviśē > (see p. 123). In the Transitional MIA. stage, and also in the Second MIA. stage, there was undoubtedly some difficulty felt in representing the glides when they were heard. The letters व and ऋ could not very well be used, since at that time they had spirant values [ɤ, ɹ] and [v, ʋ]. The < ṽa-śruti > in inscriptional Prakrit of the Transitional MIA. stage is in all likelihood for a spirant pronunciation, which was traditionally carried on in the later Jaina Ardha-māgadhī orthography (see pp. 83-85). The use of व, ऋ on a large scale for the vocalic glides could come in only in the Second and Late MIA. stages, after the complete passing away from the Aryan speech of the spirant articulation of stops and of the original semi-vowels; for then only could व, ऋ be free to represent the semi-vowel sounds of < ý, ṽ > once more. Second MIA. ('Prakrit' and Apabhraṅśa) orthography normally does not indicate the glides, although they certainly occurred between the vowels, as can be seen from NIA. pronunciation and spelling, and phonology. Here the old tradition was strong in the orthography. The orthography with < ý >, favoured by the Jainas, seems to have some influence. The use of व, ऋ for the glide sounds seems to have gained in favour from the Apabhraṅśa stage, and in the Early NIA. period: but usage differs in the different NIA. languages; and spelling is a very capricious thing in the Indian literary languages based on the vernaculars. Typical examples of NIA. glides can be given from Western Hindi: OIA. < sūkara > > MIA. < sūgara, sūgara, sū(ṽ)ara > > Hindi सुकर, सुवर < sūwar >; OIA. < dīpa- > > MIA. < dība-, dīṽa-, di(ṽ/ý)a- > > Hindi दिया > diṽā >; OIA. < kātara > > MIA. < kādara, kāḍara, kā(ý)ara > > Hindi कार < kāyar >; OIA. < rājan, rāja- > > MIA. < rāja > [ra:ɔ], < rā(ý/ṽ)a- > > Hindi राय (राव) < rāy (rāw) >; OIA. < sūcikā > > MIA. < \*sūjigā, sūjigā

sū(y)I(y)a > Hindi सुई < sūī > = \*सुयी or \*सुयो [su:ī:] or [su:ūi:]; OIA. < bhēda > > MIA. < bhēḍa, bhē(w)a > > Old Hindi भेष < bhēwa >; etc.

Forms with the glides were also inherited by OB. from the Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa. But as seen from the Early MB. of the ŚKK., they were mostly diphthongised, or contracted, by the beginning or middle of the 14th century at the latest. This is treated in the next two sections. The glide sounds in Bengali were, normally, the half close vowels [ɘ, ɚ]: see pp. 257, 259, 269. They were represented by য (y = ɘ), ব (w = ɚ) in Old Bengali, and Pre-Bengali as well; and frequently they were unrepresented in orthography: e.g., OB. < bādiyā > (Sarvānanda) = NB. বাদিয়া, বেদে < bādiyā, bēdē > *snake-charmer*; < mahaā, mahuā > (ibid.) for < \*mahawā, mahuwā > = NB. মহুয়া < māhuā > (madhuka-); পিবাই < piwāi > (Caryā 6), cf. MB. পিবে < piyē > (piaī, pibati); < avañāgavañā > (Caryā 7: āgamana-gamana-); < niyaḍḍi (Caryā 5), niāḍi (Caryā 7) >, MB. নিয়ড় < niyāḍā > (niāḍa, nikaṣa); < dēwī (= dēyī?) > riming with < hōī (= hōwī, hōyī) > (Caryā 17); < chēwa, bhēwa > (Caryā 45) (chēa, bhēa = chēda bhēda); etc. The use of ব for the < w > glide, however, quickly became obsolete in Bengali writing. য was used for the sound of < b >, initially or in the interior of words; জ was used for < j >; and য < y > was left free for one of the glide sounds. Instead of devising a new letter exclusively for the < w > glide, as Assamese, and Maithilī, and Kaithī, did (see p. 226), Middle Bengali either left unnoticed the < w > glide, the same thing that Oṛiyā did, or employed the letter য < y >. It seems that a confusion between য and ব as letters for the intervocal < y, w > glides occurred in OB. orthography itself: আবেশী < āvēśī > (Caryā 33), for instance, stands for < \*āyīśī > whence MB. NB. আইসি, আসি < āisi, āsi (= -śī) > (āviśāmi): cf. the old Tibetan transcription < ayiśa > (p. 123, ante). The use of the letter য = য < y > for the < w > glide, as much as for the proper < y >, is of extremely common occurrence in MB. and NB.; e.g. আয়র, আয়র < āyārā, āārā = \*āwārā >, NB. আর < ārā >, cf. Assamese āru < \*āurā > and (avara, apara); MB. তরুয়া < tāruyārā = tāruwārā > (ŚKK. = taru-vara); সাথুয়া = সাথুয়া < sāthuyā, sāthuā = sāthuwā > *companion*, NB. সেথা, † সাথা < sēthō, sāīthā > (sātha + -uā: sārtha-); ধুয়া = ধুয়া < dhūyā, dhūā =



dhūwā > *refrain* (dhrūva-); মোরা = মোআ < mōyā, mōā = mōwā > (mōdaka-); etc. In later Middle Bengali, the letter ও < ō > was often used: e.g. হরা, হআ, হওরা, হও < hāyā, hāā, hāōā = hāwā > *being, been*; খাৱা, খাআ, খাওআ, খাও < khāyā, khāā, khāōā = khāwā > *eating, eaten*. Bengali orthography in Late MB. and NB. times looked upon with disfavour the juxta position of vowels, as Sanskrit did not allow it: hence spellings like ধুআ, হআ, হওআ, খাআ, খাওআ fell into disfavour with the Paṇḍits, and especially a spelling like হও, খাও where the vowel ও < ō > was treated like a consonant, with the < mātrā > vowel added to it. The use of ব (ব) on a large scale as a letter avoiding hiatus was thus fully established in the standard form of Bengali, from Late MB. times: thus, ধুৱা, হওৱা, খাওৱা. Further ব (ব) had become a colourless letter, a mere vowel-carrier, in MB. It is thus we have the establishment of the group ওয় < ōy > for the simple sound of < w̄ > before < ā, ē > in NB. In Late MB. and NB., after intervocal হ < -h- > had become quiescent, a vowel glide came in between two vowels, but the হ continued to be written; and the letter হ < h > came to be used occasionally to indicate the glide sounds in other words, where it historically ought not to come. Occasionally this resulted in a < h- > pronunciation being established: thus, Bengali বাহাৱ < bāhānnā >, also pronounced < bāānnā > (dvāpañcāśat), but Oṛiyā < bābānā >, Maithilī, W. Hindī, Gujarātī < bāwan >, Marāṭhī < bāvanna >, Panjābī < bawāñjāh >; বিহলা, বেহলা < Bihulā, Bēhulā >, for বিউলা < Bi(w̄/y)ulā > = Skt. < Vipulā >, the name of the heroine of the Manasā legend.

In ordinary NB. pronunciation, there is not much of a deliberation, or slow enunciation, and the < y, w̄ > glide is not ordinarily an audible sound, except between low vowels (e, o, ā, ā). There has been thus a tendency towards diphthongisation and contraction,—words like MB. শিৱাল < śi-y-ā-lā > being reduced to [ʃial, ʃial], and শেল, জাল [ʃe:l, ʃa:l], and সাৱর, সাৱর < sā-y-ā-rā, sā-w̄-ā-rā > [ʃaōrō, ʃaōrō] to সাৱের [ʃaer, ʃaēr] or to [ʃaor, ʃaōr], and শূৱর, শূৱর < śu-w̄-ā-rā > [ʃuōrō] to শুৱর, শোর [ʃūr, ʃo:r], etc. (NB. may be said, however, to prefer the < y > = [ɔ̄] glide). Thus vowels which were detached from each other in OB., and in Early MB., by the glide sounds representing the old stops of OIA., have become vowels in contact in Late MB., suffering from loss of glide, and have become

diphthongs in NB. Only in final syllables, in final positions in some archaic forms, and in the altered quality of the connected vowels (as well as in slow and deliberate pronunciation), that traces of the Late MIA. glides are found in Bengali. The original OIA. < -v- > has fallen together with the glides, frequently altering its character to < y > from < w >, as noted before.

(i) < -y- > glide in Bengali :

কেরারী < kēyārī > (kēdārikā) ; কেরা < kēyā > (kētaka-), cf. কেওড়া < kēōṛā >, also in Hindi, and in Marāṭhī; খেরা < khēyā > (kṣepa-); MB. বিয়লী < biyālī >, NB. Standard Coll. বিউলী < biulī < \*biolī, \*biālī > *cleaned pulse* (vidalita); † ছায়রা < chāyārā > (chāa-ḍa-, chāyā); জীবে < jīyē > (jīvati); দেয়া < dēyā > *cloud* (dēva-); MB. বায় < bāy > (vāta); † মায় < māy > (mātā); রায় < rāy > (rājā)—an early borrowing from North India? cf. Māgadhi Pkt. < lājā >; সাগর < sāyārṣ > (sāgara); MB. কুয়ীলা < kuṣīlā >, NB. † কুইলা < kuilā > (kōkila); পিয়ারী < piyārī >, NB. প্যারী < pyārī = [pæri] > (priya-kārikā); MB. হিয়া < hiyā > (hīaa-, hṛdaya-); খয়ের < khāyērṣ > (khadira); MB. উয়ে < uṣē = uṣē? > (udēti); বয়ান < bāyānṣ > (vadana); রোয় < rōy < rōwē > (rōpayati); কইলা < kāilā >, also diphthongised to কেলা < kāī-lā >, < \*kaṣīlā > *a black cow or heifer* (kapila-); বাইশ < bāišṣ < \*bāyīśa > (dvāviṅśati); MB. আইচ < āiṣṣ > < < āyicca > *a surname* (āditya); etc.

(ii) < -w- > glide in Bengali, commonly written য়: কেওড়া < kēōṛā < \*kēwāḍā > (kēta- + ḍa-); মোয়া < mōwā > (mōdaka-); ছাওন < chāōnṣ < chāwānṣ > (chādana); *sts.* ছাওয়া for ছায়া < chāwā = Skt. chāyā > (chāyā > chāa- > chāwā-); ধূয়া < dhūwā > (dhṛuva-); কূয়া < kūwā > (kūpa-); ধোয়া < dhōwā > (dhōa-, dhāuta-); ছাওয়াল < chāwāl > (śāba + āla); MB. ছাও < chāō > (śāba); MB. বাও < bāō < OB. \*bāwa > (vāta); MB. মাও < māō < OB. \*māwa > (mātā); MB. শাও, † শাঁও < śāō, śāō > (śāpa); also আউল < āūlṣ < \*āwula > (ākula); বাউল < bāūla > < \*bāwula > (vātula); রাউৎ < rāūtṣ < \*rāwuta > (rājā-putra); MB. মাউলানী < māulānī > < \*māwu- > (mātulānī); etc., etc.

### [b] Diphthongisation of Vowels in Contact.

171. Diphthongisation and contraction of contact-vowels went hand in hand in the few cases where they are found in the earlier stages



of MIA., before the wholesale dropping of intervocal stops. This diphthongisation, of course, is of vowels of different quality, and not the simple assimilation of similar vowels. As early as the 3rd century B.C., we have in the Aśōka inscriptions forms like < thaira- > (sthavira), < traidasa > (trayōdaśa), < mōra < \*maura, \*maūra > (mayūra) (Girnar), and < tēdasa > (trayōdaśa), < ujēni > (ujjayīni) > etc. (Dhauri). These changes, however, are of the character which changed OIA. < āi, āu, aya, ava > to < ē, ō >. In cases like Second MIA. < kēla > (\*kaila, \*kaīla, \*kadila = kadala) = NIA. (Hindi) < kēlā >, < cō- > < < cau, caū > (catur-), < thēra > (thaira, \*thāira, \*thavira, sthavira), < bōra > Bengali †বোর < bōrā > (\*baura, \*baūra, \*badura = badara), etc., similarly there was diphthongisation before contraction took place. (Cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt. Sprachen,' § 166.)

In the development of Bengali, we see that diphthongisation on a large scale took place from early times. Diphthongisation of the < ā+i > and < ā+u > vowels in contact occurred to a certain extent in OB. and in Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa, as spellings like < jāu > = < jāu > (jatu: see p. 185), < nai > = ? < nai, nai > (nadi: p. 185), < cāu > = < caū > (catur-: p. 185) in the inscriptions, and like *sts.* < jāūvaṇa > (yāuvana), beside < jāūtuka > (yāūtuka), and < tāilōē > (trāilōkyā-) for < \*tāilōē > in the MS. of the Caryās, would show. So in forms like < gaa-illa, <sup>1</sup> gāya-illa > > গৈলা, গৈলা \*gai-lā, gēlā >, cf. 'Bihārī' < gail > (gata+ila-), < kāya-illa <sup>1</sup> > > কৈলা kai-lā > MB. কৰিল < kār-ilā > is a new formation (kr̥ta+ila-), < māya-illa <sup>1</sup> > > মৈলা < mai-lā > (mr̥ta+ila-) (or < gaa-illa > > < ga-illa > ga-ēlla >, whence < gaēlā >; so < kaēlā >, which occurs also in OB.); < \*chayāla- > \*chai-la- >, cf. MB. ছৈলি < chēli > goat (chagala, \*chagalika), < \*chayāṇa- > \*chai-ṇa- > > NB. ছেনা < chēnā > *caseine* (chagaṇa), < \*payatthāṇa > \*pai-thāṇa > > MB. পেথান < paithāna > *foot of bed* (padasthāna), we find the presence of a diphthongisation in Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa or Old Bengali. The alphabet had letters only for the diphthongs < ai, au >; possibly the speech actually had other diphthongs,

<sup>1</sup> These have restricted the genuine Māgadhi forms 'kaṣa, maṣa, gaṣa,' < Old Māgadhi 'kaṣa, maṣa, \*gaṣa' (= 'kr̥ta, mr̥ta, gata'—the last by analogy), which have been noticed by Vararuci (XI, 15): Bengali কড়, মড় 'kaḍ, maḍ' are found; গড় 'gaḍ' occurs in the ŚKK.

like « ēu, ōu, āu, āi, iu », etc., which could be represented only as « ē-u, ō-u, ā-u, ā-i, i-u », by means of two separate vowels. Final « -aī » of verbs (calati <calaī) became a diphthongal vowel (calai), probably during the 13th century in Bengali, to be simplified to the simple vowel « ē » (cālē) in the 14th century; and a form like খাই « khāi » similarly became a diphthong খাই « khāi », to be reduced to খায় « khāy » in Late MB. and NB.

Examples of Diphthongisation in Bengali.

In addition to vowels brought together by loss of OIA. stops, the loss of intervocal « -h- » of MB. has given rise to new contact vowels, which have been diphthongised in NB.

MIA. « aī, aī », OB., eMB. « ahi », > MB. NB. আই, ঐ, এ « āi, āi, ē », also অ « ā » in some cases: কইলা « kâilā, kâilā » *dark*, e.g., কইলা গোরু (kapilā); কই « kâi » a fish (kavayī); কই « kâi, kâi » *where* (MB. kahi = MIA. kahi, OIA. \*ka-dhi); OB. « \*kāihana » > MB. কেহেন « kēhēna », কেহু « kenhā » > NB. কেন « kēnā » *why?*; খই « khāi » (khādikā); চই « cai » (cavikā); ছই « chāi » (chadis); জই, জৈ « jāi, jāi » *oats* (yavikā); থই « thāi » *depth, bottom of a sheet of water* (\*staghikā); দই « dāi » (dahi, dadhi); নই, নৈ « nāi » (i) *river*: cf. নৈহাটি « Nāi-hāṭi » a town (nadi); (ii) a heifer (navikā); (iii) *ninety* (navati); MB. পইসে, NB. পসে « pāisē, pāsē » (praviśati); পইতা, পৈতা « pāitā » *sacred thread* (pavitra-); পইঠা, পৈঠা « pāiṭhā » *masonry steps at the base of building* (pratiṣṭhā-); বইসে, বসে « bāisē, bāsē » (\*bāisāi, upaviśati); ভইষ « bhāiṣṭ » as in the adjective ভইষা, ভয়সা « bhāiṣā, bhāyṣā » (mhaīsa, cf. Pali mahiṣa = mahiṣa); সই « sāi » (sahi, sakhi); etc.

MIA. « aū, aū » > OB. « au » > MB., NB. « āu, ō »; also OB., MB. « abu » > NB. « āu, ō »: কনোজ « kânōjṣ » (kanaūja, kannaujja, kānya-kubja); কোন্ « kōnṣ » < eMB. কোণ « kōṇā » (kaṇa, kauṇa = kaṇ + punaḥ); চৌ, চৌ « cāu-, cō- » (caū-, catur-); জৌ « jāu » (jāu, jatu); পৌছা « pāuchā », MB. পহুছা « pāhūchā » *arrive* (MIA. \*pahuñca, pahucc[h]a, = OIA. \*pra-bhūccha, IE. \*pro + bheũ + -sko- [?]); বউ « bāu » (vadhū); মৌচাক « māu-cākṣ » *honeycomb* (madhu-cakra); MB. রৌদ « rāudā » NB. রোদ, রইদ « rōdṣ, rāidṣ » (MIA. *sts.* raūdda, rāudra); শউল, শোল শইল « śāulṣ, śāilṣ śōlṣ » a fish (śakula); MB. হই « -hō » in verb forms, 1st person = OB. « \*hāũ, hāũ » (ahakaṁ, aham); etc.



Late MIA. <aya, ava> in some cases became <āi, āu> in Bengali, apparently through <samprasāraṇa> by dropping of the <-a-> in the syllable <-ya, -va>: e.g., ঠৈপথান <paithāna> (\*payatthānā, padasthāna); MB. (ŚKK.) বোহারী <bāuhāri> daughter-in-law, wife (\*bavahāri < vyavahārikā female slave); MB. (ŚKK.) মোহারী <māuhāri>, elsewhere <mōhāri, mōhāri> a kind of flute (\*maṅga-hāra-, maa = mada- [?]); দৌড় <dāuṛḍ> (\*dau-ḍa, \*dava-ḍa, drava-ḍa); MB. sts. নৌতুন <nāutunā>, NB. নৌতুন, নতুন <nōtunḍ> new (nava-); etc.

The other diphthongs which originated in the eMB. period were <āi> and <āu>, from earlier <āi, āū>. There was also diphthongisation by epenthesis. E.g., আইসে <āisē> (āviśati); নাইয়া <nāiyā>, NB. নেয়ে <nēyē> (nāvika-); আউলা <āulā>, NB. এলো <elō> dishevelled (āula, ākula); কাউয়া <kāuā> (kāka-+uka-); MB. মাউলানী <māulānī> (māūlānī, mātulānī); রাইত <rāit> <রাতি <rāti> (rātri); সাউথা, সাইথা <sāuthā, sāithā> <সাথুয়া <sāthuā>, NB. সেথো <sethō> companion (sārtha > sātha+uka-), etc. Diphthongs with the high vowels <i, u> forming the second part, like <iu, ui, ēi, ēu>, may have originated early in the MB. period; the diphthongs ending in low vowels, excepting <āō, āō>, in words like বায় <bāō> (bāya, vāta), শাও <śāo> (śāwa, śāpa), where we have vocalisation of <ý, w>, came in Late MB. and in NB. The change of MB. <-ā-> to <-o-> > -u-> give rise to a number of diphthongs in MB. and NB. (See later, under 'Epenthesis,' 'Vowel Harmony,' and 'Origin of the New Bengali Diphthongs.')

#### [e] Contraction of Vowels in Contact.

172. Cases of MIA. contraction of <udvṛtta> vowels, where they were <ā> followed by <i> or <u>, have been noted in §171, in examples like <kēla, tēraha, bōra, mōra>, etc. Contraction of <udvṛtta> vowels by assimilation is quite a common phenomenon in Second and Late MIA. (cf. Pischel, §§ 165 ff.); and Bengali inherited a number of these MIA. contracted forms: e.g., OB. <khāi> (khāai, khādati); MB. ধায় <dhāē> (dhāai, dhāvati); পাইক <pāikā, pāikḍ> (<pāiikka>, sts. <pādātika>; but more probably a Persian borrowing); আধার <ādhārḍ> (andha-āra,

andha-kāra); OB. < kaśālā > (Caryā 13 : = < \*kāśālā, \*kañśālā > ? : cf. MIA. < kañśāla- > = < kañśya-tāla >); রাউৎ < rāutṣ > (rāautta, lāutta = rāja-putra); দেউল < dēulṣ > (dēula, dēvakula), etc.

But in a large number of cases, the < udvṛtta > vowels were not contracted by assimilation in MIA. They were generally retained as distinct syllables in Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa and in OB., being preserved by the glide < w > or < y > which came in. The contraction habit, however, had manifested itself in Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa; it was not uncommon in OB., and seems to have been widely operative in Bengali in the 13th century, during the transition from OB. to MB.; and it had finished its work by the end of the 14th century.

(i) The group < ää (äwä) > of Late MIA. and OB. This was contracted to a long < ā > [a:] sound, which may be represented in transliteration by the symbol < ā̄ >. (See p. 260.) The aspirate, < h >, between vowels was dropped in MB., and the group became < āhā > āā >, which also was contracted to < ā̄ >. OIA. < ämä > > Late MIA., OB. < aṅwa > similarly became [ɔ:] in MB., and this was represented by ঔ < ā̄ >. The < ā̄ > fell together with original < ä = ā̄ > in Late MB. In final positions, this < ā̄ > optionally has the [o] pronunciation, in the Standard Colloquial, the same as original single < -ä = ā̄ > (as in *ts.* and other forms).

< ää, äwä > ā̄ > ā̄ > in the initial syllable. Examples: MB. অথান্তর < āthāntārā >, beside MB., NB. অথান্তর, অথান্তর < āthāntārṣ, āthāntārṣ > *bad plight* (āwathāntara, avasthāntara); কলা < kālā > *plantain* (kālā, kawālā-, kaala = kadala-); কই < kái > *a fish* (\*kāI, kavayI); কড়া < kāṛā > *cowry shell* (kāṛā, kawarā, kavaṛḍa-, kaparda-); MB. গন < gānā > *way* (gawāṇa, gaṅwāṇa = gamana); OB. < gāṇā > = [gɔ:ṇɔ] (Caryā 35 : < gawāṇa, gaṅwāṇa = gagāṇa); চক < cākṣ > (\*cavakka = catuṣka); চড় < cārṣ > *slap* (\*cawāḍa = \*capāṭa, cf. capēṭa); চৌ < cāṭī < cāṭī > *inn, serai* (OB. cavaṭī = *name of village*: pp. 67, 183, 185); জ < jā > *measure* (\*jāwa, yava); MB. ধল, NB. ধলা < dhālā, dhālā > (dhavala-); ন < nā > (nava); *sts.* নধর < nādhārṣ > *plump, buxom* (navadhara); নগুণ < nāguṇṣ > '*nine-fold, a Brahman's sacred thread* (nava-guṇa); নই < nāi > (navati); নদীয়া, নদে < nādīyā, nōdē > *Nadiyā city* (nava-dvīpa-); ননী < nānī > (nānī, navanīta); *sts.* লঙ্গ < laṅgā > (lāṅgā



lavanga); শ < śā > (śata); MB. সৎ, সতা < śāt, śātā >, cf. সত্মা < śāt-mā > *step-mother* (savatti, sapatni); সঁপে < sãpē > (saṅgappēi, samarpayati); etc.

Cf. also পর < pārṣ > (pahara, prahara); গম < gāmṣ > *wheat* (\*gahama, \*gadhama, \*gandhama ? = gōdhūma); নহ < nãh > = ন + \*অহ < nã + √\*ãh- > as in নহিলে, নহিবে < nãhilē, nãhibē >, etc., negative forms of the verb হ < hã > *to be* (na + √as); etc.

< aa, aṅa, aṅā, aha > á > ā, ō > in interior and final syllables. MB. আইহ < āihã > (avihaa, avidhavā); আঠার < āṭhārã > (aṭṭhāraha, aṣṭādaśa); উনপাঁশ < unãpañcãśṣ > beside উনপঞ্চাশ < unãpañcãśat > (una-pañcãśat); উননই < unã-nãi > (una-navati); কাদো < kãdã > kãdō > (\*kãdaṅa, kardama), beside কাদা < kãdã >; এগার < ēgārã > (ēgāraha, ēkãdaśa); গোকল < gōkãlṣ > (gō-kavala); NB. sts. চক্কতী < cãkkãttī > *a surname* (cakravartin); চৌদ্দ, চৌদ্ধ < coddã, cãuddã > (cauddaha, caturdãśa); MB. জায়তি < jãýãti > *horoscope* (jãýawattīã, jãta-patrikã); তের < tērã > (tēraha, troyōdaśa); দলুই < dãlũ > < dãlãi > *a surname* (dalaṅai, dalapati); দশরা < dãśãrã > (daśaharã); দান, দানো < dãnã > dãnō > (dãnava); নরুণ, নরুণী < nãruṅ(I) > (\*nahaharaṅI, nakha-haraṅa-); পাল, পালো < pãlã > pãlō > *pounded flour from the roots of a plant* (pallava); পুরান < purãnã > (purātana); পনের < pãnērã >, পনর < pãnãrã > (pannaraha, pañca-daśa); পলাশন < pãlãśãnṣ > *place-name* (palãśa-vana); বার < bārã > (tāraha, dvãdaśa); বাসর < bãsãrṣ > (bãsa-hara, vãsa-gṛha); বুড় < buṛã > (buṛḍḍhaa, ṽṽddhaka); ভাল < bhãlã > (bhallaa, bhadraka); মান < mãnã > in Haijong Dialect (mãnava); MB. ('Sūnya Purãṅa') sts. ভগতী = ভোগতী < bhãgãtī = bhōgãtī > (bhōgavattī); ভরসা < bhãrãsã > *reliance, trust* (bhara-vaśa-); মাসরা < mãsãrã > *monthly stipend* (mãsa-hara-); মন্দারন < mãnãrãnṣ > *place-name* (mandãra-vana); মালগ < mãlãñcã > *garden* (mãlaṅaṅca, mãla-mãñca); রসুই < \*রসুই < rãsuĩ < \*rãśãĩ > *cooking* (rasavattī *kitchen*); লাগট < lãṅ(ḡ)ãṭṣ > (\*laṅgãwãṭṭã, liṅgãpaṭṭã); সাঁকো < sãkã > sãkō > *bridge* (saṅkaṅa, saṅkrama); সোল < ṣõlã > (sõlaha, ṣõḍãśa); সতের, সতর < sãtērã, sãtãrã > (sattaraha, saptadaśa); sts. হিনস্থা, হেনস্থা < hinãsthã > henãst(h)ã > (hina-avasthã); sts. অপচ < apṣcã > (\*ãpãcãã, apãcaya); etc., etc.

In verb forms: e.g., indicative and imperative 2nd person plural > NB. 2nd person singular or plural, indicative and imperative: OIA. < -ata,

-atha > MIA. \*aa, -aha > OB., eMB. -aa, -aha, -á > NB. -á, -ō, -ō̃ : e.g., NB. কর < kārā > < MB. কর, করহ < kārā, kārāhā > (Skt. kuruta, kurutha); চলিও, চলো < cālīō, cālō > *you will go (precativ future)* < MB. চলিহ < cālīhā > (calihaha, calīsyatha); খাও < khāō > < MB. খাহ < khāhā > (khāaha = khādatha); in the past and future bases ইল, ইব < -ilā, -ibā >, as contrasted with the North Bengali and Bihari forms without the final < -ā > : e.g., চলিল < cālīlā > (\*calillaa, calita + ila + ka), করিব < kārībā > (\*karibbaa, kartavya-ka); in the past habitual or conditional ইত < -itā > : চলিত < cālītā > (calanta + ka); and in verbal nouns or passive adjectives in আন, আনে < -ānā, -ānō > : করান < kārānā, kārānō > (OIA. -āpana-ka, -māna-ka).

< aa > á > is the rule in Bengali. But in a few cases, we find < āu > instead of < á > : the < āu > development seems to be exotic, and is due to the influence of the Western dialects : e.g., কোড়ী < kaurī >, beside কড়া, কড়ি < kārā, kārī > (kaparda-); সৌপ < sāup- >, beside সপ < sāp- > (samarp-); চৌক < cāuk- > beside চমক, চঙ্ক < cāmāk-, caṅgak-, \*cāk- > *startle* (camakka-); দৌড় < dāur > *run* may be an old form in Bengali, through < samprasāraṇa >, of which a few cases are known (see p. 345), but it may as well be a borrowing from the West, the genuine native Bengali root for *running* being, as in Oṛiyā, ধা < dhā > (dhāv).

The final < -ā > of OIA. and MIA. drops in Bengali. It is final < -ā̃ > which is retained as < -ā, ō > in NB. Where in NB. we have < -ā > finally, the Late MIA. form does not seem to have ended in two syllables with short < -ā̃ >, but unquestionably there was a long < -ā >. MIA. < kāla > *black* can give only \*কাল < \*kālā > in NB. But we have ordinarily কাল = কালো < kālā = kālō >, and কাল < kālā >; and we have কাল < kālā >, with elided final < -ā >, possibly in a compound form like কাল-শিরা < kālā-śirā > *black vein*, 'black and blue' (*mark of a blow*). The first can come only from a basis like < kālā, kālāwa, kālāa = OIA. kāla-ka >, with the pleonastic < -ka > affix; the < -ā > in the form কাল < kālā > is an affix giving a definite force, = *the black one*; and this can only be from some affix like < -ā-ka >, with a definiteness that came to be associated with < -ā > : cf. ঘোড়াটা < ghōrā-tā > *horse-that-big-one = that horse*; but ঘোড়াটি < ghōrā-tī > *horse-that-little-one = that nice little horse*. (See page 302.) The < -ā > nouns and verbal adjectives of Bengali and



other NIA. are probably to be referred to oblique (genitive) forms of Late MIA. and Early NIA. Where the original nominative affixes were lost, in some forms of NIA., it is this oblique in « -ā » that took its place. *E.g.*, Skt. « ghōṭakaḥ » = Śaurasēnī nominative « ghōḍaō » > Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa nominative « ghōḍaū », whence Braj-bhākhā « ghōṛau », Kanaujī « ghōṛō », etc.; the nominative forms apparently fell into disuse in Panjābī and in the dialects which form the basis of Hindōstānī, where we have now « ghōṛā » for the nominative, which is in all probability the old genitive singular « ghōḍā(h)a < ghōḍaassa < ghōṭakasya » (or ? dative singular « \*ghōḍāā < ghōṭakāya »); just as in the nominative plural form the original affix was lost, and the instrumental plural or the genitive plural took its place: *e.g.*, W. Hindī « ghōṛē, ghōṛan » etc. = « \*ghōḍaahi, \*ghōḍaāṇa » = « \*ghōṭakēbhis, ghōṭakānām ». The same seems to have been the case with many NB. « -ā » nouns. (See later, under *Morphology*: 'the Noun.')

(ii) The groups « āā, āā, āā », with intervening glide « w » or « y » in Late MIA. and OB., became « ā » in eMB. : আর « ārā », also eMB. আৱর « āwārā » (avara, apara); NB. এঁৱানি « ēṣāni » < \*আইৱানি « āiṣāni » (\*āwiṣa-wāṇi = āmiṣa + pāniya); আড় « āṛā » *awry, slant* (? āvarta) (but আঙট « āṅṭ » *stir (milk, etc.)* = « ā + √vart- »); ইঁদারী « idārā » *a big well* (indrāgāra-); ইন্দাস « indāsā » *place-name* (indrāvāsa); sts. উপাস « upāsā » (upavāsa); OB., MB. উয়ারী, ওয়ারী « uārī, oārī » *pavilion* (upakārika); করাত « karātā » *saw* (\*karawātā, \*kara-pātā, kara-patra; cf. karavāla); কোটাল « kōṭālā » (koṭṭa-āla, kōṭṭa-pāla); so গয়ালী « gāyālī » *a class of Brāhmins from Gayā* (gayā-pālika), রাখাল « rākhālā » *herdsman* < MB. রাখাল « rākhā-ālā » (rakṣhā-pāla), ভুজালী « bhujālī » *a short sword* (bhuja-pālika: cf. kara-vāla), মাতাল « mātālā » *drunkard* (« matta + āla » ?; but cf. Hind. « matwālā », Beng. poetic মাতোয়ারা « mātōwārā » = « matta-pāla- », etc.); গলাশী « gālāśī » (gala-pāśikā); গোয়ালী « gōyālī » *place-name* (gōpa-vāṭikā); চক « cakā » (cakravāka); চিরাত « cirātā », OB. (Sarvānanda) « cirāyita » (kirāta-tikta); তা « tā » (tāpa); MB. দিশারী « diśārī » *pilot* (diśāwārī, diśā + kārīn); দোহার « dōhārā » *singers in chorus* (dhruva-kāra); MB. ধাই « dhāī » (dhāvati); sts. নারাল « nārālā » (nārāyaṇa); পায় « pāī » (\*prāpati = prāpnōti); পাটাতন « pātātānā » *deck, wooden boards on flooring* (\*pātā-pātānā = pātā + pattana);

পারী < pāra > (pārāda); *sts.* প্রাচিৰ্ত্তির < prācittir̥ >, also প্রাচিৎ < prācit̥ > (< \*prāyacittira > for < \*prāyaścittira >, < \*prāyacitta > = < prāyaścitta >); বঁধায় < bādhāē > (\*bandhāvaī, \*bandhāpayati); রসান < rāsān̥ > (rasāyana); etc. See also §149 (ii), p. 302, and §150(i), p. 307.

A large number of disguised compounds in আর < āra > = < āgāra, ākāra > come under this: *e.g.*, ভাঁড়ার < bhāṛār̥ > (bhāṇḍāgāra), কুমার < kumār̥ > (kumbha-kāra), etc.

Cf. also Persian words like বরাদ্দ < barāddā > *fixed* (bar-āvard), উমেদার < umēdār > *applicant* (\*umēda-vār = umēd-vār), etc.

When, however, < -ā > in a group < -āā, -āā > occurs as a special affix, as in হাআ, খাআ < hāā, khāā >, there is no contraction in MB. and NB., and the < w > glide comes in: হওয়া, খাওয়া < hāwā, khāwā >, etc.

(iii) The Late MIA. groups < ai, ai >: see also *ante*, under 'Diphthongisation.'

< ai > > < ē >, occasionally < i >, in MB.: *e.g.*, the affix for the verb 3rd person, এ < -ē > (-ai, -ati); MB. এহেন < ēhēnā >, NB. হেন < hēnā > (\*aihaṇa-, MIA. aiṣaṇa-); cf. OB. < gharahi >, NB. ঘরে < ghārē > (gṛha + \*-dhi); OB. < ambē, tumhē >, MB., NB. আমি, তুমি < āmi, tumi > (\*amhahi, \*tumhahi = asmābhis, yuṣmābhis); etc.

< ai > > < u >: *e.g.*, দেউল < dēul̥ > (MIA. dēula, dēva-kula); চলুক < cāl-u-k > imperative 3rd person, MB. চল < cāl-u >, OB. চলউ < calai > (calatu); cf. MIA. < ahu >, also affix for imperative 2nd person = OB. < -u >: < chāḍu = chaḍḍahu > (Caryā 50); মাহত < māhut̥ > *mahout* (\*mahaūta, \*mahaṣatta, mahāmatra); etc.

(iv) The Late MIA. groups < ae, ao > > < ai, i, ē; au, ō >:

OB. < mai >, MB. NB. মুঞি, মুই < muñi = muī, mui > (\*maēṇa, mayā + -ēna); so < tai > > তুই < tui > (\*taēṇa, tvayā + -ēna); OB. < kaēlā >, beside MB. কৈল < kailā > (\*kaella, \*kailla < \*kaīya-illa); তো < tō > *then* (taū, taō, tadō, tataḥ), a non-Māgadhī form possibly.

(v) Late MIA. < ai, ai > remain in OB., eMB.; in NB., they are contracted to < ā > or < ē >, except when occurring finally: *e.g.*, NB. আসে, †এসে < āsē, ēsē >, MB. আইসই < āisāī > (āvisati); cf. also NB. বার, বের < bār̥, bēr̥ > < lMB. বাইর, বার < bair̥, bair̥ > (bāhira, bahir); NB. এলো



< ēlō > (i) *came* (= āilā, \*āilla, āyāta + ila), (ii) *dishvelled* = MB. আউলা, আলা < āulā, āllā > (ākula-); NB. খাক < khāk >, MB. খাউক < khāū-kā > (khāū, khādātu); etc. Finally : গাই < gāi > (gāvī); আড়াই < āṛāi > (\*aḍḍhāi, \*aḍḍhāia, ardhapṛīya); লাউ < lāu > (alābu); etc.

For the Late MB. > NB. contraction of < āi > āī, oi > in West Central Bengali, in connection with Epenthesis, see § 186.

(vi) Late MIA. < āē > is a very rare group in the interior of a word. Finally, OB. eMB. < āē > becomes the diphthong [aě] in NB.: করায় < kārāē > *causes to do* (kārāē, kārāvēi). The group < āō > became < āu > in MB., contracted to < ā > in NB., in পাখজ < pākḥāj >, MB. পাখজ < pākḥāju > standing for < \*পাখাউজ < \*pākḥāūjā > (\*pākḥāōjā, \*pākḥāōjja, pakṣātōdya), now generally ousted by পাখোয়াজ < pākḥwāj >, from Hindōstāni < pakh-wāj > (= pakṣa-vādyā).

(vii) < īī, īī, īī, īī > became < i > = < i > in NB.: e.g., চিঁড়া, চিড়া < ciṛā, ciṛā > *flattened rice* (ciīḍa-, ciyīḍa-, civiḍa-, cipiṛa-); আলী < āsī > (asī, asīti); মী < ghī > *brains*, OB. < ghiwī > (ḥ arvānanda) (\*ghīia, \*ghṛtikā); চলি < cālī > *I walk* (\*calīi, \*calīwī, \*calīmi, calāmi = calāmi); জীই < jīi > *I live* (\*jīi, \*jīwīwī, \*jīvami = jīvāmi); দিল < dilā > (\*di-illa-, \*dia-illa-, dita = datta + ila-); নিল < nilā > (\*nī-illa-, \*nīa-illa-, nīta + ila-); খাইল < khāilā > (\*khāi-illa-, \*khāia-illa-, khādita + ila-); Cf. MB. করী, চলী < kārī, cālī > (? < \*karii, \*calii = \*karīhi, \*calīhi >, imperatives in < -bi >); etc.

(viii) Late MIA. < ia, ia > had a three-fold development in Bengali:

(a, b) In initial syllables, generally = < ē >: এত < ētā > (ēttia, \*iatt-, iyat-); MB. sts. খেমা < khēmā > (\*khiamā, \*khyamā = kṣamā); eMB. তিঅজ < tiājā >, NB. তেজ < tējā > (\*tiājja < \*tiijja = ṛṭīyā); sts. নেম < nēmā > (niama, niyama); sts. বেথা < bēthā > (\*biathā, vyathā); দেড় < MB. দেড় < dēṛā < dēṛhā > (diaḍḍha, dvyardha); sts. বেভার < bēbhārā > (\*biābhārā, vyavahāra); MB. ভহ. বেহারিব < bēhāribā > *will employ* (viahāra-, vyavahāra); MB. বেবথা < bēbāthā > (\*biābāthā, vyavasthā); দেশলাই < dēsālāi > (\*dīasālāia, dīpa-sālākikā); etc. So সৌতি < sōti > is probably from < \*sēti > by Vowel Harmony (\*siāntī < \*siwāntia, sīmanta-). But cf. জীঅন, জীওন < jīānā, jīōnā > (jīvana), শিঅর, শিওর < MB. শিহর < śīārā, śiōrā < śihārā > (śikhara). < -ia- > in the middle of a word remained in eMB.; but when followed

by an < i >, it became < io > iu > in IMB. and NB., through Vowel Harmony, which see.

(c) Final < -ia > became < i > : see § 149 (i), § 150 (ii). OB. < iha > > MB. < ia > > < i >, as in শী < śī > a surname (? \*śīha = śīha; or < śīva ?). MB. ইহ্, ইঅ < -i(h)ā >, precativative imperative affix, is contracted to < ō > : চলিহ্ > চলৌ < cālihā > cōlō >, রাখিহ্ > রেখৌ < rākhihā > rēkhō >; but after a vowel in causatives there is no contraction: e.g., রাখাইহ্ > রাখিও < rākhāihā > rākhīō >; cf. দিহ্ > দিও < dihā > diō >.

Final < ia >, strengthened by the pleonastic affix < ā > in OB., became < iyā >, in the Bengali indeclinable in ইয়া < -iyā >, to be modified to < ē >, with accompanying umlaut, in NB.: e.g., এসে < ēsē > < MB. আসিয়া < āsiyā >, আইসিয়া < āsiyā > (MIA. āvisia + ā, āviśya); so করৈ < kōrē > < করিয়া < kāriyā > (MIA. karia + ā, \*-karya); etc.

(ix) < ũū, ũū (ūū, ũū) > became < ū > in OB., < u > in NB.: e.g., দুনা < dunā > (\*duṇa-, dviṇa-); দুলৌ < dulī > (\*duulia, dukūlikā); etc.

(x) < ua, ũa > occur as < u > in Bengali: OB. < uārī > MB. উয়ারী < uārī > (\*uārī, upakārika pavilion); OB. < kāmarū > (kāma-rūpa); গোরু < gōru > (\*gōrūa, gōrūpa); ধনা < dhūnā > (dhūpana-); বাছুর < bāchur > < bāchārū > (vatsa-rūpa); বাধুলৌ < bādhu-li > a flower (bandhuka-); সাজারু < sājāru > (\*sajja- + rūa, sayya-rūpa, śalya-rūpa); MB. সূন্ধি < sundhi > (\*suandhia, sugandhika); জোয়াল < jōāl > < জুয়াল < juālā > (yuga + āla); OB. < tu > (\*tuva, tuam = tvam); etc. See § 149 (iv), § 150 (iii). Possibly, in forms representing OIA. feminine < -rūpā, -ukā > etc., = Late MIA. < uā >, we have assimilation of < u, ũ > + consonant + < ā >.

(xi) < ēa > became < ē > : ছেনৌ < chēnī > chisel (chēanī, chēdanikā); MB. দে < dē > (dēva, dēha); cf. MB. দেহরী < dēhārā > temple (dēa-hara-, dēva-grha-); বেন < bēn > child-birth, travail (\*bēana, vēdanā ?); but we have < ēa > ēva > in দেওর < dēōr > [dæor] (dēvara), কেওড়া < kēōṛā > [kæōṛa] (kēta-ka-). See § 149 (v), p. 303.

(xii) Late MIA. < ēi > in final positions is reduced to < ē > in the verb of the 3rd person: e.g., বাধায় < bādihā > (bandhāvēi, \*bandhāpayati); to < ii, i > through Vowel Harmony, in the verb of the 1st person, in some roots like দে < dē >—দেই > দিই, দি < dei, dii, di > I give; etc.



« ēu » became « iu » by Vowel Harmony, and « iu » is contracted to « i »; e.g., NB. दिक् « dik », MB. दिउक, देउ(क) « diukḥ, dēu(kā) » (dēu < \*dētu = dadātu).

(xiii) « ōa » is contracted to « ō ». E.g., अलो « ālō » (ālōka); धोय « dhōē » (\*dhōvai, dhāvayati); थोड़ा « thōṛā » (stōka + -ḍa); रोय « rōē » (\*rōvai, rōvēi: rōpayati); सोय « sōē » < \*sōi » (?\*sōvai, svapiti); MB. होय « hōē » (\*hōai, bhavati); cf. *sls.* व्यामो « byāmō » (vyāmōha). See § 149 (vi).

(xiv) « ōi » is found as « ō » in the MB. word जोसी « jōsī », *spelt* as योसी « yāsī = jōsī » in the 'Mayanāmatīr Gān' (Dacca SPd. edition, p. 25). The contraction of « ōi, ōu » belongs to IMB. and NB. phonology: see next chapter.

#### [B] TREATMENT OF OIA. « ṛ »

##### [I] « ṛ » IN TADBHAVĀ WORDS.

173. OIA. « ṛ » as a sonant disappeared in MIA. Prakritisms in Vedic like « vikāṣa, śithira » are, for example, on the basis of an « ar, ra » or « ir, ri » pronunciation of « ṛ ». In Late OIA. at least, « ṛ » undoubtedly had developed other pronunciations, beside that of the proper sonant « ṛ », and « ar », namely « ra ar, re er, ri ir, ru ur ». See p. 243, *ante*. (Cf. Vidhusēkhar Śāstrī, 'Bāṅlāy Uccāraṇ' in the 'Pravāsī' for Vaisākha, 1318; 'Ṛ-kāra-tattva,' VSPdP., 1324, pp. 183-185). These pronunciations of « ṛ » are of course quite distinct from the ablaut grades of Primitive Indo-European, « ēr ōr, ēr, ōr » or « ēl ōl, ēl, ōl », which are found in OIA. forms like « bhar-a-ti, bhār-a-s » etc.; they are merely Indian vernacular modifications of the original Indo-European zero grade, or « ṛ, ṛ » . Forms like MIA. « ghara < \*garha = gṛha, ghata < ghrata = ghṛta, gēha < \*greha, \*gerha = gṛha, vēṇṭa < \*vrenta, \*vernta = vṛnta, amia < \*amrita = amṛta, rukka < \*vrukka = vṛkṣa » sufficiently indicate the manifold pronunciation of « ṛ » in Late OIA. The lines along which OIA. « ṛ » was modified in the various dialect-areas are not known. It can be surmised from the Aśōka inscriptions that in the Early MIA. period, the dialects of the North-west normally changed « ṛ » into « ri, ur » (the « ur » occurring after labials), in which

the < r > element was retained ; that the dialect of the South-west (Girnar) turned it to < a > ; and the North-eastern dialect made it < i, u > (the latter before labials), without the < r > , but cerebralising a following dental <sup>1</sup> (cf. Truman Michelson, 'Inter-relation of the Dialects of the 14 Rock Edicts,' JAOS., 1909, pp. 77ff. ; Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 31). The < i > treatment seems also to have been favoured in the Midland, as in the North-east. But even in the Early MIA. of the Aśōka inscriptions, we find that there is no regularity of the change which OIA. < ṛ > underwent in a particular dialectal area, North-western, or South-western, or North-eastern (cf. Jules Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 47). The North-eastern speech of Aśōka shows, in addition to < i, u >, < ä > also, in words like < kaṭa, viyāpaṭa, vithaṭa, maṭa- > (kṛta, vyāpṛta, viṣṭṛta, mṛta) ; forms in < ä > like < kaḍa, maḍa > are also noted by Vararuci for Māgadhī of the Second MIA. period (see p. 343, footnote). It seems that intermingling of dialects early in the history of MIA. overlaid any original tendencies or preferences for special vowels in the different dialect areas ; and judging from the way in which < ṛ > in *tss.* and *stss.* was pronounced in Middle Bengali (see § 174), it can also very well be assumed that the < i, u, a, e > treatments of < ṛ > all obtained side by side in the same area, in the transitional stage from OIA. to MIA. So far as the *tbh.* words in NIA. are concerned, no sure line of isogloss is possible in this matter.

It will be seen that quite a number of MIA. forms, showing modification of OIA. < ṛ >, were adopted into Classical Sanskrit.

(1) OIA. < ṛ > > < ä > in MIA. This, either through compensatory lengthening, or through stress, became < ā > in some cases in Bengali. *আজ* < ājṣ > in *আজলী* < ājāli > a *foolish girl* (aju-, ṛju) ; †*আজবুজ* < ājṣbujṣ >

<sup>1</sup> Indo-European group of 'l' + dental occurs as a single cerebral sound in OIA., as in Vedic, but 'ṛ, r' + dental remains a combination of two sounds. The eastern dialect (Māgadhī) has only 'l,' and no 'r' : is it that 'ṛ, r' + dental was also a case of 'l' + dental in this dialect, so that this 'Prakritism' in changing a dental to a cerebral was really an extension of the old habit which characterised OIA. in general? See later, under Consonants : 'the Cerebrals.'



*simpleton* (\*aju-bujjha-, řju-budhy-); কাছারী < kāchārī > (kaecaharia, kṛtya-gr̥ha-); কান, কান্ন, কান্নাই < kānā, kān-u, kān-āi > (Kaṇha, Kṛṣṇa); OB. *sts.* < kaṣaṇa > (\*kraṣaṇa, kṛṣṇa); কড় < kārḍ > *bracelet, ring* (kaṭa, kṛta); বর < ghārḍ > (\*garha, gr̥ha); বাঁট < ghāṭḍ > *stir with fingers* (\*ghaṇṭa, \*ghaṭṭa, ghṛṣṭa), beside বুঁট < ghūṭḍ >; MB. তড় < tāṛā > (taṭa, ṭṛta); দড় > দড় < dār(h)ā > (daḍha, ḍṛḍha), beside OB. < diḍha >; ধড় < dhārḍ > *torso* (\*dhaṭa, dhṛta); ধড়া, ধড়ী < dhārā, dhāri > *cloak* (dhaṭa, dhaṭī = dhṛta-); নড় < nārḍ > *a caste* (naṭa, OIA. nṛtu *dancer*); নাচ < nācḍ > (nacca, nṛtya); মড়া < māṛā > *corpse* (maṭa, mṛta); মটি < māṭī > (\*maṭṭīa, mṛttikā); বাঁট < bāṭḍ > *teat* (\*vaṇṭa, vṛnta), beside বাঁটা < bōṭā >; বড় < barḍ > *the banyan tree; a coil of rope* (vaṭa, vṛta); ভড় < bhārḍ > *soldier, servant > a surname* (bhaṭa, bhṛta); বড়ক < sārākḍ > *street* (\*saḍa-, \*saṭa = sṛta); also in forms like MB. কৈল, মৈল < kailā, mālā > (kaṣa-illa, maṣa-illa = kṛta, mṛta), see p. 343, which are not Old Māgadhī, but later importations or formations in Late Māgadhī.

(2) < r > > < i > in Bengali. অমিয়া < āmiyā > (amia-, amṛta-); MB. গিধ < gidhā > (giddha, gr̥dhra); ঘী, ঘি < ghī > (ghia, ghṛta); ঘিন < ghinḍ > (ghṛṇā); চীঠ > চীটে < ḍhiṭ(h)ḍ > (ḍhiṭṭha, dhṛṣṭa); MB. তিন < tiṇā > (ṭṛṇa); তিয়জ < tiyājā >, NB. তেজ < tējḍ > (< \*tiajja, \*tiijja, ṭṛIiyā >: change of < yā > to < j > not Bengali—this is a Western form); MB. তেহেন, NB. তেন < tē(hē)nā > < < \*taihaṇa > (taisaṇa, \*tādisaṇa, tāḍṛsana); OB. < dīsaī > (dissaī, ḍṛsyatē); MB. দিঠি < diṭhi > (ḍṛṣṭi); OB. < diḍha > (ḍṛḍha); পিঠ < piṭhḍ > (piṭṭha, pṛṣṭha); বিছা < bichā > (vr̥śca-, cf. vr̥śeika); ভিন্নরুল, \*ভিন্নরুল < bhimḍ-rūlḍ, bhij- > (bhṛṅga-rōla); মিঠা < miṭhā > (miṭṭha-, miṣṭa = mṛṣṭa); শিং < śiṅ > (śṛṅga); শিঙা < śiṅā > *trumpet* (śṛṅga-); OB. < siṭhi = siṭhi > (sṛṣṭi); শিকল < śikalḍ > (śṛṅkhala, śṛṅkā-); শিয়াল < siyālḍ > (śṛgāla); হিয়া < hiyā > (hiaa-, hṛdaya); etc.

(3) < r > > < u >. OB. < uju >, Chittagong dial. < ujjā > (řju); ঘুঁট < ghūṭḍ > *stirring* (\*ghuṇṭa, \*ghuṭṭa = ghṛṣṭa); আউশ, আউব < āušḍ, -ḍḍ > (āvṛṣa), see p. 320; \*পিউসী > পিসী < \*piusi > পিসী, \*মাউসী > মাসী < \*māusi > মাসী < piṭṛ-, māṭṛ-, + svasṛ- >; MB. পাউব < pāušā > (prāvṛṣa); পুছে < puchē > (pucchāi, pṛechati); বুড়া > বুড়া < buṛ(h)ā > (vr̥ddha-); ভুনা, ভুনি < bhunā, bhuni > *fried* (\*bhunna-, \*bhṛj-na-); OB., MB. রুখ < rukhā > (vr̥kṣa);

শুনৈ < śunē > (\*śunāi, śṛnōti); ফুটে < phuṭē > *bursts* (phuṭṭāi, Sanskrit sphuṭ <OIA. \*sphṛt); etc.

(4) < ɾ > < e >: OB. < beṅṭa >, also Middle Oṛiyā as in Purī Inscription of 1470 (\*vōṅṭa, vṛnta); cf. Oṛiyā < √ghēn > *take* (√grh-n-).

(5) < ɾ > < o >: বোঁটা < bōṭā > *stem of flower* (\*vōṅṭa, vṛnta).

[II] < ɾ > IN TATSAMAS AND SEMI-TATSAMAS IN BENGALI.

174. The above are instances of OIA. > MIA. > NIA. change of < ɾ > in Bengali. The Bengali alphabet possesses ɾ < ɾ > as a letter of the alphabet, and its common pronunciation is ɾ < r+i >. This < ri > value for < ɾ > is found all over Northern India; but in the South, including the Oṛiyā and Marāṭhī tracts, the pronunciation is < ru >. The < ri > pronunciation in NB. is only one out of the various traditional pronunciations of the letter < ɾ > in MB.,—viz., < ri ir, re er, rā ār, ro or > (but never < ru, ur >)—and some of these are still current. The name of the letter ɾ is < ri >, and the other varieties of vowel used in the pronunciation of words in < ɾ > are now giving place to < i >, in educated speech. This < ri > pronunciation is a very old one, and frequently in the inscriptions, back to the oldest ones, there is interchange between < ɾ > and < ri >. Confusions like < pṛya > for < priya >, < alaṅkṛta > for < alaṅkṛta >, < śṛdhara > = < śṛidhara >, < śṛhaṭṭa > = < śṛihaṭṭa >, < riṣikēśa > = < hr̥ṣikēśa >, as in the early Bengal inscriptions, testify that < ri > was the recognised value for < ɾ > in the Late MIA. period in Bengal. The Tibetans obtained the Indian alphabet by way of Khotan (A. F. R. Hoernle, 'MS. Remains etc. from Central Asia,' Introduction), but they were subjected to influences from Bengal from the 7th century onwards, and the Tibetan way of writing < ɾ, ḷ > of Sanskrit by < r+i, l+i > is doubtless based on an Old Bengali pronunciation.

In Early Oṛiyā, the pronunciation of < ɾ > was as in Bengali, but from the 15th century onwards it became < ru >, probably through Telugu influence. Upper India knows of no other forms than < ri >, or < ir > by metathesis, as can also be seen from early *sts.* forms in Western Hindi and Eastern Hindi: e.g., < ritu (ṛtu), trisnā (ṛṣṇā), mrittu (mṛtyu), kisān



(kṛṣṇa), krisna (kṛṣṇa), birdha (vṛddha), nirpa (nṛpa), mirdanga (mṛdanga), hridaya (hṛdaya), rikhikēsa (hṛṣikēśa) », etc.

In MB. documents, and in the old-fashioned spelling in the early 19th century papers and printed works (which still obtains in places removed from the standardising influence of schools), forms like ব্রত, ব্ৰেত < ghrātā, ghrētā >, ব্রগ < mrāgā >, প্রথক < prāthāk >, প্ৰয়োজন < pṛyōjanā >, শ্রীগাল < śrigālā >, অমৃত < āmrātā >, নির্প < nirpā >, ক্রিপিন < kripinā > (kṛpaṇa), গ্রহ < graha > (gṛha), পহতে < pāhṭe > for পরিতে < pāritē > to wear, etc., etc. are quite common. The 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed' (see pp. 136, 234) similarly writes < crepa, omert, ghirna, hirde, prothoqhe (= pṛthak-), mirtica, prothibe (= pṛthivī), bretha (= vṛthā) > etc. In MB. < r > in *ts.* and *sts.* words fell together with original < -rā > and < -ri >. And < rā, ri, re, ro, ār, ir, er, or > are interchangeable in Bengali when they occur after a consonant. The < r > is frequently assimilated with the following consonant in folk pronunciation. অমৃত < amṛta > is thus pronounced as [omrito, omirto, omrōto, omārto, omroto, omorto, omreto, omerto; omōtto, omotto, ometto]; প্রণাম < praṇāma > as [pronam, pornam, prenam, pernam; ponnam, pennam]; প্রবোধ < prabōdha > as [probodfi, porbodfi, prebodfi, perbodfi; pebod]; so প্রদীপ < pradīpa > becomes [prodip, pridip, predip, pordip, perdip], and even পিদিম, পিদীম [pidim, piddim] through intermediate stages like \* < pridīpā > < pidīwā, pidiwā > and < pirdīpā > piddiwā, piddiwā >; প্রভৃতি < prabhṛti > commonly becomes [p(r)ibḥiti, pirbḥiti]; the ordinary pronunciation of ক্রমে < krāmē > is [kreme, kerme]; ব্রত < vrata > is normally turned to [bōto, berto; bōtto, betto], and নিমন্ত্রণ < nimantraṇa > and গ্রহ < graha > have given the *sts.* নেমন্ত্রণ < nēmantāṇṇā > and গেরো < gērō > through Middle Bengali pronunciations like < \*nimāntāṇṇā > and < \*gerhā >. This interchange of post-consonantal groups of vowel + < r >, or their metathesis, has turned তীরহত < tīrḥhutḥ > (tīrabhukti) to তিহত < trihutḥ > in Bengali. Foreign words are equally affected: e.g., Portuguese < igreja > church gives Bengali গির্জা < girjā > beside গৃজা < gṛjā = grijā >, and the Persian < mirzā > prince occurs as মির্জা < mīrjā = mrijā > beside মীর্জা < mīrjā >.

In the dialectal Bengali of Chittagong, < r > becomes < iri >: cf. < girit (ghṛta), biriṣ (vṛṣa) >, etc.

The general practice in NB. orthography is to treat ঞ < r̥ > as a compound letter, < r+i >. A word like আবৃত < ābr̥tā > is normally pronounced [abrit̥ā], when the fact that the ঞ < r̥ > in this *ts.* is a vowel is remembered; but commonly in pronunciation the < b > is 'doubled,' as in Bengali a consonant before a < r > or < l > is always doubled: *e.g.*, [abbrit̥ā]. ঞ is commonly used, because of the convenient shape of its subscribed form, <sub>৞</sub>, to denote the group < ri > in foreign names, instead of the complicated group of subscribed < r+i, l > ( <sub>৞</sub>, <sub>৞</sub> ): *e.g.*, ব্রিটেন < br̥t̥ēn > for ব্রিটেন < br̥t̥ēn > *Britain*, খ্রীষ্ট < kh̥r̥ṣ̥t̥ā > for খ্রীষ্ট, খ্রীষ্ট (properly \*খ্রীষ্ট) < kh̥r̥ṣ̥t̥ā, kh̥r̥ṣ̥t̥ā (kh̥r̥ṣ̥t̥ā) > *Christ*; even প্ৰিভি কাউন্সেল < pr̥bhi-kāũnsel > for প্রিভি < pribhi- > *Privy Council*, ক্রমিনাল < k̥r̥mināl > *Criminal*, ক্রিকেট < k̥r̥k̥ēt̥ > *Cricket*, etc.: we have even ঞবিবর < r̥ṣ̥ibāraṣ̥ > for *receiver*, and Ban̥kim Chandra writes ঞড < r̥ḍ > for the English name *Reid*. ঞ < r̥ > does not occur in Bengali outside the alphabet. It is an unfamiliar letter, and frequently the long vowel is wrongly employed in writing for < r̥ >. > < l̥ > is only a letter in the alphabet, pronounced < li >, and it does not figure in Bengali.

### [C] NASALISATION OF VOWELS IN MIA. AND NIA.

#### [I] FINAL < ANUSVĀRA >.

175. The < anusvāra > and < anunāsika > of OIA. both meant nasalisation of vowels (see p. 244). OIA. < anunāsika > vowels are not preserved in MIA. < Anusvāra > could not occur before stops and aspirates, which had only corresponding nasals, < ŋ, ñ, ṇ, n, m >, before them in OIA.; < anusvāra > occurred before < y, r, l, v, ś, ṣ, s, h > only. Final < -m > became the < anusvāra > in MIA.; and original < anusvāra > remained. OIA. < -m > > Early and Second MIA. < -m̄ > became a frank nasalisation of the preceding vowel in the Late MIA. period (Apabhraṅśa), and this final nasalisation still survives in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī ordinarily, when in MIA. we have groups like < -aam̄, -aūm̄, -ī/īam̄, -u/ūam̄ >, etc.; *e.g.*, Gujarātī < karvū > (\*kariavvaūm̄, kartavya-kam), < ghaṇū > (ghaṇaūm̄, ghaṇakam), < pèhlū > (pahillaūm̄, pratha-ila-kam), < hū > (haū, haūm̄ =



ahakaṁ, aham), < sū > (saūm, sākam), < sō > (saūm, śatam), < ṣī < \*asī > (asīm, asīti), < nēvū > (navāim, navati), etc. : Marāṭhī < ṣē > (sayam, śatam), < karṇē > (karaṇayam, karaṇakam), < mōṭī > (mōṭtiām, māṅktikam), < taḷḷē > (taḷḷayam, taḷḷakam), < bī > (bīam, bījam), < tāṛū > *ship* (tāruam, tārukam), < nībū > (nimbuam, nimbukam), < pākhrū > *bird* (pakkha-rūam, pakṣa-rūpam), etc., etc. Western Hindī (Braj-bhākbā) has also cases of this survival of the final nasal of OIA. : *e.g.*, < haū > *I* (ahakaṁ), < māraṇaū, māribaū > (māraṇa-kaṁ, māritavya-kam), etc. This final nasalisation is not preserved in other NIA. A case like OB. < hāu = haū >, found also in MB. as the verbal affix for the 1st person, < hē > < -hō >, seems to be a survival from the Māgadhī Apabhraṅsa (or through nasalisation of intervocal < ō > ? *E.g.*, < aham > abakaṁ > \*haam > \*haṵā > \*haṵa > haū >); and < hā > < -hā > in < tihā, jihā, ihā >, etc., honorific forms of pronouns, which is from OIA. < -ēṣām > > MIA. < -ēham >, is due to the analogy of the other genitive plural affix < -āṇa > from < -āṇām > = < -ānām > (see p. 306). The final < anusvāra > may be said to have been lost to Bengali. As for the < anusvāra > in the interior of words, before the semivowels, liquids and sibilants, and the aspirate < h >, it was dropped in many cases in MIA. itself; but where it occurred in MIA., before the sibilants for example, it behaved like a class nasal before its corresponding stop or aspirate, and has generally been continued down in all NIA. : as a nasalisation of the preceding vowel, which is lengthened by way of compensation (*e.g.*, < hāṣṭ > = < haṵsa >, < māṣṭ > = < māṵsa > etc.), or as the dental nasal < n > in the North-western Indian speeches which do not simplify double consonants (*e.g.*, Panjābī < hans >), or again as a separate nasal syllable in a language like Oriyā which does not wholly nasalise the class consonants (*e.g.*, Oriyā < bāṵśā bāṵśā > = < vaṵśa > : cf. the NB. pronunciation of < anusvāra > in *ts.* = [ŋ, ŋɔ], from MB. [ṵ, ṵɔ]).

[II] CLASS NASALS AND INTERIOR < ANUSVĀRA > OF MIA.

(1) MIA. Nasals inherited from OIA.

176. In its development from OIA. and MIA. to NIA., < anusvāra > thus fell in line with the class nasals before their corresponding stops and

aspirates. MIA. of the Second period possessed intervocally either double stops (or stop+its aspirate), or nasal+stop or aspirate (see p. 254). The vowel preceding such a group of double stops, or nasal+stop or aspirate, was always a short one in MIA. The Aryan dialects entered the NIA. stage throughout the greater part of India when the double stops (with or without aspiration) were simplified, and there was compensatory lengthening generally. This has been described before (p. 259). In the case of groups with the nasal, the nasal as an independent sound was lost in NIA., and compensation for this loss came in by both lengthening and nasalising the preceding vowel: the line of change has been indicated at p. 259. Before the final absorption of the nasal into the preceding vowel, there would be a stage when it was pronounced very short: e.g., < aṅka > [aṅka, aṅka] > अङ्क [ḍʰaṅka, aṅka, āṅka] > ँङ्क < āṅka > [ā:k]. This 'reduced' nasal can be expressed by a small < ṅ, n m > etc., written above the line [ṅ, n, m]. Such short or reduced nasals are found elsewhere: in Sinhalese, for instance, in its *bbh.* element (cf. W. Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' §17). A similar stage of reduced nasals undoubtedly obtained in IA. in the mainland, probably during the Late MIA. period, and certainly during the transitional period between MIA. and NIA. In Oṛiyā, among the Magadban speeches, the vowels have not been nasalised to the entire absorption of the original nasals, which may be said to obtain as reduced sounds: e.g., Oṛiyā कान्दना [kāṅdaṅa] weeping (krandana-), दान्त [dāṅta] (danta), पाञ्च [pāṅc̣ṣ̣a] (pañca), etc.=Bengali কান্দনা > কান্না [kāṅna > kāṅna], দাঁত [dāṅṭ], পাঁচ [pāṅc̣ṣ̣]; in Oṛiyā, the nasal is fully uttered in Sanskrit words like < dānta > < < √dam >, < pañca-janya >, etc., but it is not at all so prominent in the *bbh.* words, which, besides, have the vowel nasalised. It seems that in OB. and in eMB., dialectally undoubtedly, the reduced nasals obtained: although the use of the ° < candra-bindu >, which is found in inscriptions in the mystic syllable ॐ < ̣ > (now pronounced indifferently [o:ṅ] or [o:m]) is an early evidence that the full nasalisation of vowels came in in Proto- and Old Bengali speech (see p. 226). The Caryā MS. spellings like < chānda, bāndha, tentali, kāndha, sāṅkama, ṭāṅgi, pāñca, ḍombī, bhaṅḍāra > etc. may be taken to show that the reduced nasals were the



rule in OB. So, too, Sarvānanda's spellings « kiñcōhi (NB. কেঁচৌ *kēcō*, Skt. kiñcūlaka), siṅkala (=śiṅkhala), vabēñei a fruit (= NB. বহঁচৌ *bāñcī*), bāndhulī (NB. বাঁধুলী *bāñdhulī*=bandhuka) », etc., would be equally indicative of the reduced nasal. But the Caryās show full nasalisation of original class nasals and of « anusvāra » by means of the « candra-bindu » as well. Apart from the fully nasalised vowel in the affixes like « -ē, -ī », we have spellings with the « candra-bindu » like the following : « hāu (abakaṁ), māsa (māñsa), āsu (añśu), ūcā (\*uñca=ucca-), hāḍī=hāñī, not \*hāñḍī (-bhāñḍa-), bājhē (vañjhā, vandhyā), sājhē (sañjhā, sandhyā), bāddhi=bāñdhi (sts.< vandhyā) » ; and Sarvānanda has « jhāmpāṇa » (=yāpya-yāna), with « anusvāra » for the expected « candra-bindu », rather than « \*jhāmpāṇa » with « -mp- » : cf. « pimpāḍā, dāmbōḍā », with « m » and not with « anusvāra ». The complete absorption of the nasal thus belongs to the OB. period, although it also seems that the reduced nasal still held the field in OB. The orthography in this matter, employing the class nasals after the lengthened vowel, however, may be archaic only, without reference to the actual pronunciation. In the eMB. of the ŚKK., from the spellings of words it would seem an analogous state obtained. The spelling here, too, might be only archaic. Thus we have আঞ্জ *āñgā* (aṅga) ; but আঁচল *āñcalā* (añcala), 4 times, beside আঞ্চল *āñcalā*, 11 times ; আন্ধারী *āñdhārī* (andha-kārika) ; কাঞ্চণ *kāñkaṇa* (kaṅkaṇa), but কাঁচ(ী) *kāñcā(ā)* *unripe* ; কাঁড়ার *kāñḥārā* *helmsman* beside কাঁড়ার *kāñḍhārā* (=kaṇa-dhāra) ; কাঁতি, কাঁতী *kāñti, -ī* beside কান্তি *kāñti* ; কাঁদ *kāñd-* (√krand), once, beside কান্দ *kāñd-*, 11 times ; কাঁপ *kāñpā* (kamp-), twice, besides কাঁপ *kāñpā*, 5 times ; কাঁশ *kāñśa* *thrice*, beside কংশ *kañśa* (=Kaṅśa), 10 times ; so চাঁদ *cāñḍā* (candra), 4 times, beside চান্দ *cāñda* 14 times. In the Standard Colloquial and in West Bengali generally, in North Bengali and Assamese, we have no longer any reduced nasals, only nasalised vowels. But in certain tracts in the East Bengali area, we have still traces of the full nasal, mainly in connexion with the voiced consonants followed by a vowel ; and vocal nasalisation is frequently absent. Thus, we have [tṣā:d], beside [tṣāñder, tṣāñder]=চাঁদ, চাঁদের, West Bengali [tṣā:d, tṣāñder] : we have even [tṣā:n < tṣāñd] ; [bā:d,

bānda] = বান্দা, বান্ধা [bā:d(fi), bād(fi)a]; [boinda-] = বন্ধু [bōd̪fiu] (bandhu); [pā:ts, pā:c̪] = পাট [pā:c̪]; [ṣā:r, ṣā:r] = ষাঁড় [ṣā:r] (ṣaṇḍa); [ṣānt̪sa] = সাতা [ṣāc̪a] (satya); [ḍūm̪bur] = ডুম্বর > ডুম্বর [ḍum̪ur] (ḍumbura < udumbura); etc. But the persistent retention of the nasals as distinctly audible sounds, albeit reduced, does not mark East Bengali pronunciation in the same way that it does that of Oṛiyā. OB. and eMB., as in the Caryās and the ŚKK., may be taken to represent a mingling of dialects, showing both reduction and complete absorption of the nasals; or, what is equally likely, the spelling with the full nasals is merely an archaic thing, and is not a proper key to the pronunciation which had already become nasal. The influence of Skt. *ts.* in orthography, which is always conservative, is to be taken into consideration in discussing the OB. and eMB. conditions in this matter.

177. Below are given instances of nasalisation of vowels in Bengali through class nasals and « anuvāra » occurring with consonants in OIA.

As Bengali vowels normally are more or less nasalised when preceded or followed by a nasal, the « anuvāra » becomes superfluous, and is often not used in writing.

(i) Unvoiced stops and aspirates preceded by class nasals: the vowel is nasalised (after being lengthened), and the stop or the aspirate remains. *E.g.*, আঁক < āk̪ > (aṅka); কাঁকণ < kāk̪aṅ > (kaṅkaṅa); পাঁক < pāk̪ > (paṅka); ষাঁখা < ṣākhā > (ṣaṅkha-); পাঁচ < pāc̪ > (paṅca); মাঁচা = \*মাঁচা < māc̪ā = māc̪ā > (maṅca-); সাঁচ, ছাঁচ < sāc̪, chāc̪ > (saṅca); পোঁছ < pōch- > *wipe* (pra + nūch); বাঁচ < bāc̪ > (\*vaṅṭa, vṛnta); গাঁঠ < gāṭh > (gaṅṭhi, granthi); সূঁঠ < sūṭh > (śuṅṭhi); তাঁত < tāṭ > (tantu); দাঁত < dāṭ > (danta); পাঁতি < pāṭi > (panti < paṅkti); কঁথা < kāṭh > (kanthā); কাঁপ < kāp > (kamp-); চাঁপা < cāpā > (campaka-); গোঁফ < gōph > (gumpha); etc.

Sibilants with preceding « anuvāra » remain, with the « anuvāra » nasalising the preceding vowel: *e.g.*, আঁশ < āś̪ > *fibre* (aṅśu); কাঁসা < kāsā > *bell-metal* (kāṅśya); কাঁসারী < kāsāri > (kāṅśya-kāri), but cf. Oṛiyā *bh.* < kāṅśā, kāṅśāri > [kōṅśā, kōṅśāri]; পাঁশ < pāś̪ > *ashes* (pāṅśu), cf. Oṛiyā < pāṅśā >; বাঁশ < bāś̪ > (vaṅśa), cf. Oṛiyā < bāṅśā >; মাস = মাস < māś̪ = māś̪ > (māṅśa), cf. Oṛiyā < māṅśā >; হাঁস < hās̪ > (haṅśa).



OIA. < anusvāra > following the high vowel < i > is lost in < viñśati > MB. < viśa, \*viśa > Bengali বিশ < biśṣ >, -ইশ, -শ < -(i)śṣ > in composition : একুশ < ekuśṣ > (ēkaviñśati), বাইশ < bāiśṣ > (dvaviñśati); so -তিস, -তিশ, sts. তিরিশ < tiśṣ, tiśṣ, tiriśṣ > (triñśat), চল্লিশ < cālīśṣ > (catvāriñśat), etc.

(ii) Class nasals with voiced consonants, and < anusvāra > with < h, y, v >.

(a) < -ṅg- > of MIA., from OIA., became < ~ṅg- > with reduced nasal in Proto-Bengali, and possibly also in OB. In the NB. Standard Colloquial, < -ṅg- >, or rather, < ~ṅg >, is assimilated to a full [ ŋ ], written ঙ, ঙ, ঙ (finally only) < ṅg, ṅ, ŋ(ū) >, although the OB. and eMB. condition, with the stop sound < g >, is preserved intervocally in some parts of East Bengal. E.g., আঙ্গিনা, আঙিনা < āṅ(g)inā > (aṅgana-); আভাঙ্গ, আভাং < ābhāṅ > (abhyāṅga); গাঙ্গ, গাঙ, গাং < gāṅgā = gāṅḡā > gāṅ = gāṅ > a river (gaṅgā); *dēśī* words like চিঙ্গড়া, চিঙড়া, চিংড়ী < ciṅḡṛī > prawn, lobster (ciṅga-ṛa-; cf. Hind. jhīṅḡā), চাঙারী, চাঙড়া < cāṅārī, cāṅḡṛā >, etc., basket (OB. \*caṅgēḡā, Caryā 10), চাঙ্গা, চাঙা < cāṅgā > well, in good spirits (*dēśī* caṅga), জোঁড়া < jōṅḡṛā > snail (OB. jōṅgaḡā), ডাঙ্গস, ডাঙস < dāṅḡāsṣ > spear, etc.; জাঙ্গাল, জাঙাল < jāṅ(g)ālṣ > dyke (jaṅgāla); বাঙ্গাল, বাঙাল < bāṅḡālā > bāṅālṣ, bāṅālṣ > (vaṅgāla), but East Bengali often [bāṅgal]; ভাঙ্গ, ভাং < bhāṅ > hemp (bhaṅḡā); ভাঙ্গে, ভাঙে < bhāṅ(g)ē > breaks (< bhaṅga), but cf. ভাঁগ < bhāḡg- > in the ŚKK., at least 26 times, against ভাঙ্গ < bhāṅg- > = [bhāṅḡ-], 14 times; *tbh.* রাঙ্গা, রাঙা < rāṅ(g)ā > red (raṅga-); রাঙ্গ, রাঙ, রাং < rāṅ > tin; also in রাংচিতা < rāṅ-citā > a plant (raṅga-citra-); but cf. sts. রঙ, রং < rāṅ > colour; লঙ্গ, লং < laṅḡā, lāṅ > (lavaṅga-); শিঙ্গ, শিঙ, শিং < śiṅ >, শিঙ্গা, শিঙা < śiṅ(g)ā > (śiṅga-); OB. < sāṅga > = [śāṅga] (Caryā 10), found in NB. সাঙ্গাং, সাঙাং < sāṅ(g)āt >, in the Calcutta dialect সাঙাং [śāṅḡat] (see p. 322) = friend (saṅga+-vant-), has given place to the *ts.* সঙ্গ, সঙে, সঙে < sāṅḡā, sāṅ(g)ē > in NB. The group < ṅg > of OIA. and MIA. thus normally becomes < ṅ > in NB. (with nasalisation of preceding vowel generally not expressed in writing). But eMB. spellings like ভাঁগ < bhāḡg- >, and Caryā spellings like লাগ < lāga > (= lāga = \*nāga < \*naṅga < nagga = nagna), to rime with সাঙ্গ < sāṅga > (= ? sāga < saṅga, cf. NB. সগাই sagāi < \*sāḡāi union, irregular marriage among certain lower castes), in Caryā 10, and মাগা < māḡā >

(= < māṅgā >, MIA. < \*maṅga < magga = mārga >—cf. also the OB. spelling মাজ < māṅga > in Caryās 8, 13, 14) to rime with মাজ < sāṅgā = sāṅgā > (writtten স্রাজ in MS.), as in Caryā 8, would establish the normal transformation of < -ṅg- > of OIA. to < ~ṅg, ~g > in OB. The assimilation was thus a thing of MB. and NB. times; and similar though later assimilation of < ~nd > < ~mb > to ~n, ~m > are found in NB.

*Tatsama* words retain < -ṅg- > in full, intervocally; when closing a syllable, and in *sts.* forms, there is assimilation: e.g., জঙ্গল < jāṅgāḷ > *forest*, জঙ্গলে < jāṅgulē > < জঙ্গলিয়া < jāṅgāḷ-iyā > *belonging to the forest*, but জঙ্গলা, জংলা < jāṅglā > *wild*; মঙ্গল < māṅgāḷ >, but মঙ্গলা, মংলা < māṅglā > as a contracted proper name; etc.

OIA. < -ṅgh- > became < ~ṅh > in OB., and with the dropping of the aspiration, the group fell together with the Bengali modification of < -ṅg- >: জাং, জাং < jāṅ > (jāṅghā); শিঙনি > শিকনি < śiṅṅni > śikṅni > (śiṅghāṅa-); and the word < saṅgha >, which would give in NB. a form \*সাঁং < \*sāṅ >, seems to have merged into মাজ < sāṅga > < < saṅga >.

OIA. < -ñh- > in the word < siñha > lost its nasalisation in Early MIA. —< sīha >: the MIA. form possibly subsists in the NB. surname ঈ, সৌ < śī, sī > (see p. 352), originally forming part of personal names, like most non-Brāhman surnames in Bengal. In the *sts.* সিংহি, সিংগি < siṅg(h)i > we have the normal change of < -ñh- > to < ṅg(h) >.

(b) < -ñj- > becomes < ~j > in NB., doubtless through a stage of < ~ñj >: e.g., ঐজলা < āijlā > (āñjali-); গাঁজা < gāñjā > (gañja-, gañjikā); পাঁজি < pāñji > (pañjikā); পাঁজর < pāñjār > (pañjara); পিঁজরা < piñjārā > (piñjara); ভাঁজ < bhāñj > *folding of cloth, paper etc.* (bhañj). The Maithili change of < ñj > to < ññ > ñ >, as in < āñu, añu < añju > = < \*añsu > (aśru), is unknown to Bengali.

< -ñjh- > of MIA. became < ~jh > in Bengali: e.g., ঝাঁঝ < jhāñjh > *strong flavour; huge cymbals* (cf. jhañjhā); বাঁঝা < bāñjhā > (vañjhā, vandhyā); সাঁঝ < sāñjh > (sañjhā, sandhyā).

OIA. < anusvāra > + < y > became < -ñj- > in MIA., and the Bengali development was < ~j >: সাঁজোয়া < sāñjōā > *armour, corslet* (sañjōa-, sañyōga-: cf. Hind. sañjōwā, sañjōnā *arrange*).



(c) < -ṅḍ- > < ʔ- > in Bengali: আড়া > এঁড়ে < āruṅ > ḍēre > *bull-calf* (aṅḍa + uka-); slang < ঝাঁড়, ḍēṅḍ > [ḍēṅ] *testicles* (aṅḍa); † কাঁড় < kāṅḍ > *arrow* (kāṅḍa); খাঁড় < khāṅḍ > *sugar, molasses*, খাঁড়া < khāṅṛā > *sacrificial sword* (khaṅḍa); গোঁড় < gōṅḍ > *fleshy navel* (see ante, p. 67), *the Gonḍ's* (dēśi gonḍa); চাঁড়াল < cāṅṛāḷ > (caṅḍāla); ছিঁড়ে < chīṅḍe > (chiṅḍati); দাঁড়, ডাঁড় < dāṅḍ, ḍāṅḍ > *oar, bird's perch* (daṅḍa); নাড় > নেড় < nāṅḍ > nēṅḍ > [nā:ṅ] *hard stools* (laṅḍa, lēṅḍa, dēśi); পাঁড় < pāṅḍ > *huge, ungainly, ugly* (paṅḍa eunuch), পুঁড় < pūṅḍ > *sugar-cane, a caste* (puṅḍa, puṅḍra); ফাঁড় < phāṅḍ > *breadth* (of a pot generally) (cf. phaṅḍa belly); পিঁড়া < piṅṛā > *wooden board, plinth* (dēśi? = piṅḍa : cf. Hindī pēṅ tree, vṛkṣa-piṅḍa in the 'Mahāvastu'); ভাঁড় < bhāṅḍ > (bhāṅḍa); মূড়া = \*মুঁড়া < \*mūṅṛā, muṅṛā > (muṅḍa-); রাঁড় < rāṅḍ > (raṅḍa); সূড় < sūṅḍ > (śuṅḍa); সাঁড় < sāṅḍ > (saṅḍa); সাঁড়াশী < sāṅṛāśī > (\*saṅḍaśīa, sandaśīkā); হাঁড়ী < hāṅṛī > < (< -haṅḍa- < -bhāṅḍa-, in compounds).

In a few cases, we have < n > for < -ṅḍ- >—through an early assimilation of < ṅḍ > to < ṅṅ >: খান, খানা, খানি < khāṅḍ, khāṅā, khāni > *piece, article* (determinative word), *place* (=khaṅḍa-); cf. Oṛiyā < khāṅḍā > *piece, part, fragment, a single one*, < khāṅḍi > *pot-herd*: Bengali পত্রখানা < pātrā-khānā > = Oṛiyā < pātrā-khāṅḍā > *the letter*, lit. *the letter-piece*, 'one piece letter'; < bānā > *penis* (dēśi baṅḍa-), cf. Oṛiyā < bāṅḍā >. In both the cases, forms with the normal < ʔ- > occur—though < khāṅḍ > has got another meaning (see above). The < -n- > forms may be due to the influence of similar words—e.g., < sthāna > > খান < thāṅḍ > *place, rectangular piece* (determinative); and < bāṅḍ > *arrow*. Cf. Hind. < gannā > *sugar-cane* = < ikṣu-gaṅḍa- > as in the 'Mahāvastu.'

< -ṅḍh- > of MIA. > < ʔ- > in NB., with loss of aspiration: হুঁড়ে < ḍhūṅḍe > *seeks* (dēśi ḍhuṅḍhaī); MB. কাঁড়ারী < kāṅṛārī > *helmsman*, MB. কাঁড়ার < kaṅḍhāra > (\*kaṅṅa-dhāra-, karṅa-dhāra-).

(d) OIA. < -nd- > > Beng. < ʔ-d- >: ইঁদুর < idurḍ > (indura); ইঁদুরী < idārā > (indrāgāra); কাঁদ < kād- > (krand); sts. কঁদরা < kēḍṛā > (kēndra-); চাঁদ < cāḍḍ > (candra); ছাঁদ < chāḍḍ > (chanda); বুঁদ < būḍḍ > (\*bundu = bindu); MB. sts. মঁদির < mādirā > (mandira); সিঁদুর < sidūrḍ > (sindūra); সুঁদরী < sūdṛī > *a tree, much used for fire-wood* (sundara-); sts. কঁদল = কঁদল,

< kōdālā > < kādālā > (kandala < √krand); বাদর < bādārā > *monkey*, from Hindōstānī < bandar > (vānara); etc. Cf. Persian borrowings like চাঁদা < cādā > *subscription*; রাঁদা, রোঁদা < rādā, rōdā > *carpenter's plane*; বাদী < bādī > *slave-woman*; হিঁদু, হেঁদু < hīdu, hēdu > = < candah; rand + ā; bandah + I; hindū, hēndō >; and cf. an English borrowing like জাঁদেরেল < jādrēl > *a general, big person, big* (slang), from < general >, through < \*jānrēl, \*jāndrēl >, = Hind. < jandrāl >.

In dialectal and standard Bengali there are a few instances of assimilation of < nd > > < ~d > to < ~n, n >: e.g., কান্না < kānnā < kādnā > (krandana-); চাঁদ < cānā > [tsā:n] = < cādā > (candra); কানতে > কানতে, কানতে < kānte > kātte, kānte >, from কানিতে < kāditē > *to weep* (krand-); similarly with < ndh >, which is found as < n > in বাধিতে > বাধিতে, বাধিতে, বাধিতে < bādhitē > bādtē, bāttē, bānte > *to bind* (bandh); etc.

< ndh > becomes < ~d(h) >: আঁধি < ādhi > *dust-storm* (andhikā); আঁধার < ādhārā > (andhakāra); কাঁধ < kādhā > (skandha); *sts.* গাঁধা < gādhā > *to smell* (gandha-); ধাঁধা < dhādhā > *doubt, paradox* (dhandhā); বাঁধ < bādhā > *a bond, a dam* (bandha); ফাঁদ < phādhā > *net*, a blend of < phāsā > (= pāsā) and < bandha > (?); সোঁধা < sōdhā > (sugandha-); etc.

(e) OIA. < -mb-, -mr- > > MIA. < -mb- >. The fortunes of < -mb- > were similar to those of < -ngg- >: there has been uniformly an assimilation of the stop element, and the nasal generally has survived: although the < ~b > treatment is found occasionally. Examples: আম < āmā > (MIA. amba < \*āmbra, āmra); OB. < kāmalī > *a man's name* (Kambalika = Kambalāmbara-pāda); চুমা < cumā > (cumba-); জাম < jāma > (jambu); ডিম < ḍimā > (ḍimba); তাম্বলী < tāmlī > *a caste* (tāmbulika); *sts.* কদম < kādāmā > (kadamba); শামুক < śāmukā > (\*śāmbukka, śāmbu-ka); শিম < śimā > (śimba); শিমুল < śimulā > (śimbali = śālmali); MB. (ŚKK.) সমুদ্র < sāmudhā >, *sts.*, once, beside *ts.* সম্বন্ধ < sāmbandhā >, 11 times; *sts.* † সমন্ধী, সমুন্দি < sāmāndhī, sumundī > *wife's brother* (sāmbandhin); etc.

We find as early as in the Aśōkan inscriptions (of the eastern area) a form showing the < mb > mm > treatment, like < lummini = lumminī > for < lumbinī > (at Rumin-dei). But we have absence of assimilation in < tāmbapaṇṇi, amba >, at Delhi and Kalsi, the dialects of which are



on an eastern basis. The <mb> > <~b> treatment seems to have characterised Old Bengali—at least, in West and West Central Bengal: the Eastern Rāḍha dialect is a dialect showing <~b>; also Oṛiyā; e.g., আঁব <āb̄> (amba, āmra), cf. Oṛiyā <āmbā> [āmba]; তাঁবা <tābā> (tamba-, tāmra), cf. Oṛiyā <tāmbā> [tāmba]; নাব- <nāb- = nāb- >; MB. নাথ <nāmbā- > *get down* = Literary Bengali নাম <nām- >, East Bengali † লাম <lām- >, (namma-, nam-); নেব্ <nēbu = nēbu >, beside লেব্ <lēbu > (nimbuka); MB. সাথায়, সান্তায়, beside সামায় <sāmāy, sāmb(h)āy > *enters*, cf. OB. সমাই <samāi > *enters* (<? samāyāti); OB. (Caryā 28) <tābōlā > (tāmbula-); OB. <dāmbōḍā > (Sarvānanda: Skt. dāmya-) = NB. দামড়া <dāmpā > *ox*; MB. জাম্বীর, জাম্বীর beside জামীর <jāmb(h)irā, jāmirā > (jambīra). Cf. the MB. name (W. Bengal) হাম্বীর, হাম্বীর <hāmb(h)irā > < Perso-Arabic <amīr >.

OIA. <-mbh- > > <mbh > in OB., MB., also <mh, mm > in MB. > NB. <m >, without nasalisation of preceding vowel: কুমার <kumār̄ > (\*kumbhār̄, kumbhāra = kumbha-kāra); কুমীর <kumīr̄ > (kumbhīra); খামার <khāmār̄ > *baru* (? skambhāgāra), cf. MB. খাম্বা, খাম্বা <khāmb(h)ā > (skambha-); খাম <thām̄ > (stambha); সামলে <sāmālē > *bears, holds, saves* (sambhālayati, sambhārayati); etc.

Also MIA. <mh > from various sources in OIA.: কুমড়া <kumḍrā > (kumhaṇḍa, kuṣmāṇḍa); বামুন <bāmun̄ > (brāhmaṇa), cf. 'Bihārī' <bābhan > (\*babbhaṇa, bambhaṇa <bamhaṇa <brāhmaṇa); আমি, তুমি <āmi, tumi > (amha-, tumba- = asma-, yuṣma-); etc.

OIA. <anusvāra > + <v > became <mb > so far as NIA. was concerned, at least in Northern and Eastern India: e.g., sts. কিম্বা, সম্বাদ <kimbā, sām̄bād̄ >, beside the proper কিংবা, সংবাদ <kiṁvā, saṁvāda >; cf. MB. (ŚKK.) sts. সমাদ <sām̄lā > (saṁvāda); NB. sts. সম্বর <sām̄bār- > *arrange, flavour with spices* (saṁ-vṛ); etc.

(f) Where two nasals of MIA. are reduced to one, there is nonnasalisation of the vowel (except such as comes in through its being followed by a nasal), and an <ā > is changed to <ã >: e.g., আন <ān̄ > (aṇṇa, anya); কান <kān̄ > (kaṇṇa, karṇa); MB. কাহ্, কান <kānhā, kānā >, NB. কান্ <kān-u > (\*kaṇṇa, kaṇha, kṛṣṇa): চাম <cām̄ > (camma, carma); সোনা <sōnā > (soṇṇa-, suvarṇa); MB. সানা <sānā > *corslet* (sannāha); etc.

(2) 'Spontaneous Nasalisation' in MIA. and NIA. Onomatopoeics.

178. The above are cases where the nasalisation in Bengali corresponds to, or is based on, a nasal or « anusvāra » in OIA. But there are cases in Bengali and other NIA. in which *tbh.* words show nasalisation where there is no nasal in the corresponding OIA. form, as in Sanskrit : *e.g.*, Bengali †हैग « hās- », Hindī « hās », but OIA. «√has- »; Hindī « sācā » (= satya-), « nīd » (nidrā), « sāp » (sarpa); Marāṭhī « kāsav », beside « kāsav » (kacchapa); Hindī, Marāṭhī « āsū » (āśru); etc. These are cases of the so-called 'spontaneous nasalisation' in NIA. It seems there was an old tendency in Indo-Aryan, imposed upon it, it may be, by the non-Aryan speeches, towards articulating through both the mouth and the nose, and thus bringing in a nasalisation. This seems to have resulted also in a nasal after-glide of the vowel, an « anusvāra », which was normally altered to a full class nasal corresponding to the stop sound which might follow : but the « anusvāra » was retained before the sibilants and other open consonants. Prakrit spelling preserves the « anusvāra » in most cases. This nasalising habit goes back certainly to Late OIA. and Early MIA. times : *e.g.*, a Pali form like « mahiūsa » (mahiṣa), = Hindī « bhaṣ < \*mhaīūsa »; and a case like Skt. « karkaṭa » *crab* and « kaṅkaṭa » *armour* (cf. Bengali কাকড়ি « kākḍṛi » *crab*; compare Latin « cancer » and Greek « karkinos » *crab*), which seem to be allied, would show that it was found in OIA. But it was prominent, as can be seen from the extant remains, from the Second MIA. Period. Second MIA. had forms like « vaṅka » (= vakka, vakra), daṅsana (= dassana, darśana), jampāi (= jappāi, jalpatī), phaṅsa (phassa, sparśa), paṅkhi (= pakkhi, pakṣin), etc. (see Pischel, §§74, 86). This kind of spontaneous nasalisation was a characteristic thing in Second MIA. phonology; and *dēśī* words seem to have a special preference for alternative forms with the intrusive « anusvāra » or nasal. The NIA. words with nasalised vowels can in most cases be referred to MIA. forms with intrusive nasal : and for such cases, where the extant remains in MIA. (Pali, Prakrit, Apabhraṅśa) do not furnish us with forms showing this spontaneous nasalisation, we have to go to MIA. hypothetical forms. (G. A. Grierson, 'Spontaneous Nasalisation in the Indo-Aryan Languages,' JRAS., 1922, pp. 381 ff.) Spontaneous



nasalisation is therefore not a NIA. phenomenon : for the NIA. forms given above, we have to postulate Second MIA. forms like < \*haṅsa- (= hassa, hāsyā), \*sañca (= sacca, satya), \*nindā (= niddā, nidrā), \*sampa (= sappa, sarpa), \*kañchava (= kacchava, kacchapa), \*aṅsu (= assu, aśru) >, etc., in the analogy of existing nasalised forms. And it would be seen that the nasal occurs in double consonant groups generally. As Grierson has shown, in many cases the MIA. nasal or < anusvāra > is not transformed into the nasalisation of the vowel in NIA., but remains as a pure nasal, or as what may be called a reduced nasal—the rhythm of the sentence commonly determining the matter.

So far as NIA. is concerned, these forms with spontaneous nasalisation are of the same category as those which show original OIA. or historical nasalisation, being equally inherited from MIA. All NIA. do not entirely agree in details, although all share in the results of this general principle or preference of MIA.: words with spontaneous nasalisation occur in one NIA. speech, say, Western Hindī, but are absent in another, say, Bengali, and *vice versa*: e.g., Bengali has সাপ < sāpḥ >, পা < pā > ছাড় < chārḥ > from < sappa, pāa, chaḍḍ- >, whereas Hindī shows < sāp, pāw, chārḥ > from < \*sampa, \*pāwa, \*chaḍḍ > of MIA., and Bengali কথ, কথথ < kāthḥ, kāyēthḥ > from < \*kāwattha, \*kāyattha, kaittha > (kapittha) can be compared with Marāṭhī < kavāṭh > (\*kavaṅṭha): conversely, Bengali has পুথি < pūthi > (\*ponthia) beside Hindī etc. < pōthi > (potthia), কুদন < kūdāṅḥ > *jumping* beside Hindī < kūdnā >, etc.

Examples in Bengali: আখ < ākh > (\*aṅkhi, akkhi = akṣi); আখর < ākhārḥ > beside আখর < ākhārḥ > (\*aṅkhara, akkhara = akṣara); আচ < āc > (\*añci, acci = arcis); আঠি < āṭhi > *stone of fruit* (\*aṅṭhi, aṭṭhi = asthi); ইট beside ইট < iṭḥ, iṭḥ > (\*inṭa, iṭṭa < \*iṭṭha = iṣṭa); উচু, উচা < ūcu, ūcā > (\*uñca, ucca); উট, উট < ūṭḥ, ūṭḥ > (\*uṅṭa, uṭṭa < \*uṭṭha = uṣṭra); কাঁকড়া < kākḍṛā > (\*kaṅkaḍa-, kakkāḍa = karkaṭa : cf. kaṅkaṭa *armour*); কাঁকড় < kākḍṛ > (\*kaṅkōḍia, kakkōḍiā = karkōṭikā); কাঁখ < kākhḥ > (\*kaṅkha, kakkha = kakṣa); কুকড়া < kūk(u)ṛā > (\*kuṅkuḍa-, kukkuḍa = kukkuṭa); কোঁখ < kōkh > (\*koṅkha, kokkha, cf. kuṣi); কুঁজা < kūjā > (\*kuñja-, kujja, khujja = kubja); কুঁদে < kūdē > *jumps* (\*kundaī,

kuddāi = kūrdati); বিব < ghīṣ- >, বেব < ghēṣ- >, বাট < gbāt- >, বিট < ghīt- >, বুট < ghūt- > (\*ghīṣa-, \*ghaṅṭa, \*gbiṅṭa, \*ghuṅṭa = \*ghissa, gbaṅṭ[h]a, gbiṅṭ[h]a, ghuṅṭ[h]a = √ghṛṣ-, ghṛṣṭa); চাঁছে < cāchē > *scrapes* (cañchāi, cacchāi, \*tacchāi = takṣati); চোঁচা < cōcā- > *shout* (\*ciñca-, \*cicca, cf. cit-kāra); চুঁচি < cūci > (\*cuñca-?, cf. cucuka); ছেঁচে < chēcē > (\*cheñcāi? \*šeñcayati, śecayati); ছেঁদা < chēdā > (\*chenda-, chidda = chidra); ছুঁৎ < chūtṣ > *ruse* (\*chunta, \*chutta, \*śutta = sūtra); ছোঁয় < chōē > (\*chumvāi, chuvāi = sprṣati); ছোঁচ < chōc > (\*choñca, \*sōca = śauca); জাঁজর < jājjhāra > (\*jhañjbara, jhajjbara = jharjbara); ডেঁটা < dhēṭ(h)ā > (\*dheṅṭa, dhiṅṭha = dhrṣṭa); তুঁতিয়া < tūtiyā > (\*tuntha-, Skt. tūttha); তুঁৎ < tūṅṣ > (\*tuñśa?, tūṣa); নান্না, নান্না < nāṅ(g)ā > (\*nañga-, nagga = nagna); MB. নিন্দ, নৌদ < nindā, nīdā > (\*ninda, niddā = nidrā); পাঁচিল < pāñcil > (\*pāñcila? = prācitra); পুঁটি < pūṭ(h)i > *a fish* (\*poñṭhi, poṭṭhi, prōṣṭhi); পুঁথি < pūthi >, beside পুথি < puthi > (\*ponthia, potthia = pustikā); পিপড়া < pipṛā > (\*pimpaḍa-, \*pimpīḍa-, \*pippi/aḍa, cf. piplikā); পহুছ < pa(h)ūch- > *arrive* (\*pahuñca, \*pahuḥca, OIA. \*pra-bhū-cha: see p. 344); পেঁড়া < pēṛā > (\*peṅḍa-, pēḍa = pēṭaka); ফাঁকি < phāki > (\*phañkia, cf. phakkikā); ফাঁস < phāṣ > (phañsa = pāśa); বাঁটুল < bāṭula > *bullet, pellet* (\*baṅṭula, vaṅṭula = vartula); মাং < māṅ > (\*mañga, magga = mārga); মাল্গে = মাংগে, beside মাংগে < māṅ(g)ē, māgē > (\*mañgēi, maggēi = mārgayati); শাঁশ < śāś > (\*śañśa, \*śaśśa = sasya); সাঁজার < sājāru >, also দেঁজার < dējāru > *porcupine* (\*sañja-, sajjā-, \*señja-, sejja- = śalya- + rūpa); সাঁচা < sācā > (\*sañca-, sacca = satya); হাঁস beside হাস < hās-, hās- > (\*hañsa-, hassa, hāśya); হাঁক < hāka > (\*hañka, hakka); হেঁট < hēṭ > (\*heṅṭ[h]a, heṅṭha = \*adhīṣṭāt); etc.

Of the Bengali dialects, that of Rāḍha, especially West Rāḍha, has a great fondness for nasalisation, and this tendency is noticeable from the 14th century (ŚKK.). The conjunctive participle affix ইয়া < -iyā > is particularly noticeable as being always nasalised in West Rāḍha, into ইয়াঁ, ইয়াঁ, ইয়াঁ, ইয়াঁ, etc. = < iyā >, and this nasalisation still subsists. It is especially absent or weak in East Bengal.

In cases like চুঁচি < cūci >, ছোঁচ < chōc >, ছেঁচে < chēcē >, ছুঁচ < chūc > etc., noticed above, as well as কাঁচ < kāc > (kāca), পেঁচা < pēcā > (pēcaka),



where we have a single < e > in OIA., the nasalisation may be specially Bengali, being only a carrying on of the MIA. phonetic peculiarity in NIA.; so also in forms like চ <sup>১</sup> < √eū > *leak* (eyav), and ছোঁ < chō > *touch* (MIA. chuv-), জুই < jūi > (jūhi, yūthi), and in words showing nasalisation of MIA. vowels in contact, or of a form like ত্ব <sup>১</sup> < tṛṣa >, with one consonant only. Or it may be through nasalisation in OB. of the < w̄ > glide into < w̄̄ >: cf. < chuvāi, \*chuwāi, \*chuwāi, NB. chōy >. NB. shows some cases of spontaneous nasalisation in foreign loan-words as well: e.g., হুশ < hūś > *senses* < Persian < hōš >, হুক < hūk > < Perso-Arabic < ḥuqqah >, পেপে < pēpē > < Portuguese < papaia >, হাঁসপাতাল < hāspātāl > < English < hospital >, etc.

179. Onomatopoeics are a characteristic class of words in NIA. which have nasalised vowels. Most NIA. onomatopoeic forms go back to MIA., they are of indigenous development (see *ante*, p. 175), and as a rule they cannot be traced to OIA. In the few that are found in Vedic, nasals do not form any conspicuous element (cf. Whitney, 'Sanskrit Grammar,' §1091a, §1135). Cf. NB. চেঁচা < cēcā > *shout*, OIA. < ciccikā > *a bird*. The MIA. equivalents of Bengali onomatopoeics are not always found, but the principle of formation is the same. Nasalisation in NB. onomatopoeics prefers the [ṣ̄] = earlier [ṣ] sound; e.g., কটকট < kāt-kāt >, but কাটকাট [kṣ̄ṣ̄]; টুকটুক < ṭuk-ṭuk >, but টাটকাট [ṭṣ̄k ṭṣ̄k]. (See references at p. 175, for lists of onomatopoeics in Bengali etc., and their significance.)

180. Nasalisation is a noteworthy thing in NIA. phonology, but, nevertheless, there are cases showing the dropping of an original OIA. nasal. In origin such elision is undoubtedly dialectal, like the preservation of the 'spontaneous nasalisation' of MIA. As has been said before, nasalisation is left unnoticed in Bengali orthography when there is a pure nasal in the preceding or following syllable: মাচা < mācā > (mañca), মাথন < mātḥān > (manthana), ননদ < nānād > (nanand) etc. are not cases of loss of nasalisation. Loss of OIA. nasalisation figured in MIA. itself in a few words which have been inherited by NIA.: e.g., OIA. < viṅṣati, triṅṣat, siṅha > > MIA. < viśa, tiśa, siha > > NIA. < bis (viś), tiś, si >. Examples from

Bengali are আলিপনা, আলপনা < ālipānā, ālpānā > (ālimpana-); কিছু < kichu > (cf. kiñcid); কুলজী < kulāji > (kula-pañji); ছটাক < chhāṭāk > cf. Hind. < chaṭāk > (\*ṣaṭ-ṭaṅka); টাকা < ṭākā > beside \*টাকা < \*ṭākā > > †টেয়া < ṭēyā > (ṭaṅka-); MB. তিত < titā > wet (√tim); দাড়ি < dārā > (\*daṇḍhā < daṇṣṭrā); MB. নিছ < √nich > (nirmanch); পালকী < pālāki > beside পালক, পালক, পালং < pālāṅk/gā, pālāṅ > (\*pallaṅkia, \*paryaṅkikā); পোদ < pōḍ > a caste (?puṇḍra); ভয়সা < bhāyṣā > (adj.) (Pali mahiṣa-, mahiṣa); ভিতর < bhitār > (abhyantara); ভিন্ন < √bhij > (abhyañj-); রেড়ী < rēṛī > (ēraṇḍa-); শিকল < śikāl >, beside OB. < śiṅkala > (śiṅkhala, śiṅkā); সর্কড়ি, সর্গড়ী < śākṛī >, śāḡṛī > leavings of meal, beside সর্কড় < śākṛ > (śaṅkaṭa-); MB. সোচান, সেচান < sācāṅ, sēcāṅ > hawk (sañcāna); etc. The loss of the nasal in the present participle affix ইত < -it- > from < -ant- >, in the locative affix তে < tē > from < \*anta-dhi > \*antahi >, in the dative post-position তরে < tāre > from < antar-ē >, is specially Bengali, i.e., originated in the NIA. period.

### [III] NASALISATION THROUGH INTERVOCAL ‘-m-,’ ‘-n-.’

181. There are two other cases of nasalisation in NIA., also derived from MIA.

(i) Single intervocal < -m- > of OIA. became < Ẃ >, bilabial spirant nasalised, a nasal [v], after the Second MIA. Period. With palatal vowels, < Ẃ > figured as < ẃ > in Early NIA. This < Ẃ, ẃ > normally occurs in NIA. as a mere nasalisation of a contiguous vowel. E.g., আইষ, ঐষ, ঐষ < āiṣ, āiṣ, āiṣ > (\*āwiṣa, āmiṣa); ভুই < bhūi > (bhūwi, bhūmi). In Late MIA., a < Ẃ > sound at times became < ẃ > through analogy or infection, and nasalised a vowel in NIA.: e.g., eMB. পোআর < pōār > (\*paṃāra, pavāla, prabāla); শূয়া < śūā > tendril (\*śūwā, \*śūwa-, \*śūa-, śūka-); so probably OB. < \*haū > < \*haṃa, haṃaṃ < hakaṃ = aham >. Conversely, there are cases of denasalisation of < -m- > -Ẃ- > -w- > in NB.: e.g., কাদা < kādā > (kardama); চলি < cāli > I walk (\*caliwi, \*calimi = calāmi); cf. also পাঁচই, সাতই, আটই < pācāi, sātāi, āṭāi >, p. 303, beside ছুই < chāūi > (\*cha-mika). This is discussed under ‘Nasals,’ in the Phonology of the Consonants.



(ii) In the OB. and eMB. affix < -ē > for the instrumental, we have a case of nasalisation of the vowel through contact with original < -n- > which dropped out: < -ēna > > -ēṇa, -ēṇaṁ > > < -ēṁ, -ē >. So OIA. genitive plural affix < -ānām > gives < -ā > in Bengali. (See pp. 303, 306, *ante*; also in *Morphology*, under 'Inflexions of the Noun,' and 'the Pronouns.')

POST-CONSONANTAL '-m-, -ñ-' IN TATSAMAS.

In *ts.* words in NB., < -m- > subscript nasalises the vowel, and is not itself pronounced separately: *e.g.*, रुक्मिणी < rukmiṇī > [rukkīni], आत्मा < ātma > [attā], पद्म < padma > [poddō, pōddo], श्मशान < śmaśāna > [ʃōʃan], भिष्म < bhīṣma > [bhiʃʃō], विस्मरण < vismarāṇa > [biʃʃōrən], Skt. तस्मै, तस्मिन् < tasmāi, tasmin > etc. = [toʃʃōi, toʃʃin]. The pronunciation [atma] for आत्मा = [atiā, āttā, ātta] is on rare occasions heard, but that is un-Bengali. In the group छ < jñ >, < -ñ- > similarly nasalises the vowel and is dropped: ज्ञान < jñāna > = [gñ:n], बिछ < vijñā > = [biggō].

## CHAPTER IV

### PHONOLOGY OF THE NATIVE ELEMENT: VOWELS

#### [D] INTRUSIVE VOWELS (< VIPRAKARṢA >, ANAPTYXIS).

182. The introduction of a glide vowel between two consonants forming a group has been referred to before (p. 256. See Pischel, § 131ff.; Geiger, Pali Grammar, § 29 ff). It has occurred in all the periods of IA., as of other Indo-European speeches. The glide vowel comes between a liquid, < r, l > or a nasal, < m, n > plus a stop, or the other way, or between a sibilant and another consonant; or, again, between two stops. The intrusion of the vowel takes place most frequently in connection with a liquid or nasal. A glide breath or voice, which is easily transformed into a vowel, comes in between two dissimilar stops when the first one is fully exploded and articulated: and the normal Indian habit, ever since the assimilation of dissimilar consonant groups leading in the MIA. period, has been to pronounce consonants in full, favouring the incoming of the glide. (See p. 251.) Hence Indian pronunciation of English words like *act*, *begged* [ækt, bɛgd] commonly becomes [æktʰ, bɛktʰ] and [bɛgdʰ], and *button*, *sudden* [batn, sadn] become [batən, sadən]. The sounds of < r, l, m, n > can be pronounced by themselves, and in this they partake of the nature of vowels, and so they can easily bring in a vowel in their train; and the same remark is to a slight extent true of the sibilants. Apart from these vocalic glides, there are the consonantal glides < w, y >, in origin also vocalic sounds, which occur between two vowels. Their nature has been discussed before (pp. 338 ff.).

From the Early MIA. period, Sanskrit borrowings were coming in, and they often showed this intrusive vowel. In Second and Late MIA., old worn-down *tbh.* forms were frequently replaced by cognate *ts.* forms, and NIA. has duly inherited them. Thus the proper *tbh.* < sāśava, sassava > (sarṣapa) was replaced by < \*sarīsava >, whence Hindi < sarsō >, Beng. সর্ষা, সর্ষা < sārīṣā, sārṣā >; instead of the expected OB. *tbh.* < \*pāma > < MIA.



« \*pamma » < OIA. « padma » , we have in OB. (Caryā 49) পউষা « pāūā = paūā » < MIA. *s/s.* with intrusive vowel « \*paūwa, paduma » < « padma » . The Old Māgadhī *l/h.* « kaṭṭaviya » , written « kaṭaviya » in the Aśōka inscriptions, from OIA. « kartavya » , came to be replaced, possibly during the Transitional MIA. period, by a *s/s.* with anaptyxis « \*karitavya, \*karitabba » , which became in Late MIA. « \*kariabba » , the source of the Magadhan করিব « kârib- » , « karab- » etc : the Old Māgadhī « \*kaṭṭaviya » would have given a NB. \*কাটুই « \*kâṭui » .

Apart from those cases of « viprakarṣa » in MIA., mainly with the liquids and sonants (which are rather difficult to distinguish if one of the two consonants is not a stop in OIA.), NIA. has carried on this principle in adopting *ts.* words, and foreign words. This practice was quite a characteristic habit of the NIA. speeches in their ' Old ' and ' Middle ' period ; and in Modern NIA. it has fallen into disfavour, through the greater influence of Sanskrit on the literary language. The « viprakarṣa » forms are never used in prose, and in conversation, except in the case of some stereotyped or well-established forms : but they are thought quite proper for poetry. Each language has its preferences for « viprakarṣa » forms : where Hindī will use forms in writing and conversation like « bhagat, ratan, jatan, magan, sanēh » etc., Bengali will prefer « bhâktâ, râtnâ, jâtnâ (yâtnâ), mâgnâ, snēhâ (or ' stēhâ' ) » ; but in the colloquial, forms like « puttur, bhuru, nâkkhâtâr, tiriś, bājjar » would be perfectly proper in Bengali.

In Bengali, intrusive vowels determine their nature from those in their contiguity, as in most languages. Words, *ts.* or foreign, cannot end in two consonants in Bengali : either they must have the prop of a final vowel, or « viprakarṣa » .

Examples of « viprakarṣa » in Bengali :

(i) « -â- » : অন্তর্যামী « ântârâ-yâmi » (antar-yâmin) ; আরসী « ârâsi » (âdarṣa- : MIA. : see p. 256) ; করম « kârâmaṣ » (karma) ; কিশন « kiśânaṣ » (kṣṇa) ; গরব « gârâbṣ » (garva) ; গরজে « gârâjē » (garjati) ; গরাস « gârâsaṣ » (grâsa) ; চন্দর « cândârṣ » (candra) ; চক্র « câkkârṣ » (cakra) ; ছরাদ « chârâdṣ » (śrâddha : see p. 190) ; জনম « jâvâmaṣ » (janma) ; *s/s.* জোজ্জনা,

জোছনা < jōcchānā, jōchānā > (jyōtsnā); তরাস < tārāsā > (trāsa); দরশন < dārāsānā >; দীপতি < dīpāti > (dīpti); ধরম < dhārāmā >; নক্ষত্র < nākhātārā > (nakṣatra), cf. *tbh.* MB. নখতা < nākhātā >; পত্র < pātārā > (patra); পরশ < pārāsā > (sparsā); পাত্র < pātārā > (pātra); পরাণ, পরাণী < pārāṇ(I) > (prāṇa, -I); MB. বজ্র, NB. বজ্রর < bājārā, bājārā > (vajra); MB. বিদগধ < bidāgādhā > (vidagdha); MB. বেকত < bēkātā > (vyakta); ভকত < bhākātā >; ভাদ্রবধু < bhādrā-bādhū >, also ভাদ্রবউ < bhāddārā-bāu > < \*bhāddārā, bhātārā >, with influence of genitive < -ārā > (bhrātṛ-vadhū); মগন < māgānā >; মরত < mārātā > (marta); মরম < mārāmā >; মূরছা < mūrācchā >; মূরতি < mūrāti >; যতন < jātānā > (yatna); রতন < rātānā >; লগন < lāgānā >; MB. লুবধ < lubādhā >; স্বপন < svāpānā >; স্বরগ < svārāgā >; শাস্তর < śāstārā >; স্বতন্তর < svātāntārā >; etc., etc.

Cf. †গারস্থ < gārāsthā > < \*garahastha > or \*garhastha, or \*grahastha (=gphastha); MB. জরম < jārāmā > *birth*, a very common word, is a back formation from the *tbh.* জাম < jāmā >, found in OB., = MIA. < jamma > < OIA. < janma >, on the analogy of < karama, dharama < karma, dharma > kamma, dhamma > *tbh.* kāma, dhāma >; we have even a false restoration to pseudo-Sanskrit of this < jārāmā >, to জর্ম < jārmā >.

(ii) < -i- >: ইন্দির < indir > (indra); †কিরে > কিরিয়া < kirē < kiriyā > an oath, e.g., তোর কিরে < tōrā kirē > (*I swear on thy funeral rites* (kriyā); MB. গিরিষ, গিরিশ < giriṣā, giriśā > (MIA. < \*giriśsa > = < grīṣma >: a genuine Māgadhī form, with \*śś- > for < -ṣm- >; cf. a *tbh.* গুম-ট < gumā-ṭā > *heat, stuffiness* = MIA. < \*gumha >, probably connected with < gimha >); NB. *sts.* গিরিশ্মী < giriṣmī > [giriṣmī] (grīṣma); †গিরিৎ < girit > (ghṛta); ছিরী, ছিরি < chirī, chiri > (probably MIA. *sts.* = < śrī >; cf. *tbh.* ছী < chī >); তিরিশ < tiriśā >, beside ত্রিশ < triśā >: the *tbh.* is তীস, তিস < tiśā, tiśā > found in compounds (triṣat); MB. *sts.* তিরি < tiri > (MIA.: strī); পিরীতি, পিরীত < pirīti(i) > (prīti); MB. পিলিহা, পিলীহা < pilihā, pilihā > whence NB. পিলে < pilē > (plibā); বরিষা < bāriṣā > (? MIA.: varṣā); MB. বিমরিষ < bimāriṣā > (vimarṣa); MB. সিনান < sinānā > (? MIA.: snāna); MB. সিনেহ < sinēhā > (? MIA.: snēha); সরিষা < sārīṣā > (MIA.: sarṣapa-); etc.

(iii) < -u- >: আগুনি, আগুন < āgun(i) > (agni); MB. দুৰবার < durubārā > (durvāra); MB. দুৰযোগ < durujōgā > (duryōga); দুবার, দুআর, দুয়ার < duwārā



< dwārā > (dvāra); পদ্ম, -মিনী < padumā, -mini > (< padma >; cf. OB. < paūā > < MIA. < paduma- >); MB. পুত্প < puhupā >, through Braja-buli influence (\*puhpa = puṣpa); পুত্র < putturā > (putra); ভুরু < bhuru > (bhrū); মুক্ত < mukutā > (muktā); MB. লুব্ধ < lubudhā > (lubdha); শত্রু < śāttur > (śātru); শূদ্র < śūddurā > (śūdra); MB. সুখ্ম < sukhumā > (? MIA., = sūkṣma); স্মর < sumārā > (smar-, smṛ >; the MIA. *sts.* < sumara > gives MB. সোড়র < sōwār- >, with change of < -m- > to < w̄ >); etc. Cf. English *flute* > ফুলুট < phuluṭ >.

< -ē- >: গেরাম < gērāmā > (grāma); ছেরাদ < chērāddā >, besides ছরাদ < chārādā >: see p. 190; পেরেত < pērētā > (prēta). Cf. English *glass* > গেলাস < gēlās > .

(v) < -ō- >: শোলোক < śōlōkā > (ślōka); folk Bengali সোরোত < sōrōtā > (srōtas); etc.

For < viprakarṣa > in foreign words, see 'Phonology of the Foreign Elements.'

[E] PROTHESIS OF VOWELS.

183. A change similar to that of the Latin < sperare > to French < espérer > also characterised the transformation of a few words from OIA, into MIA.: e.g., Pali < itthī > < \*istrī = strī >, < umhayati > < \*usmayatē = smayatē >. The prothetic vowel, however, was exceedingly rare in MIA., groups like < sk-, st-, sp-, sm- > being almost always assimilated or altered to < kh-, th- (ṭh-), ph-, mh- >. In *ts.* forms in NIA., too, we find the prothetic vowel in some words. It occurs as < ā- > or < i- >. The < ā- > seems to have become < ā > in MB., and the MB. forms have been continued down to NB.: e.g., অস্নান < āsnānā > (snāna), cf. Hindī < asnān >; অস্পদ্ধা < āspādd(h)ā > (spardhā); ইষ্টী < ist(i)rī >, folk pronunciation of < strī >. Compound consonant groups like ক < ṅka >, স < ska > etc. are pronounced in the school room as অক < āṅkā >, অস < āskā > etc., following the old tradition of the prothetic vowel. The names of the three nasals উ, ঞ, ণ < ṅ, ũ, ṇ > have got a prothetic vowel before them, being pronounced উঁ, ঞঁ, ণঁ [ūā, ũā, ṇā]: cf. the Oṛiyā name for < ṅ >—< āṅā > or < āṅā > .

Words like তিরি < tirī >, তন < tana > are MB. *stss.* without prothetic vowel (\*stiri = strī; stana), which simply have dropped the < s- >. *Ts.* words with the prothetic vowel are not many in Bengali, but a number of examples are found from among foreign loan-words.

A few words in MB. have a prothetic < ā-, ā- >, which has no special value, except perhaps that of an intensive. The source of this < ā-, ā- > is not clear (see *Morphology*, under Formative Affixes: 'Prefixes'): e.g., আকুমারী, অকুমারী < ākumārī, ākumārī > *virgin*, অমন্দ < āmāndā > *bad*, etc.

[F] EPENTHESIS.

184. Epenthesis of < -i- > or < -u- > is not unknown to MIA., but there it is not regular, not at all a characteristic of the language, only some sporadic instances of it being found: e.g., < kēra < \*kāira, \*kāirīa, \*kāriā = kārya >, an old *stss.* of the MIA. period, used in Late MIA. (like < kaa < kṛta >, as well as < kara, kāra >) with the genitive to strengthen it; pēraṅta < \*pairānta, \*pairīānta, \*parīānta = paryānta >; < pōra < \*paura, \*paurīa, \*parīa = parva >, etc. (Cf. Pischel, § 176.) In Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, epenthesis does not seem to have occurred. It is found only to a very limited extent in 'Bihārī'; and although it is quite a common characteristic of the Eastern Magadhan group, it cannot be said to have come into force in the Magadhan dialects or languages before the NIA. period. The OB. remains in the Caryās and in Sarvānanda, as well as the names in the inscriptions, do not give any traces of epenthesis. Forms in the Oṛiyā inscriptions of the 15th century (see *ante*, p. 107) show how epenthesis had become established in Oṛiyā by that date. In later Oṛiyā, the epenthetic habit fell into desuetude. The Sadānī form of Central and West Magadhan can be said to have epenthesis: e.g., < māirkē < māri-kē > *having beaten*, < mairkē < mari-kē > *having died*, < ghaṭṭ < ghaṭi > *having lessened*, < āij, kāil < āji, kāli > *today, tomorrow*, < kaṭṭ < kaṭi > *having cut*, etc. (See E. H. Whitley, 'Notes on the Gānwārī Dialect of Lobardaga, Chhota Nagpur,' Calcutta, 1896.) In Modern Maithilī etc., there are just traces of it, e.g., in the change of a group < -ahu > to < āh > [pfiu > ɔ:fi],



and it does not look as if Old or Early Middle Maithili, as in the 'Varṇaratnākara,' had epenthesis. The same can be said of Magahī and Bhōjpurīyā.

So far as Bengali is concerned, we see a weakening of < -i, -u > after < ā, ā > in the 14th century; and the beginnings of epenthesis certainly go back to that century. In the 15th century, in the works of Kṛttivāsa, Vijaya-gupta, and the rest, works which are preserved in rather late MSS., epenthesis is a noticeable thing. That the language was already anticipating the < -i, -u > sounds as short vowels ending diphthongs, and shifting them forwards, is evidenced from the orthography of the ŚKK.: e.g., আসিহ < āsihā > = < āsihā > you will come (precativē), beside আইস < āisā > you come; আসু < āsu > <sup>1</sup> beside আইসু < āisu > let him come; আসি, আসী < āsi, āsī >, আসিআ < āsiā > having come, আসী < āsī > I come, আসিব, আসিবে, আসিবেক < āsibā, -bē, -bēkā > will come = < āsi, āsiā, āsī, āsibā, etc. >, beside আইসে < āisē > he comes; পালি < pāli = pāli > thou hast obtained, beside পাইল, পায়িল etc. < pāilā, pāyilā > has obtained (also পাব < pābā = pāibā > I shall get); পসি, পসী < pāsi, pāsī > having entered, পসিআ, পসিঞা < pāsiā, pāsiṅā > ibid., পসিল < pāsila > entered, পসু < pāsu <sup>1</sup> > let him enter, = < pāi- >, beside পৈসী < pāisī > having entered, পৈসু < pāisu > let him enter, পৈসে < pāisē > enters; হসি < hāsi > = < hāisī > thou art beside হইয়া < hāiyā > having been; etc. These spellings are entirely in the spirit of later MB. orthography for the epenthetic vowel—like বারি < bāri > for বাইর < bāir > = বাহির < bāhirā > (bahis), আলু < ālu > for আউল < āulā > dishevelled (ākula), চালু < cālu > for চাউল < cāul >, and even দাহু < dālu > for the Mohammedan name দাউদ < dāūd > (Dāūd).

Epenthesis in MB. is simply the anticipation of an < i > or < u > before the consonant after which it occurred was pronounced: e.g., করিয়া < kāri(y)ā > > \*কইরিয়া < \*kāiri(y)ā > having done. In most of the dialects, the anticipatory or epenthetic vowel was retained, and the original one was dropped generally, after it had affected the character of contiguous আ < ā > by advancing it a little—e.g., কইরা, কইরী < kāir(y)ā > [koīra < \*koiria], as in East Bengali. In the Standard Bengali development of vowels by

<sup>1</sup> Can these spellings suggest a pronunciation '\*āsu, \*pāsu,' in which the 'i' was turned to 'u' by contamination, beside a likely 'āisu, pāisu'?

Umlaut and Contraction, it seems that both the original vowel and its anticipatory form are at the basis of the modern words: e.g., \*কইরিয়া < \*kāiriā > > ক'রে, কোরে < kōrē > [oi > oī > o, ia > ia > eā > ɛ, e]; so সাথ < sāthā >, সাথুআ < sāthuā > > \*সাউথুআ < \*sāuthuā > > \*সাইথুআ < sāithuā > (cf. Typical East Bengali সাউথা, সাইথা < sāūtha, sāīthā >) > Standard Colloquial সেথো < sēthō > *companion* [au > \*aū > \*au > ai > e, ua > uə > ūo > o]. Epenthetic < u > changed to < i > in most Bengali dialects. In original disyllables, ending in < -i, -u >, there is no retention of the vowel in its original place any longer—at least in the modern speech—after there is epenthesis: e.g., কালি < kāli > > \*কাইলি < \*kāili > > East Bengali কাইল, কৌল < kāil, kāīl >, Standard Colloquial কাল < kāl > [ka:l]; but certain West Bengali dialects indicate the presence of the final < -i > in MB. by having a slightly palatalised < l >—like গ্য < -ly >—in addition to an advanced < ā >: [ka:li, ka:i]. There was no epenthesis when < -i > (as in the affix of the verb, first person, present tense) historically is the result of Vowel Contraction (see page 351): e.g., করি < kārī > *I do* (< \*kariī, \*kariwi, \*karimi = \*karami, karōmi); but MB. has an epenthetic form like ঐরি < āiri > for the *ts.* < āri > *enemy*. *Ts.* words also undergo epenthesis in Bengali.

Epenthetic vowels generally are not preserved in the Standard Colloquial and in West Bengali: they have brought in other phonetic changes. Examples: আজি < āji > > আইজ, আজ < āij, āj > (*adya*); *ts.* আদি < ādi > > আইদ, আদ < āid, ād >; আলিপনা < ālipānā > > আইলপনা, আলপনা < āilpānā, ālpānā > (*ālimpana*-); \*কাটি < kāṭi > > কাইট, কাট < kāiṭ, kāṭ > *dregs, dirt* (cf. Skt. kiṭṭa); কালিয়া < kāliyā > *the black one* > কাইলা, কেলে < kāilyā, kēlē > (\*kāla + ika + ā); খলি < khāli > *dregs, mustard cake* > খইল, খ'ল < khāil, khōl > (MIA. khalt); গাঁঠি < gāṭhi > > গাঁইট, গাঁট < gāiṭ, gāṭ > (*ganṭhi, granthi*); চারি < cāri > > চাইর, চার < cāir, cār > (*catvāri*); *ts.* জাতি < jāti > > জাইত, জাত < jāit, jāt >; তরিতে < tāritē > *to cross* > তইরতে, ত'রতে < tāirtē, tōrtē > (< √tṛ); থাকিতে < thākitē > *to remain* > থাইকতে, থাকতে < thāikte, thāktē > (*thakk-, stabh-kr*); ডালি < ḍāli > *pulses* > ডাইল, ডাল < ḍāil, ḍāl >; *sts.* নারিকেল < nārikēla > > নাইরকল, নারকল < nāirkālḥ, nārkāl >; পড়িশী < pāriṣī > \*পইড়শী, প'ড়শি < \*pāiṛśī, pōṛśī > (*prativēsin*); পানিতা < pānitā > *watery* >



পাইন্তা, পান্তা < pāintā, pāntā > (pāntya-); MB. *sts.* পুনি < puni > > পুইন, পুন < puin, pun > (\*puñīa, puñya); ফুটিতে < phuṭitē > > ফুইটিতে, ফুটতে < phuṭtē, phuṭtē > (sphuṭ-ya-); বুঝিতে < bujhitē > to understand > বুইঝতে, বুঝতে < buijhtē, bujhtē > (budhy-); মুন্সি, মুন্সি < munisā, munisā > > \*মুইন্সি, মিন্সি < \*muinsā, minsā > fellow (Early MIA. *munisa man*); রাতি < rāti > > রাইতি, রাত < rāit, rāt > (rātri); রাখিয়া < rākhiyā > having kept > রাইখ্যা, রেখে < rāikhyā, rēkhē > (√rakṣ); সরিষা < sārīṣā > mustard > সইর্ষা, স'র্ষে < sārīṣā, sōrṣē > (sarṣapa-); হরি > হরিয়া < hāri > hāriā > a name (contemp-  
tuous) > হইয়া, হ'রে < hāiryā, hōrē >; etc., etc.

কালুয়া < kāluā > the black one > \*কাউলুয়া, \*কাইলুয়া, কেলো < \*kāuluā, \*kāiluā > (final < ā > a back sound), < kēlō > (= kāla + uka-); OB. < kāwārū > > MB. কাউ'র, কাঙুর < kāwūr > (kāma-rūpa); OB. < khasū > > খউস, খ'স, খোস < \*khāusā, khōs > (kacchu); \*গোখুরুয়া < gōkhuruā > cow-hoof (-marked) = cobra, from mark on its head > \*গোউখুরুয়া, গোখুরো < \*gōukhruā, gōkhrō > (gō-kṣura-); জলুয়া < jāl-uā > weatery > \*জউলুয়া, জইলা, জ'লো < jālūā, jāilā, jōlō >; so adjectives in উয়া < -uā > like মাঠুয়া < māṭh-uā > belonging to the field > \*মাউঠুয়া, মাইঠা, মেঠো < \*māuṭhuā, māiṭhā, mēṭhō >), ঝড়ুয়া < jhār-uā > stormy, মাঝুয়া < mājh-uā > of the middle, বাটুয়া < bāṭuā > of the road (cf. Standard Colloquial বেটো বোড়া < bēṭō ghōrā > a hack), etc.; দাডু < dādu > > দাউদ, দাদ < dāud, dād > (dadrū); মাগু, মাগ < māgū, māgu > a woman, wife (in contempt) > মাউগ, মাগ < māug, māg >, মাউগ+ঈ < māug-+ī > > মাগী < māgī > a loose woman (mārga-); *ts.* সাধু < sādhū > > সাউধ, সাউদ, সাইধ, সাধ < sāud(h), sāidh, sādih >, cf. genitive সাউধের, সাইধের, সেধের < sāudhēr, sāidhēr, sēdhēr >; etc.

It will be seen that the group < āi, āu > āi > resulting from epenthesis becomes < ē > in some cases; and epenthetic < āur > from the group < \*-ārū > becomes contracted to < -ur >, as in কাঙুর < kāwūr > above, and বাছুর < bāchur >, MB. \*বাছুর < bāchārū > (cf. Oṛiyā < bāchāru >, Marāṭhī < vāsṛū > = vatsya-rūpa), † গাভুর, গাবুর < gāb(h)ur > youth (< gābharū garbha-rūpa child), etc.

See also § 151 (i), 152 (i).

185. The semivowel য < y > subscript ('য-ফলা' < yā-phalā >), in a consonant group in *ts.* words, behaves like ই < i >, and undergoes epenthesis: আয় < āya >, pronounced in East Bengal as [aido]; so অন্য < anya > =

[oinno], কন্ডা < kanyā > = [koinna], কাব্য < kāvya > = [kaibbo], কাৰ্য < kārya > = [kairj̄ō, kairdz̄ō], সত্য < satya > = [ʃōitto] (but cf. স্বত্ব < sva-tva > স্বত্ব < sat-tva > both = [ʃōitto]), যোগ্য < yōgya > = [j̄ōiḡḡō, dzōiḡḡō], সন্ধা < sāndhya > = [ʃaind(h)ō], পাস্চাত্য < pāścātya > = [paʃ̄aitto], মিথ্যা < mithyā > = [mītt̄ha, mit̄tha], etc. Sanskrit क < kṣ > had in Bengali, Assamese and Oṛiyā the value of < khy- > initially and < -kkhy- > in the interior of a word; and Sanskrit ज < jñ > similarly had the sounds of < gy-, -ggy- >, with nasalisation of the contiguous vowels. The < -y- > element of these groups equally undergo epenthesis: e.g., लक्ष < lākṣā > [lōikkhō], अक्ष < akṣa > [ōikkhō], ततश्च < tātā-kṣaṇṣ > by that time [tōtōikkhōn], प्रत्यक्ष < pratyakṣa > [prottōikkhō < \*prōittoikkhō]; cf. क्षमा < kṣamā > khyāmā >, pronounced [kṣ̄ma, kh̄ama]; यज्ञ < yajña > = [j̄ōiḡḡō, dzōiḡḡō], अज्ञাত < ajñātā > [ōiḡḡātō], etc.

Epenthetic < i, u > were pronounced very short or weak, and they led to the formation of diphthongs with preceding vowels; and either these diphthongs remain (as in East Bengali), or the < i, u > are entirely dropped, with resultant modification of preceding < ā > to < ō > and < ā > to < ē > (as in the Standard Colloquial). Some dialects both of East and West Bengal, again, are at the intermediate stage, in which just the suggestion of the epenthetic vowel is heard: this extremely short vowel can be written as < ĩ, ũ >, or as < i u > above the line, in the Roman character: in Bengali, the symbol > for ই, উ, first used for this purpose by Rai Bahadur Yogesh Chandra Vidyānidhi, is very convenient, beside the apostrophe ('). Thus কাল < kālā > time = from Skt. < kāla >, [kāl] in all Bengali; but MB. কালি < kāli > tomorrow, yesterday (Skt. kalya) occurs as কাইল, কৌল, কা'ল, কাল [kaīl, kaūl, ka:ī, kaū, ka:l] in the various dialects, the last being the Standard Colloquial (Calcutta) form; চলিয়া < cāliyā > having walked > \*চইলিয়া, চইল্যা, চৈল্যা, চৈল্যা, চ'লে, চল্যা, চলে, চৌলে [ç̄ōīlia, ç̄ōīla, ç̄ōīla, ç̄ōils, ç̄ōile] (also [ts̄] for [ç̄] in East Bengal); সাথুয়া < sāthūā > \*সাউথুয়া, সাউথু, সাথু, সেথু etc. [ʃ̄aũthūa, ʃ̄aũtha, ʃ̄aĩtha, ʃ̄sĩthūa, ʃ̄etho].

The vowels < i, u >, even when not epenthetic, formed diphthongs with preceding vowels, < ā, ā > specially, from Early MB. (See §146, pp. 295 ff.) In MB. orthography, epenthesis of < i, u > as well as their occurrence



in diphthongs was expressed in various ways. One way, which is already found in the ŚKK. (see p. 379), was not to modify the spelling in any way, when the following syllable had < i > or < u >; so that করিয়া < kâri(y)ā > would be pronounced as < kâiriā >, করিল < kârilā > as < kâir(i)lā >, আলিপনা < ālipānā > as < āil(i)pānā >, and ডালি < ḍāli > as < ḍāil(i) >. This practice brought about the orthographic habit of writing the vowel *after* the consonant even when it was originally pronounced *before* it, and continued to be pronounced so during the MB. period: e.g., through the custom of writing ফাগু *red powder* < phāgu > (= phalgu) as ফাগু even when the pronunciation ফাউগ < phāug > was established, হউক, হৌক < hâu-k, hōu-k > *let him be* was also written as হকু < hāku >; and a word like আউল < āulā > (ākula) came to be written as আলু < ālu >: cf. আলুয়াইল < āluāilā > *let loose the hair* (past tense) (for আউলাইল < āulāilā >), which continued to be pronounced, in spite of the spelling, with the < u > vowel, or < u > i >, before the < l > (< āūlāilā, āīlāilā >, whence Calcutta Bengali এলাল, -লে < elālā, -lē > [ældle]). In some stereotyped forms, like আলুথালু < ālu-thālu > *dishevelled, crumpled*, the spelling-pronunciation, however, has persisted. Epenthesis was also phonetically indicated by writing ই < i >, ঠ < ai >, উ < u > fully, especially in East Bengal MSS.: e.g., সত্য < sātya >, pron. [ʃait̪t̪ə], is found as সৈত্য < sāityā >; আইদ < āidā > for আদি < ādi >; বাইট < śāit̪ā > for বাটি < śāṭi > (śaṣṭhi); সাউদ, সাউধ < sāud(h)ā > for সাধু < sādhū >; লৈক্ষ < lāikṣā > for লক্ষ < lākṣā >, etc., etc. Again, because the < -y- > subscript in numerous *ts.* words as pronounced was epenthetic < i >, MB. scribes, from after Early MB. times, employed the subscript < y > for indicating epenthesis in *bbh.* forms: e.g., হল্য < hālyā > for হইল < hāi-lā >, খাত্যে < khātyē > for খাইতে < khāit̪ē >, কাল্যা < kālyā > for কালা < kālā > = কালিয়া < kāliyā >, রাখ্য < rākhya > for রাইখ < rāikhā > < রাখিঅ, রাখিহ < rākhīā, rākhīhā > = NB. Standard Coll. রেখে < rēkhō > *you will keep* (future precative), আয়্য < āyyā > for আইঅ, আইহ < āiā, āihā > (avidhavā), আল্যাঙ < ālyāṅ (ṅ = w) > for আইলাম < āilām > *I came*, কর্যা < kāryā > for কইরা < kāirā > < করিয়া < kāriyā > *having done*, বাস্বে < bāsyē > for বইসে < bāisē > *he dwells*, আস্যে < āsyē > for আইসে < āisē > *he comes*, পাক্যাল < pākya-lā > for পাইকাল < pāikālā > *heroism, a soldier's devoir* (< pāik), বাগ্যান < bāgyānā > for বাইগণ < bāigānā > (vāṅgana),

and even a form like *জান* for *না* < nāsyā > = *না আইসিয়া* < nā-āisiyā > *not having come*. Another way, which is due to the carelessness of the scribe, was not to write the < i, u > at all, both epenthetic and diphthongal, even when the next syllable did not have these vowels—so that its presence could not even be implied through attraction. Thus, simply *হল* < hālā > was written for *হেল*, *হইল* < hāilā > *was*, *বহারী* < bāhārī = bōhārī > for *বোহারী* < bāuhārī > (see p. 345), *পশে* < pāśē > for *পৈশে*, *পইশে* < pāiśē > *enters*, *আলু* < ālū > for *আইলু* < āilū > *I came*, etc. This method, or want of method, is late, and began only when in a great many words (in West Bengal), the < i, u > vowels came to be dropped from pronunciation.

Among the NB. dialects, epenthesis still retains its force in the Vanga or East Bengal speeches. In Standard Colloquial Bengali, and in West Bengali generally, there has been contraction of epenthetic vowels, as well as Umlaut, which was a direct result of epenthesis in these forms of NB. (See below.) The 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed,' being in the Dacca dialect, indicates epenthesis quite regularly: e.g., < coina > = *কণ্ঠ* (kanyā); < xaidher > = *সোধের*, *সাউধের*, *সাধুর* (sādhu + ūrā); < baix bia > = *বাস বিয়া* = *বাসি বিয়া* < bāsi biā > '*stale marriage, wedding ceremonies of the second day*'; < roiqha > = *রক্ষা* (rakṣā); < xoito > = *সত্য* (satya); etc., etc.

186. Diphthongs, from original contact vowels (see § 171), as well as from epenthetic vowels, remained in MB. In the NB. Standard Colloquial, there have been some contractions, which are noted below.

(i) MB. [oi] became [oɪ], and this was reduced into [o] when it occurred in a closed syllable: e.g., *কই* < kài > [koɪ] *where?* (kahi); *পইতে* [poɪte] < *পইতা* < pāi-tā > etc.; but *খলি* > *খইল* > \**খোইল* > *খোল* [khōli] > *khoil* > *khoil* > *kho:l* *dregs, dirt, mustard cake*; *সহিতে* > *সইতে* > \**সোইতে* written *সইতে* [ʃohite] > [ʃoite] > [ʃoite] *to bear*, but *করিতে* > *কইরিতে* > *কোরিতে*, written *ক'রিতে*, *কোরিতে*, also *করিতে* [kərite] > *koirte* > *koirte* > *korte*; *বসিতে* > *বইসিতে* > *বোইসিতে* > *বোসিতে* [boɪsite] > *boɪsite*, *boɪsite* > *boiste* > *boste* *to sit* (here there has been a merging of the OB. root *বইস* < bāis < upaviś- > into the root *বন্* < bās > = Skt. < vas >  *dwell*); *মহিষ* > *মোইষ* > *মোষ* [mo(ʃi)ɪʃ] > *moɪʃ* > *mo:ʃ*] etc. Similarly, MB. < āū, āü >, which also became < āi >, was changed to < oū, oï >, which has been



contracted to [o] when closed by a consonant: e.g., বউ, বৌ < bāu > [bōu], but *sās.* < cakṣuḥ > চক্ষু, \*চক্ষু > চউখ, চইখ > \*চৌউখ, \*চৌইখ > চৌখ [tʃɔk̚k̚hiu > tʃɔk̚k̚h, tʃɔik̚h > tʃɔi̯k̚k̚h, tʃɔi̯k̚h > tʃɔ:k̚h]; MIA. < kavuṇa, kaūṇa > \*কউন > \*কৌউন > কোন্ [kəu̯n > koun > ko:n]; MIA. < caū + pahara > (< catur + prahara) > চউপহর > চউপর, চইপর > চৌপর, চৌপর, \*চৌউপর, \*চৌইপর > চৌপর as in চৌপর দিন = *all the day long* [tʃɔupəɦɔrɔ, tʃɔupə(ɦ)ɔrɔ > tʃɔupə:rɔ > tʃɔi̯pə:r, tʃɔi̯pə:r > tʃɔi̯pər, tʃɔi̯pər > tʃɔpər, tʃɔpər]; MIA. < baūla > (= mukula) > MB. বউল, \*বইল, বৌল, \*বৌল > বৌল, \*বৌইল > বৌল [bōulɔ > bōi̯lɔ, \*bōi̯lɔ > bōi̯l, \*bōi̯l > bo:l]; MIA. < \*śaūla > (= śakula) > শউল > শৌল, \*শৌল > শৌউল, \*শৌইল > শৌল [ʃōulɔ > ʃōi̯lɔ, ʃōi̯lɔ > ʃōi̯l, ʃōi̯l > ʃo:l]; etc., etc.

The diphthongs, with < i, ũ >, or with just a suggestion of the < i, u >, are found still in East Bengali dialects.

(ii) MB. < ai > remains as < ai >, except when closed by a consonant, when the < i > is dropped in the Standard Colloquial: e.g., ভাই < bhāi >, but আজ < আইজ > āj < ai̯j > (adya); আস্তে > আইস্তে, আসিতে > āstē > āistē, āsitē > *to come* (ā-viś-); বার < বাইর, বাহির > bār < bā(h)ir > (bahis); পাক < পাইক > pāk < pāik > (MIA. pāikka); গাঁট < গাঁইট > gāṭ < gāi̯ṭ > (granthi); রাত < রাইত > rāt < rāit > (rātri); and sometimes we have forms like বাশ < বাইশ > bāś > bāi̯ś > (dvā-viśati), though the < ai̯ > group was not a diphthong in MB.

MB. < ai̯, ai̯ > > ai̯ is found as < ai̯, ai̯ > when occurring finally in NB., and it is contracted to < ai̯ > in West Central Bengali, when closed by a consonant. E.g., লাউ < lāu > (alābu), আই < ai̯ > (āu, āyuṣ), but মাগ < māg > < MB. মাউগ > māug > *wife, woman*; সাধ < sād̥h > < সাউধ, সাইধ > sād̥h, sād̥h > (sād̥hu); ধাত < dhāt > < ধাউত, ধাইত > dhāt, dhāt > (dhātu = rētas); খাউক > খাক < khāuk > khāk > *let him eat* (khādatu + ka); etc., etc.; cf. also মাউসী > মাসী < māusi > māsi > *mother's sister*, through influence of পিসী < pisi > < পিউসী > piusi >.

< ai̯, ai̯ > > ai̯ in the body of a word extended by an affix is found as < ai̯ > in West Central Bengali, e.g., in forms like মেনো < mēsō > *husband of mother's sister* < NB. \*মাউসুআ, \*মাইসুআ, < māusuā, māisuā >, from \*মাউসী < māusi > = NB. মাসী < māsi > (mātr-śvasr-); ধেনো < dhēnō > < MB. \*ধাউসুআ, \*ধাইসুআ,

ধানুআ < dhānuuā, dhāinuā, dhānuā > (*land*) growing paddy, rice-spirit (dhān-+uā, < dhānya); হেটো < hēṭō > < MB. \*হাউটুআ, \*হাইটুআ, হাটুআ < hāṭuā, hāiṭuā, hāṭuā > belonging to the market (hāṭa, haṭṭa); so দেনো < dēnō > given as a gift (dān-uā, dāna); etc., etc.

It seems that in West Central Bengali, especially round about Calcutta, Hugli etc., just in the Late MB. period, the normal change of MB. < āi >, as well as of < āi < āu >, when this < āi > was not final (*i.e.*, when it was closed by a consonant or was in the middle of the word), was to an < ē >. This is closely connected with umlaut in this dialect. But influence of other dialects, and especially of the literary language, prevented a wholesale contraction of < āi > to < ē >, in the speech of the upper classes at least. Thus, we have পেলে < pēlē > obtained, খেলে < khēlē > ate, এলুম also এলাম < ēlum, ēlām > I came, এলো < ēlō > he came, also এলো < ēlō > dishevelled etc. (respectively = Literary Bengali পাইল < pāilā >, খাইল < khāilā >, আইলাম or better আসিলাম < āilām, āsilām >, আইল or better আসিল < āilā, āsilā >, and MB. আইলা, আউলা āilā, āulā >): these have become the accepted forms in the colloquial when it is used in writing. If we have চার < cār > four < চাইর < cāir >, রাত < rāt > night < রাইত < rāit >, গাঁট < gāiṭ > knot < গাঁইট < gāiṭ >, চাল < cāl > rice < চাইল, চাউল < cāil, cāul >, সাধ < sādh > honest < সাউধ, সাইধ < sāudh, sāidh >, as the ordinary forms in West Central Bengali,—in the genitive, or instrumental-locative, with the এর < -ēr > and এ < -ē > affixes respectively, the < ā > in these words is changed to < ē >: *e.g.*, চেরের পাঁচ < cērēr pāc > 4ths; রাতের বেলা < rāter bēlā > night time; চেলের হাঁড়ী < cēlē hāṭī > pot for rice; গেঁটের কাড় < gēṭēr kārī > good money, lit. money that is tied in one's cloth hem; চোরের সেধে < cōrē sēdhē > between a thief and an honest man; and even ভেয়ে ভেয়ে < bhēyē bhēyē > among brothers, from ভাই < bhāi >, in Literary Bengali = ভাইয়ে ভাইয়ে < bhāiyē bhāiyē >. These forms in < ē > < MB. < āi > are historically quite correct, but they are falling into disuse among educated people speaking the Standard Colloquial as their native dialect. Still, among educated classes, we hear বের < bēr > < বাইর < bāir >, beside বার < bār >; and we have the verb বেরুনো < bērunō > to come out < MB. বাইরান, বাহিরান < bā(h)irān >; and as we have seen above, the verb forms in < ē > are the recognised ones. In the speech



of the lower classes in the West Central Bengali area, the « ē » forms have greater vogue. Thus we hear এসে « ēsē » *comes*, for the educated আসে « āsē » = MB. আইসে « āisē » (āviśati); (এসে in educated speech stands only for আসিরা « āsi(y)ā », by umlaut); এসতে « ēstē » *to come*, for educated আসতে « āstē » = MB. আসিতে, \*আইসিতে, আইসতে « āsītē, āisitē, āistē ». « āi » before two consonants, however, is not changed to « ē »: e.g., রাখতে « rākhte » *to keep* < \*রাইখতে « rāikhte », পাড়তে « pārtē » *to bring down* < \*পাইড়তে « pāirtē », etc., not \*রেখতে, \*পেড়তে « \*rēkhte, \*pērtē »: but রেখে « rēkhē » *having kept*, পেড়ে « pēṛē » *having brought down*, < \*রাইখিরা, \*পাইড়িরা, = রাখিরা, পাড়িরা « \*rāikhiā, \*pāiriā = rākhiā, pāriā ».

Thus in the case of the NB. dropping of the final vowels « i, u » of OB., as in কাল্ « kāl », খোস্ « khōs », etc., the intermediate epenthetic stage is commonly lost sight of: but the phonology of Middle Bengali and of the present-day dialects sufficiently demonstrates the occurrence of the epenthetic « i, u », which is quite a characteristic of Bengali.

Middle Bengali does not seem to have developed any other diphthongs, except « āī, āū, āī, āū », and « ēā, ēā », at least in the Early MB. period. Possibly the high vowels « i, u » formed diphthongs when following other vowels as well, as NB. (West Central) contractions would suggest: e.g., NB. পিশী « piśī » > \*পিউশী « piūśī » (pitṛ-ṣvasṛ); দুই « dui » *two* > হু « du » in compounds (হু'শ' « du-śā » *two hundred*, হু'টো « du-tō » < দুইটা « dui-tā » *two pieces* etc.); দিক্ « dik » *let him give* < দিউক্ « diuk » < দেউক্ « dēuk »; etc., etc. (See before, p. 345.)

#### [G] VOWEL-MUTATION OR 'UMLAUT'.

187. By Vowel-mutation, or 'Umlaut,' is meant the modification of a vowel through the influence of another vowel or semi-vowel, of a different quality, occurring in a following syllable. This phonetic change was first observed in the Germanic languages, and as illustrations of this phenomenon from Germanic one may give the following: Primitive Germanic « \*harja- = harīa- » > Old English « here » *army*; « \*satjan = satīan » > OE. « settan » *set*; « \*guđini » > OE. « gyden » *goddess*; « \*walx-isk-az » > OE.

< \*wealh-ise, \*wēal-ise > wlelisc > *foreign* etc. Changes analogous to this OE. modification of earlier < a, u, ēa > to < e, y, ie > through the influence of the following < i > are found in NB., especially in the Standard Colloquial: e.g., MB. হারিয়া < hāriyā, hāriā > (still preserved in the < sādhu-bhāṣā > or literary language of prose) > NB. হেরে < hērē > *having lost*; MB. করিয়া < kāriyā, kāriā > > NB. করে, কোরে < kōrē > *having done*. There was epenthesis of the vowel before this modification could take place (< \*rūkhiā, \*kāriā >). This kind of epenthesis-cum-umlaut is found in a few instances in MIA. (p. 378), but it is but sporadic there. Among NIA. languages, Sinhalese shows umlaut to a very great extent (W. Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' §§ 9, 10). It is noticed also in Lahndī and Sindhī, and to some extent in 'Bihārī' and in the Kōṅkaṇī form of Marāṭhī, as well as in Gujarātī. But in none of the above, except Sinhalese, has this process been carried on to such a regularity and to such an extent as in Bengali.

In Bengali again, the change is most favoured by the Standard Colloquial. The change of ă = [ɔ, ɔ] to [o], when the next syllable has [i] or [u], the high vowels bringing in an anticipatory raising of [ɔ] to [o], is found in all the dialects of Bengali, as well as in Assamese: e.g., the Assamese কলা < kālā > *black* from < kōkila- >, with original < i >, is pronounced [kɔla], whereas কলা < kālā > *plantain* from < kadala- >, is pronounced [kɔla]; so মহ < mähṣ > *buffalo* (< mahiṣa) = [mɔfi], but মহ < mähṣ > *gnat* (< maṣa-ka-) = [mɔfi], and মবা < mārā > *peacock* (< mayūra-, maūra-) = [mɔra], but মবা < mārā > *dead* (< maḍa-, maṭa- = mṛta) = [mɔra].

188. Epenthesis had become well-established in all the dialects of Bengali by the beginning of the 15th century, but it is difficult to ascertain when mutation started in the Eastern Rāḍha area. The 'Dharma-maṅgala' of Māṅika Gāṅguli (c. 1545), as published by the VSPd., gives the full umlauted forms of NB., like হয়েছিল, < hāyēchilā > *had come*, ডেকে < ḍekē > *having called*, এল < ēlā > *came*, থেকে < thēkē > *having been*, মেরে < mērē > *having struck*, etc. So does the Vaṅgavāsi edition of the 'Caṅḍī-kāvya' of Kavikaṅkaṇa (c. 1580). MSS. of even earlier writers show mutated forms. But umlaut could hardly have been accomplished as early as the



middle of the 16th century. These are modernisations due to the later scribes, who often altered the original un-umlauted forms which had become archaic in their time ; and modern editors have followed them in emending the language to something easily understandable. In MSS. of early and late 17th century, such as, for instance, of those of parts of Kṛttivāsa's 'Rāmāyaṇa' from which the VSPd. texts have been printed, we find plentiful evidence of epenthesis, but none of umlaut. Umlaut does not seem to have been accomplished in the Standard Colloquial area even by the first half of the 18th century. Bhārata-candra (1st half of the 18th century) has forms like খাতি, আলি < khāti, āli > = < khāīti, āli > *to eat, thou hast come*, as in an early edition of the 'Annadā-maṅgala' printed in the thirties of the last century : words like the above would be emended to খেতে, এলি < khētē, ēli > in modern editions. Probably in Bhārata-candra's pronunciation, in the West Central Bengali of Burdwan and Nadiya, the words were [khaīti, khaīte ; āli], or [khæté, æli] : and this would be about the stage (as the spelling would also suggest) in the early 18th century in the transformation of eMB. [khaīte, āli] through lMB. [khaīte, āli] to the 19th century NB. [khete, eli]. A typical early 19th century MS. (dated = 1804 : VSP., pp. 743 ff.) shows spellings like পেড়্যাছে < pēṛyāchē > *has brought down*, এস্তাছে < ēsyāchē > *has come*, এস্তা < ēnyā > *having brought*, এস্তা < ēsyā > *having come*, থেক্যা < thēkyā > *having been*, বেরাইল < bēraīlā > *came out*, beside খাত্তে < khātyē > *to eat*, বায়া < bāyyā > *having rowed*, কান্দ্যা < kāndyā > *having wept* (respectively in the literary = পাড়িয়াছে, আসিয়াছে, আনিয়া, আসিয়া, থাকিয়া, বাইরাইল or বাহিরাইল, খাইতে, বাহিয়া or বাইয়া, কান্দিয়া or কাঁদিয়া, colloquial পেড়েছে, এসেছে, এনে, এসে, থেকে, বেরোলো or বেরল, খেতে, বেয়ে, কৈদে). The spellings in এ (< ēnyā > etc.) are contemporary phonetic spellings, [èns, enè], while those in আ (< bāyyā > etc.) are archaic and conventional—the old < ā > having undoubtedly been altered to an [e] sound by the end of the 18th century. The pronunciation of the above forms in the Standard Colloquial area (Nadiya, Calcutta) at that time was in all likelihood as follows : [pēṛsɕhe, èṛsɕhe, èns, èfs, thèks, bèròlò, khète, bèṛs, kède]. When the umlaut habit came in, or, rather, when there was the tendency towards contraction of epenthetic and other vowels in contact,

subscribed < -y- > before < ā, ē >, JI, CJ was employed to indicate the sound of [æ] or [ɛ]. From an eMB. group like < ā+i+ā > [a+i+a], the change to NB. Standard Colloquial was somewhat along this line: [aī+ia] > [aī+ea] > [æī+ɛæ] > [ɛī+ɛ:] > [è+ɛ] > [e+è] > [e+e]. (See p. 133.) In the latter part of the 18th century, the form of Bengali along the Hugli river (which developed into the Standard Colloquial) was in the [ɛī+ɛ] or [ɛ+è] stage, so far as this group is concerned; and the close pronunciation seems to have come in only during the first quarter of the 19th century. Carey in his 'Bengali Dialogues' (1801), mainly on a Standard Colloquial basis, spells words like present-day Bengali ছেলে পিলে < chēlē pilē > *children* (< < chāliyā pilā >) as ছাল্যা পিল্যা < chālyā pilyā >: these spellings undoubtedly are archaic for the time, but they are near enough to [çhèlɛ pilɛ], which seem to have been the pronunciation in Calcutta over a hundred years ago. Ram-Mōhan Rāy in his Bengali grammar (1833) gives গেছো < gēchō > *belonging to a tree* (gāch-nā), মেটে < mēṭē > *earthen* (māṭiā), etc., which would indicate a pronunciation identical with the modern one in Calcutta; but it may be reasonably expected that in Rām-Mōhan Rāy's time the articulation was slightly more open than at present.

Through the influence of the Standard Colloquial, umlaut is affecting other dialects. The Typical East Bengali pronunciation [thaika, raikha] etc. are heard, but [thɛika, rɛikha] are quite common. The < sādbu-bhāṣā > is approximating more and more to the Calcutta Dialect, and many of the umlauted forms of the latter have been adopted and fully established in the literary language, e.g., থেকে < thēkē > as an ablative post-position (instead of the full form < thākiyā >), বেনে < bēnē > beside a compromise বেনিয়া < bēniā > *trader* (for < bāniyā >), ছেলে < chēlē > *son*, মেয়ে < mēyē > *daughter, woman* (instead of < chāliyā > and < māiyā >), etc.

189. The current orthography of Bengali is very lax and unsystematic in representing these recent changes in vowel-quality by both Umlaut and Vowel Harmony (see p. 383). Excepting an apostrophe, ('), which is frequently used now-a-days to indicate the loss of < i > and modification of the vowel that is left, no diacritical marks are used, and there is no



established standard or usage in this matter. [e] and [o] from [a], through the influence of [i, ũ], are ordinarily represented by এ (ɛ) and ও (ɔ) < ā, ō >: e.g., রেখে < rēkhē >, হেটো < hēṭō > (hāṭuā). Final া < -yā > for the open [ɛ] sound which was used in IMB., e.g., রেখা, রাখা, is still used in writing East Bengali dialectal pronunciation: in the Standard Colloquial, however, subscribed া < -yā > is employed for the sound of [æ.] And [æ] from MB [ɛ] < OB., MIA. [e], through reasons of Vowel Harmony, is ordinarily left to be expressed by the vowel এ (ɛ) but at the present day some writers employ the NB. devise of া < yā >: e.g., [dækhe] sees is written by some as ড়াখে < dyākhē >, beside the historical দেখে < dēkhē >; [æddin] from [ætɔ din] so many days, such a long time is written দ্যাদিন < yyāddin > in the 'Hutōm Pēncār Naksā' (see p. 135). So we have ম্যালে < myālē >, ক্যামন < kyāmān > etc. for spellings with এ (ɛ). The greatest hesitancy is felt about [o] from the mutation of < ā > [ɔ]. Sometimes it is phonetically written ও (ɔ) < ō >: occasionally the apostrophe (') serves to indicate both the dropping of the < i, u > and the modification of < ā > to [o]; and frequently there is nothing to indicate the alteration. [kōria > kore] having done is thus written কোরে, ক'রে, করে (the last spelling is identical with করে, pronounced [kōre], = does); [kōribō > korbo] I shall do, = literary Bengali করিব < kārībā >, is written কোরবো, কোর্ব, ক'রবো, করব, কর্ব, কর্ব etc.; [fiōiēa, fiōia > fiōē, fiōe] having been is written as হোরে, হ'রে, হরে; [ḥiōlɔa > ḥiōlo] as জোলো, জ'লো, জলো. The spelling with ও (ɔ) is rigidly phonetic, the one in অ without the (') decidedly careless and slovenly. The spelling with the apostrophe indicating the loss of the vowel, is not wholly phonetic; but it seeks to represent the pronunciation by the convention that < ā > [ɔ] followed by (') is modified to [o]; and, at the same time, it to a great extent embraces the dialects, and by a too lavish use of the letter ও (ɔ) does not effect a violent break with the orthography of the standard language. The apostrophe, however, is not usually placed after the mutated < ē > from original < ā >, when there is an [u] sound in question, as the change in quality in the Standard Colloquial is too marked: e.g., [maḥḥiua > meḥḥo] second, lit. of the middle = মেজো, rarely মেজ, but never মে'জো or মে'জ;

but [khaia > kheče] *having eaten* is written খেয়ে, খেয়ে' খেয়ে etc.,—with the apostrophe. The use of the symbol, (ˆ) = the top-loop of the letter ই, উ < i, u >, after < ā >, for the epenthetic and elided vowels, has been suggested by Rai Bahadur Yogesh Chandra Vidyānidhi (e.g., জেলা, কোল), but this has not caught on, as it is a new symbol; and it is not suitable for representing the entire change in quality in a form like < mējō > from < \*māijhūā, \*māūjhūā, mājh-uā >.

#### TYPES OF MUTATION IN BENGALI.

(1) Mutation or Vowel-Modification by Contraction, after Epenthesis.

190. (i) অ+ই+অ [ə+i (i)+ə] > ও+ও [o+o], written ও (ৗ)+ও (ৗ), অ+ও(ৗ), ও(ৗ)+অ, অ'+অ, অ+অ', অ'+ও(ৗ).

হইল > হোলো, হলো, হোল, হ'ল, হল' হ'লো [ɦoilo] > [ɦolo] *was*; হইঅ, হইয় > হোয়ো, হয়ো, হ'য়ো [ɦoio] > [ɦošo] *you will be* (future precativ); করিল, \*করিলে > কোরলো, কোরলে, কোরো, কোলে, ক'রলে, ক'লে, করলে, কলে, etc. [korilo, korile] > [korlo, kollo; korle, kolle] *he did*; West Central Bengali করিছ > কোরছ, কোচ্ছ, ক'রছ, কচ্ছ, কর্ছ etc. [korɔ̃ɦɔ] > [korɔ̃(h)o, koɔ̃(h)o] = Typical East Bengali করিতেছ, করিতে আছ [koirt̃sɔ̃, koirt̃e ɔ̃] *you are doing*; সত্য = 'সোত্তো' in pronunciation, [ʃoitt̃ɔ̃] > [ʃott̃ɔ̃], East Bengali [ʃoitt̃ɔ̃]; so লক্ষ = 'লোক্খো' in pronunciation, [lokk̃ɦɔ > lokk̃ɦo]; etc., etc.

(ii) অ+ই+আ [ə+i (i)+a] > ও+এ [o+e]: eMB. অ+এ, অ+ঈ, NB. অ+এ, অ'+এ, অ+এ', ও+এ, ও+এ', etc.

বলিয়া > বল্যা, বল্যো > ব'লে, বলে' বোলে, etc. [bɔlia > bɔl̃s > bole] *having said*; করিয়া > কর্যা কর্যো > ক'রে, কোরে, etc. [kɔria > kõrs > kore] *having done*; রহিয়া > রয়া, র্যো > র'রে, রোরে, etc. [rɔɦia > rɔ̃s > rõs] *having remained*; < sādhu-bhāṣā > forms like করিতাম, বলিতাম *I used to do, I used to say*, etc. become in the Standard Colloquial pronunciation ক'রতেম, ব'লতেম [kɔritam, bɔlitam > kõrt̃em, bɔl̃tem > kort̃em, bol̃tem]; so করিলাম, বলিলাম *I did, I said* > ক'রলেম, ব'ললেম [kɔrilam, bɔl̃ilam > kor̃lem, bol̃lem]; but East Bengali has [kõrt̃am, bõlt̃am, kõrl̃am, bõll̃am], etc.; *sts.* পরিষ্কার *clear* > Standard Coll. 'পোড়ের' [pɔriʃkar > \*pɔ̃r̃ʃkar > pɔʃker];



করিবা > ক'রবে *you will do* [kōriba > koīrbs > korbe]; *sts.* অভ্যাস > অভ্যাস [obbhīāśā > oībbhīśā > obbhīśā]; Persian « xarīdār » *buyer* > খ'দের [xari:dɑ:r > khōridar > khōīrdēr > khodder]; etc.

The epenthetic stage is preserved in Typical East Bengali. In verbal noun forms in ইবা « ibā »—করিবার, চলিবার, হইবার « kārībārā, cālībārā, hāibārā » etc.—the native speakers of the Standard Colloquial say [ɔ] rather than [o]—[kārbar, cālbar, hōbar] etc., instead of \*[korbar, cōlbar, hobar]. This is against the rule for mutation given above. Probably here we have an influence of the verbal nouns in আ « -ā »—করা, চলা, হওয়া [kōra, cōla hōā] etc., which have [ɔ] and not [o]; and it is also possible that the Old Bengali equivalent of this verbal noun in ইবা « ibā » was « \*-aba- » or « \*-ēba- », so that the « i » epenthesis and mutation were not possible here. (See under *Morphology*—'The Verb: Verbal Nouns.')

(iii) আ+ই+আ (or এ, in present participles in ইতে « -itē » of roots ending in আ « ā »)[a+i+a/e] > এ+এ [e+e], written in LMB. আ(ই)+.ণ, আ(ই)+.ৎ, in NB. এ(চ)+এ(ত), এ(চ)'+এ(ত), or এ(চ)+এ(ত)': e.g., রাখিয়া > রা(ই)খ্যা, রা(ই)খো > রেখে, রেখে' *having kept* [rakhia > raīkhs > rekhe]; বাছিয়া > বা(ই)ছ্যা, বা(ই)ছো > বেছে *having chosen* [bačhia > baīčhs > bečhe]; বাইতে > খাতো > খেতে *eating, to eat* [khaite > khaits > khete]; বাইতে > যাতো > যেতে *going, to go* [jāite > jāite > jēte] (but *not* রাখিতে > \*রেখতে, গাহিতে > গাইতে > \*গেতে, where we have roots ending in consonants—« rākh, gāh » = *keep, sing*); পানীহাটা *a village name* > পেনেটা [panīhāṭi > paīnīṭi > penēṭi] (also [peniṭi] by Vowel Harmony); আজ্ঞা > এজ্ঞে in folk-Bengali, in response to a command or address [aǰǰā > aīǰǰē > eǰǰē, ēǰǰē]; etc. *Ths.* words generally resist this sort of modification.

Typical East Bengali preserves the epenthesis, and does not change the final « ā ». The « sādhu-bhāṣā » forms রাখিলাম, রাখিতাম *I kept, I used to keep* etc. have their Standard Colloquial modification রাখলম, রাখতম [rakhilam, rakhitam > \*raīkhlsm, \*raīkhtsm > rakhlem, rakhtem]: compare East Bengali [raīkhlam, raīkhtam]: here the proper dialectal or native West Central Bengali forms like রাখিলুম, রাখিতুম > রাখলুম, রাখতুম [rakhilum, rakhitum > rakhlum, rakhtum], (which do not admit of the

epenthesis-cum-mutation scheme [a+i+a > e+e], and preserve the root-vowel « ā » unchanged), have prevented the change of রাখিলাম, রাখিতাম to \*রেখলেম, \*রেখতেম.

(iv) অ, আ, ই, উ, এ, ও+আই+আ > respectively ও, অা, ই, উ, ই (or এ), উ+ই+এ [ə, a, i, u, e, o+ai+a] > [o, a, i, u, i(e), u+i+e]. The [o] in the mutated form, when it comes from [ə], is written অ or ও in NB.; and the final « e » = .ɽ « -yā » in LMB., is written এ in NB. Examples: বলাইয়া > ব'লিয়ে, বোলিয়ে, বলিয়ে *having caused to say* [bəl-a-ia > bolie]; নাচাইয়া > নাচিয়ে *having made to dance* [naçj-a-ia > naçjie]; ডিঙ্গাইয়া > ডিঙ্গিয়ে *having stepped over (something lying on the ground)* [d̥iŋg-ai-a > d̥iŋgie]; শুখাইয়া > শুকিয়ে *having dried or cured* [ʃukh-ai-a > ʃukie]; দেওয়াইয়া > দিইয়ে *having caused to give* [de(ð)-ai-a > diie], but দেখাইয়া > দেখিয়ে *having made to see* [dekh-ai-a > dekhie]; শোআইয়া > শুইয়ে *having made to sleep* [ʃo(ð)-ai-a > ʃuie]; etc.

East Bengali uses the full forms of Middle Bengali, without contraction and mutation.

(v) অ+ইআ+ই [ə+ia+i] > ও+এ+ই [o+e+i]—[o] written ও, অ, অ', and the [e] = LMB. .ɽ. E.g., করিয়াছি > ক'রেছি *I have done* [kər-ia-çhi > koĩrçhi > koreçhi]; হইয়াই > হ'রেই *immediately after having been* [ɦo-ia-i > ɦoisi > ɦoçei], by Vowel Harmony [ɦoii]. Epenthesis is preserved in EB.: [koĩra; ɦoia; ɦoisi].

(vi) অ, আ etc.+অ+ইআ [ə, a+ə+ia] > ও, অা+উ+এ [o, a+u+e]: নগরিয়া > নগরে, ন'গরে *belonging to the city* [nəgəria > \*nəgəria > \*nəgoĩr > nəgure > nogure]; কাঁদনিয়া > কাঁদনে *prone to weeping* [kād̥onia > \*kād̥oĩnia > kād̥oĩr > kād̥une]; বাদলিয়া > বাতলে *belonging to the rainy season* [bad̥olia > badule]; বাইগণিআ > বেগুনে *pertaining to brinjals, brinjal-coloured, deep purple* [baigəɽia > begune]; etc. Typical East Bengali forms are [nəgoĩra, kād̥oĩna, bad̥oĩla, baigəɽna].

(vii) অ+অই+আ [ə+əi+a] > ও+ই+এ [o+i+e]: \*কহইয়া > ক'ইয়ে *a talker* [\*kəɦoia > koie]; so \*বলইয়া > ব'লিয়ে [boləia > bolie]. Cf. \*নাচইয়া > নাচিয়ে *dancer* [\*naçjəia > naçjie], \*গাহইয়া > গাহিয়ে, গাইয়ে *singer* [\*gəɦoia > gəɦie, gəɦie], etc.

(viii) অ+উ+আ [ə+u+a] > ও+ও [o+o], written in NB. as অ+ও (C.1), অ'+ও (C.1), অ+ও(C.1)', ও+ও. E.g., জলুআ > জ'লো *watery* [ʃɔl̥ua > ʃɔlo],



পটুআ > পটৌ *painter* [pəṭua > pəṭo], etc. In Eastern Bengali, the epenthetic stage is found [dzoila, dzoila; poṭa, poṭṭa].

(ix) আ + উ + আ [a + u + a] > এ + ও [e + o] : সাথুআ > সেথো *comrade* [ʃathua > ʃetho]; গাছুআ > গেছো *arboreal* [gaṭhua > geṭho]; মাঝুআ > মেঝো, *of the middle, second* [maṛhua > meṛo], etc. Typical East Bengali [ʃaitha, ʃaitha; gaṛsa; maṛza].

(2) Mutation without Epenthesis. Vowel Harmony.

191. There is one kind of vowel change in Bengali, by which the high or low quality of a vowel in a following syllable conduces to a similar modification in a preceding one. This is a kind of anticipatory Vowel Harmony. This Vowel Harmony characterises the NB. Standard Colloquial most, but there are some types of it which seem to have occurred in all the dialects of Bengali, and from a very early period in the history of the Bengali language. *E.g.*, we have in Caryā 3 «*śuṇḍinī*», with a pun = (i) *a female wine-dealer*, (ii) *one possessing a trunk*, where in the first sense the word is to be connected with a form like «*\*śoṇḍī*, «*\*śōṛī* < *śāuṇḍika*»: the feminine form «*\*śoṇḍinī*» would thus seem to allow a variant in OB. «*śuṇḍini*», in which the low vowel «*o*» is raised to «*u*» because of the following high vowel «*i*»; and similarly in Caryā 11, we have «*muttihāra*», also with a pun, connecting the word with both (i) Skt. «*mukti*» and (ii) OB. «*mōṭī* < *mottia* < *māuktika*»—in the second case there being a modification allowable, in OB. phonetics, of an «*o*», to «*u*» when followed by «*i*». But on the whole, these two cases are exceptional in OB.; and the rule that when there is a low vowel following, [e, o, a], the language prefers an [e, o] in the first syllable, or when there is a high vowel [i, u], the first syllable would have [i, u], which is so characteristic of Bengali, and is found also in Assamese, does not seem to have been established in OB. This characteristic is absent in most other NIA. Thus in Middle Bengali we have পোথী «*pōthā*» *a big MS.*, but \*পোথী > পুথী «*\*pōthī* > *ṛuthī*» as a diminutive (and this diminutive form only is found in NB.); Bengali দোলে «*dōlē*» *he swings*, but \*দোলি > ছলি

< \*dōli > duli > *I swing*; চোরী < cōrā > *the thieving one*, from চোর < cōrā > *thief*, but চোরণী > চুরণী < cōrāṇī > curṇī > *a woman thief*; গোনৈ < gōnē > *he counts*, but গুনি < gūni > *I count*; Skt. < rohita > *carp* = \*রোহী > রুহি, রুই < \*rōhī > ruhi, rui >; the *ts.* name < rohitāśva > occurs in MB. as a *sts.* রুহিদাস < ruhidāśa >. This habit is fairly established in Early Middle Bengali, and may have started in the OB. period: e.g., ŚKK. forms like কুয়িলী < kuyilī >, feminine, from < kōkila >; গুটি < guṭī > *one piece (determinative)*, beside গোটা < gōṭā >; চুরণী, চুরিণী < curāṇī, curiṇī >, চুরী < curī > *theft*, beside চোর < cōrā > *thief*; ছুইল < chuilā > *touched*, beside ছো < chō >; ছিনারী < chinārī > *a wanton woman*, beside ছেনারী < chēnārī >; পুড়ি, পুড়িআ, পুড়িঞা < purī, puriā, puriā > *having burnt up*, beside পোড়ে < pōṛē > *burns*; etc. This system of alternating between high and low vowels of the same class through influence of following ones is a remarkable thing in NB. phonology, especially in West Central Bengali: e.g., [e] with [a, e, o] in the next syllable is lowered to [æ]: দেখে < dēkhē > *he sees* is pronounced [dækhe], but দেখিয়া > দেখে < dēkhiā > dēkhē > *having seen* is [dekhe], the influence of the [i] preventing a lowering of [e] to [æ]; so দেখ < dēkhā > *you see* = [dækho], but দেখুক < dēkhuk > = [dekhuk], দেখি < dēkhi > *I see* = [dekhi]; এক < ēkṣ > *one* is [æk], একা < ēkā > *alone* is [æka], একটা < ēkṣṭā > *one piece* = [ækṭa], but একটী < ēkṣṭī > *one little thing* is [ekṭi] and একটু < ēkṣṭu > *a little* = [ekṭu].

#### Cases of Harmonic Vowel Mutation in Bengali.

(i) অ+ই [ɔ+i] > ও+ই [o+i]. The mutated [ɔ > o] is left unnoticed in spelling, being written অ. E.g., করি < kārī > *I do*, *ts.* করী < kārī > *elephant* [kori]; ঘড়ি < ghārī > *gong* [ghōri]; ননী < nānī > nānī > *cream of milk* [noni]; কড়ি < kāṛī > kārī > *cowry shell* [korī]; *ts.* পতি < pātī > [poti], বদি < yādi > [jōdi], সহিত < sāhitṣ > [jōhit], পথিক < pāthikṣ > [pothik], etc., etc. This modification is found in foreign words as well: e.g., Persian < garīb > > গরীব < gārīb > *poor* [gorib]; < barf > *ice* > বরফ < bārāph > [bōroph], but < barfi > > বরফী < bārāphī > *a sweet-meat, sugar and cream ice* = [borp(h)ī]; < majlis > *an assembly* > মজলিস < mājlis > = [moṣṭilīj]; English *guernsey* > গঞ্জী < gāñjī > = [gonṣi], *permit* > পরমিট, পোরমিট [pormit], etc.



The diphthong অই < ai > becomes [oi] through this rule.

(ii) অ+উ [o+u] > ও+উ [o+u]: The [o] is written as অ. *f.g.*, বউ [bou] *bride, wife* (vadhū); করুক [koruk] *let him do*; দলুই [dolui] *a surname* < < dalāi > (dalapati); *ts.* like মধু, যত্ন, লব্, মনু [modhu, modu, loghu, monu] etc., etc.

The privative affix অ < ā- > in *ts.* and *sts.* forms normally is not altered to [o],—it remains [a] even when followed by [i] or [u]: *e.g.*, অধীর [adhir] *impatient*, rarely [odhir]; অস্থখ [ostukh] *illness*, never [ofukh].

Because অ [a] followed by ই, উ [i, u] in the next syllable is pronounced ও [o], the careless habit of using অ and not ও (c.1) in spelling, in some words, which historically ought to have ও (c.1), is found: *e.g.*, মতি < māti >, pron. [moti]: the genuine Bengali form মূতি < muti > occurs in MB., and মতি=মোতি is from the Hindōstānī, wrongly spelt (māuktika- > mōti); so গরু < gāru > [goru] is for গোরু < gōru > (gō-rūpa); etc.

It is not impossible that in *ts.* and foreign words, this change of < ā > [a] to [o], through the occurrence of an [i, u] in a following syllable, came in train of MB. epenthesis of [i, u], resulting in [aĩ, aũ] which was duly changed to [o]: witness a MB. spelling like ঐরি [airi] for অরি [ori], NB. [ori]=Skt. < ari > (p. 380; see also p. 384).

(iii) ই+আ, এ, ও, অ, [i+a, e, a, o] > এ+আ, এ, ও [e+a, e, a, o]: গিল < √gil > *to swallow* > গেলা < gēlā > *swallowed* (pass. part.), গেলে < gēlē > *he swallows*, গেল, গেলো < gēlā, gēlō > *you swallow*: but গিলি < gili > *I swallow*, গিলুক < giluk > *let him swallow*: etc.

(iv) এ+আ, এ, অ, ও [e+a, e, a, o] > ঐ+আ, এ, অ, ও [æ+a, e, a, o]: দেখ √[dekḥ] *to see* > দেখা [dækha] *seen*, দেখে [dækhe] *sees*, দেখে [dækho] *you see*, but দেখি [dekhi] *I see*, দেখুক [dekhuk] *let him see*; etc.

(v) উ+আ, এ, অ, ও [u+a, e, a, o] > ও+আ, এ, অ, ও [o+a, e, a, o]: শুন [ʃun] *to hear*: শুনা > শোনা [ʃona] *heard*, শুনে > শোনে [ʃone] *hears*, শোন, শোনো [ʃono] *you hear*, but শুনি [ʃuni] *I hear*, শুনুক [ʃunuk] *let him hear*; etc.

(vi) ও+ই, উ [o+i, u] > উ+ই, উ [u+i, u]: শো [ʃo] *lie, sleep* > শুই [ʃui] *I lie*, শুতে=শুইতে [ʃute] *to lie down*, শুক < \*শোউক [ʃuk < ʃo(ō)uko] *let him lie down*: but শোয়া [ʃoā] *one that has lain down*, শোয় [ʃoō] *he lies*

down, etc.; so *stss.* পুঞ্জি [puŋgi] *dependent, adopted (son)*, from পোষ্য < pōṣya >, জুগি [juŋgi] < যোগ্য < yōgya >, etc.

(vii) এ+ই [e+i] > ই+ই [i+i]: this characterises the Standard Colloquial specially. দেই > দিই, দি [dei > dii, di(:)] *I give*; দেশী [deʃi] becomes দিশি [diʃi] *country-made, country-born*; so বিলাতি [bilati] > বিলেতি [bileti] (see pp. 400-401) > বিলিতি [biliti] *foreign* (= Persian < wilāyatī >); similarly গিয়াছি > গিয়েছি > গিইছি, গিছি [giaçhi > gieçhi > giicchi, giçhi] *I have gone*, দিয়াছিল > দিয়েছিল > দিইছিল, দিছিল [diac̣hilo > dieçhilo > diic̣hilo, dieçhilo] *he had given*, etc.; so মেশামেশি > মেসামেশি [meʃameʃi > meʃameʃi], *association* (√miśr-); সন্ন্যাসী > সন্নৈ > 'সন্ন্যাসী' [ʃonniāʃi, ʃoinneāʃi > ʃonneʃi > ʃonniʃi]; etc.

(viii) The raising of an interior < -ā-, -ā- > -ā- > of Early Middle Bengali, to < u >, when there is a high vowel following, is a most noteworthy thing in the phonology of the NB. standard speech. This has been referred to before. This change also occurred in Early Middle Bengali: cf. ŚKK. forms এখনী < ekhani, -ī > *immediately*, beside এখনী < ekhānī >, and পহরী < pāhuri > *watchman*, beside পহরী < pāhārī >; and it would seem, from a form like OB. < pākhuḍī > *petal* (Caryā 10) (pakṣa-+ -ḍa-), that its beginnings go back to OB. times. This change obviously took place through an intermediate stage of [o]. *E.g.*, আটপউরে [aṭ-poure] < \*আঠ-পহরিরী < \*āṭhā-pāhārīā > (aṣṭa-praharika-); আঁজুলি < ājuli > (aṅjali); আজুলি < ājuli >, beside আজল < ājal > (rju); আগুনি < āguni > (\*āgani, agni); উড়ুনি < uṛuni > (\*ōḍhaṇia, avaveṣṭanikā); কুড়ুল < kuṛul > < কুড়ালি, কুড়ালি < kuṛāli, kuṛāli > (kuṭhārikā); কাঁকুই < kākui > < কাঁকই < kākāi > (kaṅkatikā); *stss.* গপুড়ে < gāpūrē > *talkative* (galpa > gappa + ḍa + iyā); ছাউনি < chāuni > (chādanikā); জ্বলুনি < jwāluni > *burning sensation* (jvalana-); জৌলি < jūli > *a tree* (jīva-la-); জারুল < jārul > *a tree* (jāṭali); ঠাকরন < ṭhākrun > < ঠাকুরাণী < ṭhākurāṇī > (ṭhakkura + ānī); তেঁতুল < tētul > < OB. < tentali >; দেউটা < deūṭi > > \*দীওটা < \*diāṭi > (dīpa + varttikā); ধুনুরী < dhunurī > < ধুনারী < dhunārī > *cotton-carder* (dhūna-kārin); নরুণ < narun > (\*naba-haraṇia, \*nakha-haraṇikā); নাচুনি < nācuni > (nacca-, nṛtya); পারুল < pārul >, OB. < pārāli > (pāṭali); পাগুলি < pāṣuli > *an ornament* (pārśva-); পিঠুলি < piṭhuli > < পিঠালি < piṭhāli >



(piṣṭa-+āli); পুখুর, পুকুর < puk(h)ur >, OB. < pōkhiri > (cf. puṣharinī); পিউলি < piuli > *yellow colour* (pīta-lā-); বিউলি < biuli > *cleaned pulse* (vidalita); বিউনি < biuni > (vyajanikā); ভারুই < bhāruī > *a bird* (bharata-, bhārata-); মউনি < māuni > *churning-stick* (mathanikā); মিছ-কউনে < michḥ-kāunē > < কহনিয়া < kābhāniyā > (kathana+ -ika-); মাদুলি < māduḥli > *drum-shaped amulet*, cf. মাদল < mādalḥ > *drum* (mardala); শিউলি < śiuli > (śēphālikā); etc., etc. *Tatsama* and foreign words fare similarly: e.g., নাটুকে < nāṭukē > (nāṭaka-), চন্দুরে < cāndurē > = চন্দরিয়া < cāndāriyā >, a familiar form of the name Candra, শহুরে < śāhurē > *urban* (Pers. < šahr >), etc. There is mutation of [ō] to [o]: see § 190 (vi).

An original < ō > vowel is similarly changed to < u >: e.g., sts. নিউগী নেউগী < niugī, nēugī > (niyōgi); আনুদে < ānudē > *merry* (āmōda+iyā); পুরুত < purut > > \*পুরোইত < \*purōitā > (purōhita); etc.

Through the analogy and influence of the above forms, which form a numerous class, we sometimes find cases of change of interior < -ā- > > -ā- > to < u >, even though there is no high vowel following: e.g., ঠাহরা > ঠাউরা < ṭhāhārā > ṭhāurā > *to ponder, deliberate*: cf. Hind < ṭhaharnā >; সাঁঝাড়া < sājḥārā > *evening light* > সাঁঝুড়া < sājḥurā >. Here, again, a change to < ō > marked the intermediate stage. In some common words, even when there is quiescent < ḥ > following, we have also change of < ā > to < u >: e.g., বামুন < bāmunḥ > < বামন < bāmānā > (brāhmaṇa), বেগুন < bēgun > < বাইগণ < bāigāṇā > (vāṅgana), sts. বষ্টুম < bāṣṭum > [boṣṭum] < বষ্টম, \*বইষ্টব < bāṣṭām, bāiṣṭāwḥ > (vāiṣṭava), etc., etc.

(ix) Change of quality from front to back, or *vice versa*, through the influence of a following vowel, is rather rare in Bengali. There are a few cases inherited from MIA.: e.g., মুনিস < munisḥ > *labourer*, found already in Aśōkan inscriptions (= manuṣya), whence we have NB. মিনসী < minsā > *a fellow (in contempt)*; cf. the sts. মনিষি < māniṣi > [moniṣṭi] = < manuṣya >; and OB. < pōkhiri > has an analogous form in the 'Divyāvadāna' word < puṣkiriṇī >. NB. examples are সিকি < siki > < সুকি < suki >  $\frac{1}{4}$ th, four-anna bit (= ? sapādikā; so Platts derives Hindōstānī < sūkā, sūki >). Cf. Oṛiyā < duhiṅkā > dihiṅkā > *of two*. Conversely, we have change of < i > to < u >: < bindu > \*bundu > বৃন্দ

būḍḍ >, and শুক < śuśukḥ > porpoise, cf. Pali < suṅsumāra >, Skt. < śiśumāra >.

192. The above are cases where Vowel Mutation results from the influence of a following vowel. The modification of a following vowel through the influence of a preceding one, which is the kind of Vowel Harmony that characterises the Dravidian and Ural-Altaiic speeches (*e.g.*, Telugu and Turkish), is also found in NB. It is the result apparently of a strong initial stress; and those families of speech in which we have it are agglutinating in nature, in which the root syllable is the initial one and possesses the dominant stress which influences the following syllables. The Standard Colloquial is specially characterised by this kind of Vowel Harmony, and East Bengali and most other dialects resist it: naturally enough, as the Standard Colloquial is a dialect of strong initial stress.

(x) অ, আ, ও+অ [ɔ, a, o+ɔ] > অ, আ, ও+ও [ɔ, a, o+o]. This modification of [ɔ] to [o] may be said to be optional. The resultant [o] is often left unnoticed in spelling: *e.g.*, *stss.* রতন, গরব, ঘটন etc. = [rɔton, gɔrob, ḡṡɔton]; চলন = [çɔlon]; হঅন>হওন [ɦɔɔn > ɦɔon]; similarly ভারত [bɦiarɔt], পালঙ্গ [palɔŋ], কাঁদন [kãɔn], মাদল [madɔl], etc.; মোহন [moɦɔn], *ts.* গোবর [gɔbor], লোটন [loɔn], etc. So foreign borrowings: গজল [gɔḡɔl] (= Pers. < gazal >), ডবল [ɔɔbol] (= English *double*), ডজন [ɔɔḡɔn] (= English *dozen*), নম্বর [nɔmɔr] (English *number*), গারদ [garɔd] (English *guard*), বোতল [botɔl] (Portuguese < botelha >), মোরগ [morɔg] (Persian < mōrg, murḡ >); etc., etc.

The group [ɔ+ɔ] is not preferred by the Standard Colloquial, the second or both must be altered to [o]. The English group [o:(oʊ)+o:(oʊ)] in *photo* [foʊtoʊ] becomes ফটো [phɔto]; cf. *otto* = অটো [ɔto].

(xi) আ+ও [a+o] > আ+আ [a+a] is found in the colloquial তাহালা [taɦiale] < তা'হলে [taɦile] < তাহা হইলে < tāhā hãilē > then, that being so.

(xii) ই+আ [i+a] > ই+এ [i+e]: very common, in *thk.*, as well as *ts.* and foreign forms. ইচ্ছে [icçɦe] (icçhã); MB. বিনে [bine] (vinã); মিশেল [miɦel] (mišãlã *mixed* < mišra-); মিথ্যে [mitɦe] (mithyã); ভিকে [bɦikkɦe] (bɦikkhã); ছিলেম, দিলেম, ক'রতেম, বেতেম, etc., etc. [çɦihilem dilem, kɦortem, ḡɦetem], Standard Coll. pronunciations of < chilã, dilã, kãritã,



jāitām », etc. = *I was, I gave, I used to do, I used to go*; so তুমি করবে [korbe] *you will do* < « kārībā »; dialectally also করবের, দিবের [korber, diber], etc. = *for doing, for giving* < « kārībārṣ, dibārṣ »; চাইনে [čjaine] *I don't want*, করিনে [korine] *I don't do* < চাইনা « cāinā », করিনা « kārīnā »; চাইনি [čjaini] *I did not want* < \*চাইনেই, চাহিনাহি « cāinėi, cāhināhi »; so বলিসনে [bolisne] *thou won't say* = বলিস না « bālisṅ nā », বলিসনি [bolisni] = \*বলিসনেই, বলিসনাহি « bālis nei, -nāhi », etc.; নীলে [nile], folk-Bengali for নীলা « nīlā »; পিতেম [pitemo], folk-Bengali for পিতামহ « pitāmāhā »; বিশ্বাস, নিঃশ্বাস « biśwāsṅ, niḥśwāsṅ », etc., commonly become [biṣṣeṣ, niṣṣeṣ], and all similar forms; হিসেব [hisēb] *accounts* (Perso-Arabic « hisāb »); বিলেত [bilet] *foreign land, Europe* (Perso-Arabic « wilāyat »); কিতে [phite] *ribbon* (Portuguese « fita »). Also in forms like একটা [ækṭa] *one piece*, আটটা [aṭṭa] *eight pieces*, but তিনটে [tinṭe] *three pieces*, MB. তিনিটা « tini-ṭā », চারটে [čjarṭe] *four pieces* = MB. চারিটা « cāri-ṭā » = East Bengali [tsairṭa, tsairṭa].

(xiii) উ+অ [u+a] > উ+ও [u+o]. This modification is also very common both in *tbhs.* and *tss.*: পূজা [puṣṣo] (pūjā); মূলা [mulo] *radish* (mūlā < mūla-); খুড়া [khuṛo] *nucle* (khuṛā < kṣudra + tāta); ধূলা [dhuḷo] (dhūlā < dhūla-); উঠোন, উঠান [uṭṭhon] *court-yard*; (uṭṭhānṅ = ut-sthāpana-); চুড়া [čjuṛo] (cūḍā); মুড়া [muṛo] (muṛā < muṇḍa-); দুৱর [duor] (\*duāra = dwāra); শুখা [ṣuk(h)o] *dry* = শুখা « śukhā » (śuṣka-); etc., etc. Cf. Perso-Arabic « ḥuqqah » > হঁকা « hūkā » > হঁকো [hūko] *hookah*.

Also উ+অ [u+a] > উ+ও [u+o]: শূৱর [juor] (śūārā < sū-kara); etc. See p. 398.

(xiv) এ+অ+এ [e+a+e] > এ+এ+এ [e+e+e]: as in এখেনে [ekhene] < এখানে « ēkhānē » *here*; so সেখেনে [ṣekhene] *there*, যেখেনে [ṣekhene] *where*.

This Vowel Harmony habit of Bengali asserts itself exceedingly in the speech of women, and of the uneducated classes generally, and it works havoc with the *tss.* imported from Sanskrit: to give some remarkable examples, we have নিলিমিষ্টি [nilimiṣṣi] in women's speech = « nirāmiṣya »; পিত্তিমে, পিত্তিমে [pit(t)ime] = « pratimā » (see p. 357 for change of « pra- » to « pi- »); উৎসুগু [ucṣṣuggu] *any offering before a deity* = « utsarga »;

দুষ্কল [dujʃʃug] *bad weather* = « duryōga » ; নিরিবিলা [niribili] *quiet (place)* = « nirābila » ; ফটকিরি, ফিটকিরি [phoʃkiri, phiʃkiri] *alum* = « sphaṭika + āra- » ; বিতিকিচ্ছি [bitikicc̣hi] *ugly* = « vicikitsa- » ; etc., etc. In changing the *ts.* words into colloquial Bengali forms similar to those given above, the cultural factor, communal as well as personal, decides how far they are to stray from the Sanskrit standard. But it is remarkable how great an importance the principle of Vowel Harmony has with the least cultured classes ; and, as the ordinary colloquial transformation of the *tbh.* and of the naturalised *ts.* and foreign words would show, with the best-cultured speakers of Bengali as well.

#### [H] ORIGIN OF THE NEW BENGALI VOWELS.

193. The general line of development of OIA. vowels into Bengali has been indicated above. The sources of the NB. vowels are now indicated origin below. The vowels of the Standard Colloquial are seven [i, e, æ, a, ɔ, o, u] ; with the rare [ʌ] in foreign words, they are eight. They are taken below in the order of the Bengali Alphabet, *viz.*, [ɔ, a, i, u, e, æ, o]. For [ʌ], [æ, a, ɔ] are normally substituted : and it will not be necessary to speak further about [ʌ].

New Bengali [ɔ, ɔ:], written অ, ঔ.

194. Bengali [ɔ] occurs both as long and as short, as in জল [ʃɔ:l] *water* and জলা [ʃɔ:la] *marsh* respectively. In popular notion, অ [ɔ] is generally called the short of অা [a], but the difference in quality between the two vowels is instinctively recognised by all Bengali speakers, and this is shown by the fact that when a Bengali child begins to learn the alphabet, he is taught to name the vowel letters as follows—অ = « svārē ā » [ʃɔre ɔ:] *among the vowels, a* ; অা = « svarē ā » [ʃɔre a:] *among the vowels, ā* ; ঐ = « hrāsvā i » [ɦrɔ:] *short i* ; ঊ = « dīrghā ī » *long ī* ; so উ = « hrāsvā u » , উ = « dīrghā ū » , ঋ = « ri » , ঌ = « dīrghā ri » , ঙ = « li » , ঞ = « dīrgha li » , ঊ = « ū » , ঋ = « āi » [oi], ঔ = « ō » , ঔ = « āu » [ou], অং = « āu » [ɔŋ], অঃ = « āḥ » [ɔh] : অ, অা are not called « hrāsvā ā, dīrghā ā ». Bengali অ, অা do not inter-



change now, but they did, up to the end of the eMB. period, when **অ** was a lower and an opener sound than at present (see pp. 260, 263). Bengali [o] commonly represents OIA. short [a], through MIA. OB., eMB. [ɔ]. Middle Bengali [ɔ > o] normally becomes [o] in the MB. Standard Colloquial when followed by [i, u]: see *ante*, pp. 396, 397.

The sources of the NB. [o]:

(i) OIA. short « ä » = [a]: করাত « [kərat] (karapatra); কর [kəɔ] (kahēi, kathayati); চল [çʰɔle] (calati); জল [ʃʰɔ:l] (jala); etc., etc.

(ii) OIA. long « ā » = [a:], in a few cases through absence of stress in OB. and Early MB.: পগার [pəgar] (prākāra), বনারসী [bənərsi] (vārāṇasīya), etc.; see p. 321. Cf. also করোলা [kərola], করেলা [kərela] (kāravēlla); থই [thəi > thoi] *depth, bottom* (\*stāghikā); etc. Post-consonantal [wa:] of Skt. in initial syllables became [ɔ:] in Early Middle Bengali, in a few *ts.* and is found as [o] in NB. (see p. 260): e.g., বদ [ʃʰɔ:d] = বাদ « svāda »; † স্বমী [ʃʰomi], a folk-pronunciation of স্বামী « svāmī »; সঙ্ [ʃʰɔ:ŋ] *imitation, mimicry, dramatic caricature*, < স্বাঙ্গ « svāṅga »: cf. Hind. « swāṅg »; cf. also † দত্ [dɔ:t], a folk pronunciation of দোয়াত [doat] from the Perso-Arabic « dawāt » *ink-pot*.

In *ts.* compounds like « jalāñjali, siddhāna, paramāna, pāyasāna madhyāhna », etc., the [a:] is frequently turned into [o, ɔ > o] in folk-pronunciation—e.g. [ʃʰɔlonʃʰoli, ʃʰiddhāno, pərmāno, pəʃʰāno, moddhianno]. Conversely, « mürdhānyā ṅā », the name of the latter ṅ, commonly becomes [moddhianno no, modhianno].

(iii) OIA. [i, i]: বরুড়া [bɔṛṛa] (MIA. bahēḍaa, OIA. vibhītaka); তরু [təɔʃu > torʃu] *day before yesterday, day after tomorrow* (tirah-śvaḥ); পরখ [pəɔkh] (parikṣā); etc.

(iv) OIA. [u] > eMB. [ɔ], altered to [o] in NB.: MB. মউড় « māūrā » (mukṭa); cf. বলে [bɔle] (MIA. bollaī, OIA. bravīti, √brū).

(v) OIA. [ɸ]: মড়া [mɔɾa] (mṛta-); etc.: see pp. 354, 355.

(vi) OIA. [e]: করলা [kərola, kərola] (kāravēlla); *stss.* সন্দ [ʃʰɔndə] (sandēha), নারকল [narkəl, -kol] (nārikēla), etc.

(vii) OIA. [o]: Calcutta Bengali গয়লা [gɔḷa] (gōpāla-), through influence of ময়রা [mɔṛa] (madaka-), and similar words with the group

[õ + a]; so কয়লা [kõlə] *charcoal* (< kōkila- >, *cuckoo-coloured*; cf. Hind. kōilā); cf. ময়লা [mõlə] *dirty* (MIA. mailla-), see p. 334. See also under [œ].

(viii) OIA. short [a] + consonant (stop, aspirate, or sibilant) + short [a] > OB. [ɔ̃wɔ, ɔ̃fɔ] > eMB. [ɔ:, ɔ̃fɔ] > NB.[ɔ]: see pp. 346-348.

For loss of interior [ɔ], see *ante*, pp. 330, 331.

[ɔ] forms diphthongs with [ɔ̃, ɔ̃] following: see below under [œ, ɔ̃].  
[ɔ] in foreign words is noted later.

Bengali [a, a:], written অ, ঞ.

### 195. Sources of Bengali [a]:

(i) OIA. < ā > [a:] initial, and before one consonant: পাড়ে [pɑː] (*pātayati*); ঢালায় [ɟ̃ɦalɑː] (\*cālāpayati, cālayati); মা [ma:] (*mātā*); সাগর [sɑːr] (*sāgara*); শিলা [ʃɦal] (*śṛgāla*), etc. See pp. 320-321.

(ii) OIA. < ă > initial, through stress in eMB.: see p. 314.

(iii) OIA. < ǎ, ā > [a, a:] before two consonants: see pp. 316-317, 321.

(iv) From < ǎ, ā + ǎ, ā > in contact in Late MIA. = OIA. < ǎ, ā > + consonant + < ǎ, ā >: see pp. 349-350.

(v) From OIA. < ɾ > initial, through an earlier stage of < ǎ >: see pp. 354-355.

Post-consonantal < -yā > in *ts.* words is changed to [æ] in NB., for which see under [æ]; see also p. 260. The change of [a] to [æ] in Bengali, in connection with a nasal, when the following syllable also has [a], has been noticed at p. 322. See also under [æ].

Modification of [a] to [e, o] and [o > u] by Vowel Harmony: see pp. 400-401, 398; also dropping of [a] through loss of stress, see pp. 331-332.

196. In some *tbh.* forms, there is alternation between [a] and [i]: ছাল [ɟ̃ɦa:l] and ছিলকা [ɟ̃ɦilka > ɟ̃ɦilke] *skin of fruit* (cf. Skt. challi); √সাঁধ [ʃɦa:dh] *enter* and সিঁধ [ʃɦi:dh] *a passage through a wall* (*sandhi*); √চাব [ɟ̃ɦa:b] and √চিব [ɟ̃ɦi:b] *chew* (√carv); √চাপ [ɟ̃ɦa:p] and √চিপ [ɟ̃ɦi:p] *press* (cf. Apabhraṅśa √camp); পাছ [pa:ɟ̃ɦ] and পিছ [pi:ɟ̃ɦ] *behind* (Cf. J. Beames,



'Comp. Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India,' II, p. 297); etc. This alternation is as old as MIA. Also alternation between [a] and [o, u] is found in some groups of words, mostly *dēśī*: e.g., ডাগর [ḍaḡar] *big*, also, dialectally ডাকর [ḍakar], beside ডোকরা, ডোকলা [ḍokra, ḍokla] *lout, clumsy fellow, spendthrift, huge and ungainly*, ডেকরা [ḍækra] *fool, ugly one*; and ডাঙ্গা [ḍaṅga, ḍæṅga] *high land*, beside টেঙ্গরা [ṭeṅra] *high land*, Hindōstāni « ḍuṅgar, ḍōṅgar » *hill*; জাবড়া, জোবড়া [ḷḷabra, ḷḷobra] *splash, blotch*; জাড় [ḷḷa:ṛ] *cold* (Skt. jāḍya, IMIA. jaḍḍā) beside জুড়া [ḷḷura] *get cool*; ফাঁক [phā:k] *empty space*, beside ফোঁকর [phōkor] *hole, slit*, probably connected with ফাঁপ [phā:p] *swelling*, ফোঁপরা [phōpra] *hollow*, ফোঁপল [phōpol] *empty* (cf. √sphā); ডাবর [ḍabor] *a capacious pot (of metal)*, ডাব [ḍa:b] *green coco-nut*, beside ডোবা [ḍoba] *puddle, small tank*; হামা [hama] *crawl on fours* (cf. « hammati » *walks* in the ancient speech of Surāṣṭra), beside হুমড়ি [humṛi] *a fall on one's face*; etc. Compare কাঁদ [kā:d] *cry, weep* and কৌদল [kōdol] *women's noisy quarrel* (=kanda-la-, √krand). The reasons of the above types of interchange of vowels are not clear.

The [a] in নিরানব্বই, নিরানই [niranobbui, niranoi], also changed to [e] by Vowel Harmony, [nirenobbui, nirenoi], is unusual. It is found in other NIA., together with the euphonic (?) « r »: e.g., Hind. « nirānawai, nawānawai », Panjābi « nirānawē », etc., and it probably comes from the MIA. stage. So also in some words like নয়ান [noḷan] (*nayana*), বয়ান [boḷan] (*vadana*); cf. MB. পড়া [poṛa] (*paṭaha*); NB. *sts.* slang পেলায় [pellaḷ] *awful, excessive, thundering, huge* (*pralaya*), etc.: see p. 336.

[a] in foreign words: see below.

New Bengali [i, i:], written ই, ঐ, ঝি, ঝী.

197. Bengali [i] is not a very close sound, and it easily passes into [e]. Thus, in the Calcutta Colloquial, words like ভিতর « bhitār » , ছিল « chilā » are ordinarily pronounced [bhit̪or, ḷ̪helo]. The interchange of [i] and [e] is found in MB.

(i) OIA., MIA. [i, i:] : see pp. 308, 323-324, 336-337.

(ii) OIA. [ɾ] > MIA. [i] : see p. 355. Also from Skt. [ɾ] to [ri, ir] in *ts.* and *sts.*, pp. 356-357.

(iii) OIA. < ā, ā > [a, a:] : see p. 335 ; cf. also পিছে [piçhe] (= paścāt), সিঁধ [ʃi:d(h)] (= sandhi) ; বি- [bi-] (= dvā-) in compounds—বিয়াল্লিস [bialliʃ] (= dvā-catvāriṅśat), etc. ; ছি [çhi-] (= ṣaṭ), as in ছিয়াল্লিস [çhialliʃ] (= ṣaṭ-catvāriṅśat), etc. ; দেঁসি [খিড়কী] [khiṛki] *window, back-door* (khaḍakkī) ; *sts.* ফিটুকিরি [phiṭkiri] *alum* (sphaṭika-), etc.

The OIA. affix < -ant- > gave < -it- > in Bengali : see also p. 335.

(iv) OIA. < -yā > [Īa] after consonants : ভিতর [bhiṭor] (abhyantara), বিজ্ঞানী [biʃṇiṇi] (vyajanikā) ; নেই, নাই [nei, nai] *argument* (nyāya). OIA. < -yā > for the indeclinable conjunctive = OB. < -iā, -iā >, MB. ই, ঐ, ইয়া, ইয়ী < -i, -ī, -iā, -iā >, has been assimilated to এ < ē > in NB. Also from earlier MB. < -yu- > in the *sts.* খিদে [khide] (khyudhā, kṣudhā).

In *stss.*, < -yā > after a consonant becomes [i], with the preceding consonant doubled : e.g., সত্য < sātyā > > সতি [ʃotti], so আচার্য < ācāryā > > আচারি [açaiçṛi], পথ্য < pāthyā > > পথি [pothi], মধ্য < mādhyā > > মধি [moddhi], সাধ্য < sādhyā > > সাধি [ʃaddhi], অকণ্য < ākāthyā > [əkotthi], ভোজ্য < bhōjya > > ভুজি [bhuʃṛi] *uncooked rice, pulses, vegetables, butter etc., in religious offering*, etc. Similarly with ক < kṣ = khy > and জ < jñ = gy > : e.g., সাক্ষ্য < sāksyā > > সাক্ষি [ʃakkhi], যাক্ষ্য < yāksyā = jākhyā > > যাক্ষি [ʃokkhi], যজ্ঞ < yājñā = jāgyā > > যজি [ʃoggi], দৈবজ্ঞ < dāibājña > > দৈবজি [doiboggi], etc. The eMB. pronunciation was [açaiçṛiḥ, pothiḥ, moddhiḥ, ʃakkhiḥ, ʃokkhiḥ, ʃoggiḥ], etc. : it is the [iḥ] which has resulted in the contracted [i] in NB., like < -iā > of Apabhraṅśa to < i > in Bengali : see pp. 302, 303, 307, 352.

(v) OIA. [u] : মিনসা, মিনসে [minʃa, minʃe] (manuṣya) ; সিকি [ʃiki] *fourth*, for স্কিকি [ʃuki]. Early MB. [u] became [i] when epenthetic : examples have been given above, see p. 385 ; cf. আই [ai] (āu, āyuṣ), বাই [bai] (bāu, vāyu) ; etc.

For interchange between [i] and [u] in *dēṣi* and *tth.* forms, see under [u], p. 408.

(vi) OIA. [a:i, e:] , MIA. [e:, e] : cf. MB. পড়িশী [poṛiʃi] (prativēśin) ; NB. ঠাই [ṭhāi] (\*ṭhāmē, sthāman) ; দুই [dui] (duvē, dvi) ; নেই [nei] *indulgence* (\*nēhi, \*ṇēhē, snēha) ; etc.



তিলি [tīli] < তেলি < tēli > (tāilika); গিরিমাটি [girimati] < গেরি- < gēri- > (gāirika-mṛttikā); দিই [dii] *I give* (\*dēmi = dadāmi); etc., by Vowel Harmony.

(vii) Through contraction of MIA. contact vowels in OB.: see pp. 350, 351, 352.

(viii) In certain class dialects in the Standard Colloquial area, final < āi > is contracted to [i]: e.g., জেঠি [jēṭhi] < জেঠাই < jēṭhāi > (jyēṣṭha-tāta + ikā); মিঠি [miṭhi] < মেঠাই, মিঠাই < mēṭhāi, mi- > *sweetmeat* (miṣṭa-); সানি [ʃāni] < সানাই < sānāi > (Pers. < šah-nāi >), etc.

The epenthetic < -i, -u > -i >, and the formation of diphthongs with < -i >, have been discussed before.

For [i] in foreign words: see below.

Bengali [u, u:], written উ, উ, য়, য়.

198. Bengali [u], like [i], is not a close, high sound, but rather low, approaching [o]. It is drawn down to the [o] position through influence of a following low vowel. In Calcutta, and elsewhere in Bengal, we have pronunciations like [opor, ʃondor] = উপর, সুন্দর < upārṣ, sundārṣ > etc.

Sources of [u]:

(i) OIA. [u, u] > MIA. [u, u]: See pp. 310, 311, 325, 326, 337.

(ii) OIA. [ɹ] > MIA. [u]: p. 355.

(iii) OIA. [ɑ, ɑ]: in the interior of a word, when flanked by high vowels, we have change to [u] in NB.: see pp. 394, 398.

In initial syllables, through influence of a preceding labial, in a few cases in MB. and NB.: e.g., MB. বহিত [buhita] (vahitra); বহিনি [buhini] (bhagini); etc. The intermediate stage was [o]. See pp. 319, 320; cf. মহাশয় < māhāśayṣ > *sir* > মশায়, মশাই [moʃaṣ, moʃai], East Bengali মশায় [muʃoṣ].

(iv) OIA. [ūɑ] after consonants > MIA. [-uṵ-]: সুর [ʃu:r] (\*suvara, svara); পরশু [porʃu] (\*paraśuva, paraśvaḥ); শুব [ʃu:ʃ] (\*śuvaśa, śvas); শু, সু [ʃu] (suvav-, svap), etc. See pp. 329, 330, 352.

(v) OIA. [i]: ব্দ [bū:d] (bindu); হলুদ [holud] (haridrā); গেরুয়া [gerua] (gāirika, \*gāiruka); শুক [ʃufuk] (cf. Skt. śiśumāra, Pali suṅsumāra).

(vi) OIA. [a:u, o:] > MIA. [o:, o] : through influence of a high vowel mainly. See pp. 398, 399. পুকুর [pukur] (MIA. pokkhara-, puṣkarinī) ; ভীমরুল [bhimirul] (\*bhṛṅga-rōlikā) ; উড়ে [uṛe] (Ōriyā, Oḍḍiaa-, Āṇḍṛtyaka), etc., etc.

(vii) Through contraction of MIA. contact vowels : see pp. 350, 352. Also cf. (iv) above. Cf. জলুনি [j̥oluni] *burning sensation* < \*jālāuni, \*jālāwani (\*jwalāpanikā), etc.

For [u] in foreign words, see below.

199. [i] and [u] as high vowels interchange in some *tbh.* and *dēśī* forms (including onomatopoeics). This is apart from change of epenthetic [u] to [i], and from the cases of isolated modification of [u] to [i], and vice versa. E.g., গুমট [gumət] *stiffness* beside MIA. < gimha > (grīṣma) ; তিকি [tikhi] *sharp* and তুখড় [tukḥḍ] *clever* (tikṣṇa) ; নিবুম [niḥim] *silent, asleep*, also ঘুম [ghum] *sleep*, beside ঝিম [j̥him] *doze*—a *dēśī* form, cf. Marāṭhī < jhōṇṇē > *sleep* ; টিকলি [tikli] and টুকরা [ṭukra] *a piece, bit, fragment* ; ডিঙ্গা [dingga] beside ডোঙ্গা < \*doṅga > *a canoe, a boat* ; ছিলকা [ḥhilka] *skin of fruit*, beside ছুলা [ḥhula, ḥhola] *to skin*, ছুলি [ḥhuli] *skin-disease*, also ছাল [ḥha:l] *skin* ; চিপসা, চূপসা [ḥhipṣa, ḥhupṣa] *be dried up, contract*, beside চাপ [ḥha:p] *press* ; উকুন [ukun] *louse* (\*atkuṇa), beside † ইকুন [ikun] ; শিকনি [sikni] *exudation from nose* (√singh), beside শুক, শৌক [ṣū:k, ṣhō:k] *smell, sniff* (√\*ṣuṅgh) ; cf. NIA. [u:kh, i:kh, a:kh] (=ikṣu). As can be easily seen, these alternances go back to the Early MIA. stage, and are probably earlier. The *dēśī* forms probably are based on dialectal variations in the original non-Aryan languages from which OIA. or MIA. borrowed the words. The IA. vowel alternance—< guṇa > and < vṛddhi >, and Early MIA. change of < ṛ > to < i, u >, e.g., [ghūṭ, ghīṭ, ghāt] from < ghṛṣṭa >, in the same dialect, made the alternances in the *dēśī* and *tbh.* forms appear quite natural, and in conformity with the spirit of IA.

Bengali [e, e:] = এ, ঐ.

200. (i) OIA. [e:] > MIA. [e, e] : also in *dēśī* words : see pp. 327-328, 337.

(ii) OIA. [a:i] > MIA. [e, e] : pp. 328, 337.



(iii) OIA. [ɸ] : দেখ [de:kh] ( $\sqrt{dɸk-s}$ ); see p. 356. Also in *stss.* : p. 357.

(iv) OIA. [a, a:] : through influence of following [i, i] = MIA. [e] : শেল [ʃe:l] (śalya, śella); শেজ [ʃe:ʃi] (śayyā, sejja); সৈজার [ʃiʃi:aru > ʃiʃi:aru], in South-eastern Bengali হেঁজা [hiʃza], beside সাজার [ʃiʃi:aru] (śalyaka, sayyaka, sejjaa + rūpa); এর [er] (kēra < kārya); etc. In সতের [ʃotero], পনের [ponero] beside সতর, পনর [ʃotero, ponoro], we have change of OIA. [a] to [e] in NB. (saptadaśa, pañcadaśa); also in the honorific verb forms in এন [en] (-anti) : e.g., চলেন [ʃolen] (calanti).

(v) OIA. [i], through a MIA. change to [e] : see p. 327. Also finally, in verb forms : ঝা [khaɔ] (khāi, khādati), etc.

(vi) OIA. [u:] : নেউর [neur] (nūpura).

(vii) By contraction, in MIA., OB. and eMB. times, from various groups of OIA., with [a] : see pp. 343, 344, 350, 351, 352. নেউল [neul] (nakula); MB. নেয়ালি [neali] (\*nayamallia, navamallikā); চলে [ʃole] (calati); ঘরে [ghore] (gharahi, gr̥ha + dhi); etc.

OB. *stss.*, with [ɪo] < post-consonantal Skt. < -yā > [ɪa], as much as [ɪo] in *lkh.* words, is contracted to [e, ɛ] in MB. > [æ] in NB. : see p. 351 : also examples like বেঙ, ব্যাঙ [bæŋ] (\*biṅga, vyṅga), বেঙ্গমা [bæŋgoma] (\*biṅgamā, viṅgama-), জ্যান্ত [ʃi:nto, ʃi:nto] (jianta, jīvant-), etc.

Early MB. final ইয়া, ঈয়া, etc. = [ia, ia] becomes [e] in NB. : e.g., eMB. \*চাটুরজীয়া > lMB. চাটুরজ্যা > NB. চাটুর্জে, চাটুর্জে, চাটুর্জে [ʃaṭur-ʃi:ia > ʃaṭurʃi: > ʃaṭurʃi:ɛ, ʃaṭurʃi:ɛ, ʃaṭurʃi:ɛ] a Brahman surname = the long-lived one, or son (jīva) of (the village of) Cāṭu (or Caṭṭa; cf. the equivalent চাটুতি < cāṭuti > = < caṭṭa + putra >), Anglicised into *Chatterji* etc., Sanskritised into < cāṭṭōpādhyāy >; so MB. মুখুরজ্যা > মুখুর্জে [mukhurʃi: > mukurʃi:ɛ, mukurʃi:ɛ] *Mukherji*; উত্তরিয়া > উত্তুরে [uttoria > utture] *northern*; করিয়া > করে [koria > kore] *having done*, etc., etc. : see pp. 393, 394.

(viii) By contraction from MB. epenthetic [ai, au > ai] < OIA. [a: + i, u] : see pp. 385, 386, 389.

(ix) By Vowel Harmony, from MB. [i] and MB. [a] : see pp. 400-401.

In *ss.* of NB., subscript « -yā » of Skt. gives [e], and this [e] remains when followed by a high vowel: otherwise the [e] becomes [æ]: *e.g.*, ব্যক্তি [bekt̪i] (vyakti), but ব্যক্ত [bækt̪] (vyakta); so ব্যথার ব্যথী [bæθar bethi] a sympathiser in sorrow (vyathā, vyathin); ব্যষ্টি [beʃ̪ti] (vyaṣṭi); ব্যতীত [betit̪] (vyatīta); etc.

For [e] in foreign words: see *infra*.

#### Bengali [æ, ɛ:]

**201.** [æ] is a comparatively recent sound in the NB. Standard Colloquial, and it originated from MB. [ɛ] and groups like [ɛa, ɛa, ea], not earlier than towards the very end of the MB. period. In East Bengal dialects, [æ] is rare or unknown, and [ɛ] and [a, a] are used for it. Long [e:] and [æ:] of the Standard Colloquial commonly occur in Typical East Bengali as [ɛ:]; persons speaking East Bengali dialects find it difficult to distinguish between English [æ] and [ɛ]—the latter, in the ordinary West Bengali pronunciation of English, becomes [e] (together with English [ə], which is a sound not found in Bengali). Thus, *admiral, appreciate, acquaintance* [ædmərəl, əpri:ʃieɪt, əkweɪntəns], in West Bengali pronunciation [ædmirəl, əpri:ʃie:t, əkðentəns], become [ɛdmirəl, ɛpri:ʃie:t, ɛkðentəns] in East Bengali; and the following spellings of English words from examination scripts submitted by East Bengal students, are typical of East Bengali pronunciation: « matropolice, hendi-work, tendancy, perichoner (= parishioner), commender, intantionally, engels, harressed, marriment, edvice, emity, aminence, anemy, orientel, manny (= many) », etc.

Bengali [æ], when it comes from [e], is written as ঞ. The subscribed « -y- » followed by « -ā » — ‘অ্য’, ‘য়্য’ ঞ, is otherwise employed. In *ss.*, post-consonantal « -yā » of Skt., which became [ɛa] in MB., is written as « -yā »; also post consonantal « -yā » in initial syllables. The tendency in writing the NB. Standard Colloquial now is to employ lavishly the য-ক্কা + অ্য — « -yā » = ঞ: *e.g.*, দ্যাক্কে « dyākhē » for দেখে dekhē » = [dækhe] = MB. [dskhe], MIA. [dekkhdi].



Origin of [æ].

(i) In *tbhs.* [æ] is found in initial syllables for a Late MIA. [e, e], which is derived from various sources in OIA.—[e, a:i, ɾ] and [a+consonant + a, i+consonant+a], etc. In eMB., if not in OB., the pronunciation certainly was [ɛ]. See pp. 327-328, 343, 351, 409.

[æ:] is found in *tbh.* monosyllables when they are closed by ক, খ < k(h) >, চ < c >, ড < ɾ >, or a nasal, or by য < y > from earlier এ < ɛ >: e.g., এক [æ:k], MB. [ɛ:k, skɔ], MIA. < ekka >; *ts.* লেখ [læ:kh] *write thou* (in the old pronunciation in the Standard Colloquial, now through Skt. influence changed to [le:kh]); দেখ [dæ:kh] *look thou*, MB. [dɛkħo]; পেঁচ [pæ:ɕ] *twist*; হেঁচ [ɕhæ:ɕ] *pound thou*; নেড় [næ:ɾ] *hard stools*; ফেন [phæ:n] *froth*; বেঙ [bæ:n] *frog*; দেন [dæ:n] *he gives, they give* (honorific) (MIA. \*denti); সেন [sæ:n] *a surname*; দেয়, নেয় [dæɔ̃, nəɔ̃] *gives, takes, etc.* In other cases, we have [e:]: e.g., নেত [ne:t], an archaic word = *fine cloth* (nētra); হেঁট [hɛ:t] *stooping, low* (hētṭha, \*adhiṣṭāt), etc. Cf. *ts.* দেশ, বেশ, কেশ, মেঘ, প্রেত, ধেত, দেব etc. [de:ʃ, be:ʃ, ke:ʃ, me:ɡɦ, pre:t, ʃe:t, de:b]; etc.

Onomatopoeics have the [æ] pronunciation, irrespective of the consonant which follows: e.g., পেট [pe:t] *belly*, but পেটপেট, পাটপ্যাট [pæ:t pæ:t]; খেত [khe:t] *field* (kṣetra), but খাঁৎ খাঁৎ [khæt khæt], etc. Here East Bengali will employ [ɛ] in all cases.

In disyllables (and polysyllables), when the second syllable is closed by a vowel other than [i] or [u], [æ] for [e] is the rule. *Ts.* words, however, sometimes resist the tendency to change to the opener sound. E.g., একা [ækɑ] *alone*; দেখ [dækħo] *see you*, MB. [dɛkħo:, dɛkħofɦo]; মলে [mæle] *opens up (eyes), spreads*; পেঁচা [pæ:ɕɑ] *owl*; হেলা [hæla]; বেলা [bæla]; তের [tæro] *thirteen*, MB. [tɛro:, tɛrdɦo]; গেল [gælo] *went*; ফেনা [phæna]; দেখে [dæke] *sees*; ফেলে [phæle] *throws*, MB. [psle, phsle, psɦdi] (prērayati?); বেটা [bæta] *son*; দেওর [dæor] (dēvara); নেওটা, নেওটো [næoɕta > næoɕto] *affectionate* (snēha-vṛtta-), beside নেই [nei] *indulgence* (= snēha); কেওট [kæoɕ] *a caste* (kēvaṭṭa, kāivarta); সেবা [sæba], beside, in recent pronunciation, through Skt influence [ʃeba]; দেবা [dæba] as in the phrase যেমন দেবা তেমনি দেবী [ʃiæmon dæba temni debi] *as is the god, so the goddess = like husband, like wife*; etc., etc.; এমন, যেমন, তেমন, কেমন [æmon,

[ʃtæmon, tæmon, kæmon], adjectives or adverbs of manner, respectively from এ, যে, তে, কে [e:, ʃtæ:, te:, ke:] *this, who, that, who?*; but in যেথা, সেথা [ʃtætha, ʃætha] *where, there*, curiously enough, the [æ] sound is resisted, and also in হেথা [ʃiætha] *here* = এথা [ætha] in OB. (cf. MIA. ettha = OIA. itthā).

Where, however, the Bengali root has [i], derived forms with [a, e, o] vowels in the next syllable do not change the [i > e] of the root (through Vowel Harmony, see p. 397) to [æ]: e. g., মিলে > মেনে [mele] *is obtained*, but মেলে [mæle] *spreads closes* (mēlay-); ফিরে > ফেরে [phere] *turns*, but ঘেরে [gʰiære] *encloses, surrounds* (cf. Hindōstāni phirnā, ghērñā); etc.

(ii) [æ] occurs in onomatopoeic words which are reduplicated. In the earlier stages of the language, the sound was probably an [ɛ] or [e]: e. g., গ্যা গ্যা [gæ gæ], চ্যা চ্যা [tʃæ tʃæ], ফ্যাচ্ ফ্যাচ্ [phæ tʃ phæ tʃ], etc., etc.

(iii) [æ, œ] comes from earlier [ā] when the next syllable has [a]: see p. 322.

(iv) [æ] is derived from eMB. groups like [id] and [ia > ie] by Vowel-Harmony: e. g., জ্যন্ত [ʃtænto] *living* = eMB. জ্বন্ত [ʃtjontō]; গেছে [gæ tʃhe] *has gone*, from [griatʃhe > gietʃhe]. See pp. 351, 400.

(v) MB. এহা, এয়া [ɛɦa, ɛɦa] became [æ]; also এহ, এখ [eɦ, eɦ] became [æ, œ] in NB. The [e, o] in [æ, œ] is an after-glide, which is optionally omitted. E. g., শেওলা [ʃæola], MB. \*শেওলা [ʃsōla], besides শেওলা, শেওলা [ʃeōla] (\*śāivāla-, śāivāla); বেয়াই [beai, bæi], MB. বেহাই [bēɦai] (vāivāhika); 'দেয়লা' [dæla], MB. দেহালা, দেহলা, দেখালা, দেখলা [de(h)ala, de(h)ola] *a baby's smile in sleep* (dēva+?); আয়না [ʃæna] *clever*, MB. দেয়না [ʃsana] (cf. Hind. syānā).

Foreign words with [sa] in lMB. similarly change this group to [æ] or [œ]: e. g., Persian « pyālā » *cup* > [psala] > প্যালা [pæla], also [pæla]; « ziyādah » *much, excessive* > [ʃtīsada] > জেয়াদা, জ্যাদা, জ্যায়দা [ʃtjæda, ʃtjæda]; Portuguese « viola » *violin* > বেয়লা [bsala] > ব্যালা, ব্যায়লা [bæla, bæla]; « pèra » *pear* > পেয়ারা [psara] > প্যায়রা [pæera]: English « bearer » > বেয়ারা, ব্যায়রা [bsara > bæera], also [beara]; etc., etc.

(vi) In *ts.*: « -yā- » after a consonant in initial syllables, when the following syllable does not have an [i] or [u], becomes [æ]. In MB. the intermediate stage was [ɛ]. See p. 410.



(vii) Post-consonantal «-yā» in *ts.* have become [æ]. One MB. stage was that of a low [ɛ] plus a fronted [a]. See page 260. কল্যাণ [kollæn]; পরিত্যাগ [porittæg]; হত্যা [hottæ]; etc. ক্কা «kṣā» > (k)khyā» and জ্জ «jñā» > (g)gṛyā» similarly gave [æ]: e.g., রক্ক [rokkhæ], also [rokkhe, < rokkhīa]; জ্ঞান [gṛyā:n]; অবজ্ঞা [oboggṛyā]; etc.

Bengali [o, o:], written অ, য়, ও, য়ো.

202. All final [ɔ] tends to become [o] in the Standard Colloquial.

The more important sources of [o] are :

(i) OIA. [o:] : see pp. 329, 337.

(ii) OIA. [u, u:] etc. > MIA. [o, o:] : pp. 327, 329.

(iii) OIA. [ɔ]: pp. 356, 357. Cf. also গোছা [goc̣ḥa] (guccha, \*goccha, OIA. \*gr̥psa).

(iv) (a) OIA. «ā» > [a], through influence of preceding labial: ভোমরা [bhomra] (bhaṣara-, bhamara-); see pp. 319-320.

(b) Change of eMB. «ā» to [o] through Epenthesis, Umlaut and Vowel Harmony has been discussed before. This MB. «ā» comes from OIA. [a, a:]

(v) Through contraction of various groups in OIA. and MIA.: OIA. «āvā, āmā, ā + stop + ā, ā + stop + u, uv(ā)-, » etc., etc. See pp. 344, 346, 347, 350, 352, 353. E.g., মো-, তো- [mo, to] («mama, tava»: this change of «aṣa, ava» to «ō» is pre-Bengali); নোতুন [notun] (nava-); ওলা [ola] descend, as in ওলাউঠা cholera (avalabh + ut-sthā); সোদো [ʃodo] as in সোদো ভাসানো [ʃodo bhaʃano] 'launching on sea,' the boat festival (= ? \*saṣudduā, samudra + uka-); etc., etc.

(vi) (a) Through Vowel Harmony, from eMB. [u] from various sources in OIA.: বোঝা [boʃ̣(ḥ)a] to understand (budhy-); সোজা [ʃoʃ̣a] straight, easy, clear (śudhy-); etc. See p. 397.

(b) From MB. উ+অ [u+a] > উ+ও [u+o], we have NB. [o] by Vowel Harmony. See under [ua, uo] below. শোর [ʃo:r] (śūāra, sūkara); কো [ko:] (kūā, kūpa-); জো [ʃ̣o:] (jūā, dyūta-); etc.

For [o] in foreign words, see below.

Interchange between [i] and [e], and between [u] and [o] in Bengali.

203. This interchange characterises NB. phonology, and it originated in the following ways.

(i) In some words, the interchange is the result of Primitive Indo-European Vowel Alternance (Ablaut), as it had been modified in the OIA., « i : āi, ē » and « u : āu, ō » : e.g., লিপ [lip] *smear*, লেগা [leḡa] *a smearing* (lip-ya-, lēpa-); ছুট [ḡuṭ] *be broken*, তোড় [toṛ] *break* (truṭ-ya, trōṭ-aya-); etc. This is paralleled out by the alternance between [o] and [a] in চলে [ḡole] *walks* and চলে [ḡale] *moves* (calati, cālayati), etc. In Bengali, the laws of Vowel Harmony have obscured to a very great extent the real nature of these alternances between [i] and [e], and [u] and [o] when they are of ablaut origin in OIA. The original ablaut relation has lost its significance, and it has become quite subsidiary to NB. phonetic habits. Thus, for instance, the root *হুল* [dul] *to swing* has [u], but the verbal noun by « guṇa » in OIA. has [o]—দোল [do:l] *a swing*,—also the causative দোলাই [dolai] *I cause to swing*; but *হুলে* « dulē » *he swings* (< \*dulati) becomes দোলে [dole], original [u] becoming [o] through influence of the following [e]; and « \*dolāpanikā » *the act of swinging* becomes, through the stages \*দোলাঅনৌ, \*দোলাওনি \*দোলাউনৌ « \*dōlāwanI, \*dōlāōnI, \*dōlāunI », *হুলনি* [duluni], beside দোলানি [dolani]; and « dōlikā » \*dōlia » *palanquin, litter* gives ডুলী [ḡuli]. The original scheme of [u] for the active, and [o] for the causative and for noun formations, is in this way destroyed. So ছুট [ḡhuṭ] *run* and its causative derivative ছোড় [ḡhōṛ] *throw, toss* give ছুটে > ছোটে [ḡhoṭe] *he runs* and ছোড়ি > ছুড়ি [ḡhūṛi] *I throw*, beside ছুটি [ḡhuṭi] *I run* and ছোড়ে [ḡhōre] *he throws*, rendering the original [u, o] alternance ineffective for the purpose of distinguishing the causative form.

There is the MIA. change of OIA. [i:, u:, i, u] to [e, o], which gave Bengali [e, o]. (See Pischel, §§119, 125, 127, 212 : ante, p. 327.) This of course is not a case of interchange so far as Bengali is concerned. In such alternations in MIA., there was probably the influence of the ablaut relations between « i : ē » and « u : ō », which MIA. inherited from OIA.

(ii) Alternances of [i] and [u] with [e] and [o] through Vowel-Harmony is a most important thing in New Bengali phonology, and



this has been discussed before. This is due partly to the low position of the Bengali [i] and [u] vowels. Cf. MB. তেহ [tehō, tēhō, tēhō], *he (honorific)* (= \*tenha), NB. তেনার [tenar] *his (honorific)* (= \*tenha + -ara: \*tenha = tēhā, tēharā = tēsarā < tēsām), but NB. nominative তিনি [tini] *he (honorific)* (= \*tēn-i = \*tēna, tēnarā + i); *ts.* কোপ [ko:p] *anger*, but কুপিল [kupilo] *he angered*; ওড়না [oṛna] *veil (oḍḍhaṇa-, ava-vēṣṭana-)*, but উড়ুনী [uṛuni] *sheet worn as cloak (oḍḍhaṇia, \*oḍḍhāwānia, = \*avavēṣṭanika, \*avavēṣṭāpanikā)*; etc., etc.

## BENGALI DIPHTHONGS.

204. Of Bengali diphthongs, only two have special letters for them, namely [oi] = ঔ, and [ou] = ঑. In the NB. Standard Colloquial, as many as 25 vowel combinations and diphthongs are found: [ie, ia, io, iu; ei, ea, eo, eu; æe, æo; ai, ae, ao, au; œe, œa, œo; oi, oe, oa, ou; ui, ue, ua, uo] (see 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' §49). In OB., [di] and [du], sources partly of the NB. [oi, ou], were the only diphthongs. Early MB. probably developed some new combinations, [ɪo, ɪu, ɪa, ɪə, ɪa] etc. and [ʊo, ʊa] etc. from subscribed < y, v > + < ā, ā > etc. in *ts.* words; and some fresh diphthongs, with the high vowels [i, u] forming the second element, accompanied epenthesis in MB. (See *ante*, p. 387). MB. diphthongs or vowel combinations have mostly been monophthongised in NB. in the Standard Colloquial: *e.g.*, [ɛa] has given [æ], [ɔa] has resulted in [o] in some cases, and [di > oi, du > ou, oi] have resulted in [o], and [ai], [au > ai] in [e] (see *ante*, p. 386). NB. diphthongs are in the main recent creations. Many of them have not as yet entirely passed through the stage between two syllables and a diphthongal monosyllable, especially when the group ends in the low vowel [a]. When the syllable is closed with a consonant, the disyllabic character is often retained: *e.g.*, ধোয়া *to wash, washed (pass. part.)* is [dhoa = dhōa], almost riming with French < dois, doit > [dwa]; but ধোয়াটে *wash-out, scourings*, is often more like [dhoāṭ] than [dhoat = dhōat]; so ভাই *brother* is [bhai = bhāi], but বাইশ [baiṣ] *twenty-two* is [baṣiṣ, ba-iṣ]; and হয় *is, are* = [hoē, hoē], but

বয়স [bœfj] *age* is found as [bœeʃ, bœ-efj], besides [bœoʃ]. But the tendency to pronounce these groups as one syllable is no less strong, and in cases like the above, where we have [ai, œ] etc., closed by a consonant, there is frequently simplification or contraction of the diphthong to a monophthong: e.g., বাইস, বয়স occur as বা'স, ব'স, with a suggestion of the [i] in a fronted [a]—[ba:ʃ], and of the [e] in a little hesitation before the [ʃ], [bœʃ]; and হয়েন, সহেন [fiœen, ʃœ(fi)en] *he becomes, he is; he suffers (honorific)* have been regularly transformed into [fiœ:n, ʃœ:n] in the Colloquial Speech.

NB. diphthongs are generally the result of the loss of intervocal « -h- » of MB., of Epenthesis and Vowel Modification, and of Vowel Harmony. And above all, there is the influence of the strong initial stress which reduces two syllables into one. Brief notes on the origin of the NB. diphthongs are given below. They are taken in the order given in the preceding page.

205. Bengali [ie], in the Colloquial, written ইয়ে, is derived from ইয়া « -iyā » of MB. (preserved in the literary language): দিয়ে [die] *having given* < দিয়া « diyā »; বিয়ে [bie] *marriage* < বিয়া « biyā » (vivāha); etc. Where the [i] in [ie] was anticipated by epenthesis, as in আনিয়া « āniā, āniyā » *having brought* > \*আইনিয়া, আন্নি « \*āniyā, āniyā » > এয়ে [sne] > এনে [ene], contraction took place generally during the transition from MB. to NB.; but a dialectal form like [sniē] is still heard. So রাখিয়া « rākhīyā » *having kept* > রেখে [rekhe], beside রেখে [rēkhiē], etc. The tendency to shorten [ie] to [e] is quite a marked one in the Calcutta Colloquial: so that we have even forms like দে [de] *having given, with (=instrumental post-position)* beside [die]; টে as in 'টেপাখী' *parrot* [ʈe, ʈepakhi], beside টিয়ে [ʈiē] < টিয়া [ʈia]; বে [be] *marriage* beside [bie] < [bia]; গেছে [geɕ(h)e, gœɕ(h)e] *has gone* beside গিয়েছে [giœɕ(h)e] < গিয়াছে [giaɕ(h)e], দেশলাই [deʃlai] *matches* beside দিয়েশলাই [dieʃ(o)lai] and দিয়াশ(ত)লাই [diaʃ(a)lai, diaʃolai] (dīpa + śalākā-); etc., etc.

[ie] also comes from contraction of আইয়া « āiyā » of the causative conjunctive indeclinable: e.g., রাখিয়ে [rakhie] *having caused to keep* < রাখাইয়া « rākhāiyā ». It is found also in contracted noun-forms: e.g., গাইয়ে [gaie] *singer*. See p. 394.



In a case like কিয়ে [kie], from কিয়ে [ki fie] *what, O! = hallo*, we have [ie] from dropping of « -h- ».

In some archaic forms like পিয়ে [pie] *drinks*, MB. পিএ [pie, pië], (pibati), জীয়ে [ʃiie] *lives*, MB. জীএ [ʃi(ë)e] (jivati), we have original MB. [ie], with optional in-glide, derived from contraction of OB. and MIA. contact vowels. So in স্বীয়ে [ʃiie] *by the daughter*, as in মায়ে স্বীয়ে [mæ ʃiie] *mother and daughter together*, we have an OB. combination (jhi + -ë = dhītā, duhitṛ + -ēna).

206. Bengali [ia], written ইয়া, occurs mainly in *tbh.* forms, and is rather archaic, so far as the Standard Colloquial is concerned: e.g., রাখিয়া [rakhia], করািয়া [kōraia], নগরিয়া [nəgōria], বিনোদিয়া [binodia], উড়িয়া [uṛia], etc., etc.; also শিয়াল [ʃial], হিয়া [hia], পিয়াল [pial], বিয়াল্লিস [bialliʃ], ছিয়াত্তর [çhiattor], etc., which give instances of the [ia] group in the « sādhu-bhāṣā ». [ia] in verb forms is contracted to [e], with epenthesis, in NB.; and also [ia] in adjectives and nouns. In initial syllables, it frequently becomes [æ]: e.g., [ʃæ:l] < শিয়াল [ʃial], also [ʃæal], by vowel harmony; বিয়াল্লিস [bialliʃ] becomes [bealliʃ, bælliʃ]; but ছিয়াত্তর [çhiattor] does not alter in the Standard Colloquial.

Some of the more important sources of [ia] may be noted.

In the conjunctive indeclinable, it comes apparently from an OB. strengthening of the MIA. affix « -iā » by the syllable « ā »: করিয়া [kōria, koria] < MIA. « kārīā + ā ». (See under *Morphology*: the Verb: 'Conjunctive Indeclinables.')

The adjectival,—agentive, intensive, pejorative—affix [ia] is from OIA. « -ika, -iya » plus the affix « ā ». NB. has the [ia] forms only as archaic words, e.g., পূর্বিয়া [purōbia] or পূর্বিয়া [pubia] *eastern*: Standard Colloquial forms would be পূর্ববে and পূর্বে [purube, pube]; দখিনিয়া [dōkhinia] > দখিনে, দখ্ণে [dōkhine > dōkhne] *southern*; কহনিয়া [kōhōnia] *talker* > কউনে [koune]; কালিয়া [kalia] *the black one* > কেলে [kele]; etc., etc.

In other cases, [ia] represents MIA. « udvṛtta » vowels—the [a] = « ā » often representing cases of contraction of « udvṛtta » < ā, ā + ā, ā » of MIA. The [ia] was preserved by means of the « y » glide in OB., and Early MB., and contraction came in only in the NB,—the

earlier full [ia], however, is quite a familiar group through influence of literature.

[ia] is found in foreign words: e.g., হৈয়ার [iar] *friend, boon-companion* < Persian «yār» ; দুনিয়া [dunia] *world* < Perso-Arabic «dunyā» ; এশিয়া [eʃia] = English *Asia* ; রুশিয়া [ruʃia] = *Russia*, etc. ; but cf. a naturalised Portuguese word like «toalha» *towel* > তোয়ালিয়া, তোয়ালে [toalia > toale].

207. Bengali [io], written ইও, ইয়ো, ইয়, ঈয়. In MB., this diphthong, in *tbhs.*, was [iɔ̃, iə̃]. It is found in *tbh.* forms like শিয়ার [ʃior] (\*śihara, śikhara) ; তিয়ার [tior] *a caste* (Tivara) ; জীবন [ʃion] as in জীবন-কাঠি মরণ-কাঠি «jīāṅ-kāṭhi mārāṅ-kāṭhi» *wand of life and wand of death* (jivana) ; the OIA. source is thus «i, ī» + consonant which has dropped off + «ā».

In the future precative 2nd person of the verb, [io] represents OB., MB. «ihā» [iɦio:] = OIA. «-isyatha» : e.g., চলিও [ɕɦio] (calihā, \*calihaha, calisyatha). In the Colloquial, this is reduced to [o] : e.g., চলো [ɕɦolo], রেখো [reɦo] (= rākhihā, \*rākhihaha, rakṣisyatha) etc., except where contraction is not possible—e.g., দিও [dio] (dihā, \*dihaha = dāsyatha) ; পিও, জিও [pio, ʃɦio] are both ordinary imperative future or precative.

[io] occurs in the Standard Colloquial causative precative or imperative future, as a contraction of MB. «-āihā, -āihā» = «\*-āpayisyatha» of OIA. : e.g., রাখিও [rakɦio] (rākhāio, rākhāi(h)ā, \*rakkhāvāihaha = \*raksāpayisyatha), etc.

Causative passive participles, or verbal nouns, in «-ānā», of roots in «-i» in the Standard Colloquial show the [io] groups by mutation through Vowel Harmony : e.g., জীওনো [ʃɦiono] (i) *kept alive*, (ii) *bringing back to life* (MB. জীবান «jīānā» = (i) «√jiv-» + «māna-», (ii) «\*jivāpana-»); মিয়োনো [miono] *become cold or weak* (MB. মিয়ান «miyānā» : OIA. «√mī») ; etc.

In *ts.* words, Skt. «iyō, iyā» become [io] in Bengali : বিয়োগ [biog] (viyōga) ; নিয়োগ [niog] («niōga» : but নিয়োগী > নেউগী [niogi > neugi], [io > eu] through influence of [i] following) ; নিয়ম [niom] (niyama) ; etc.



Some peculiar forms also show [io]: e.g., অবিয়ত [ɔbioto] *unmarried* (= \*ābiāutā- < a- + vivāha + -vanta ?); বিওর [għior] *a sweetmeat* (Hind. ghēwar < ghṛta-); হেইও [fiōio] *exclamation in pulling something*.

[io] is found in foreign (European) names: ইয়োরোপ [iorop] *Europe*, ইয়োক [iork] *York*, etc.

208. Bengali [iu], written ইউ, ইয়ু, comes from the following: MB. < iu, ēu > in the imperative 3rd person of roots in < -i, -ē > = < -atu, -antu > of OIA.: e.g., জীউক [jīuk] (jīvatu + ka); দিউন [diun] (\*diyantu); দিউক [diuk] (MB. দেউ < dēu > = \*dētū). In NB., this [iu] is normally reduced to [i]: জীক (rare), দিন, দিক্, etc. = [jīk, din, dik], etc.

[iu] also comes from OB., MB. < -iā-, -ihā-, -iā- > -io- > through the influence of a following [i]: see p. 398. জীউলী [jīuli] *a tree* (jīva-la-); বিউনী [biuni] (\*vyajanikā); শিউলি [jīuli] (MB. śihāli < śēphālika); etc.

[iu] occurs in onomatopoeics: মিউমিউ [miu miu] *mewing*; কিউকিউ [kiu kiū] *whine of a dog*; etc.

It is found in some Hindi loan-words with a restricted use: e.g., পিউ [piu] (priya), জীউ [jīiu] (jīva).

Foreign words also show this vowel-group: ইউনিভার্সিটি [iunibharsiṭi] *University*, ইউনাইটেড ষ্টেট্‌স্ [iunaiṭeḍ sṭeṭṣ] *United States*, etc.

209. Bengali [ei], written এই, এয়ি, এয়ী.

[ei] comes from OB., MB. < ēi, ehi, ē hi, -tē-hi >: e.g., দেই [dei] *I give*, more usually দিই [dii] (\*dēmi); তেই [tēi] *therefore*, a poetic word (tē hi, tēna hi); বেই, সেই [jēi, jēi] *whoever, he indeed* (MB. jē-hi, sē-hi); ঘরেই [għorei] *in the house indeed* (gharē hi); তেইস [teij] (trayōviṅṣati); also নেই [nei] *indulgence* (OB. \*nēhi, nēha = snēha); খেই [khei], beside খে [khe:] *cue* (OB. \*khēwi, khēwa = kṣēpa); লেই [lei] *gum-paste* (lēpa); etc.

From < āi > of earlier Bengali: e.g., নেই [nei] *does not exist* < নাই < nāi >; নেই-আকুড়ে [nei-ākude] *argumentative* (MB. \*niyāi-ākāriā < < nyāya >); জেই [jēi] *immediately, as soon as* < জাই, বাই < jāi > (yadā hi). This sort of change of < āi > to [ei] is rather exceptional. In a few words we have [ei] through Vowel-Harmony: e.g.,

দিব্বাই [diei] *immediately on giving* < দিয়াই < diāi > (diā + [h]i); বেই [bei] *father of son-in-law or daughter-in-law* < ব্যাই [bæi], both occurring side by side with বয়াই [beai] < বয়াই [bēiai] (vāivāhika); etc.

In some onomatopoeics : ধেইধেই [dʰei dʰei] = *sound of wild romping*. In foreign words, occasionally the English [ei] is represented by [ei], rather than the normal [e]: e.g., চেইন [tʃein] *chain*, ট্রেইন [tʃrein] *train*, but more commonly in the Standard Colloquial [tʃe:n, tʃre:n], etc.

210. Bengali [ea], written এয়া, from MB. [ea, eā, eia]: বয়াই [beai] (vāivāhika), কেয়া [kea] (kētaka-), etc.

Also from [ia], through lowering of the [i] to [e]: e.g., নেয়াই [neai] (\*nidhāpikā).

MB. [eā] optionally becomes [ea] in NB.: নেয়া [nea] = নেওয়া [neōa] *to take*; খেয়া [khea] *ferry* (kṣēpa-); etc.

The [e] in [ea] is, so far as the *tbh.* forms are concerned, essentially a glide sound. Skt. < -yā- > in the middle of a word, when not after a consonant, becomes [ĕa] e.g., দয়া [dōĕa], মায়্যা [māĕa], ছায়া [tʃhāĕa]; etc.

[ea] is found in foreign words also: পেঁয়াজ [pēāj] *onion* < Persian < pyāz >; চেয়ার [tʃear] = English *chair*, etc.

211. Bengali [eo] written এও, এয়ো. This is a recent diphthong, mostly through contraction of MB. < āi(h)ā, āuā > by Umlaut: e.g., এও [eo] *a woman whose husband is living* (āihā, avidhavā); যেও [jēo] *you will go* (jāihā); বেও [gʰeo] (ghā-uā *mangy, with wounds* = ghā < ghāta + uā); গেও [gēo] (gā-uā) *rustic*; etc.

212. Bengali [eu] = এউ, এয়ু.

From OB. < -ewu-, -ēhu- >: নেউল [deul] (dēvakula); নেউল [neul] (nakula); নেউর [neur] (nūpura); দেউ চেউ [dēu] [tʃeu]; কেউ [keu] *any one, some one* (\*kēvi? = kaḥ + api; or kēhu < \*kē khu = kaḥ khalu?); etc.

From OB. < ēwa, ēhā >, with following [i] vowel, through Vowel-Harmony: দেউড়ী [deuṛi] (cf. Skt. dēhali); Cf. রেউড়ী [reuṛi] *a sweet-meat* < Hind. < rēwṛī >; সেউ [ʃeu] *apple* < Hind. < sēw >.

From OB. < iwa >: † তেউড়ী [teuṛi] *oven* (tri-vṛt-); দেউটা [deuṛi] (dipa-varṭtikā); etc.



In খেউড় [kheuʃ] *poetical 'flitting' > abuse* (MB. খেড় khēru < khēla?), বেউড় [beuʃ] *a thin bamboo* (cf. MIA. vēu, Skt. vēṇu), we have probably instances of [eu] in NB. through epenthesis.

*Sls.* নেউগী [neugi] (< niyōgī) *a surname*, is through lowering of [i] to [e] through influence of [o], and the [o] itself later became [u] through the presence of [i] in the following syllable.

[eu] is found in onomatopoeic forms: বেউ বেউ [gʃieu gʃieu] *bow-wow*, কেউ কেউ [kēu kēu] *whining of a dog*, ফেউ [pheu] *jungle dog* (cf. Late Skt. < phēru >: loss of < -r- > in Bengali?), হেউ [heu] *sound of belching*, etc.

213. Bengali [æe], written এয়, অয়, ঙয়.

From OB. < ēi > ēy >, through Vowel-Harmony: দেয় [dæe] (dēi), নেয় [næe] (nēi).

From OB. [īae] > MB. [sæš], in *ts.* roots: ধায় [dʃīæe], লম্ব. ধয়য় [dʃīsæš], OB. \*[dʃīīae] (dhyāyati).

From MB. < ēā, ēīā >: see p. 412, under [æ].

Hindōstānī < ai > = [ɛ:, æ, æš, aš] becomes [æ, æe] in NB., in borrowed forms: e.g., ব্যায়সা কে তায়সা [ʃʃæesa ke tæesa] (= jaisā kē taisā).

214. Bengali [æo], written এও, occasionally ঙও, comes from eMB. [eō, eio] followed by [ɔ, a] in the next syllable: e.g., তেওড়া [tæoɔɔ], MB. [teōɔɔ] *crumpled* (\*tēvaḍa-, trivṛta-); কেওড়া [kæoɔɔ] (kēvaḍa-, kētaka + ḍa); শেওলা [ʃæola] (\*šēvāla, śāivāla); বেওরা [bæora] *affair* (\*bēvāra-, \*viāvāra-, vyāpāra); নেওটো [næoɔto], MB. [neio:ɔa] (snēhavṛtta-); etc. MB. দেহ, নেহ < dēhā, nēhā > *give, take* become in NB. দেও, নেও [dæo, næo], which are frequently heard, beside the more common দাও, নাও [dao, nao] through influence of খাও, যাও [khao, ʃʃao] etc.

[æo] is found in onomatopoeics: ম্যাও [mæo] *mew of a tom-cat*.

215. Bengali [ai], written আই, আয়ি, আরী, যাই, etc.

From OIA. group of < ā > or < ä > + consonant + < i, ɾ, -ikā- -ati > etc. > lMIA. < āi, -āia, -āmi, āwi, -āhia > etc. > OB., MB. < āi, āi, āwi, āhi, āhi >, etc. See pp. 308, 309, 310. E.g., আই, আরী [ai] *grandmother* (ayyia, āryikā); ভাই [bʃai] (bhrātṛ); গাই [gai] (gāvi); কাঁসাই [kāʃai] *name of a river* (Kaṅsāvati); MB. চাঁপাই [čʃāpai] *name of a city* (Campāvati); পাই [pai] *piece, fourth of an anna* (pādikā); রাই [rai], eMB. রাহী [rahi]

(*rādhiikā*); †বাইর [bair], beside বার, বের [ba:r, be:r] (MIA. *bābiram*, OIA. *bahiṣ*); নাই [nai] (*nābhi*); রাই [rai] (*rājikā*); সাই [sai] (*svāmi*); শাই [šai] (*\*śāmika*, *śamī*); গাই [gai] (*grāmika*); কাই [kai] (*tamarind* (? : cf. Oṛiyā *kāyā green tamarind*); etc. The suffix আই [ai], as in বড়াই [boṛai] *boast* < বড় [boṛo] *great*, বাচাই [baçai] *enquiry* < বাচ [baç] *demand*, will come under this: see below, *Morphology*: 'Formative Affixes.' So [ai] as the affix for the verb first person present tense: খাই [khai] (*khādāmi*), যাই [jai] (*yāmi*), পাই [pai] (*\*prāpāmi = prāpnōmi*), চলাই [çlai] (*\*calāpayāmi*), খাওয়াই [khaçai] (*\*khādāpayāmi*), etc. In a few cases, NB. [ai] probably represents the Māgadhī Ap. nominative forms in < -i > < Māgadhī Prakrit < -ē > < OIA. < -aḥ, -am > : e.g., ঠাই [ṭhai] (*\*ṭhāwi*, *\*ṭhāmē*, *sthāman*); ছাই [çhai] (*\*chāri*, *\*chārē*, *kṣāraḥ* >, with loss of < -r- > in Bengali?).

[ai] also comes from OB. < āu > in train of MB. epenthesis: e.g., বাই [bai] *fad*, 'humor' (*vāyu*); sts. অপ্রাই [oṛpai] (*alpāyuṣ*); আইবুড় [aibuṛo] *bachelor*, *maid* < *young person who will live long* (*āyur + vṛddha*); etc. It is possibly found in the affix আই [ai] in names = < āyuṣ > : e.g., বলাই [bolai] for বলরাম < *bālārām* >, দনাই [donai] for জনার্দন < *jānārdan* >, নিমাই [nimai] < নিম < *nim* >, *bitter as neem* (name to avoid the evil eye); etc.

In onomatopoeies: সাইসাই [sai sai] *whistling sound as of wind*, পাইপাই [pai pai] *rushing sound as of a swift runner*, বাইবাই [bai bai] *sound as of a top or wheel*, etc.

[ai] is found in foreign words as well: see later.

216. Bengali [ae], written আয়, আয়ে.

[ae] in verb forms is derived from OB. < āi >, 3rd person present of verbs in < -ā > : e.g., খায় [khae], যায় [jai], ধায় [dhae] (*dhāvati*), MB. খায় [bae] *plays* (*vādayati*), etc.; from OB. < āwāi >, 3rd person present of causatives: করায় [koraē] (*\*karāwāi*, *\*kāārāpayati*), etc.; and also from OB. < -āhaī >, MB. আহে < -āhē > : বায় [baē] (*bāhē*, *vāhayati*), গায় [gae] (*gāhē*, *\*gāthayati* < *gāthā*); etc.

It occurs in the instrumental-locative of nouns in < -ā > = OB. < -ā-ē > : ঝোড়ায় [gfiṛae] = OB. < \*ghōṛāē > (*ghōṛaka + -ēna*); পায় [pae] (*pādēna*); বায় as in এক বায় [æk gfiæ] *with one blow* (*ghāta*); নায়, নারে [nae] *by boat* (*nāvēna*); etc., etc.



In a few words, OB. < āya > gives [ae] in NB., through change of the euphonic < ŷ > + < ä > to < e >: বায় [bae] *wind, breeze* (vāta); গায়ের [j̄aer] (sāyara, sāgara), etc. (see p. 342). Cf. মায় [j̄ae] *end* (? OIA. = sāyam *end of the day, evening*); cf. also মশায় [moj̄ae] *Sir* (mahāsaya > \*māśāyā, māśāyā); etc.

### 217. Bengali [ao], written আও.

[ao] originates from OIA. < ā + consonant + ä > (MIA. ā > a) >, resulting in OB. < āhā, āwa >: e.g., imperative forms খাও, খাও, গাও [khaō, j̄gao, gao] (khāhā, jāhā, gāhaha = khādat(h)a, yāt(h)a, \*gāthayat(h)a); MB. বাও, মাও, গাও, ছাও [bao, mao, gao, ḡhao] (vāta, mātā, gātra, śāba); NB. বাওলা [baola] *to fan, to winnow* (vāta-); থাওকা > থাওকো [thaoka > -ko] *detached amount, lump sum, cash* (\*sthāwukka- < \*sthāpa-); আওড়া [aōra] *repeat* (ā-vrt); আওটা [aōṭa] *stir milk etc.* (āvarta-); etc.

In দাও নাও [dao, nao], imperative forms, eMB. দেহ, নেহ < dēhā, nēhā >, we have change from MIA. < ehā > through [æo] to [ao]. See § 214. So কাওড়া [kaōra] *a castle* from < kēvatṭa >: cf. কেওট [kəōṭ].

In the Calcutta 'Cockney' ছাওরা [ḡhaoṛa] (chāyā + -ḡa-), we have [ao] from the euphonic glide.

### 218. Bengali [au], written আউ.

From OB. < āwu > < MIA. < āu > < OIA. < ā + consonant + u >; বাউল [baul] (vātula, vyākula); বাউ [j̄hau] (jhābuka); লাউ [lau] (alābu); MB. আউলা [aūla] (ākula-); MB. বাউ [bau] (vāyu); cf. বাউক, খাউক [j̄hauk, khauk] (yātu, khādatu), etc.

In eMB., this group, when not epenthetic, probably was pronounced as two syllables, with euphonic < w̄ > in between see pp. 310, 342, 345.

From OB. < āwa, āwa > by Vowel-Harmony, through influence of following < i >: ছাউনি [ḡhauṇi] (chādana + ikā), etc., etc.: see p. 398; আউনো বাউনো [āuni bāuni] < \*āmānī bādhānī < \*āmānī (āwānī) bādhānī > *harvest festival in the month of Pauṣa, when an earthen pot filled with new rice* (< āmānā = Skt. āmāna >, wrongly connected with < hēmanta > *autumn, to mean autumn rice is covered and tied up with rope of new straw* (< bādhānī, bādhunī > < < bandhānī >, changed to < bāuni > through contamination); etc., etc.

MB. [au] by epenthesis is changed to [ɑ, e] in NB. : see pp. 385-386. [au] occurs in onomatopoeitic doublets; হাউ হাউ [fiɑu fiɑu], হাঁউমাউ [fiɑu mɑu], etc. But cf. দাঁউ দাঁউ [dɑu dɑu] *the noise of a raging fire* (\*dāwa dāwa, < dāva, dāvānala).

In foreign words : see below.

219. Bengali [œ], written অয়, অএ, অয়ে.

OB. < -awāi, ahaī > in verbs > MB. < āē, āhē > > NB. [œ] : হয় [fiœ] *is* (\*ahaī, \*as-a-ti); সয় [ʃœ] (\*sahati=sahatē); কর [kœ] (kathayati); বয় [bœ] (vahati). In MB., OB. < -aī > optionally occurs as < āē > = [œ] : করএ, করয়ে, করয় [kœrœ] (karaī, karōti); cf. নয় < নহয়, নহয়ে, নহএ [nœ < nofiœ] *is not* (na + \*ahaī). MB. medial < ā(h)ē > becomes the diphthong [œ]; e.g., *ts.* name মহেশ [mœʃœʃ], in contempt ময়শা [mœʃœʃɑ]; বয়ড়া [bœʃœʃɑ] (MIA. bahēḍaa = vibhītaka).

OB. < aī, ahi > in some words is found as [œ] : ময়লা [mœlɑ] (MIA. mailla-); পয়লা [pœlɑ] (pahila-, MIA. pahilla); সয়লা [ʃœlɑ] *friend (among girls or women)* (sahī < sakhī + illa); ভয়সা, ভয়সা [bfiœʃɑ, bhœʃɑ] *belonging to a buffalo, or buffalo's milk* (\*mbahīṣa mahīṣa, mahiṣa); পয়সা [pœʃɑ] (paīsā, pāda-); খয়সা [khiœʃɑ] *catechu-coloured* (khaīra-, khadira-); etc.

From MIA. < aya, aña > aña > through < samprasāraṇa > : ছয় [ʧfiœ] *six* (chaṣa = Early MIA. \*cha + ka); নয় [nœ] *nine* (naṣa-, naa, nava); পয় [pœ] as in the numerals for 35, 45, 65 (paña-, paña-, paña-); ময়রা [mœrɑ] *confectioner* (madaka-ra-), etc.

OB. < ōī > becomes [œ] in কয়লা [kœlɑ] *coal* (< kōkila- *cuckoo*). In গয়লা [gœlɑ] *milkman*, as in the Calcutta dialect, we have these stages presumably : < gōpāla- > > < gōālā >, < \*gōālā, \*gōy'lā > > [gœlɑ] : there was also the influence of forms like কয়লা, ময়লা and ময়রা.

Skt. < āyā > in *ts.* becomes [œ] : জয় [ʃiœ], ভয় [bfiœ], আলয় [ɑlœ], বয়স [bœʃœʃ, bœʃœʃ], etc.

In the Standard Colloquial, [œ] generally is contracted to [ɔ], in original disyllables with [ɔ] + [e] + consonant in the second syllable : e.g., the honorific verb forms in < -en > : লয়েন > ল'ন [lœn > lɔ:n], হয়েন > হন [fiœn > fiɔ:n]; বয়স = বএস > \*ব'স [bœʃ > bɔʃ]; etc.

[œ] is found in foreign loan words : see later.



220. Bengali [ɔa] is found through loss of glide [ð, ð̃], or [ʃi] : e.g., কহা, কওয়া > কআ [kɔfiə, kɔðə > kɔə] *spoken*; হওয়া, হআ [ɦɔðə > ɦɔə] *been*; rarely গয়ালী > গআলী [gɔʎali > gɔali] *Brāhman from Gayā*; etc.

221. Bengali [oo], written অও, occasionally অহ, অহে, comes mainly from OB. < -āwa, -aha > : e.g., হও [ɦoo] *you be* (hāhā, \*as-a-tha); নও [noo] *you are not* (nāhā, na + \*as-a-tha); কও [koo] (kāhāhā, kathayatha); নওলা [noola] *card of nine* (nāwa-la-); দওলা [doola] *card of ten* (daha-lā, daśa-la); চওড়া [ç̣ooɽa] *broad* (\*cawāḍā < catur *four*); মহড়া, মওড়া [mooɽa] *brunt of attack* (maharā = muha-ḍa-); etc.

In Persian loan-words, [oo] is sometimes found: see below.

222. Bengali [oi], written ঐ, অই, ওই, অয়ি, অয়ী.

[oi] comes mainly from MB. < āi > [ɔi, oi], MB. < āi, āhi > < OB. < āyi, ahi > < MIA. < ai, ahi > < OIA. < a > + consonant + < i > : পইতে < পইতা [poite < poita] (pavitra-); ছই [ç̣hoi] (chadis); দই [doi] (dadhi); সই [ʃoi] (sakhi-); etc. See pp. 308, 309, 384-389.

From OB. < aṅai, aṅai > > MB. < āi, -āi > : কই [koi] *a fish* (kavayī); চই [ç̣oi] (cavayī) : see pp. 347ff. So OB. < \*ahī < \*ahīwī, \*ahamī > gives the NB. [oi] : সই [ʃoi] (\*sahimi = sahāmi); বই [boi] (\*bahimi = vahāmi), হই [ɦoi] (\*ahīwī < \*ahamī = \*as-ā-mi = as-mi), etc. See p. 351.

OB. < aṅu >, ultimately from OIA. < a > + consonant + < u >, or from Skt. < āu > in *ts.* words, became < āi > in MB., after epenthesis. This < āi > of MB. is normally contracted to [o] in the NB. Standard Colloquial, but we have instances of [oi] as well: e.g., চৈপের দিন [ç̣oipor din] *all the day long* (see p. 385); etc.

In *ts.* words, ঐ < āi > becomes [oi] : তৈল [toilo], দৈন্ত [doinno], বৈরী [boiri], চৈতন্য [ç̣oitonno], *sts.* চৈতন [ç̣oiton], etc. Old *stss.* like তইল, শইল are sometimes pronounced as disyllabics, [to-il, ʃo-il], the second syllable being emphasised by the final consonant; but the diphthongal monosyllabic [toil, ʃoil] are heard, beside the *stss.* [toilo, ʃoil], etc.

Sanskrit अयि, अयी < āyi, āyī >, especially in final positions, are pronounced [oi], and written occasionally as ঐ, অই: e.g., দয়াময়ী [doçamoi], occasionally found as দয়ামই; কৈকেয়ী [koikei] is vulgarly pronounced as [koikoi]; and there are cases of Skt. < āu > being changed to < āi > = [oi] in some *ts.*,

following the analogy of change of epenthetic «*āu*» to «*āi*» in MB.: e.g., in folk-Bengali we have সৈরভ [ʃoirɔb(f)], জৈবন [ʃʃoibɔn], and even দৈবারিক [doibarik] = «*sāurabha, yāuvana, dāuvārika*».

[oi] is found in onomatopoeics; ঢেঁঢেঁ [ʃʃoi ʃʃoi], used in calling ducks to feed them; পইপই [poi poi] in the sense of repeatedly (= <padē padē?); হৈ হৈ [fioi fioi] *shout and noise*, etc.

[oi] occurs in foreign words: e.g., সই [ʃoi] *signature, genuine* (Perso-Arabic «*ṣaḥīḥ*», Persian [sahi:h] < Arabic [saḥi:h-]). See *infra*.

223. Bengali [oe], written ওয়, ওয়ে, অয়, অয়ে, অ'য়ে, etc., is derived primarily from MB. «*ōē, ōhē*», as well as MB. «*uhē, uē*» by Vowel Harmony, as in verb forms of the 3rd person: e.g., দৌয় < দৌহে < দুহে < দুহই [doe < dohe < duhe < duhɔi] (\*duhati=dōgdhi); শোয় < শোএ [ʃoe < ʃoē] (suvaī, svapīti); রোয় [roe] (rōpayati); ছোয় [ʃhōe] (chuvaī = spr̥sati), etc.

It is also derived from an earlier MB. group «*āiā, āhiā*»; e.g., হ'য়ে [hioe] (< [hois, hōciā, hōia]) *having been*; so স'য়ে [ʃoe] *having suffered* < সহিয়া «*sāhiā*»; etc.

In an extremely lax pronunciation in Calcutta, পনের [ponero] 15 becomes [pōero] (and even [pōōro]).

[oe] is found in foreign words, mainly English: see below.

224. Bengali [oa], written ওয়া, ওহা, comes from OB. groups like «*awā, ōwā, uwā, ōhā*», going back to various OIA. combinations with an intervocal consonant. The [oa] diphthong is frequently contracted to [a] in the NB. speech. The [o] in this group is essentially a glide sound so far as NB. is concerned, and [oa] of course is not much different from «*wā*» [wa], only that the quality of the first element is very open. Examples: eMB. রাখোআল [rakhoāal] > NB. রাখাল [rakhal] *herdsman* (rakṣāpāla); কোটোআল, কোটাল [koṭoal, koṭal] (koṭṭa-pāla); জোয়াল [ʃʃoal] *yoke* (yōga + āla); ওয়ার [oar] *damage, destroy* (apakāra); ওয়াড় [oar] *pillow-case* (\*ōhārha, ōhaḍha = avavēṣṭa); গোয়াল [goal] (gōpāla-); গোহাল > গোয়াল [goḥal > goal] (gōsālā); বারোয়ারী [baroari] («*bārā*» = *court, gate* + «*uārī*» *pavilion, public festival in a decorated bamboo pavilion*—wrongly derived



from Indian বার < bārā > 12 + ইয়ার < iyārā > friend < Pers. < yār >); পোয়া [poa] a quarter (MIA. \*pōa-, \*pāwa- = pāda-); খোয়া [khōa] brick-bat, broken bit (< kṣaya-?); মোয়া [moa] (mōdaka-); etc.

In দেওয়া, নেওয়া > দোয়া, নোয়া [deōa, neōa > doa, noa] to give, to take, we have change of [eōa], to [oa] through [\*eoa, \*aoa]. See pp. 421, 423.

In some old *ts.* and *sts.* words in MB., Skt. < -vā, -vā > after a vowel or a consonant appeared as [oa], which is preserved in NB.: MB. আওয়াস [aoa] (āvāsa); আশোয়াস [aōa] (āśvāsa); সোয়াপ, সোয়াতি [śoath, śoasti] (svasti), besides [śōsti, śōsti]; সোয়ামী [śoami] (svāmī); দোয়াদশ, -শী [doadoś, doadośī] (dvādaśa, -śī), etc. This [ōa] also has become [o] in NB.: see p. 403.

[oa] occurs in foreign words, for < wā >.

225. Bengali [ou], written ও, অউ, ওউ, অয়, অয়, etc. This diphthong originates from MB. < āu, ā-u, āhu > < OB. < au, aū, ahu > < MIA. < aü, ahu > < OIA. < ā > + consonant + < u >: জৌ [jōu] (catur-); জৌ [jōu] (jatu); etc. See pp. 310, 344.

OB. < ahaü, aū > gave in LMB. [ou], which is commonly contracted to [o] in NB.: ক'ক, কোক [kok] let him talk < কউক, কহক < kāk, kākuk >; ব'ক [bo:k] < বউক, বহক < bāk, bākuk > let him bear; etc.

In পোনে [poune] less by one-fourth, ¾ths, from < pādōna >, we have [ou] from OB. < \*awō >, MIA. < aō >, through influence of a following < i > (pādōna- < pādōṇa, pādōṇa-; pādōṇ-iā > pādōṇē). In দৌড় [dour], MB. কোড়ী [kourī], we have [ou] from LMIA. [ava]: see p. 348.

< āu > of Sanskrit becomes [ou] in *ts.*: ওষ [ouśod(fi)], দৌরভ [śou-rob(fi)], ঘোবন [śouobn], গৌরব [gourōb], etc. In OB., ও < āu > became অউ < a-ü > [Dōu] in *sts.*, e.g., গউড়, মউন < gaurā, māunā >. These sometimes retain a disyllabic character in NB. [go-ur, mo-un], but a monosyllabic pronunciation [gour, mouñ] is heard as well. (See the parallel case of [oi] from < āi >.)

In the *sts.* মউর [mour], we have [ou] from Skt. < -ayū- > (mayūra).

[ou] occurs in Persian and other borrowings, and is also found in early 19th century borrowings from English: e.g., কৌশলি [kōuśuli] = counsel. See later, under 'Foreign Elements.'

**226.** Bengali [ui], written উই, উয়ি, etc.

It comes from OB. « uwi, uwi, uhi, uhi, ūhi », in verb forms, and in nouns, representing contractions and modifications of various OIA. groups: e.g., দুই [dui] (\*duwi, duvē, dvē); দুই [dui] *I milk* (\*duhi, \*dubi, \*duhiwi, \*duhami, duhāmi); জুই [ʃʒi] (jūhi, yūthikā); পুই [pui] (pūtikā); etc. সূই [ʃui], dialectal, seems to be from Hindōstāni « sūi » (sūci, sūcikā).

From OB. « ōwi, ōhi », coming from various OIA. groups, through influence of the following « i »: e.g., ধুই [dʒui] *I wash* (√dhō); রুই [rui] *I plant* (rōpayāmi); কুই [kui] *carp-fish* (rōhita); † জুই [ʃʒi] *fire* (jyōtis, \*jōi); মূই [mui] *I bend* (\*nōwi, namāmi); etc. লুই [lui] *woollen stuff* is from Hind. « lōi » (< lōma + ikā ?).

OB. « aī, aī, awi awi » gave « oi » > [ui] in NB.; see under Vowel-Harmony, p. 398. Similar in nature is the change of « \*tvay-ēna, \*may-ēna » > OB. « tai, mai » > NB. তুই, মূই [tui, mui].

[ui] occurs in foreign words, mostly English. Cf. also কুইতন [ruiton] *diamonds (in cards)* < Dutch « ruiten ».

**227.** Bengali [ue], written উয়ে. This has not wholly passed into the monosyllabic stage. It commonly originates through vowel mutation from « uiā, ōiā » of MB.: উইয়া « ūiā » (from \*শোইয়া « šoiā ») gives উয়ে [ʃue] *having lain down*; ধুইয়া « dhuiā » (< \*dhōiā) becomes ধুয়ে [dʒue] *having washed*.

MB. « uhē » gives [ue]: মুয়ে [mue] *in the face* (muhē < muha, mukha).

In rapid speech, original (MB.) « uiē » becomes [ue]: দুইয়ে « duiē » *with two* becomes দুয়ে [due]. Standard Colloquial [uiē] from earlier Bengali « u + ai + ā » in causatives (see p. 394) does not, however, contract to [ue].

**228.** Bengali [ua], written উয়া, উয়, is a diphthong properly belonging to the literary language, that is, to MB. It is found in East Bengali to some extent. In the Standard Colloquial, it is normally mutated to [o], through the stage [uo] resulting from Vowel-Harmony: e.g., শূয়ার [ʃuar] > শূয়, শোর [ʃuor, ʃor] (sūkara); জলুয়া [ʃʒolua] > জলো [ʃʒolo]. See ante, p. 413.



[ua] frequently changes to [oa] : চুহাড়, চুয়াড় [çʰuɦar, çʰuar] > চোহাড়, চোয়াড় [çʰo(ɦ)ar] a ruffian (see p. 71); দোহার দোয়ার [do(ɦ)ar] singer in chorus (< dhrūva-kāra); etc. See p. 401, *supra*.

[ua] figures in onomatopoeics : হুয়া হুয়া [ɦua ɦua] the cry of the jackal.

229. Bengali [uo], written উও, উয়ো, is a NB. formation from [ua] above by Vowel-Harmony; and [uo], as noted before, tends to become [o] in the Standard Colloquial : e.g., জুও, জুয়ো, জো [ʃt̪uo, ʃt̪o:] < জুআ, জুয়া [ʃt̪ua] (dyūta-); কুও, কুয়ো, কো [kuo, ko:] < কুয়া, কুআ [kua] (kūpa-); ধুও, ধুয়ো, ধো [dɦuo, dɦo:] < ধুয়া [dɦua] refrain (dhrūva-); ছুওর, ছুয়োর, দোর [duor, do:r] < ছুয়ার [duar] (\*duvāra, dvāra); ধুয়োক [dɦuok] < ধুয়াক [dɦuak] < ধুয়াউক < dɦuāk > let him cause to wash; etc.

230. The double vowels ইই [ii], এএ [ee], আআ [aa], ওও [oo] and উউ [uu], the second occurrence being pronounced as a distinct syllable, are found in New Bengali, and are the results of a similar dropping of intervening < h > or glide, and of Mutation and Vowel-Harmony : e.g., দিই [dii], also in a simplified form দি [di] I give; খেয়ে, pronounced [khee] also [kheɛe] having eaten; খাআ [khaa] beside খাওরা [khaɔra] eaten, to eat; ধোও [dɦoo, dɦoɔ] you wash < MB. ধোঅ [dɦoo:] (dhāvata); [uu] is rather rare: an example is in the onomatopoeic কুউ [kuu] the cry of the cuckoo, which is found side by side with কুহ [kuɦu].

231. The following triphthongal and tetraphthongal groups are found in the NB. Standard Colloquial : [iei, ieo, iae, eie, eio, eao, eoi, euo, æei, æoi, aie, aio, aei, aoi, ani, æei, æoi, æeo, oie, oei, oeo, oai, oae, oui, uie, uio, uei, ueo, uae, uao, uoe] and [eoi, eoæ, aoi, aoæ, oio]. The < sādhu-bhāṣā > has the groups [oioio, oioio], which are really three syllables [oɔ-ai-o, oɔ-ai-o]. They can be traced to three or more syllables in MB. and OB., separated by < -h- > or < ʃ, w >. In all cases their derivation is clear, and they need not be taken up for detailed study.

### [I] VOWELS IN SANSKRIT WORDS.

232. Enough has been said incidentally about the way in which Skt. vowels are pronounced in Bengali. These always conform to the speech

habits of the various Bengali dialects. In the Standard Colloquial area they take up the following sounds, even in reading or chanting a Sanskrit passage :

« ä » is pronounced as [a], and as [o] when the next syllable has « i » or « u », or has « y » preceded by a consonant.

« ā, i, l, u, ū » remain ; « ř, ř, l » become [ri, ri:, li]. « ē, ō » remain as in Sanskrit, i.e., as [e:, o:] ; and initial [e:] as a rule is not pronounced as [æ].

« āi, āu » became [oi, ou].

The [æ] sound is given to post-consonantal « -yā », and often to « -yā ». In East Bengali pronunciation, there is epenthesis in connection with post-consonantal « -y- ».

The vowels are nasalised when they are preceded by a post-consonantal « -m- ».

Below are given transcriptions, of the first two verses of the ' Mēgha-dūta,' (i) in the current pronunciation of the Standard Colloquial area and (ii) in a sort of Typical or Common East Bengali articulation.

- (i) [kəʃt̪it̪ kən:tɑ:birəʃiəgʊrʊnɑ: ʃ:a:dʃika:rəp:rəmət:əh  
ʃ:a:p:nɑ:stəŋgəmitəməʃima: bəʃəbʃiəg:e:nə bʃiortuh (vortuh) |  
ʃʒok:həʃʃək:re: ʃʒənəkətənəə:snɑ:nəpʊn:o:dəke:ʃu  
snigdʃiə:ʃhəə:toruʃu bəʃətiŋ rɑ:məgiriʃʒəs:rəme:ʃu || 1 ||

toʃ:in:əd:rou kotieʃidəbəla: bip:roʃʒuktəʃ:ə kɑ:mi:  
nit:ɑ: mɑ:ʃɑ:n kənəkəbələəb:fiŋʃəriktəp:roko:ʃt̪əh |  
ɑ:ʃɑ:ʃiəʃ:ə p:rothəmədibəʃe: me:gʃiəmas:liʃt̪əʃɑ:nʊŋ  
bəp:rək:ri:rɑ: porinətəgəʃʒəp:rek:həni:əŋ dədərʃə || 2 || ]

- (ii) [kəʃtsit̪ kən:tɑ:birəʃiəgʊrʊnɑ: ʃ:a:d(ʃi)ika:rəp:rəmət:əh  
ʃ:a:p:nɑ:stəŋgəmitəməʃima: bəʃəb(ʃi)əʃg:e:nə b(ʃi)ərtuh |  
dzəʃk:həʃ tʃək:re: dzənəkətənəə:snɑ:nəpʊn:o:dəke:ʃu  
snigd(ʃi)əs:ɑ:ə: toruʃu bəʃətiŋ rɑ:məgirdʒas:rəme:ʃu || 1 ||



təʃ:in: əd:rou kətitsidəbəla: bip:rədzuktəʃ:ə ka:mi:  
 nit:a: ma:ʃa:n kənəkəbələəb:(h)əɾəŋʃəriktəp:rəkəʃt̪həh |  
 a:ʃa:r(h)əiʃ:ə p:rəthəmədibəʃe: me:g(h)əmas:liʃt̪əʃa:nun  
 bəp:rək:ri:ra:porinətəgədzəp:reʃ:k:həni:əŋ dədərʃə || 2 || ]

233. The vernacular Bengali habits of mutation and vowel harmony, bimorism and anaptyxis, haplology and metathesis, and dropping and assimilation of consonants strive to have their way with *ts.* importations, and in the speech of the women and children and the uneducated, they refuse to be restrained by the influence of the classical tongue. The result is that in Bengali, in addition to the more correct approximations to the Sanskrit (according to the Bengali standard), there are folk-forms or *semi-tatsamas* widely aberrated from the Sanskrit. These *semi-tatsamas* often require to be spelt phonetically, so far they are removed from the Sanskrit; and with the present-day insistence on verisimilitude in literature, they are being recognised once more (as they always were in Middle Bengali times), and are being employed more and more in the novel and the drama. Some examples of folk forms have been given above, pp. 381, 382, 406. Some more are given below, but it is not worth while to illustrate the line of development from eMB. pronunciation of *ts.*: ব্যাগড়া [bægotta] *eager prayer* (\*beāgārtā = vyāgratā); সোমত্ত [ʃomotto] *grown-up* (samartha); চন্দ্রামেত্ত, -মের্ত্ত [çənnametto, -merto] *holy water off an idol* (caraṇāmṛta); বাঙ্গশ [baŋŋəŋʃə] *hobby* (vāyvaṇśa); পাদোকজল [padokʃt̪ol] *washings of the feet of a revered person, treated as holy water* (pādōdaka-jala); স্বস্তেন [ʃosten] *an expiatory and benedictory ceremony* (svastayana); মার্গি [magg̃i] *costly* (\*māārg̃hīā, mahārg̃hya); অগ্রাণ, অগ্ৰাণ [əgghran, əgghan] (agrabhāyaṇa); জটি [ʃt̪əʃt̪i] (jyāiṣṭha); ছুরিত্তির [çhurittir] (śrōtriya); হুমান্ [ɦunumən] (hanūmān); চক্কত্তী [çək̃kott̪i] *a surname* (cakravart̪i); বোস [bo:ʃ] *a surname* (vasu); মঞ্জুরী [monʃt̪uri] (mañjari); অঞ্জলি [onʃt̪uli] (añjali); অপ্ৰাজিতে [əpraʃt̪ite] *a flower* (aparājitā); 'হস্ব-দীগ্বি' [ɦoʃt̪idigg̃ɦi] *sense of propriety* (hrasva-dīrgha); ভট্টচার্যি [bɦoʃt̪əçārỹi] (bhaṭṭācārya); কেত্তন [kett̪on] (kīrt̪tana);

নেতা [netto] (nṛtya); কদ্যবি [koduḷḷi] (kadarya); মোহসব [mohṣob] (mahōtsava); etc., etc.

234. The general lines of development of the vowels in Bengali on the basis of the Standard Colloquial have been sought to be traced above. A study of the phonology of the different dialects of Bengali has not been possible. Only some general remarks have been made—*e.g.*, about the East Bengali and North Bengali dialects being conservative in their vowel system, preserving a great deal of the MB. conditions of epenthesis and absence of mutation. For a thorough and detailed study of the development of Bengali, it will be necessary to compare the dialects. A survey of the phonetics and phonology of each special variation of Bengali will be the material indispensable for such a study. Intimate personal acquaintance with the dialects concerned, joined to a scientific training, is the qualification necessary for such work. But that is wanting at the present day. The specimens in the LSI. are invaluable, and articles in the VSPdP. and other Bengali journals on the dialects of Bengali are also very valuable material: but these have their limitations, specially from point of view of phonetics and phonology. The historical study of the Bengali dialects in their *ensemble* is therefore to be left for the future.



## CHAPTER V

### PHONOLOGY OF THE NATIVE ELEMENT: CONSONANTS

#### [A] OIA. CONSONANTS: GENERAL LINES OF CHANGE TO BENGALI.

235. The history of the consonant sounds of IA. in its general outline has been given in Chapter I. The main points in the development of the OIA. consonants into those of (Old) Bengali may be recapitulated: examples will be found under each sound in indicating the origins of the Bengali consonants, *infra*.

#### [I] SINGLE CONSONANTS.

(1) Single *initial* consonants have generally remained unchanged. There have been, however, some cases of aspiration and desaspiration of stops, of change of a sibilant to a palatal < c(h) >, and of < bh- > to < h- > (see *infra*, under 'Aspiration', and under Bengali [çh] and [h] respectively); OIA. < y- > and < v- > have changed to < j- > and < b- >, and < r- > is found as < l, l > n > and also as < r >.

#### (2) Single *intervocal* consonants:

[a] the stops < -k-, -g-, -t-, -d-, -p-, -b-, -y-, -v- > have been dropped; < -ṭ-, -ḍ- > have been reduced to < -ṛ- >; and in a number of Māgadhī inheritances, < -ṛt- (-rt-) > have resulted in < ṛ (ṛ) > as well; intervocal < -c-, -j- > both remain as < -c-, -j- > (in original Māgadhī words), or are dropped (in non-Māgadhī forms).

[b] the aspirates < -kh-, -gh-, -th-, -dh-, -ph-, -bh- > have been reduced to < -h- >; < -ṭh-, -ḍh- > occur as < -ṛh- >, in IMB. and NB. desaspirated to < -ṛ- >.

[c] < -m- > has become a mere nasalisation of contiguous vowels, through an intermediate stage of < -ṃ- >; < -ṇ-, -n- > probably both occurred as the cerebral < -ṇ- >, to be changed to the dental < -n- > in MB.

[d] an intervocal sibilant has transformed itself to < -h- >, in some cases, besides normally occurring as < ś >.

[e] < -r-, -l- > interchange a little ; < -h- > remained in OB., generally, to be lost in NB. (whether original OIA., or MIA. < -h- > derived from OIA. aspirates).

## [II] CONSONANTAL GROUPS.

These, initial or medial, have been reduced to a single consonant in Bengali, after having undergone assimilation in the Early MIA. stage. The following were the main lines of treatment.

(1) [a] Stop+stop became a single stop ; stop+aspirate became a single aspirate. Where the first of these sounds differed in its point of articulation from the second, the first assimilated itself to the second in the MIA. (kt > tt, gdh > ddh, tk > kk, etc.) This kind of consonant nexus occurred medially only.

[b] Stop+nasal : < -kn-, -tn- > became < -k-, -t- > ; < -gn- > became < -g-, -ṅ(g)- > ; < -jñ- > became < -n- > ; < dn > had already become < nn > in OIA., and this gave < -n- > in Bengali ; < -tm- > in < ātman > gave < -p- > (আপন < āpānṣ >—a non-Māgadhī form), and < -dm- > seems to have become < -d- >.

[c] Stop or aspirate + < y >.

(i) Gutturals, palatals, cerebrals and labials + < -y- > : the < -y- > was assimilated to the preceding consonant, which was doubled medially, in MIA. (but the genuine Māgadhī change seems to have been to < ki-, ḍiy- >, etc.). Bengali preserves a single stop or aspirate.

(ii) Dentals + < y > : the group became < -cc(h)-, -jj(h)- > medially, and < c-, (ch)-, j-, jh- > initially. Bengali preserves a single < c(h), j(h) >. [This palatalisation of < t(h), d(h) + y > seems not to have been characteristic of Old Māgadhī, which changed < ty, dy, dhy > to < tiy-, -yy- (diy ?), -dhiy- > : the palatalised forms, evidently from other dialects in Second or Late MIA., seem to have overwhelmed Māgadhī.]

[d] Stop or aspirate + < r >. The < r > was assimilated to the preceding sound, which was doubled in a medial position, in MIA. Bengali has one stop or aspirate. The group < -dr- > probably became < \*-dl- > in the



OIA. source dialect of Māgadhī, whence we have < -ll- > -l- > in a few words in NIA.

[e] Stop or aspirate + < l > : assimilation of < l >.

[f] Stop or aspirate + < v > : assimilation of < v >. (In the groups < -tv-, -dv-, -dhv- >, the resultant form in some cases is < -p-, -b-, -bh- > in NB., as in other MIA. : this labialisation is non-Māgadhī: see *infra*, under the Labials.)

[g] Stop + sibilant :

(i) < kṣ > gives < kh > (through the Māgadhī), < ch > (through extra-Māgadhī MIA. forms).

(ii) < ts, ps > became < cch > in MIA., whence < ch > in Bengali.

(2) [a] Nasal + stop or aspirate : for treatment in Bengali, see §177, pp. 362-367, *supra*.

[b] Nasal + nasal : the OIA. groups were < -ṇṇ-, -nn- > and < -mm- > : < -ṇṇ-, -nn- > occur as < n >, and < -mm- > as < -m- > in Bengali.

[c] Nasal (anusvāra) + < y, (r, l), v, ś, (ṣ), s, h > : see above, §177.

(3) < -yy- > gave < j > in Bengali.

(4) [a] < r > + stop or aspirate :

(i) < r > before a guttural, palatal, or labial : the latter was doubled and the < r > was assimilated. In Bengali, these assimilated groups result in a single guttural, palatal or labial stop or aspirate.

(ii) < r > + dental stop or aspirate of OIA. show a two-fold treatment : the < r > cerebralised and doubled the dental, and was so assimilated, or it simply doubled the dental without cerebralising it. The former is the proper Māgadhī treatment : the latter non-Māgadhī. Bengali has < -ṭ(h)-, -ṛ(h)- > in Māgadhī inheritances, and < -t(h)-, -d(h)- > in apparently non-Māgadhī forms.

[b] < r > + nasal : < -rṇ-, -rn- > were assimilated to < -ṇṇ- > in MIA., which gave < -n- > in Bengali, and < -rm- > gave < -mm- > < -m- >.

[c] < -ry- > : the Early MIA. (non-Māgadhī) assimilation was to < -yy- >, which gave Second MIA. < -jj- >, whence Bengali < -j- >. Cases of < -ry- > > \* < -yy- > > < -y- > are known in Old Bengali. The genuine

Māgadhī change was to < -liy- >, which is not preserved in Bengali, but < -ry- > also occurs as < -l- > in Bengali (through a stage < -ly- > -ll- >).

[d] < -rl- > > MIA. < -ll- > > Bengali < -l- >.

[e] < -rv- > is found as < -bb- > > < -b- >.

[f] < r > + sibilant : assimilation with the sibilant, which is doubled (-śś-, -ss- — -śś- in Māgadhī), and is reduced to a single sibilant pronounced < ś > in Bengali.

[g] < -rh- > became < -lh- > in Māgadhī, whence < l > in NB.

(5) [a] < -l- > + stop : assimilation of < l >, leading to single stop in Bengali.

[b] < -lm- >, gave through MIA. < -mm- >, < -m- > in Bengali.

[c] < -ly- > became < -yy- > in Old Māgadhī, whence ultimately < -j- > in Bengali. Examples showing the non-Māgadhī change of < -ly- > -ll- > -l- > also occur.

[d] < -ll- > > MIA. < -ll- > > Bengali < -l- >.

[e] < -lv- > > MIA. < -ll- > > Bengali < -l- >.

(6) < -vy- > > MIA. < -vv-, -bb- > > Bengali < -b- >. This is a non-Māgadhī change : the original Māgadhī alteration of < -vy- > was to < -viy- >, which is lost, and < -vy- > -vv-, -bb- > forms have become established.

(7) [a] Groups with sibilant + stop or aspirate : < śc, śk, ś(h), śp, sk(h), st(h), sp(h) > became initially an aspirate, medially a stop + its aspirate, in MIA. In Bengali we have a single aspirate.

[b] Sibilant + nasal :

< śṇ > MIA. ṇh > OB. ṇh > MB., NB. n > ;

< sn > MIA. nh > OB. n, nh (?) > NB. n > ;

< śm, śm, sm > MIA. ss (śś Māgadhī), mh > OB. s, mh(m) > NB. s, m >.

[c] Sibilant + < y > : normally, assimilated to double sibilant in MIA., whence Bengali single sibilant. There are cases of modification of this assimilated double sibilant to < h >, which are found in Bengali.

[d] Sibilant + < r, l, v > — assimilation of < r, l, v >, resulting in double sibilant > single sibilant pronounced < ś > in Bengali.

(8) < h > + nasal (hṇ, hn, hm) : this group underwent metathesis in MIA. (ṇh, nh, mh), and in Bengali, they have resulted in a simple nasal.



« hy » probably became « \*-hiy- » in Old Māgadhī. In other MIA. it became « -jjh- ». It is not represented in Bengali.

(9) « Visarga » + consonant simply doubled the latter, and Bengali has a single consonant representing the OIA. group.

Groups of more than two consonants (like « rdhv, rtm, tsy, ṣṭr, ũṣṭr, ndhy » etc., do not require any special remarks: it is the semivowels, liquids or sibilants in them that were assimilated, and then they behaved in MIA. like OIA. groups of two consonants. A post-consonantal « v » or « y » sometimes labialised or palatalised a preceding dental: e.g., উভা « ubhā » (MIA. ubbha- < \*udhba, \*uddhva = ūrdhva), বাইচ « baicḥ » boat race (MIA. \*vāhicca < ? \*vāhitrya < vahitra), etc.

Phonological changes of a more general character are discussed below.

[B] ASPIRATION AND DEASPIRATION.

236. The aspirates are a prominent class of sounds in IA., and they were passed on to all NIA., except Sinhalese, which quite early in its history (before the Ē|u stage: see p. 15) deaspirated them. Deaspiration of aspirates inherited from OIA. also occurs in NB.: this is discussed below (§§239 ff.). All NIA. languages possess some words in which there is aspiration, but their Sanskrit counterparts show absence of it. These words have aspiration in MIA.; and in certain cases the MIA. forms owe the aspiration conditions obtaining in OIA. itself.

Where it is a case of initial aspiration of an unvoiced stop, a possible explanation is to be sought in OIA. (and perhaps IE.) omission of « s- » before « k, e, t, p, n » at the head of the word (see Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 84; Pischel, §§ 205 ff.; cf. also Wackernagel, 'Altindische Grammatik,' I, § 230). OIA. groups of « sp, st, sk, śc » occurred without the « s- » as well: e.g., « paśyati: spaśaḥ; candraḥ: -ścandraḥ; tārā: stṛ », etc.; OIA. « \*skarpara », after loss of sibilant in pre-MIA. times, gave Skt. « karpara », and « \*skarpara » (with the « s- ») in MIA. times would give « khappara », whence Bengali খাপরা « khāpārā » sherd, tile. Later, « khappara » itself was Sanskritised as « kharpara ». So « skandha » > MIA.

« khandha » would be expected to give a Bengali \*খাঁধ < \*khādhā >; but the Bengali form is কাঁধ < kādhā >, which seems to go back to an OIA. « \*kandha ».<sup>1</sup> (The Bengali কন্ধ in কন্ধকাটা < kāndhā-kāṭā > *head-less (ghost)* is a late *sts.* from the Sanskrit « kabandha ».) But it is possible to explain only a few words showing alternation of initial voiceless stops and aspirates in OIA. and MIA. in this way. In most cases, however, the aspiration remains obscure: especially where we have aspiration of sonant stops, not attested in Sanskrit. Following Jacobi, Jules Bloch sees some connexion of an « s » or « r » in aspirating a stop (Bloch, *op. cit.*, §86): but although in MIA. and NIA., forms in aspirated stops occur in certain words with « s » or « r », as, e.g., ভূসি < bhusi > (busa-); Hindī < bhēs > (\*bēṣa < vēṣa); ঝব < jhāṣṣ > *fish* (OIA. « jhaṣa » beside « jaṣa »); ফাঁস < phāṣṣ > (pāṣa); খিচুড়ী > খিচুড়ী < khicāṣṣ > *mess of rice and pulses with butter* (cf. Skt. kṛsara < kṛsara); ঝাঁজর < jhāṣṣār > *sieve* (? jarjara); জ্বনা < jhunā > *old, experienced, dried up (as a coco-nut)* (jūrṇa-?), etc.; cf. also Skt. « śṛṅkā » *chain* (?) beside « śṛṅkhala »,—this is not a satisfactory explanation, as Bloch himself admits. It seems that contamination with other forms, plus a vague sense of onomatopoeia, which is so very strong as an indirect influence in Indian speech, had more to do in aspirating stops than the presence of any particular sound; especially in initial aspiration. The Dravidian articulation of the stops, in Tamil-Malayalam, in Kannada, in Telugu, is slightly aspirated: can the cases of initial aspiration in MIA. and NIA. be partly due to a Dravidian influence? Other instances of initial aspiration in Bengali (apart from cases of transferred aspiration, noted below, and besides those given above) are the following: খিল < khilā > (Skt. kila, MIA. khīla); ঝাবল < khābālā > *a handful, mouthful* (? kabala); খেল < khēlā > (Skt. khēla: √kṛīḍ); ঘুড়ী < ghuṛī > *paper kite* (cf. Hindī guḍḍī); ঝাঁপান < jhāpānā > (\*jappāna, yāpya-yāna); ফেল < phēlē >, beside MB. পেল < pēlē > *throws* (? prērayati, MIA. pēllāi); MB. ফুকরে < phukārē > *shouts* (cf. Hindī pukār *shout* = phutkāra); ফড়িং < phāṛiṅ > *grasshopper* (paṅga); etc.

<sup>1</sup> কাঁধ does not seem to be due to deaspiration of খ 'kh' from an earlier \*খাঁধ: Bengali is prone to drop the aspiration in a non-initial rather than in an initial aspirate.



(See under the various aspirates, *infra*.) Some *dēśī* and *tbh.* words seem to show alternation of aspirated and unaspirated forms: e.g., গৌড় < gōṛḍ > *foot, heel*, but ঘোড়তোলা < ghōṛḍ-tōlā > *high-heeled (boot)*, বৃটি, বৃষ্টি < ghṛṭi, ghṛṣṭi > *heel*; ঝল < jhāl > *hot to taste*, connected with জ্বালা < jwālā > *burning sensation (?)*; so ঝল < jhāl > *sparkle*, cf. জ্বল < jwāl > *to burn*; ঝোল < jhōl >, *watery mass, soup, saliva*, beside জোল, জুলী < jōl & jūlī > *channel, river(-bed)*, see pp. 65, 66; চেঙ < ṭhēṅ > [ṭhæṅ] *shin, leg*, beside টাঙ < ṭāṅ >; ঢেলা < ḍhēlā > *clod, piece of stone* beside ডেলা < ḍēlā > *clod, lump*; ঢেপা < ḍhēṅ(ḡ)ā > *tall*, beside ডাগর < ḍāḡā-rḡ > *big, huge*; ঢেঁকী < ḍhēki > *pounding or husking machine*, beside ডাঙ্গ < ḍāṅḡ-āṅ > *goat*; ঢামালী, ধামালী, < ḍhāmālī, dhāmālī > *orgy, riotousness*, besides ডামাডোল < ḍāmāḍōl > *hubbub, hullaboo*; ঢোল < ḍhōl > *drum*, beside ডোল < ḍōl > *vessel shaped like a drum*; জুঁটি < jhūṭī > *forelock, crest*, beside জুঁটি, চুঁটি < jūṭī, cūṭī > (cōṭī) < *queue*, connected with চুল < cul > *hair*, Skt. চূড়া < cūḍā > (?); ঝট < jhāt > *quickly*, also ঝাট < jhāt >, cf. Skt. < jhaṭīti >, beside চট < cāt > *quick* (< jhaṭ-iti > connected with < √jhar > by Wackernagel, I, § 141); etc., etc.

237. Aspiration in the interior of words is also found, and it is still more obscure. The Sanskrit pleonastic < -ka > is represented by < -h > in Second MIA. (see Pischel, § 206). Is this < -h > due to aspiration of OIA. < -k- > to < -kh- >? Cf. Pali < sunakha >, Second MIA. < suṇaha > (= Skt. < śuna-ka >,—otherwise explained as being < su + nakha >, and not as a case of < -kha < -ka >). Cases of aspiration of intervocal stops, however, are found in MIA. and in NIA.: e.g., Aśōkan Prakrit (Dhauri) < akhahasē > (akarkaśa), < kichi (=kiñchi?) > (kiñcid); Hathigumpha Inscription < Bharadha- (=Bhāradha) > = Second MIA. < Bhāraha > (< \*Bhāratha = Bhārata); Hind. < -hār > (-kāra: or? < Skt. hāra, √hp); Kaśmīrī and Panjābī < Vihath > (Vitastā) = *Jhelam River*; Bengali বিহৎ from \*বিহৎ < bighāt < \*bihāt > *span* (= vitasti?: possibly a case of transference of aspiration) (see also E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,' p. 25). Aspiration of a voiced stop seems to have been favoured in some cases through the influence of a preceding nasal. Cases of alternation of < -mb- > and < -mbh- > occurred in OIA. (Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Wackernagel, I,

p. 129.) Bengali instances are—আন্ধু, beside আন্দু < āndhu, = ādhu, ādu > (anduka); MB. জামীর, জাম্বীর, জাম্বীর < jāmirā, jāmbīrā, jāmbhirā > (jāmbīra); MB. সামায় < sāmāē > enters (? samāyāti), beside সামায়, সামায় < sāmāē, sāmhbāē > (? through contamination with < sambhālayati > > সামালৈ, সামালৈ < sām[bh]ālē > bears, holds, supports); হামীর, হাম্বীর, হাম্বীর < Hām(bh)irā > (Perso-Arabic < amīr >); eMB. (ŚKK.) বন্ধ < khāndhā > grain, corn (Persian < xand >); সিন্দুক, সিন্দুক < sind(h)ukṣ > chest, box (Perso-Arabic < sinduq- >); etc. In lMB., কাণ্ডারী < kāṇḍārī > (kāṇḍāgarīn) and কাণ্ডারী < kāṇḍhārī > (karṇa-dhāra-), meaning *helmsman*, seemed to have occurred side by side, and were doubtless regarded as the same word. Bengali নিভা < nibhā >, beside নিবা < nibā > to put out (a light) (nir-vā-) probably takes its aspiration from < √bhā > (nir+bhā); and MB. সভ < sābhā > for সব < sāvā > (sabba, sarva) is probably through contamination with < sabhā > (see p. 319).

238. Aspiration through metathesis of < h > is found in IA. from Late OIA. times. This kind of aspiration by transposition of the < h > in some cases was naturally accompanied by deaspiration within the same word. E.g., NB. sts. অঞ্চার < aṅkhārṣ > (aṅkhāra); খেস < khōṣṣ >, OB. < khasu > (kacchū<?); ঘর < \*ghārṣ > (ghara = \*garha < gṛha); OIA. √ < ghaṭ > = < gaṭh > = < grath >: cf. < ghaṭa- > বড়া < ghāṭā > water-jar, < gaṭh > > MB. গড় < gārḥ >, NB. গড় < gār > to build; MB. ত্বা < āghānā, āghānṣ >, NB. sts. অগ্রান < āghrānṣ > (\*aggahaṇa, agrahāyaṇa); MB. পড়া < pāṛhā > (paṛaha-); গাধা < gādha > (gaddaha-, gardabha); sts. ফন্দি < phāndī > scheme, stratagem (\*prabandhikā: cf. phādṣ, p. 366); হুঁপি < phūpi > edge of dhōṭī with hanging threads like tassels, often gathered together in a bunch (\*phumpia, \*phuppia = pupphia, puṣṭikā); ভুয়া, ভুইয়া < bhūyṣṣā, bhūiṣṣā > belonging to buffaloes (\*mhaiṇsa-, mahiṇsa, mahiṣa); ভেড়া, ভেড়া < bhērā, bhērā > (\*mhēḍa-, \*mhēa-ḍa-, \*mēha-ḍa- < mēṣa-); ভুখ < bhukhṣ > (\*buhukha < bubhukṣā); ভাপ < bhāpṣ > (bhappa, \*bappa < bāṣpa); MB. sts. বিভা < bibhā > (\*bibāhā = vivāha: cf. tth. বিয়া < biyā, biā > < \*biāha >); MB. sts. বেভার < bēbhārā > (\*biabahāra = vyavahāra: cf. MB. tth. বোহারী < bāuhārī >, p. 345); etc. As examples of entire deaspiration, through transference of aspiration, may be given বোন, † বুন, † বুন < bōnṣ, † bōn, † bōn >



bunṣ, buinṣ > = < bahiṇī, bhaginī >, and দোহার, দোয়ার < dōhārṣ, dōārṣ > (\*dhuāra, dhruva-kāra):

239. The aspirates, initial and intervocal, which Bengali inherited from OIA., were preserved intact in the OB., and to a very large extent in the eMB. period. But even from the eMB. period, from the latter part of the 15th century it would seem, (judging from the orthography of Early Bengali MSS., and from NB. history of the aspirates), the aspirates as well as < -h > grew rather feeble in an intervocal position—and also finally—although they do not suffer from any lax articulation initially. In Modern Bengali there has been entire loss of aspiration in final and intervocal aspirates in a very large number of cases; and where aspiration is found in writing, it is not always faithfully representative of the pronunciation, especially in the Standard Colloquial. The dialects of Western Rāḍha are rather conservative in the matter of retaining aspiration intervocally and finally. Some forms of East Bengali also preserve an intervocal unvoiced aspirate, e.g., in words like অঁঠা < āṭhā > *gum-paste*, পাখা < pākḥā > *fan*, মাথা < māthā > *head*, where the Standard Colloquial will normally use a < ṭ, k, t >. Similarly, there has been a very wide loss of intervocal < -h > in New Bengali, leading to fresh groups of contact vowels which have been diphthongised: and final < -h >, representing earlier Bengali < -hā >, may be said to be lost in Bengali. But aspirates are not ordinarily disturbed when they occur initially in the Standard Colloquial and in West Bengali generally; although in most forms of East Bengali, initial voiced aspirates are either wholly deaspirated, or the aspiration becomes very weak. As has been said before, tendency to drop aspiration manifested itself towards the end of the 14th century, when intervocal < h > is found frequently to be dropped, leading to the assimilation of a group < āhā > to < ā >: e.g., ŚKK. বার < bārā > beside বারহ < bārāhā > 12, খাঅ < khāā > beside খাহ < khāhā > *you eat*, গোঅর < gōārā > beside গোহারী < gōārī > *petition*, etc. (see p. 296). But aspirated stops as a rule, judging from the printed edition of the ŚKK., remained intact; although < mh, nh > seem to have been deaspirated, in spite of their being retained in writing. Absence of dated MSS. makes it difficult to determine when aspiration ceased to be a regular

thing in MB. It seems in the early 16th century, voiced aspirated forms like পঢ় < pāṛh > *read* (paṛh), কাঢ় < kāṛh > *snatch away* (kaḍḍha, kṛṣṭa), নাড়া < nārḥā > *shaven-head* = New Bengali নাড়া, নেড়া [næṛa], বাঢ়ে < bārḥe > *increases* (vr̥dh), বুঢ়া < burḥā > (vr̥ddha) still obtained, although it is likely that the aspiration had become feeble. The voiced aspirates seem to have preserved the aspiration (in the West Central dialect) longer than the unvoiced ones, in both final and intervocal positions. Words like হাত < hātḥ > (*hasta*), হাতী < hātī > (*hastin*), আট < āṭḥ > (*aṣṭa*), কাট < kāṭḥ >, MB. জাতি < jāṭhā > (*yaṣṭi*), for OB. and eMB. < hāthā, hāthī, āṭhā, kāṭhā, jāṭhā > etc., seem to have been established by the 16th century even though < -ṛh-, -dh-, -bh-, -gh- > retained the aspiration. The use of unaspirated stops is common in most MB. MSS. (excepting the ŚKK.).

240. Conditions in the present day Standard Colloquial are in the main the following (see 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' §§ 26, 26a):—

(1) Initial aspirates remain, whether voiced or unvoiced (excepting in the case of < ph, bh >, for which see below).

(2) Final aspirates are deaspirated: but *ts.* forms tend to preserve them, though not so strongly as when initial.

(3) Pre-consonantal aspirates are normally deaspirated.

(4) Intervocal aspirates as a rule are deaspirated, but it is not uncommon to find aspiration in some cases. In formal discourse, and in singing, as well as in careful speech, the aspirates are retained; but they are deaspirated in quick conversation. No hard and fast rule can be laid down in this matter, but it seems that in less common words and forms, and in *ts.* where they are susceptible to the influence of the spelling, the aspiration commonly comes in.

Final aspiration, if uttered not strongly, can be tolerated in NB., as well as pre-consonantal aspiration, especially if it is of an unvoiced stop. So also intervocal aspiration. Intervocal < (c)ch > in verb forms commonly loses the aspiration, but a suggestion of aspiration is also heard.

In the pronunciation of the aspirates in NB., there is one point to consider, about ঙ, ভ < ph bh >. Within recent times, not much beyond half a century from now (i.e. the end of the first quarter of the 20th century),



these have developed spirant values, either bilabial [ɸ, ɸ] or denti-labial [f, v]. Bengali transcriptions of foreign names and words (Portuguese and English), using ৰ < b > for the sound of the denti-labial < v > in the latter languages (and not ভ < bh > = [v, v] as at present) right down to the middle of the 19th century, and later, show that this spirant pronunciation is a post-19th century affair. These are commonly substituted for the [ɸb, ɸf] aspirates, but the aspirates have not been entirely ousted. (See 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' §30.) No other set of aspirates has developed a similar spirant pronunciation (in the Standard Bengali: the spirants [x, ɣ] for < k, kh > are found in dialectal East Bengali.)

241. Where loss of aspiration has become well-established from Late MB., the Bengali spelling frankly recognised it in some cases by using stops, e.g., হাত < hātɸ >, মেজো < mējō > (< mājhɸ, madhya), পড় < pāṛ > read (< pāṛh < paṛh), হেঁট < hētɸ > (\*adhiṣṭāt), গাঁট < gāṭɸ (granthi), আব্হা < ābhā > hazy (abhra-), etc. But generally, the historical spelling obtains as the standard one, and this is helped by the absence of entire loss of aspiration: e.g., মাঠ < māṭ(h)ɸ > field, মাছ < māc(h)ɸ > fish, কাঠ < kāṭ(h)ɸ > wood, বাঘ < bāg(h)ɸ > tiger, বাঁধ < bāḍ(h)ɸ > bund, রাখ < rāk(h) > to keep, দেখ < dēk(h) > to see, শিখ < śik(h) > to learn, লিখ < lik(h) > to write, পথ < pāt(h)ɸ > way, গৌফ beside গৌপ < gōp(h)ɸ > moustache, লাঠি, লাটি < lāt(h)i > stick, মান্নি < māj(h)i > helmsman, etc., etc. Purely phonetic spellings we find in Persian loan-words like শেক, সেক < śek > (šayx), beside শেখ < śekh >, হপ্তা < hāptā > week, for \*হফ্তা < \*haphtā > (haftah), তক্তা < tāktā > plank, for \*তখ্তা < takhtā > (taxtah), etc. In the spelling of Bengalis not caring for the established orthography, and in the present-day works of drama and fiction, as well as in journalese employing the colloquial, the use of stops for aspirates is quite noteworthy: e.g., দেক্চে < dēktē > for দেখ্তে < dēkhtē > < দেখিতে < dēkhitē > to see, বুজ্তে < bujtē > to understand < বুঝিতে < bujhitē >, আদলা < ādla > for আধলা < ādhālā > half-pice, সাদখাঁ < sād-khā > for সাধুখান < sādhu-khān > a surname, মাগ্গি < māggi > = < mahārghya >, হচে < hōcē > is, is becoming = হইতেছে < hāitēchē >, বদনা < bād-nā > water-pot with spout < বধনা < badh-nā >, etc., etc. The spellings with ষ, ঙ < c-, -ce- > for ছ, ঞ < ch, ech, > in the progressive and perfect verb forms (√আছ < āch >),



found in the 'Hutōm Pēcār Naksā' (see p. 135), have obtained acceptance in the hands of a writer like Rabīndra-nāth : e.g., *দিয়েচে* < diēcē > *has given*, *দিকে* < dicē > *is giving*, *ক'রেচি* < kōrēci > *I have done*, *ক'ছি* < kōcci > *I am doing*, *বেরুচে* < bēruccē > *is coming out*, etc., etc. (but rarely in the case of *আছে* < āche >, and never in the case of past perfect forms in *ছিল* < -chilā > etc.). Colloquial Oṛiyā agrees with the Bengali Standard Colloquial in changing the < -ch- > of verb forms to < -c- >.

242. Bengali in the matter of aspiration differs remarkably from its sisters and cousins of the West—from Maithilī-Magahī, Bhōjpuriyā, Eastern Hindī and Western Hindī, and also from Panjābī (in the last, in the Eastern and North Central Panjābī region at least, however, the sonant aspirates become surd stops, with low tone marking loss of aspiration). The Northern Indian languages of the plains, from the Panjab to the borders of Bengal, in the main preserve aspiration as well as intervocal < -h- > : especially in the Gangetic plain. The weakening of final intervocal aspirates characterises Marāṭhī almost as much as it does Bengali (cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' §§87 ff.). Gujarātī final and intervocal aspiration also is weak, and is dropped in many cases, as well as intervocal < -h- >. R. L. Turner has observed that in Nēpālī (Khaskurā) pre-consonantal aspirates become deaspirated, and intervocal < -h- > is entirely lost there ('Gujarati Phonology,' JRAS., 1921, pp. 509-510).

243. Loss of aspiration occurred in MIA. as well. (See W. Geiger, Pali Grammar, §40; Pischel, §§ 213, 214.) All NIA. obtained some of these deaspirated forms from MIA. Examples in Bengali are : উট, উঁট < uṭṭ, uṭṭṭ >, cf. Hind. < ūṭ > (uṭṭa, \*uṭṭa < \*uṭṭha = uṣṭra); so ইট, ইঁট < iṭṭ, iṭṭṭ >, cf. Hind. < īṭ, īṭā > (iṭṭa-, \*iṭṭa- = iṣṭa-); চিট < ḍhiṭṭ > (dhṛṣṭa); শিকল < śikāḷṭ >, OB. (Sarvānanda) < śiṅkala > (śṛṅkhala : but cf. Sanskrit < śṛṅkā > = chain ?); পালট < pālāṭṭ > (pallāṭṭa, paryasta); and probably a few more. Sanskrit < visarga > in the middle of a word is changed to < ś, ṣ, s > according as the consonant (stop or aspirate) following is a palatal, guttural or dental (< visarga > after < i, u > changing itself to < ṣ >, which also cerebralises a following < t >). But it seems that in MIA. the < visarga > did not turn to a sibilant, but simply assimilated itself



to the following stop. In such cases, we have in NIA. a normal simplification of the resultant double stop to a single stop, and not aspirate, which normally results from < śk, śc, śṭ >: e.g., < niḥ + karma, Skt. niṣkarma- >, MIA. < \*nikkamma >, whence Bengali নিকাশ < nikāṣ >, beside sts. নিষ্কাম্মা < niṣkāmmā >; < niḥ + kāśa-, Skt. niṣ-kāśa > > MIA. < \*nikkāśa > > নিকাশ < nikāś > clearing, finishing; so < niḥ + kālayati, Skt. niṣkāl- > > নিকালে < nikālē > drives out, নিকলে < nikālē > comes out; < niḥ-cala, Skt. niścala > > MB. নিচল < nicālā >; so < niḥ-caya, niścaya > > MB. নিচয় < nicāyā >; < catur + ka = catuḥka, catuska > চক, চৌক < cākṣ, cāukṣ >. The forms with geminated stops, without aspiration, occur in MIA. (Pali and 'Prakrit'): see Pischel, § 329: cf. Pali forms like < niccala, nikkantō >, Aśōkan < dukara (= dukkara) >, etc. In the development of the NIA. forms there seems to have been but slight influence of Sanskrit in this matter. A MB. form like নট < nāṭā >, besides নঠ < nāṭhā > (= naṣṭa) as in the ŚKK., is a sts.; the genuine *bbh.* is found in the NB. নাট < nāṭ > < নাঠ < nāṭhā > crumpled.

[C] INTERCHANGE AMONG CONSONANTS.

VOICING AND UNVOICING.

244. In addition to interchange of aspirates and non-aspirates, voicing of unvoiced consonants, and the reverse process, as well as changes in the place of articulation, occur in Bengali. In some cases, the changes are quite normal, and in others, they are uncommon, and can be explained as being due to contamination with a form similar in sound or meaning, or to dialectal admixture, or again to the workings of folk-etymology.

Voicing of [k] to [g] is common enough, though not the rule, being found in some sts. words in the Standard Colloquial. Intervocal [k > g > ɣ] was the normal change in Transitional and Second MIA. This tendency to turn a voiceless stop to its voiced spirant form has continued down to the present day in NB. (see 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' § 31). Examples of NB. forms with the [g] developed out of the [k] are: কাগ < kāg > (kāka), বাগ < bāg > (baka), শাগ < śāg > (śāka),

গুলা, গুলো < -gulā, -gulō > (-kula-), আদিগ, দিগ < -(ā)digā > (-ādi-ka); MB. মগর < māgārā > (makara); NB. ছগড়া, ছগড়া, ছেগড়া < chāgārā, chāgārā, chēgārā > (śakata); East Bengali † হগল < hāgālā > (śakala); etc. Unvoicing of [g] to [k] is rather uncommon, although it is found: e.g., পাকড়ী < pākārī > for পাগড়ী < pāgārī > turban (cf. < pragraha >: influence of পাক < pākā > a twist); ঝকড়া < jhākārā > beside ঝগড়া < jhāgārā > quarrel; কুঁচ < kūcā > a red berry (guñjā).

Interchange of [ç], [ʃ] are found: e.g., বিচি < bici > (bija: or < vṛtya-?); পাঁচন বাড়ী < pāñāñ-bārī > a cowherd's stick (prājana); পাঁজী < pāñī > almanac (pañjikā, pañcīkā); cf. কুলচী, কুলচী beside কুলজী, কুলজী < kulāci, kuluci: kulāji, kulujī > family annals (kula-pañjikā); কুঁচ < kūcā > (guñjā); etc.

Interchange of [t] and [d > r] occurs to some extent. Also of [t, d]: ছুত < chut > < ছুধ < chudha > unclean (chuddha; kṣubdha); বেসাদ < bēsādā > < বেসাতি < bēsāti > trade (\*bēsā-, vāśya-); ভায়াদ < bhāyādā > < \*ভাইয়াতি < bhāiyāti > kinship, kin (bhāi-); MB. সগলাদ < sāgallādā > < সকলাত < śakālātā > a costly stuff (Perso-arabic < saqalāt >); etc.

[b], medial and final, is found as [p] in some cases: e.g., পাপড়ী < pāpārī < pābārī > petal (pabba-, parva); আদোপে < ādōpē < আদোবে < ādōbē > at all, in the least (Skt. locative < ādāu > + Bengali locative affix < -ō > < \*ādōwō >). Persian words in some cases show [p] for [b]: e.g., < xarāb > > খারাপ < khārāp > bad, < mihrāb > > মেরাপ < mērāp > [mærap] awning: cf. Assamese কিতাপ < kitāp > book < < kitāb >. [p] also becomes [b]: বাপু > বাবু < bāpu > bābu >; ঝাবড়, ঝাবড়া < ঝাপড়, ঝাপড়, ঝাপড়া < thāpārā, thāppārā, thāprā > thābārā, thābārā > slap; দাপ > দাবড়ী < dāpā > > dābārī > vaunting, intimidation (darpa > dappa), beside দাপট < dāpātā > might, prowess.

#### CHANGE IN POINT OF ARTICULATION.

245. The more important changes which occur in Bengali are of < ś > [ʃ] to < c, ch > [ç, çh], of [l] to [n], and vice-versa, in initial positions, and final and preconsonantal [w̄] to [m]. These are discussed later, while treating the above sounds. Shifting of articulation from one point



to another is also found. The most important item in this connection is the cerebralisation of OIA. dentals—a change which Bengali has inherited from Māgadhī. The absence of cerebralisation in Bengali is perhaps due to the influence of non-Māgadhī dialects. This is discussed below, under the Cerebrals. Interchange between gutturals and palatals as well as cerebrals and palatals seems to characterise some groups of *dēśī* words: see under Palatals. Change of OIA. dental stops and aspirates before < y > to palatal affricates is a phonological alteration which is derived from MIA.

< j > [ʃ] becomes < z > in a few cases in the Standard Colloquial (where the < z > sound is not the rule, unlike Eastern and Northern Bengali dialects, which normally alter IA. < j > to < dz, z >). Foreign < z > normally becomes < j > in Bengali.

Some other changes in articulation, which are the result of assimilation in MIA., are treated below.

Besides the above, there are sporadic cases of other interchange, *e.g.*, between a guttural and a labial, which are not characteristic, and which will be noted at their proper places.

#### [D] DOUBLING OF CONSONANTS.

246. Consonants in Bengali are doubled, or rather, lengthened, in *ts.* words, when they occur before < r, l, y, v >: *e.g.*, চক্র [č̣oḳ̌:rɔ = č̣oḳ̌krɔ], শুক্ল [ʃuḳ̌lɔ = ʃuḳ̌:lɔ], দিব্য [diḅ̌:vɔ = diḅ̌bɔ, diḅ̌:i = diḅ̌bi], অদ্ভ [oḍ̌:o = oddo], বীরত্ব [biṛ̌:ṭ̌vɔ = biṛ̌:ṭ̌ṭ̌vɔ], etc. Doubling is found in Hindōstānī and other loan-words: *e.g.*, পাতা [paṭ̌:a, patta] *address*, পাঁজা [ʃāč̣:ʃa, ʃāč̣ʃa], etc. Through loss of intervening vowel, and through consequent assimilation as well, NB. has developed double consonants: *e.g.*, আটটা [aṭ̣̌ṭa, aṭ̣̌:a] *eight pieces* > < āṭ̣̌(h)ṭ̣̌ + -ṭ̣̌ā >; পাত্তে [paṭ̌ṭ̌e] < পাতিতে < pāṭ̌iṭ̌e > *to spread*; মাত্তে [maṭ̌ṭ̌e] < মারতে, মারিতে < māṛ̌ṭ̌e, māṛ̌iṭ̌e > *to beat*; ‘বাগ্গে’ [baḡ̣̌ǧ̣ge] < বাক্গে, বাউক গিয়া < jāḳ̌ ǧ̣e, jāuḳ̌ḡ̣̌ giyā > *let it go!*; etc., etc.

In the above instances, doubling or lengthening is historical, or merely phonological. But there is another kind of lengthening in New Bengali

which is semantic. With a desire to emphasise, or to modify the idea in other ways, a consonant is frequently doubled in NB. (This has been noticed in the 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' § 53.) Thus, একেবারে [ækebare] *at once, for good, entirely* : একেবারে [ækkebare] *for all time, entirely (without hope of any alteration)*; গোঁপ [gõ:p] *moustache*: চৌগোঁপা [ç̣ougõppa] *whiskers*; হাত [ɦa:t] *hand*: হাতা [ɦatta] *handful, with full hand, right and left, line or thread drawn by the hand*; ঝাঙ্কা [dɦakka] *push*: ঝকল [dɦakol] *strain*, and MB. ঢেকা [dɦeska] *push*; থাপড় [thapõr] *slap*: থাপ্পড় [thappõr] *generally = slaps in quick succession*; চোর [ç̣õ:r] *thief*: ভোক্তোর [ḅhõccõr] from জুরাচোর [ḅhõuacõr] *cheat* < cheat at dice; ছেকড়া [ç̣hækr̥a], beside ছকড় [ç̣hakkõr] *a ramshackle carriage (śakaṭa)*; etc. This kind of doubling for emphasis seems to have been due to stress—the consonant following the stressed vowel being lengthened through accession in force of the whole syllable. It originated in Bengali possibly during the OB. period.

#### [E] CHANGES OF CONSONANTS IN CONTACT: ASSIMILATION.

247. The behaviour of Bengali vowels under mutual influence with in a word, in separation and in contact, has been described under Epenthesis and Vowel-Mutation, etc. Contraction has taken place largely in MB. and NB., by which vowels have been dropped, and consonants which were separated in OB. and eMB. have been brought together. New consonant groups have thus developed in NB. (see p. 251). These have in the main retained their original character, in preserving their point of articulation, but in the matter of breath or voice, there has been assimilation in most cases.

[r] tends to be dropped within a word or sense group before palatals, cerebrals and dentals: e.g., তার জন্ম < tār̥ç̣ jānyā > *for him* generally becomes [tār̥ç̣õnno], কার্য < kāryā > becomes [kār̥ç̣õ], গায়ের জ্বালা < gāēr̥ç̣ jwālā > *heat of the body* > *anger* becomes [gār̥ç̣õ], মূর্ছা < mūr̥çhā > > [mūr̥ç̣hā], জলের টব < jālēṛ̥ç̣ ṭāb̥ç̣ > *water tub* becomes [jāl̥ç̣õl̥ç̣õṭob̥ç̣], পাখীর ডানা < pākhir̥ç̣ dānā > *bird's wing* > [pākhir̥ç̣dānā], কার তরে < kār̥ç̣ tārē > *for whose sake*



> [kattøre], সরদার < sârdâr > *chief*, from the Persian < sardâr > > [ʃôddar], etc. Also [r] is dropped before gutturals and labials, in *ts.*, e.g., স্বর্গ > স্বর্গগ < swârgâ > > [ʃôggo], তর্ক > তর্ক < târkâ > > [tôkko], সর্প > সর্প < sârpâ > > [ʃôppo], গর্ক > গর্ক < gârbâ > > [gôbbo], ধর্ম > ধর্ম < dhârmâ > > [dʃômmo], but not in *lbh.* or foreign words and sense-groups: e.g., তার কাছে < tarâ kâche > *with him*, চরখা, চরকা < çârk(h)â > *spinning wheel* < Pers. < carxah >, বরগা < bârâgâ > *r. after* < Portuguese < verga >, করবার < করিবার < kârbârâ < kâribârâ > *to do*, etc.: see under [r], *infra*.

In the NB. dissimilar groups like < kt(h), tk(h), pt(h), tp(h), kt(h), tk(h), tt(h), tt(h), tp(h), pt(h), gb(h), bg(h), gd(h), dg(h), bð > br, db > rb > etc., the stops (and the flap sound of < r >) are fully exploded. In such groups, where we have breathed stop + breathed stop or aspirate, or voiced stop + voiced stop or aspirate, there is no modification: e.g., থাকতে [thakte] *to remain*, শুকতারা [ʃuktara] *the planet Venus*, আঁতকে [âtke] *having sustained a shock of fright*, আপ্ত [apto] *self*, হাতপা [hatpa] *hand and foot*, আটকা [atka] *fixed*, হাঁটতে [hâtte] *to walk*, সাপ্টা [saptâ] *embracing all*, বাগদী [bagdî] *a caste*, etc.; হাটখোলা [hatkholâ] *a mart*, পাতক্ষীর [patkhir] *condensed-milk paste spread out on a leaf*, সাবধান [sabdhian] *careful*, অদ্ভূত [ôdbhût] *strange*, দুগ্ধ [dugdho] *milk*, উদ্ঘাটন [udghatôn] *opening*, etc.

In the case of aspirate (stop, or affricate) + aspirate or stop, voiced or unvoiced, there is deaspiration of the first aspirate. In deliberate and careful pronunciation, however, the aspirate may be retained (so far as it can be retained in a final position in a syllable) where we have a sound of a different class. Examples: রথতলা [rôthtôla > rôttôla] *car-festival common*; দুধদই [dudhdoi > duddoi] *milk and curds*; আধথান [a:dh + tha:n > adthan, atthan] *half a piece (of cloth)* (not [adhithan]); মুখখানি [mukhkhani > mukkhani] *that face*; বাঘবন্দী [baghbondî > bagbondî] *capturing the tiger (a game)*; মুখপোড়া [mukhpoṛa > mukpoṛa] *burnt-face (a term of abuse)* ([mukhpoṛa] is also heard); so কাঠকাটা [kaṭhphaṭa > kaṭhphaṭa] *wood-splitting (said of sunshine)*; আদফোটা [adphoṭa > adphoṭa] *half-open (as a flower)*; and Persian < haftah, taxtah > > \*হফতা, \*তখতা < hâphtâ, tâkhtâ > > হপ্তা [hopta] *week*, তক্তা [tôkta] *a plank*; পথবাট [poṭhghaṭ > poṭghaṭ] *roads and ferries*; বাঘভাল্লুক [baghbhâlluk > bagbhâlluk] *tigers*



and bears, etc., which can have the aspirate retained in the first consonant of the group.

There is *Regressive Assimilation* when stops (or affricates) and aspirates of the same class occur side by side, by the first sound acquiring or losing voice according as the second one in the group possesses or does not possess it: and the first sound, if it is an aspirate, loses its aspiration; e.g., এক-গাড়ী [æggari] one waggon-load < [æ:k + gari]; এক ঘুম [æ:k + gfiu] > æggfiu] one (long) sleep; ডাক-ঘর [ða:k + gfio:r > ðaggfior] post-office; রাগ করা [ra:g + kora > rakkora] to be angry; মেঘ করেছে [me:g(fi) + korec]he > mekkorec]he] it is cloudy; পাঁচজন [pā:c]i + t]i:n > pā]t]i]on] (five) people; কাজ-চালানো [ka:t]i + c]alano > kac]alano] carrying on work, just useful; বড়-ঠাকুর [bɔr(ɔ) + thakur > bɔt]hakur] husband's elder brother (among women); চট-ঢাকা [c]o:t + d]aka > c]o]d]aka] covered with gunny cloth; এতদিন [æto + din > æddin] such a long time; MB. সাদিনা < সাতদিনা [ʃa:t + dina > \*ʃaddina, ʃadina] seventh-day celebration (after birth of a child); হাত-দেখা [ʃa:t + dækha > ʃaddækha] seeing one's palm, feeling one's pulse; হাত-ধরা [ʃa:t + d]ora > ʃadd]ora] catching one's hand, under one's control; ছুধ-তোলা [du:dh + tola > duttola] vomiting milk (as a baby); সব-পাওয়া [ʃo:b + paða > ʃoppaða] get all; পাপ-ভয় [pa:p + bhœ > pabbhœ] fear of sin; বাপ-বেটা [ba:p + bæta > babbæta] father and son; etc. But when there are stops or aspirates, voiced and unvoiced, of different classes, ordinarily there is absence of assimilation to voice or breath of the first sound. It is, however, not unlikely that there is a certain amount of unavoidable unvoicing of a voiced consonant before an unvoiced one, and vice-versa, and there is no full assimilation in this case. Entire assimilation to voice or breath is generally absent because of the full explosion given to the first stop or aspirate: e.g., আদফোটা [a:dh + phoṭa > adphoṭa] half-open (flower) does not become [atphoṭa]; so চাঁদপাল [c]ādpal] a personal name is never [c]ātpal], হাটবাজার [ʃaṭba]jar] mart and fair is not [ʃadba]jar, ʃaṭba]jar], nor is আজকাল [a]k]al] to-day and morrow, nowadays assimilated to [a]k]al]; so we have সাতডাক [ʃat]ak] seven calls, calling one for a long time, শিবতলা [ʃib]tola] Śiva's spot (temple of Śiva), হাঁড়কাঠ from হাঁড়িকাঠ [hāri-kaṭ(h) > hārkaṭ(h)] sacrificial stake, রাজপুত-বীর [ra]p]utbir] a Rajput



warrior, সব-কিছু [ʃɔbkiʃhu] everything, ইট-গাদা [Itgada] brick-stack, এক-দম [ækdɔm] at one breath, entirely, মোট-বহা [moʈbo(h)a] load-carrying, etc., etc. There are a few exceptions, however: e.g., লোকজন [lokdʒon] people is heard frequently as [logdʒon], and ছোটদাদা [ʃhoʈodada] little elder brother (= fourth elder brother, generally) becomes ছোড়দা [ʃhoɽda]; বুঝিতে > বুঝতে < bujhitē > bujhtē > to understand becomes [buzte, buste]; but a case like উপকার [upakar > ubgar] is through a MB. and NB. tendency to voice intervocal breathed stops [ubɔgar].

Before the (unvoiced) sibilant, there is no unvoicing of a voiced stop or affricate, or aspirate: e.g., আধ-সেরা [ad(h)ʃera] of half a seer weight, সাজ-সকাল [ʃaʃ(h)ʃɔkal] evening and morning, বোড়-শাল [gʃhoɽʃal] stable, দেব-সভা [debʃɔbha, -ʃɔba] gods' gathering, etc.

Assimilation of consonants of different groups, also a regressive assimilation, is found in some cases. Here, however the points of articulation are not very much removed from each other. [t, d], and occasionally [ʈ], become assimilated to a following [ʃ, ʒ], and sometimes to [ʃ]; and [ʃ] is assimilated to a [ʒ]: e.g., হাত ছিনিয়ে [ha:t + ʃhinie > haʃʃhinie] having jerked away the hand; বাদ বাবে [ba:d + ʒabe > baʃʒabe] it will be deducted; গোট-চার > গোচ্চার [go:t + ʃa:r > goʃʃar] some four, a few; পাঁচশ [pā:ʃ ʃɔ: > pāʃʃo] five hundred; পাঁচসাত [pā:ʃ + ʃa:t > pāʃʃat] five and seven, a few; পাঠশালা [pa:ʈ + ʃa:l] school becomes [paʃʃal]; স্যাংসেতে [ʃætʃete] damp becomes [ʃæʃʃete], and পঞ্চসেরা < pañca + sēri > five seers probably gave < \*pāśśēri, pāśari >, whence পশুরী [poʃuri]; etc., etc. Assimilation of a dental stop to a cerebral one is extremely rare: e.g., Barisal dialect সাতটা > সাটটা [ʃat̪ta > ʃat̪ta] seven pieces, 7 o'clock.

The dialect of Chittagong is most advanced in the matter of assimilation, both by shifting the point of articulation and by voicing or unvoicing. Assimilation in Chittagong Bengali is both progressive (in the case of stops and affricates and the sibilant and [l]), and regressive (in the case of the nasal): e.g., পাঁচগোরা [pāʃgoa] five pieces > [pāʃʃoa], দাঁতগুলি [dātgun] teeth = Standard Bengali দাঁতগুলি [dātguli] or দাঁতগুলো [dātguno] > [dāttun]; রাজকার [rojkar] daily wages, income, from Persian < rōz-kār >, > [rojʃkar]; যাইতে পারি [ʃait̪e pari] I can go = [ʃait̪at̪ari]; দিতে পারি

[dite pari] *I can give* > [dittari]; উপকার [upakar] *benefit*, > [\*upkar > uppar]; নমস্কার [nəmɔʃkar, nɔ:ʃkar] *obeisance* > [nɔʃʃar]; বৃহস্পতি [br̥iʃɔʃpoti] > [biuʃʃut]; শিয়ালগোরা [ʃialgoa] *the jackal* > [fialloa]; ঘোড়া + নী < ghōrā + nī > mare [\*gfiorni > \*gfiurni > gunni]; দেখিতে না পারি [dehite na pari] *I can not see* < [deinnari]. (See Basanta-Kumār Chatterji, VSPdP., 1326, No. 2, p. 108ff.). The dialect of Chittagong thus stands apart from most Bengali dialects, and from MIA., in which assimilation is generally regressive.

*Progressive Assimilation*, however, is found in a few cases in Bengali (e.g., জব্দ [ʃʃɔbdɔ] *punishment* from Persian [zabt] < Arabic [ḏabt-]); also in MIA. (cf. < lagna, bhagna > > < lagga, bhagga >, beside < \*lanna \*bhanna >: cf. Bengali হিলান < hilāṅ > = < abhilagna >, and ভানা < bhānā > *to pound, as rice* = < bhagna >).

#### [F] METATHESIS.

**248.** Aspiration and deaspiration by metathesis of < h >, e.g., < bhaginī > bahin, mahiṣa > mahiṣa > bhaiṣ >, have been noticed before. Metathesis is found occasionally in OIĀ. and MIA. (cf. Wackernagel, I, 239; Pischel, § 354; Geiger, Pali Grammar, § 47). Some Bengali words are the result of this early metathesis: e.g., ঘর < ghārā < \*garha, gṛha >; বহিন, বোন < bāhin, bōn < bahinī < bhaginī >; দ, দহ < dā, dāhā > dāha < hada < hrada > *lake, tank*; হালকা < hālka >, cf. MIA. < halukka = laghuka > *light*, etc. Instances in Bengali: সঁটকী [ʃūṭki] *dried fish* (\*sukhaṭī < śuṣka); গজরা < gājra > *to fret and fume, to be filled with rage* (ts.√garj); পর < √pār > *to put on*, MB. পহু < pāhṛā >, < পহির < pāhirā > (pari + dhā); চটকা < √cāṭkā > *knead with the fingers* < কচটা < kācṭā > (? √kṛṣ + vṛt); কনুই < kanui > = [konui] *elbow* (< \*kaṇōhi < kaḥōṇi < kaphōṇi >); কাল < phāl > *leap*, cf. লাক < lāph > *leap* (Skt. lampha); MB. পিনহে < pināhē > *puts on* < পহিনে < pāhinē > (apinah-); MB. পহিচান < pāhicāṅ > *knowledge, acquaintance, recognition* (paccahiṇṇa, pratyabhijñā); নাড়োয়ারী < māṛwārī > *man from Marwar* (mārwārī); etc., etc. In *ts.* words, we find metathesis in a few cases: e.g., পিচাশ < picāś > (piśāca);



মটুক < māṭukṣ > (mukṣa); গড়ুর < gāṛurṣ > (garuṣa); etc. Also in foreign words: e.g., কুলুপ < kulup > padlock (Arabic < qufl >); বৌচকা < böckā > bundle (Turki < bucca >); ডেস্ক, বাক্স < ḍeksā, bāksā > = English desk, box, beside the proper ডেস্ক, বাক্স < ḍeskā, bāksā >; etc.

[G] HAPLOLOGY.

249. Loss of consonant through haplogy is found in some instances in Bengali, mainly in *stss*: e.g., সমিভারে < sāmibhyārē > (samabhivyāhāra-); সাব্যস্ত < sābyāstā > arranged (savyavastha); পাদোকজল < pādōkṣjālṣ > (pādōdaka-jala); আন্দ < āndā > as a name (ānanda); নৌকতা < nāukātā > social courtesies (lāukikatā); নরুন < nārun > nail-cutting instrument (nahaharanī, nakha-haraṇikā), etc. Also -দা, -দি < -dā, -di > for দাদা, দিদি or দিদৌ < dādā, didi (-i) > elder brother, elder sister. Cf. the Anglo-Indian spellings *Krishnagar*, *Krishnath* (for *Krishna-nagar*, *Krishna-nāth*), which are apparently based on not uncommon colloquial forms.

[H] HISTORY OF THE BENGALI CONSONANTS.

[I] THE STOPS AND AFFRICATES, AND ASPIRATES.

(1) The Gutturals or Velars [k, kh, g, gh].

250. Intervocal stops tend to be lazily pronounced in NB., leading frequently to 'under-articulation,' or open or spirant articulation with very little audible friction. (See 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' §31.) In the Standard Colloquial, intervocal [k, g] of NB. is found to be dropped in a few cases: e.g., ঠাকুর > ঠাউর [ṭhakur > ṭhaur], ঠাকুরানী > ঠাকুরণ > ঠাউরণ > ঠান [ṭhakurani > ṭhakurən, ṭhaurun > \*ṭhaurn, \*ṭhaun > ṭhan]. The elision in the above words has been noted in the ordinary orthography. But voiced and open articulation of [k] is not infrequently heard, though not in careful speech. But it has not become sufficiently prominent to attract the attention of Bengali speakers, although here and there in *stss*. and foreign words, we see the [g] fully established: e.g., -গলা

[-gula], plural affix (-kula-); ছেগড়া [çhægɾa] *ramshackle carriage* (śakata-); MB. সগলাদ < sāgāllād > (Perso-Arabic < saqalāt >), etc. : see *supra*, p. 445.

Final [-k] in some *bbh.* verb and other forms has become [g] in the Standard Colloquial, e.g., দিক্, নিক্ < dik, nik > *let him give, let him take* frequently become [dig, nig].

This voicing of non-initial [k] is a MIA. speech-habit which has thus continued down to the present day. It is found occasionally in OB. as well: e.g., < saguṇa > => śakuni > in Caryā 50.

Elision of intervocal [k, g] has almost become the rule in the Chittagong dialect—e.g. [fiɔl, fi:l]=সকল (sakala); [ɑɟ̃, ɑ:ɟ̃]=আকাশ (ākāśa); [doɳ]=দোকান (Perso-Arabic < dukān >); [fioun]=শকুন *sts.* (śakuni); [fiɔr]=শিকড় < śikāṛḍ > *root*; [fiol]=শিকল < śikāḷ > *chain*; [ɟ̃aibɔ]=Standard Bengali ডাকবে < ḍākibē > *will call*; etc., etc.

In some East Bengali dialects, intervocal [k, kh] take the spirant sound of [x]: this [x] seems to have had its origin in the unvoicing of [g > ɟ]. We also find [fi]. The [x], and the [ɟ] where it is heard, do not have a strong friction: it is a mere open consonant, that is all. Thus we have, in the western and south-western *Vaṅga* dialects especially, টাকা [ṭaka] *rupee, money* as [ṭaɟa, ṭaɟa, ṭaxa]; ঢাকা *Dacca town* is heard as [ḍhaka, ḍaɟa, ḍaɟa, ḍaxa]; Perso-Arabic < muqaddamah > > মোকদ্দমা, মোকদ্দমা < mōkāddāmā, mōkārdamā > *law-suit* becomes [moxərdəma, moɟərdəma] = Standard Colloquial [məkoddəma]; Perso-Arabic < ḥākim > > হাকিম < hākim > *judge* is found as [aɦim]; < mulluk > > মুলুক < mulluk > *country* becomes, in the locative মুলুকে < mulluke >, [mulluɦe, mulluxe]; Skt. < nārikēla > is transformed to [nairiɔl, nairxɔl]. This fricative pronunciation is sometimes indicated by হ < h >.

Initial [k, kh] becomes the spirant [x] regularly in Eastern and South Eastern *Vaṅga* (Sylhet, Tipperah, Noakhali and Chittagong): e.g., কালী [kali] < [xali], কিছু [kiçhu] *a little* = [xisu], কথা [kɔtha] = [xɔta], কেন [kæno] *why?* > [xɛ:n], কলঙ্ক [kɔɽɽko] > [xɔɽɽkɔ], কভু [kobɦu] *even at times* = [xobu, xobu], কোর্তা [korta, kotta] *coat* = [xotta], খোলাহাতে [kholait] *to put off* = [xolait], etc. Final [k] also is found as [x] commonly enough: e.g., তিলক [tilok] > [tilox], এক [æ:k] > [ɛx, həx, æ:x],



etc. This spirantisation is not found in the other Vanga dialects, but initial [k] when it becomes intervocal within connected speech can become [x] or [fi]. The Chittagong and Eastern Bengali habit of turning initial [k] sounds to [x] also affects foreign words, and Bengali *maulavīs* from Chittagong, which is one of the predominantly Muhammadan districts of Bengal, often pronounce Arabic and Persian with [x] for [k, q]; and this has given rise to this Persian saying among Bihārī and Hindōstānī *maulavīs* in Calcutta and elsewhere: « agar cātḡāmī šavad maulavī, 'xiblah' u 'xābah' u 'xuzā' mī-ravī » *if the Maulavī is a Chittagongese, then you go to xiblah, xābah and xuzā (for qiblah direction faced in praying, qa<sup>ā</sup>bah shrine at Mecca, kujā [Persian] where).*

In the 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed,' Bengali [k] is transcribed « c » before « a, o, u », « qu » before « e, i », and « q » when final: *e.g.*, « crepā » ক্রপা (kṛpā); « coina » কজা (kānyā); « cotha » কথা (kāthā); « xocol » সকল (sākālā); « tthaeur » ঠাকুর (ṭhākura); « thaeuq » থাকুক (thākuk) *let it remain*; « queno » কেন (kēnā) *why?*; « eq » এক (ēka); « quissu » কিছু (kichu) *a little*; « eque » এক (ēka) *by one*; « thaquia » থাকিয়া (thākiyā) *having remained*; « houq » হোক (hōka) *let it be*; « narouq » নরক (nāraka); etc. There is no representation of a spirant pronunciation in the 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed.'

251. Bengali [k] in *tth.* and *dēsī* words comes from MIA. « k,-kk- ». Initially, Bengali [k] is derived ultimately from—

OIA. « k- »: কর « kār » (√kṛ); কাম « kām » (karma); কলা « kālā » (kadala-); কাজ « kāj » (kārya); কালি, কাল « kāl(i) » (kalya); কান « kān » (karṇa); কু « ku » (ku-); কানাই, কাহু « kānāi, kānu » (kṛṣṇa-); কাছ « kāch » (kaccha, kakṣa); কে « kē » (ka-); কয় « kāy » (kathayati); etc., etc.

OIA. « kṛ-, kr- »: কিনে, কেনে « kinē, kēnē » (krīṇāti); কোশ « kōś » (krōśa); কোল « kōl » (krōḍa); কাদে (krandati); MB. কৈল « kailā » (kṛta + illa-); etc.

OIA. « kv- »: কাই « kāi » *paste* (kvātha); কোথা « kōthā » *where?* (kva- + tra); কনকন [kōnkōn], an onomatopoeic, based on « √kvan ».

OIA. < sk- > k- > ; কাঁধ < kādhā > (skandha) : see p. 438.

Intervocally (and finally in NB., through dropping of vowels at the end of the word), NB. [k] comes from —

MIA. < k > after < ŋ > < OIA. < -ŋk-, -kr-, -ŋkr- -rk- > : কাঁকণ < kākāṅ > (kaṅkaṅa); পাঁক < pākā > (paṅka); বাঁকা < bākā > (vaṅka-, vakra); সাঁকো < sākō > (saṅkrama); কাঁকর < kākāra > (kaṅkara, karkara); কাঁকড়া < kākāḍā > (kaṅka-ṭa-, karka-); etc.; from MIA. < -kk- > from the following OIA. groups :

< -k- >, doubled in old *ts.* in MIA. : এক < ēkā > (ēkka, ēka); also একুশ < ēkuś >, etc.;

< -kk- > : চিকন < cikāṅ > *fine* (cikkaṅa) : cf. তেল-চুক্‌চুকে < tēlā cūkē > *glistening with oil* = MIA. < tēlla-cikkaṅa >; নাকার, নেকার, ঞাকার [nakar > nēkar] (ṅakkāra, nyakkāra); কুকুর < kukur > (kukkura); হাক beside হাঁক < hākā, kākā > (MIA. hakka);

< -kn- > : MB. মুকল < mukālā > (mukka < \*mukna = Skt. mukta); নিকা < nikā > *to wipe* (ṅikka < \*nikna < √niñj, nij);

< -ky- > : শিকা < śikā > (śikya-); মানিক < mānikā > (māṅikya);

< -kr- > : চাক < cākā > (cakra); শুক-তারি < śukā-tārā > *Venus* (śukra); টক < ṭakā > *sour, acid* (< takra > *sour-milk, whey*: or onomatopoeic?); বিকি < biki > *sale* as in বিকি-কিনি < biki-kini > *transaction, buy and sell* (vi-krī-); etc.;

< -kv- > : পাকা < pākā > (pakva);

< -kṣ- > : নিকি < niki > (cf. Skt. nikṣā);

< -ṭk- > : ছক < chākā > (ṣaṭka);

< -tk- > : চুক < cūkā > (cukka, cyut-kr); উকুন < ukunā > *louse* (utkuṅa);

< -rk- > : পাকড় < pākur > (parkaṭi); মাকড় < mākāṭā > (markaṭa); তাকে, তাকার < tākē, tākāḥ > (tarkayati); আকন্দ < ākanda > (akka-manda = arka-mandāra); etc.;

< -lk- > : ঠাক < ukā > (ulkā);

< -ḥk- > = Skt. < -ṣk-, -sk- > : চক < cāk >, চৌকা < cāukā > (catuḥ + ka: catuṣka); নিকাশ, নিকাল, < nikāś, nikāl >, see p. 445; নাক < nākā > (nas, \*naḥ + ka > ṅakka); হকাল < dukālā > (duḥkāla);



«-g-», through transference of voice in MIA.: ঢাকে «*ḍhākē*» covers (ḍhakkāi, \*ṭhagati < sthagati?).

From MIA. «-ṅgh-», from OIA. «-ṅgh-» > «-k-» in NB.: শিকনি «*śikni*» (singhaṇa); শুক, শৌক «*śūk, śōk*» (sungh, singh); etc.

From MIA. «-kk-» from Semito-Iranian «-kk-», written «-ky-» in Late Sanskrit: সেকরা «*sēkārā*» (\*sekka-āra; see pp. 194-195).

Some isolated cases are কুঁচ «*kūc*» (guṇjā), and শিকড় «*śikarḍ*», OB. (Sarvānanda) «*śihaḍa*» (śiphā-); cf. শিকল «*śikāl*» (MIA. «*siṅkala*», Skt. «*śṅpkhala*», beside «*śṅpkā*»).

«k» occurs in a few words of probable *dēśī* origin: e.g., বুক «*buk*» *cheet*, বক «*bāk*» *chatter*, ঝক «*jbāk*» *talk, jungle* (*dēśī* *jhakkia*), ডাক «*ḍāk*» *shout, call*, হাঁক «*hāk*» *shout* (*dēśī* *hakka*), etc.

«k» is also found as an affix in numerous nouns and derived verbs: e.g., মোড়ক «*mōrāk*» *packet* (<√*muṛ* *roll, fold*); চড়ক «*caṛāk*» *hook-swinging, 'Churruck' festival* (caḍakka, √*caḍ* *ride*); চটক «*cāṭāk*» *shine, brightness*; ঝলক «*jbhālāk*» *flame*; ঝিলিক «*jhilik*» *spark, shine*; চমক «*cāmāk*» *flash, startle*; মড়ক «*mārāk*» *pestilence*; বৈঠক «*bāiṭhāk*» *seat, stand for anything, assembly, session*; আটক «*āṭāk*» *restraint*; হালকা «*hālā-kā*» *light*; ছোকরা «*chō-kā-rā*» *lad*; ছোটকা «*chōṭā-kā*» *little one*, cf. Hindī «*lar-kā*» *boy* beside Assamese «*lārā*» [*lorā*] (\**laḍ-i-a-*); থাক «*√thāk*» *remain*; থক «*thāk*» *be at stand still*; মচকায় «*mācākāy*» *sprains, crackles, breaks*; হেঁচকায় «*hēcākāy*» *drags*; টপকায় «*ṭāpākāy*» *leaps*; etc. The NB. «-ka-, -k-» is derived from a MIA. «-kka-». Hoernle traces this «-kka-» to the OIA. root «-kṛ-»: cf. «*camat-kṛ*» in Skt. = «*camakka*», «*\*cyut-kṛ*» > MIA. «*cukka*», etc. ('Gaudian Grammar,' § 204; JASB., 1880, 1, p. 37). Jules Bloch thinks that this «-k- < -kk-» goes back in part at least to an OIA. «-kya- < -akiya», as in «*pārakya* < *pārakīya*», but also suggests a Dravidian affinity ('Langue Marathe,' p. 105). (See *infra*, under *Morphology*: Origin of the Formative Affixes: '-k-'.)

Final «-kḥ» as a verbal person affix (3rd person) occurs in Bengali: e.g., করিলেক «*kār-il-ē-kḥ*» *he did*, যাইবেক «*jā-ib-ē-kḥ*» *he will go*, দিউক «*di-u-kḥ*» *let him give*, etc.: the origin of this «-kḥ» is obscure, but

it is possibly the OIA. pleonastic <-k->, present in MIA. as <-kk->. (See later, under *Morphology*: the Verb: 'Personal Affixes.')

Interchange between <-k-> and <-g-> has been noticed above. In one case, <-k-> occurs for <-p-> in the Calcutta dialect: দুকুর < dukurṣ > for দুপুর < dupurṣ > *mid-day* (dvi-prahara); for <t>, in the phrase পারক-পকে < pārākṣ-pākṣē >, also পারগ < pārāgṣ >, for পারত পকে < pārātṣ pākṣē > *on the eventuality of one being able*. In MB. (ŚKK.), we have the *sts.* কুকুল < kukuhālā > (= kutūhala).

In *ts.* words, <-k-> occurs long (or double) in interior groups with <y, r, l, v, m >; also in <-khy->: *e.g.*, শাক্য [ʃakkō], চক্র [c̣akkro], গুরু [g̣ukkro], পক [pakkō], রুক্মিণী [rukkīni], ব্যাখ্যা [bækkhæ, bækkha]. In <-kṣ->, pronounced [kkh], we have a similar doubling of <k >.

[k] is commonly found through deaspiration of intervocal, final and preconsonantal [kh] in NB.

[k] in foreign words, Persian, Portuguese, English, is noted below.

252. [kh], intervocally and finally, has a tendency to be deaspirated in the Standard Colloquial. Intervocal [kh] in Typical East Bengali often becomes the spirant [x], with very little audible friction, and is reduced to the glottal spirant [fi]: *e.g.*, দেখেন [dæxhen] *sees, you see (honorific)* = [dæxen, dæfien]; রাখিও < rākhio > *you will keep*, Standard Colloquial [rekho], becomes [raifio]; এখানে [ekhane] *here* = [ɛfiane]. In certain cases, the spirant is dropped: *e.g.*, Chittagong Bengali [təon, tə:n] = তখন [təkhən] *then*.

In the 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed,' <qh > is used for [kh]: *e.g.*, <qhaibar > = খাইবার *to eat*, <xaqhi > = সাক্ষী *witness*, <duqh > = দুখ *pain*. The spirant pronunciation is probably indicated in an occasional case like <rahoal > = রাধোয়াল < rākhōālṣ >, NB. রাখাল < rākhālṣ > *herdsman*—unless it is a typographical error for <qh >. Initially in some cases we have <c > for <qh >—*e.g.*, <calax > = খালাস (Perso-Arabic <xalās >) *freeing*, <coraq > = খোরাক *meal* (Pers. <xurāk >), <cadaia > = খেদাইয়া *driving away*, <cazuaite > = খাজুআইতে, খাউজাইতে *to scratch*, etc., which may be due to the mistake of the transcriber.



[kh], initially, comes from MIA. < kh- >, derived from—

OIA. < kh- >: বায় < khāy > (khādati); খাজা < khājā > (khādyā-);  
খাজুর, খেজুর < khā/ējūr > (kharjura); খাঁওজা < khāojā < khāju-ā- >  
*scratch* (kharju, √kharj); খাট < khāṭ > (khaṭvā); খন্তা  
< khāntā > (khanitra-); খাঁড় < khāṛ > (khaṇḍa); খয়ের < khāyēr >  
(khadira); খঁড় < √khūr > *dig* (khuṛḍa: < ?); খাই < khāi >  
(khāta-); etc.

< kṣ- >: ক্ষেত, খেত < khēt > (kṣētra); খড়ী < khārī > (khaṭikā); খুদ  
< khud > (kṣudra); খীর < khīr > (kṣīra); খেরা < khēyā > *ferry*  
(kṣēpa-); MB. খুমা, খঁরে (kṣāuma-); খণ < khāṇ > (kṣaṇa),  
also কণ = [kha:n]; *sts.* খেমা < khēmā > [khaema] (kṣamā); খুড়া  
< khurā > (\*kṣudra-tāta).

The change of < kṣ > to < kkh > seems to have been the Māgadhī change. The < ch > development of < kṣ > characterised the North-western IA. dialect of the Early MIA. period. Bengali has some < ch > words as well, which apparently were later additions into the Eastern speech.

OIA. < k- >, by aspiration: e.g., খুঁচি < khūci > *basket* (kuñcikā);  
খিল < khil > (kila, khila); খেল < khēl > (khelā); খিচুড়ী < khicūrī > (kṣsara,  
\*kṣsarikā); খরতাল, খতাল < khār(ā)tāl, khāttāl > *cymbals* (kara-tāla);  
খাবল < khābāl >, *sts.* (kavala: *tbh.* = kāl, see p. 347); খাল *skin* (cf. Skt.  
< khalla >, beside < kṛtti >); MB. (ŚKK.) *sts.* খস্তুরী < khāstūrī > (kastūrī), খরল  
< khārālā < \*kārālā > (*garala poison*); NB. খোলঙ্গা < khōlaṅgā >, beside  
কুলঙ্গী, কুলঙ্গী < kulungī > *niche* (= *dēśī* ?); MB. কুটীনাটী < kuṭīnāṭī > *details*,  
*bickering* = NB. খুটীনাটী < khūṭīnāṭī > (kuṭṭa-); etc.

< sk- >: খামার < khāmār > *barn* < *house with posts* (skambhāgāra);  
খাড়া < khārā > *standing, erect* (MIA. khaṛḍha = OIA. \*skabdha).

The word < khāṇ > খান *place, piece*, is probably a blend of < khaṇḍa >  
+ < sthāna >: see page 365. < kh- > is found in some *dēśī* words: e.g.,  
খিড়কী < khīṛkī > (khaṛakkī), খড় < khār > *straw*, খাঁখার < khākhār > *abuse*,  
*insult*, cf. Assamese খঙ্গ < khāṅ > *anger* (\*khaṅkha-).

Medially and finally, [kh] is from—

OIA. < -khy- > > MIA. < -kkh- >: ব্যখান < bākhāṇ > (vyākhyāna);

OIA. < -ṅkh- > > MIA. < -ṅkh- >: শাঁখ < śākh > (śaṅkha);

- OIA. < -k- > MIA. < -kk- >, by aspiration : শালিক beside শালিক  
 < śālikhḥ, śālikḥ > (śārikā). Cf. বাজুর as in বেটে বাজুর < bēṭe bāj-  
 khurā > *short, dwarfish* (? \*vaṅk-ura, vakra) ;
- OIA. < -kṣ- > MIA. < -kkh-, -ṅkh- > : কাঁখ < kākhḥ > (kakṣa) ;  
 পাখী < pākhi > (pakṣin) ; রাখ < rākhē > (rakṣati) ; আখড়া  
 < ākhḥṛā > (akṣa-vāṭa-) ; ঝাঁখ < ākh > (akṣi) ; MB. পেখ < pēkhḥ >  
 (prēkṣā) ; মাখ < mākhē > (mrakṣati) ; লাখ < lākhḥ > (lakṣa) ;  
 চাখ < cākhē > (cakṣhāi, √cakṣ) ; etc. ;
- OIA. < -kṣṇ- > MIA. < -kkh- > : MB. তীখ < tīkhā > (tikṣṇa) ; but  
 cf. Oriyā < sānā > *small* from < ślakṣṇa > (MIA. saṅha) ;
- OIA. < -kṣm- >, in the old *sts.* লক্ষ্মী = লক্ষ্মী [lokkhi] (lakṣmī) ; MB.  
*sts.* লক্ষ্মন্দর < lākhindārā > (lakṣmīndra) ;
- OIA. < -tkh-, \*-dkh- > MIA. < -kkh- > : উখাড় < ukhāṛḥ > (utkhāṭa) ;  
 উখালী < ukhālī > (\*udkhala-, udūkhala-) ;
- OIA. < -ṣk(h)-, -skh- > MIA. < -kkh- > : পুখুর < pukhurḥ > (puṣ-  
 karini) ; শুখা < śukhā > (śuṣka-) ; পাখালে < pākhalē > (pra-skhāla-  
 yati) ;
- OIA. < -ḥkh- > MIA. < -kkh- > : দুখ < dukh > [du:kḥ] (duḥkha).

In one or two words, in the Apabhraṅśa or Old Bengali stage, medial < -kkh- > has been reduced to < -h- > : লাহা, লা < lāhā > lā > (lākṣā) ; and ক < -kē- >, from < \*kahi > (locative of < \*kakha = kakṣa > : or < \*kaī < kaē < kptē > ?). In বখা < bākhā > *to go astray*, from earlier বহকা < bāhākā > (vabhakka, √vab), cf. Hind. < bahaknū >, < kh > originates through transposition of the aspirate.

< kh > occurs in *ts.* words : জুখ [jūkh], শাখা [śākha], খ্যাতি [khaṭi],  
 দুঃখ [dukkhō], লিখ [likh], etc. ; *sts.* খিদা < khidā > (kṣudhā) ; রক্ক  
 [rokkhæ, rokkha] (rakṣā), etc.

In the medieval pronunciation of Sanskrit, < ṣ > was [kh] in Northern India. See p. 243. This value of < ṣ > was unknown to Bengal. But some *ts.* and *sts.* from Northern India (Western and Eastern Hindī and 'Bihārī' areas) with [kh] for < ṣ >, have come to Bengali also, mainly through the Brajabulī dialect : e.g., MB. দোখ < dōkhā > (dōṣa) ; NB. রোখ < rōkhḥ > (rōṣa) ; ঝখ in ঝখমারী < jhākhḥ-mārī > *evil deed* < the



*work of a fisher-man*, cf. কব < jhāṣṣ > *fish* (jhaṣa)(?) ; MB. হরিকধ < hārikhḍ > (harṣa); বরিকন, বরিকধ < bārikhānā, bārikhē > (varṣaṇa, varṣati); জোখ, জুখ < √jōkh, jukh > *weigh, compute* (< juṣ >, as in the ' Dhātu-pāṭha ' = < paritar-kaṇam, ūhaḥ : ' jōṣayati kāntam anyāsaktam bālā, tarkayati ity arthah > : NIA. < √jōh > *watch, see, want* is probably another derivation).

Persian [x] regularly becomes [kh] in Bengali.

253. [g] is spirantised and dropped intervocally in the Chittagong dialect : e.g., [aoin] = < āgāin, āgani > (agni) ; [bhaina] = ভাগিনা < bhāginā > (bhāginēya) ; [saol] = ছাগল < chāgālḥ > *goat* ; [kaots] = কাগজ < kāgājḥ > *paper* (Persian < kāgāḥ >) ; [jau] = দাঁড় < sāgu > *sago* (< Portuguese), etc. But on the whole, [g] derived from OB. is preserved in the NB. dialects.

Initial [g] comes ultimately from—

OIA. < g- > : গান < gānḥ > ; গা < gā > (gātra : see p. 255) ; গেল < gēlā > (gata + illa) ; গোরু < gōru > (gō-rūpa) ; গাঠ < gōṭḥḥ > (gōṣṭha) ; গুণ < guṇḥ > *quality, rope* ; গুন, গুন < √gun > *count* (√gan) ; গুন < guṇḥ > *gunny* (gōṇī) ; গালি < gāli > (garha-) ; গৌরা < gōrā > (gāura-) ; গলে < gālē > (galati) ; গেরুয়া < gēruā > (gāirika) ; গলা < gālā > (gala-) ; গাল < gālḥ > *cheek* (MIA. galla = gaṇḍa) ; গোলা < gōlā > *ball* (gōlaka-) ; etc. ;

OIA. < gr- > : গাঁ < gā > (grāma) ; গাঁট < gāṭ > (granthi) ; MB. গাঁথাবর < gāṭhā-gbārā > (grantha- + gr̥ha) ; গুনট < gumāṭḥ > for \*gimāṭḥ > (gr̥ṣma-) ; MB. গিম < gimā > (grivā) ; গহনা, গয়না < gāhānā, gāynā > *ornaments* (grahaṇa-) ; etc. ;

Medial and final [g] :

OIA. < -gn- > > MIA. < -gg- > : আগি, আগ < āg(i) > (agni-) ; লাগ < lāgḥ > (lagna) ; ভাগ < bhāg > *run away, flee* (bhagna) ;

OIA. < -gy- > > NIA. < -gg- > : MB. জোগ < jōgā > (yōgya) ;

OIA. < -gr- > > MIA. < -gg- > : আগা < āgā > (agra-) ; পাগ < pāgḥ > *turban* (pragraha) ; MB. আগন, আঘন < āgānḥ, āghānā > (agra-hāyaṇa) ;

OIA. < -ṅg- > : this < -g- > is frequently nasalised to < ṅg > ṅ > (see pp. 363-364) : MB. ভাগ < √bhāg > (bhagga) ;

OIA. < -ḍg- > > NIA. < -gg- > : খাগ-ড়া < khāgḥ-ṛā > *reed* (khaḍga) ;

- OIA. < -dg- > MIA. < -gg- > : মুগ < mugḥ >, beside মূগ < muṅ(g) > (mudga); মুগুর < mugurḥ (mudgara); মাগুর < māgurḥ > a fish (madgura);
- OIA. < -rg- > MIA. < -gg- > : আগল < āgālḥ > (argala); মাউগ, মাগ < māgu > māug > (\*mārguka); OB. < mā(ṅ)ga >, NB. < māṅ > (mārga); মাগে, মাগে < mā(ṅ)gē > (mārgayati); বাগ < bāgḥ > (varga); দুগী < dugī > contemptuous form of the name Durgā (\*durgikā);
- OIA. < -lg- > MIA. < -gg- > : ফাগ, ফাগুন < phāgḥ, phāgunḥ > (phalgu, phālguna); বাগ < bāgḥ > rein (valgā).
- OIA. < -k- > is represented by < -g- > in the numeral এগার < ēgārā > [ægarā], which is a *sts.* in Late MIA. Similar < -g- > for < -k- > is found in a few other *sts.*, e.g., বিগড়া < big(ā)ṛā > to get vicious (vikāṣa-), beside the *tbh.* বেরাড়া < bēārā > bad, ugly, vicious; পগার < pāgārḥ > (prākāra); MB. মগর < māgārā > (makara), etc. See *ante*, pp. 445, 446.

[g] stands for Skt. < g > in *tss.* and *sts.*: জগ < jāgā > (jagat), যুগ < jugḥ > (yuga), আগমন < āgāmānḥ > (OB. *tbh.* < avarā >, NB. আনা < ānā >), ব্যগ্র [bæggrō] (vyagra); etc. [g] also occurs in the pronunciation of the Skt. groups < -ghr-, -ghv- > : ব্যগ্র [bæggrō] (vyāghra); শীঘ্র [śīggīrō], (śīghra), with a *sts.* শীগির [śīggir]; MB. লগ্ধী, নগ্ধী < lāgghī, nāgghī > (laghvī) = lesser (call), passing water. [gh] > [g] is found in final and intervocal positions, and sometimes the spelling notes it: e.g., *sts.* বাগড়া < bāgḥārā > (vyāghāta + -ḍa-); হাগরে < হাগরে < hāgārē > hāghārē = hā-ghāriyā > homeless, vagrant (cf. হাভাতিয়া > হাবাতে < hābhātiyā > hābātē > beggar, cryer for rice).

*Ts.* < jū > is pronounced < gṣ-, -ggṣ- >; and sometimes in MB. and NB. we find the *sts.* orthography গের < gēy- > : e.g., গেরান, অগেরান < gēyānā, āgēyānā > (jūāna, ajūāna); আগে < āgē >, as in the phrase কার্যকাগে < kāryākaṅcāgē > as a preliminary in formal or official letters and legal documents (= Skt. < kāryāṅ ca ājūāpayati > : see Rāmēndra-sundar Trivēdi, 'Śabdakathā,' San 1324, pp. 93, 94).

In South-eastern Bengali of Chittagong, there is a euphonic [g] originating in consonant groups with the semivowel < -y- > : e.g., সিন্দুরিয়া



« *sindūriyā* » *vermillion-coloured*, Standard Colloquial [ʃidure], Typical East Bengali [ʃinduirā, -īriā] > [ʃiṇduirgɛ]; কুড়িয়া « *kuriyā* » *lazy*, Standard Coll. [kuɽe], Typical East Bengali [kuira, kuiriā], > [xuirgɛ]; Standard Beng. পারিবা « *pāribā* », East Bengali পারিবাম « *pāribām, pāirbām* » পারিম্ « *pārimu* » *I shall be able* = Chittagong \*পারিয়ম্ « *pāriyām* » > [\*phairiōm > vairgiōm]; Standard কহিল+ই+ওই « *kāhila+i+ōi* » *he said indeed, he said* > [\*koillīoi > xoilgiōi, xoilgoi]. Cf. Sinhalese *sts.* « *sūrgya-* » = Skt. « *sūrya* », beside *tbh.* « *ira* ».

In foreign words, Persian « *g, ǧ* », and sometimes « *q* », are represented by [g] in Bengali. See *infra*.

254. [gfi] medial and final tends to be deaspirated in NB. Medial [gh], however, is very rare in *tbhs.* See under 'Nasalisation,' *supra*, p. 364.

Initially, NB. [gfi] comes from :

OIA. « *gh-* » : ঘন « *ghānā* » *thick* (*ghanaka*); ঘড়ী « *ghārī* » *bell, watch* (*ghaṭikā*); ঘাম « *ghāmā* » *sweat* (*gharma*); বা « *ghā* » *wound* (*ghāta*); ঘী « *ghī* » (*ghṛta*); ঘাট « *ghāṭ* » (*ghaṭṭa* < ?); ঘিঞ « *ghinṣ* » (*ghṛṇā*); ঘাস « *ghāś* » (*ghāsa*); ঘাঁট, ঘাঁট, ঘূট « *ghāṭ, ghīt, ghūt* » (*ghṛṣṭa*); ঘব « *√ghāṣ* » (*√ghṛṣ*); ঘোল « *ghōl* » *churned milk, whey; making turbid* (*ghūrṇ-*); ঘোড়া « *ghōṛā* » (*ghōṭa-*, < *dēśī*).

OIA. « *ghr-* » > MIA. « *gh-* » : ঘানী « *ghānī* » *oil-mill* (« *ghrāṇikā* »; cf. « *ghraṇaka* », in Siyadoni Inscription, Lalitpur, U. P., 11th century, Ep. Ind., I, pp. 162 ff.).

Medially: from OIA. « *-ghr-* » > MIA. « *-ggh-* » : বাঘ « *bāgh* » (*vyāghra*).

In ঘর « *ghār* » < « *grha* », we have [gfi] by transposition of [fi] and [r] in the Late OIA. or Early MIA. period (*grha* > \**garha*). Cf. NB. *sts.* অগ্রাণ « *āgrāṇ* » (*agrahāyaṇa*), beside the folk form [əggeran]: the *tbh.* is found in MB., আগন, আগন « *āg(h)ānā* ». So Oriyā « *ghēnāi* » = « *grṇnāti* ».

In বিঘৎ « *bighāt* » *span* = « *vitasti* », in MIA. « *vihatthi* » (Pischel, § 207), we have [gfi] for MIA. « *h* », which itself is obscure. The word

বিঘা < bighā > a land measure, is similarly unexplained, although it has been connected with < varga >. The following [gfi] words also are among the obscure ones: some of them seem to be of *dēśī* origin. E.g., OB. বাটা < ghātā >, NB. বাড় < ghāṛḍ > neck cf. Hind. < ghēṭ >; বাবড়া < ghābḍā > to be confused, cf. Hind. < ghabrānā >; বুড়ী < ghurī > whooping cough (probably onomatopoeic, but cf. Hind. < ghumri > vertigoe); বুনৌ, বুনৌ < ghūnī, ghūṅnī > boiled peas with spices and oil (Hind. also = ghūṅnī); বোমটা < ghōmṭā > veil, cf. Hind. < ghūṅghaṭ >; বোঙ্গা, গোঙ্গা < g(h)ongā > dumb; বুচা < ghucā > be finished; বেঁচি as in বেঁচি-কড়ি < ghēci-kāri > knotted cowry-shell; connected with the last probably is বিজি < ghiñjī > close, narrow, crowded; বের < ghērḍ > circumference; বুর < ghungurḍ > tiny bells worn round feet in dancing, morris-bells = Hind. < ghungurū >; বুনৌ, বুড়ী < ghumṣī, ghūṅṣī > thread ornament for the waist (cf. Hind. < ghūmnā > to turn round); বুড়ী, বুড়ী < ghunṭī, ghunṭī > tiny buttons (also in Hind.); বুৰ < ghūṣḍ > secret, bribe, as in < ghūṣḍkī > a secret harlot, বুৰবুৰে জ্বৰ < ghūṣḍghūṣē jwārḍ > slight fever not easily noticed; OB. < ghāla- > throw (also in Rājasthānī); বুম < ghumḍ > sleep, cf. বিমান < jhimānā > doze, Marāṭhī < jhōṇṇē > sleep; বুড়ী < ghurī > paper kite, Hind. < guḍḍī >.

For gutturals interchanging with palatals, see below, under Palatals.

(2) The Palatal Affricates [tʃ, tʃh, tʃs, tʃʃ].

255. The OIA. palatal stops [c, ch, ɟ, ɟʃ] became palatal affricates in Eastern India as early as the First MIA. period (see §132). This value is preserved in West Bengali; but in North and East Bengali, they have been further modified to the dental affricates and sibilants [ts, s, dz, z]. There are class dialects in the [ts]-areas, however, in which the West Bengali [tʃ]-pronunciation is occasionally heard. The 'Crepax Xaxtror Orthbhed' employs both < ch > (= [tʃ] in Modern Portuguese, but earlier [tʃ]) and < s > for the sound of চ < c > in Dacca Bengali: e.g., < chair > = চাইর, চারি < cāir < cāri > four, also < sair >; < xancha, xansa > = সঁচা < sācā > true; <panse > = পাঁচ < pācē > fifthly; < chinio, sinio > = চিহ্ন < cihnā >, etc. Probably both the sounds of [ts] and [tʃ] were heard. But Padre



Assumpçam writes < s, ss > invariably for ছ < ch >: < asse > = আছে < āchē > is, < quissu > = কিকু < kichu > a little, < soe > = ছয় < chāy > six, < saocal > = ছাওয়াল < chāōāl > child, etc., which would demonstrate that [s] was the only value of ছ. The letters জ ঞ < j, jh > are both transliterated by < z >: it seems it was due more to the absence in the Portuguese-Roman script of a symbol for the sound of [ʃ, ʒ] rather than to that sound being not heard in Dacca Bengali: for the [ʃ] sound is not yet entirely suppressed by [dz] there.

256. The dental affricate and sibilant pronunciation does not seem to have developed in West Bengali, and in the 'Bihārī' speeches. As it has been suggested before (p. 79), the dental affricates (*i.e.*, tongue-tip alveolar or dental, instead of tongue-middle supra-alveolar sounds) probably originated in North-eastern Bengal and Kāma-rūpa, whence they advanced south and west, and affected the East Bengali (Vangā) dialects to a considerable extent. The Tibetan values of the letters च, छ, ज as < ts, tsh, dz > in the transliteration of Sanskrit words (cf. Śarat Chandra Das, 'Tibetan-English Dictionary,' Calcutta, 1902, p. xviii) would perhaps indicate some influence from North and East Bengal in the closing centuries of the 1st millennium and beginning of the second millennium A. C., when Bengali scholars had a great deal to do with the religious organisation of Tibet. The [ts] values were probably established in Kāma-rūpa as early as the 7th century, whence they spread to East Bengal and North Bengal. In West Bengali (Rāḍha), < c, ch > never shifted their palatal or supra-dental articulation, as we see from a frequent change of च, छ, ज < ś, ṣ, s > = [ʃ] to च, छ [ç, çh], and from an occasional change of च, छ [ç, çh] to च, ज [ʃ]. This alternation of [ç, çh] and [ʃ] means simply the introduction or removal of the stop element: cf. the derivation of [ʃ] in French from earlier [tʃ]: Late Latin < caballus > [kabal:us] > [kaval:us] > [caval:u] > [tʃəvalə] > [ʃəval]. As there is no reason to doubt that the sibilant in Old Bengali, at least in the west, was anything but [ʃ], this interchange would be a strong evidence that < c, ch >, etc., never altered their *palatal* affricate character (whatever might have been the change in East and North Bengali, and in the old Kāma-rūpa dialect).

257. The interchange between « c, ch » and the sibilants is quite old in IA. (see Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 111). In OIA. « t, ṅ, + ś », i.e. [t, ɲ, + ʃ], optionally results in [tʃ, ɲʃ] : here only the stop [t] shifts its position back to the palatal region, and the spirant [ʃ] is turned to the aspirate stop [tʃ], or the nasal [ɲ] alters the spirant to a stop aspirate [tʃ] : e.g., [tat + ʃrutwa : > tacehrtwa :; swapaɲ ʃe : te : > swapaɲche : te :]. In some rare cases, alternation of « ś » and « ch » in OIA. and MIA. forms is due to Indo-European phonetic conditions : e.g., IE. « \*koipo-, \*skoipo- » (k = 'palatal') > Skt. « śēpa- », MIA. « chēpa » respectively (Wackernagel, I, §230b). In other cases, interchange between « c, ch » and the sibilants « ś, s » are due to OIA. and MIA. dialectal pronunciation. Skt. forms like « Vaśiṣṭha, kiśalaya, kēśara, kalaśa, śūkara, Kōśala, Kaśa », etc., side by side with the earlier « Vasiṣṭha, kisalaya, kēśara, kalasa, sūkara, Kōśala, Kaśa » in all probability originated in the dialect with « ś » pronunciation (Māgadhī); and similarly « sūrpa » for « śūrpa » was an imposition from an « s » dialect in Early MIA. In Aśōkan Prakrit, and in Pali, as well as in the Second MIA., we have cases of original OIA. or derived MIA. « ce, ch » occurring as sibilants : e.g., « cikisā » (Dhauri, Jaugada and Kalsi) beside « cikiehā, cikiehā » (Girnar) (= eikitsā); « usapāpitē » (Rumindei, < \*ucchrapāpita = ucchrāpita); « usāhena » (Pillar edicts : utsāhēna); « usaṭhena » by the best (Rock edict X : a Māgadhī form = « utsṭa + ucchrita »); Pali « ussāsaka » (ucchirśaka), « ussussati » (ucchuṣa-), « ussaṅkī » (ucchaṅkī), « ussa » (ucea), « Kaku-sanda » (Krakucchanda), « kasira » (kṛechra); Second MIA. « ūsavēha » (ucchrapayata), « ūsaa » (ucchaya), etc. (cf. Pischel, §327a). The change, at least for the Eastern speech of Aśōka and for the Pali forms (which can reasonably be expected to have been on a Māgadhī basis), was that of the palatal affricates of Māgadhī to palatal sibilants : these palatal sibilants would be indifferently written « ś », or « s » (through the influence of the orthography of the Western Prācyā court dialect, presumably), in the Māgadhī or the Eastern Prācyā area ; and the « s » spellings would establish the dental sibilant pronunciation in the Midland speech, Pali, as representing Late OIA. « ch » : thus, OIA. [cikitsa:] > [\*cikiecha:] >



pre-Aśōkan Prāeya [c̣ʰikicẹʰha:] > Aśōkan Māgadhi [\*c̣ʰikiʃʃa:], written « cikisā » (but in Girnar probably pronounced [cikiccha:], with stop sounds, and written « cikiehā, cikiehā »); so OIA. « \*ucchrāpāpita (= ucchrāpita) » gave [\*uc̣ʰhapa:pita] > [uʃʃapa:pita], written « usapāpit- », and OIA. [utspta] possibly through influence of « ucchrita », in Prāeya Māgadhi [\*uc̣ʰhaṭa] > [uʃʃaṭa], written « usaṭa ». The Pali forms may similarly be expected to have been based on eastern forms in « śś » for « cc, ch », written « s » or « ss »; and Skt. « kacchapa » seems to be from a Māgadhi « \*kaśśapa » = OIA. « kaśyapa ». Is the Later Māgadhi (Second MIA.) orthography « śc » for the derived « cch » connected with a « śś » pronunciation which originated at least as early as the time of Aśōka? Cases of « ś » for the affricate « ch » in Bengali are given below, under the treatment of [ʃ]. This « s, ss » in the orthography of the Aśōkan inscriptions and of Pali does not by itself warrant the conclusion that the « s, ss » is the result of a [ts, ss] pronunciation of [c, ch] in the Early MIA. period. Change of « cch » > « ss » in the Second MIA. period (Pischel, §327a), may, however, be partly due to the pronunciation of « c » as « ts » and of « ch » as « s » which in all likelihood characterised the source forms of Marāṭhī (and Rājasthānī), at least dialectally, during the middle of the first millennium A. C.<sup>1</sup> And MIA. change of « ś, s » to « ch » (Pischel, §211), savours of being in its origin Māgadhi: but so great has been the intermixture among the IA. dialects, that the original threads in the texture have been overlapped, and are now almost impossible to trace. Hindi, for example has « lālac » = Skt. « lālasā », and « muskurānā » = *smile*, but cf. Bengali মুচকিয়া হাসা « muc̣ʰkiyā hāsā »; and it is difficult to unravel the « c : s » relation. That Aśōkan and Pali « ss = cch » is on the basis of [ʃʃ] modification of Eastern IA. [c̣ʰh] only can be legitimately inferred.

<sup>1</sup> In Marāṭhī, MIA. ‘c’ has become the dental affricate ‘ts’ before the back vowels, and remains a palatal affricate before the front vowels; and MIA. ‘ch’ has become ‘s’, which changed to ‘ś’ before front vowels. In Sinhalese *ibid.*, MIA. ‘c, cc, ch, cch’ changed to ‘s’ in the Eju stage (W. Geiger, ‘Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,’ pp. 40, 46). The South-Western IE. speech, the source of Marāṭhī, and possibly also of Sinhalese, can well be assumed to have developed the ‘ts’ value for ‘c’ (= cś, tś) early.

258. According to the Prakrit grammarians, Māgadhi did not drop the intervocal palatals, while the other groups of MIA. did. This would be quite in accordance with the theory that the palatals become affricates in Māgadhi earlier than in Śaurasēni and Mahārāṣṭri, in which they were voiced and elided, like the guttural and the dental stops. As a descendant of Māgadhi, Bengali ought to preserve the intervocal palatals in *lks.* words. We have a few words, which are *lks.*, showing < -c-, -j- > (page 247) ; but there are quite a number of other words with elided palatal ; *e.g.*, MB. রাউত < rāutḥ > (rāja-putra) ; রাউল < rāulḥ > (rāja-kula) ; সিউনী < siunī > (sēcanikā) ; MB. রজনী < rājanī > (rajanī), and সই < sui > beside ছুঁচ, সূচ < chūc, sūc > (sūci), in addition to the words noted above at p. 247. The words with elided palatal can very well be borrowings from the Śaurasēni and Ardhamāgadhi. Bengali does not show long a list of words with the elided palatal, as Hindī for instance : words like < biā > (bīja-), < ār > (ajagara), < lōyana > (lōcana), < bhōyana > (bhōjana), < baina, bayana > (vacana), < gayavara, gaivara > (= Old Rājasthāni gēmara) (gajavara), < gaīnda > (gajēndra), < bēnā > (vyajanaka), etc., are absent in Bengali ; and if the ŚKK., which preserves a larger percentage of old *lks.* than any MB. work, employs the form রআনী < rāānī > once, রজনী < rājanī > is employed 5 times ; and বচন < bācānā > is found 21 times, but a form with elided < c >, never. And side by side with বিউনী < biunī >, we have what may be regarded as the genuine Bengali বিজনী < bijḥnī > (vyajanikā). The OB. of the 'Caryā-padas' shows a few forms with elision, like < nia > (= nija) (Caryās 13, 32, 39, 49), < biāra- > (= vicāra-) (Caryā 20), < baāna > (= vacana) (Caryās 38, 39, 45) ; but these have never taken root in the language, and look like being borrowings from Śaurasēni Apabhraṅśa. On the other hand, the Caryās have a form like < ācāya > (Caryā 36 = ācārya) which seems to have been a living form in Eastern Magadhan, as it is attested in an Oṛiyā Inscription of the 13th century. Dropping of < c > occurs in the names of the numerals in Bengali : *e.g.*, বিবাল্লিস < biāllisḥ > (dvācatvāriṅśat). But the numerals are exceptional words in most NIA., they represent a mix-up of forms from diverse MIA. dialects which were standardised possibly in the Midland during the Transitional MIA.



period, and they do not represent in all cases the genuine Māgadhī forms.

259. OIA. < kṣ > had a two-fold development in Early MIA., < (k)kh > and < (c)ch > : the former characterised the dialects of the East and the Midland, and the latter those of the North-west and South-west, as can be judged from the early epigraphical and other evidence. (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' §104, p. 112). But there has been through an early inter-influence among the MIA. dialects a mingling of < kh > and < ch > forms in all NIA. speeches. Marāṭhī, as Bloch shows (*op. cit.*, p. 114), is in its origin a < (c)ch > dialect, being derived from a South-western IA. speech; and so are Sinhalese, and Gujarātī, in their basic stratum. < (c)ch > words seem to have been imposed upon Śaurasēnī (and Pali) by its western neighbour, the North-western speech; and Bengali and Oṛiyā, and other Māgadhan speeches, can reasonably be regarded as having obtained the < (c)ch > words they possess, side by side with the older < (k)kh > forms in some cases, as loan words through Śaurasēnī. The western or < cch > tradition in the pronunciation of < kṣ > seems to have become thoroughly naturalised in the Midland, and from thence into Eastern India excluding the Oṛiyā-Bengali-Assamese tracts; so much so that in the Western Hindī, and Eastern Hindī, and partly in the 'Bihārī' areas, the compound consonant च < kṣ > normally has come to acquire the value of < cch >, except in the present-day educated pronunciation, in which the < kṣ > sound seems to be a revival. Early and Medieval Hindī *stss.* are based on the < cch > pronunciation. Thus, in the 'Prithīrāja-Rāsau' we have < lacchana > (lakṣaṇa), < paccha > (pakṣa), < dacchīna > (dakṣiṇa), < nachatra > (nakṣatra), < chana > (kṣaṇa), etc.; and we find च used in old Hindī MSS. and inscriptions even for a < cch > which is not connected with < kṣ >: *e.g.*, पचिम for < pacchīma > (< paścīma). The North-western tradition thus overshadowed the original < (k)kh > change from OIA. in the Midland. And the < (k)kh > value, in its turn, is not absent in the Panjābī and Labndī (*i.e.* North-Western) areas. But the < (c)ch > pronunciation never established itself in Bengali, despite a number of < ch > words imposed on it. The < (k)kh(y) > sound alone is

the basis for the alteration of < kṣ > in *ts.* and *sts.* words. (See pp. 226, 227, 228).

260. Quite a number of cases of the palatal affricate in NIA. go back to OIA. groups of a dental + < y >: thus < ty > [tī] > palatalised < t' > + < y > [tj] > [tç, tc] > < cc > [cc], later [cç]; < dy > [dī] > [dj] > [dç] > < jj > [jç, jçç]; < thy > [thī] > [thj] > < ech > [ech, eçh]; < dhy > [dhī] > [dhj] > < jjh > [jçh, jççh]. (See p. 250.) The intermediate stage of [cc, jç], etc., is heard in the pronunciation of Sanskrit words in parts of Western and Southern India.

In the Māgadhī or Prācya speech of the First MIA. stage, as illustrated in the inscriptions of Aśōka, there was no palatalising tendency: < ty, dhy > etc. became < tiy, dhiy >, and < dy > occurs as < yy >. The dialects of the West changed these groups to double palatals. Words with the palatalised sounds thus were introduced into Māgadhī, and later Māgadhī fell in line with other MIA. in this matter, giving up the vocalised forms native to it.

261. NB. [ç], = [ts] in East and North Bengal, in initial positions comes from—

OIA. < c- > > MIA., OB., MB. < c- >: চৌ- < cāu- > (catur-); চাঁদ < cāḍ > (candra); চাক < cāk > (cakra); চাঁখে < cākhē > *lastes* (cakkhāi = caṣṭē < √cakṣ); চকা < cākā > (cakravāka); চল্লিশ < cāllīś > (catvāriṅśat); চিকণ < cikāṅ > (cikkaṅa); চিত < cit > (citta); চিত্রে < ciē > (cētayati); চিতা < citā > (citra-); চুঁচি < cūci > (eucuka); চিন < cin > (cihna); চুমে < cumē > (cumbati); চৌচ < cōc > (cañcu); etc.;

OIA. < cy- > > MIA., OB., MB. < c- >: চুয়ে < cūē > *leaks* (cyavati).  
Medial and final [ç] is from—

OIA. < -c-, -ce- > > MIA. < -c- (?), -cc-, \*-ñc- >: উঁচ < ũcā > (\*uñca-, ueca-); কাঁচ, কাচ < kāc > (\*kāñca, kūca); চুঁচ < chūc >, also সূচ < sūc > [ʃu:ç] (\*chuñci, \*sūci, sūci); ছেঁচে < chēcē > [çhācç] (\*cheñci, sēcayati); পাঁচিল < pācīl > (\*pañcīla, \*pācīla = prācīra); (\*peñca-, pēcaka-); পেঁচা < pēcā > [pācçā]; বচন < bācāṅ > (vacana); etc.;



- OIA. < -ñc- > MIA. < -ñc- > : আঁচল < āñcāḥ > (añcala); কৌঁচ < kōñcā > *pleat* ( $\sqrt{\text{kuñe}}$ ); ছাঁচ < chāñc > (sañca); পাঁচ < pāñc > (pañca); মাঁচ < māñcā = māñcā > (mañca-); etc.;
- OIA. < -cy- > MIA. < -cc- > : রুচে < rucē > (rneyati, or rōcatē ?);
- OIA. < -ty- > MIA. < -cc- > : আইচ < āic > a *surname* (āditya); \*কচহরী > কাছারী < \*kacaharī > kāchārī > *office* (kṛtya-grha-); MB. কাচ < kāc > (kṛtya); কোনাচ < kōñc > at an *angle* (kōñc-tya-); \*জিয়াচ > জৈয়াচ < \*jiyāca > jēñc > (jivitāpatyā); সাঁচ < sāca > (satya-); etc.;
- OIA. < -try- > MIA. < -cc- > : বাইচ < bāic >, also বাইছ < bāich > *boat-race* (\*vāhicca, \*vāhitrya?).

By unvoicing of < j >, we have [ç] in a few instances: e.g., পাঁচন বাড়ী < pāñcāñ-bārī > *cowherd's stick* (prājana: cf. Pali pācēti = OIA. prājayati); বেচে < bēcē > *sells* (beccaī < \*bejjaī = vyayati ?); কুঁচ < kūñc > (guñjā); কুলচী, কুলচী < kulāci, kuluci > for কুলজী < kulāji > (kula-pañjikā).

By palatalisation: a solitary instance in IA. is চিরাতা < cirātā >, OB. < cirāyita- > (cilāitta-, cilāa + titta = kirāta-tikta); চাউল < cāul >, OB. তাউল, তাঁড়ুল < tāulā, tāṛulā > (tañḍula < ?).

By deaspiration: OB. < cātīpanna >, but MB. ছাতীপন, ছাত্ৰিপন < chātīpāñā, chāñīpāñā >, NB. ছাতিম < chātīm > (chattavañña, saptaparñña); OB. < cilli > *cricket* (jhilli); বিচালি < bicāli > *straw* (< ? \*biehāli: cf. বিছানা < biehānā > *bed* < vicchādāna- >); sts. চান < cāñ > beside ছান < chāñ > (snāna); *dēśī* চেঙড়া, চেঙরা < cēṅṛā, cēṅṛā > beside ছেমরা < chēmṛā >, ছৌড়া < chōṛā > *urchin, lad*.

In *ts.* words, [ç] is regular for Skt. < c >. The group < t+s >, now pronounced as [t+ç], used to be [ççh] in the earlier pronunciation with a Prakrit tradition which is now disappearing: e.g., the *sts.* forms ভছ < bhācchā > (bhartsa-), কুছা < kucchā > (kutsā), বছর < bācchār > (vatsara), কুচ্ছিত < kucchit > (kutsita), মছ < mācchā > (matsya), জোচ্ছনা < jōcchānā > (jyōtsnā); etc., etc.

[ç] is also the result of assimilation: \*গোট + চিয়ার > গোটচার, \*গোটচের গোকার, গুচ্চের < \*gōṭa-ciāra > \*gōṭcār, gōṭcēr > gōccār, guccēr > *some four*,

some; হইতেছে > হ'ছে, হ'চে < hāitēchē > \*hōitēchē > hōechē, hōcēē > *is taking place, is happening* (?).

[ç] in foreign words, represents Persian < c >, also < s, š >; Portuguese [tʃ] (?), [ʃ], and English *ch* = [tʃ] : see *infra*.

262. Bengali [çh]. Initially, it is from—

OIA. < ch- > : ছই < chāi > (chadis); ছিনাল < chināl > *woman of bad character* (chinna-); ছাত(t) < chāt(ā) > (chatra-); ছে, ছেনী < chē, chēni > (chēda, chēdanikā); ছাল < chāl > (challi); ছাপর < chāpār > (chatvara); ছেঁদা < chēdā > (\*chinda-, chidra-); ছাড়ে < chārē > (chardati); ছাওয়া < chāōā > (chāyā-); MB. ছেলি < chēli > (chayāla-, chagala-); ছিড়ে < chīrē > (chiṇḍati); etc., etc.;

OIA. < kṣ- > : in words which apparently did not belong to the Old Māgadhī dialect. *E.g.*, ছার, ছাই < chār >, chāi > *ashes* (kṣāra); *sts.* ছেপ < chēp > *juice spat out after chewing (a betel-leaf)* (kṣēpa); ছিনা < chinā > *thin* (kṣiṇa-); ছুত < chut > < OB. chūdhā > *pollution, untouchability* (kṣubdhā); ছুরি < churi > (kṣura-); ছিপ < chip > *a swift boat; an angling rod* (kṣipra);

OIA. < ś-, s- > > probably < ch- > in Late MIA.: *e.g.*, ছা < chā > (śābaka); ছেঁচা < chēcā > (√sie); ছুঁচ < chūc > (sūci); ছুঁচি < chūci > *ceremonial cleanliness* (śāucika; śuci ?); ছুটে < chut > as in দৌছুটে < dō-chut > *two pieces of cloth, dhōṭi and chādar* (sūtra); ছুতার < chutār > (sūtra-dhāra, -kāra); ছাতু < chātu > (śaktu-); MB. ছামু < chāmu > (sanmukha); ছুলি < chuli > *skin disease*, OB. (Sarvānanda) < sihuli > (cf. Skt. sidhma); ছি < chi > (śri); *sts.* ছিরি < chiri > (MIA. \*śī, śī < śri); *sts.* ছত্তর < chāttār > (satra); etc.

In some obscure words, Aryan and *dēśī*, we have also < ch- > : ছুয়ে, ছোয় < chōē < chūē > (chuvāi, \*chuvāi = spr̥sati); ছি < chi > *fie* (< ?); ছোট < chōṭ > *small* (< ?); etc.

Medially, [çh] represents—

OIA. < -ch- > (from Indo-European < \*-sko- >) > MIA. < ech > : *e.g.*, আছে < āchē > *is* (acchāi < acchati < \*es-sko-ti); গাছ < gāch > *tree* (gaccha *progression, line, race, tree* < \*g<sup>w</sup> ṃ-sko-); পছ



- « pāhūchē » *reaches* (\*pahuñc[h]ai, pahucehai < \*prabhucehati < \*pro + bhū-sko-ti); পুছে « puehē » (puechai < p̄cehati < \*p̄rk-sko-ti); also পিছল « pichāl » (picehala < ?);
- OIA. « -ech- » = « -kṣ- »: কাছ « kāch » *neighbourhood* (kaccha, kakṣa); কাছি « kāchi » *hawser* (kacchikā = \*kakṣikā ?); চাঁচে < চাঁছে « cācē < cāchē » (\*cañchāi, tacehai, √takṣ); মাছি « māchi » (mākṣikā); MB. পড়ীছা « pāṛīchā » *attendant* (pratīkṣaka-);
- OIA. « -ch-, -ech- »: বিছানা « bichānā » *bed* (vicchādāna-); মেছ « mēch » *name of a Tibeto-Burman tribe* (? mlēccha = \*mlāikṣa);
- OIA. « -tśv- » > « -ech- »: MB. উছাস « uchās » (uechvāsa < ut-śvāsa);
- OIA. « -ts- »: উছল « uchāl » (uechala < utsala); বাছা « bāchā » (vatsa-); বাছুর « bāchūr » *calf* (vatsa-rūpa). Also *sts.*: মোচ্ছব « mōcchāb » (mahōtsava), etc. See *supra*.
- OIA. « -tsy- »: মাছ « māch » (matsya);
- OIA. « -thy- »: মিছা « michā » (mithyā-); MB. লাছ, নাছ « lāchā, nāchā », OB. (Sarvānanda) « lāccha » (rathyā);
- OIA. « -ps- » > « -ech- »: গোছা « gōchā » (goccha-, \*gṛp-sa-); MB. *sts.* অপছরা « āpacchārā », a blend of a *tbh.* in ছ « -ch- », « \*accharā » + the *ts.* « apsarās ».
- OIA. « -śc- »: তেরছ, তেরছা « tērāch, tērāchā » (tirāśca-); পাছা « pāchā » (paścāt-); বিছা « bichā » (cf. v̄ścika); *sts.* বরছা « barāchā » (vraśca-); *sts.* পছিম « pāchim » (paścīma);
- OIA. « -śy- » > « -ech- »: কাছিম « kāchim » (kacchapa, kaśyapa: see p. 385);
- OIA. « -śr-, -sr- »: মোছ « mōch » (mhacehu, śmaśrū); *sts.* অজছল « ājācchāl » (ajasra); *sts.* পছাপ « pēcchāp » (prasrāva); etc.

Interchange of [c̄h] and [j̄] is very noticeable. It occurs in the naturalised forms of foreign words: e.g., আকছার « ākehār » *continually* (Persian « akṣār », < Arabic « akṥar- »), পছন্দ « pāchāndā » *liking* (Persian « pasand »), ছয়লাপ « chāylāp » *inundation* (Pers. « sayl-āb »), etc.; Western Hindī « jaisā, taisā, jaisan, taisan », etc., were written (and

possibly pronounced also) < ch > in MB. ; e.g., জৈছে < jāichē >, তৈছন < tāichānṣ > = < jaisē, taisan > ; so the archaic Western Hindi (= Avahaṭṭha) forms like যছু < yachu > (= jasu, yasya), তছু < tachu > (= tasu, tasya), etc. For change of [çh] to [ʃ], see *infra*, under the latter sound.

In parts of Central Bengal (Jessore, Nadiya, 24-Parganas, Hugli), intervocal [çh] is dropped: e.g., গেইলে < gēilē > for গেছিলে < gēchilē > = গিয়াছিলে < giyāchilē > *you went, you had gone*; হ'য়েলো < hōyēlō > for হ'য়েছিলো < hōyēchilō > = হইয়াছিল < hāiyāchilā > *did happen*. This elision is recent: [çh] > [ʃ] > [ɕ] > [ɣ] > [ɻ] : the spirant [ɣ] is at times faintly audible. In Chittagong and Noakhali, similarly, the < ch > > < s > of verb forms is altered and voiced, and the spirant which takes its place becomes transformed to a full guttural < g > : e.g., করিয়াছি < kārīyāchi > > কইরিছি [koirsi] > \*[koirzi] > \*[koirji] > [koirgji] > [koirgi], written কর্গিয়া. The < z > pronunciation also is heard.

**263.** Bengali [ʃ] is written জ < j >, or য < y > when connected etymologically with Skt. < y > : the য < y > spellings are recent (see *Introduction*, p. 226). Initially, [ʃ] comes from—

OIA. < j- > : জীয়ে < jīē > (jivati); জল < jāḷ > (jala); জাগে < jāgē > (jāgati); জন < jān > (jana); জানে < jānē > (jānāti); জামাই < jāmai > (jāmātr); জিব, জিভ < jib(h) > (jibbhā < jihvā); জায়কল < jāyḷ-phāl > (jātiphala); জো < jāu > (jatu); জোহার < jōhār > (jaya-kāra); OB. জাম < jāma > (janma); *sks.* জগ < jāg > in compounds (jagat); OB. < jāri >, NB < jālā > *large earthen jar (dēśi ?)*; etc. ;

OIA. < jy- > : MB. জেঠ < jēṭh > (jyēṣṭha); জেঠা < jēṭhā > (jyēṣṭha-tāta); জুনি, জোনাকী < juni, jōnākī > *moonlight* > *fire-fly* (jyōtsnā-);

OIA. < jv- > : জলে, জলে < j(w)ālē > [ʃjōle] (jvalati); জালে, জালে < j(w)ālē > [ʃjōale] (jvālayati); জর < j(w)ar > (jvara);

OIA. < dy- > : জুআ, জুয়া < juā > (dyūta-); †জুই < jūi > *fire* (jyōtis, √dyut-);

OIA. < y- > : যার, MB. জায় < jāy > (yāti); যে, MB. জে < jē > (yah); যবে, জবে < jābē > *when* (yad-); যা < jā > *husband's brother's wife, sister-in-law* (yātā); জো, যো < jō > *opportunity* (yōga); জুয়াল,



বোয়াল < jūālā, jōālā > *yoke* (yōga-); বোত, জোৎ < jōtā > (yōktra); MB. জাঁঠা < jāṭhā > *stick, weapon* (cf. yaṣṭi); জাঁতা, ধাঁতা < jāṭā > *grinding mill* (yantra-); যুঝে, জুঝে < jujhē > (yudhyati); জুঝার < jujhārā > (jūjha + -āra < yudhy- + -kāra). In *sts.* forms also: e.g., যতন < jāṭānā > (yatna), যুগ < jugā > (yuga), যব < jābā > (yava), etc.

Medially and finally, the sources of [জ] are—

OIA. < -j- > : রাজ < rājā > (rājan); OB. < uju >, MB., NB. আজলী < ājāli > (rju-); ভাজ < bhājā > (bhrātṛ-jāyā); শালাজ < śālājā > (syāla-jāyā); MB. বিজনী < bijāni > (vyajanikā);

OIA. < -jj- > : কাজল < kājālā > (kajjala; = < kad-yala? : cf. H. Petersen in the 'Indogermanische Forschungen,' 1914, Vol. XXXIV, p. 223); ভাজ < bhāj > *to try* (bhrajj-); সাজ < sājā > (sajjā); লাজ < lājā > (lajjā); মাজ in মাজকাঠ < mājā-kāṭhā > *heart of wood or timber* (majjā); etc.;

OIA. < -jiv- > : উজল < ujālā > (ujjvala);

OIA. < -jy- > : MB. বাণিজ্যর < bāṇijārā > (vāṇijya-kāra); রাজ < rājā > (rājya); তেজর < bhējāṣ > *is shut, shuts* (abhyaṣyatē);

OIA. < -jr- > : বাজ < bājā > (vajra);

OIA. < -ñj- > : গাঁজা < gāñjā > (cf. gañjikā); পাঁজর < pāñjārā > (pañjara); পঁজরা < pñjārā > (piñjara-); ভাঁজ < bhājā > (bhañja); ভিজ < √bhij > (abhyañj);

OIA. < -dj- > : পাঞ্জী < vile fellow, wretch pāñī > (padja-; or <? pāyya-);

OIA. < -dy- > : আজ < ājā > (adya); আনাজ < ānājā > (aunādya); সাজ < sājā > *fresh* (sadya-); বাজা < bājā > (vādya-); খাজা < khājā > (khādya-); উপজে < upājē > (utpadyatē); উজার < ujāy > *goes up-stream* (udyāti); বিজলী, বিজুলী < bijāli, bijuli > (vidyut-); OB. < chijaī > (chidyatē); MB. বেজ < bējā > (vāidyā); etc.;

OIA. < -bj- > : কুঁজো < kūjō < kūjā > (kujja-, \*kuñja- < kubja);

OIA. < -yy- > : শেজ < śējā > (śayyā);

OIA. < -rj- > : †খাজা < khājā > (kharj-); খাজুর, খেজুর < khājurā, khējurā > (kharjura); গাজে < gājē > (garjati); ভোজপাতা < bhōjā-pātā > (bhūrja-patra-); মাজা < mājā > (mārjita-); etc.

OIA. < -ry- > : কাজ < kājā > (kārya); আজিমা < āji-mā > *grandma* (āryikā mātā); *sts.* দুজ্জগ < dujjugā > (duryōga);

OIA. < -ly- > : সাজার < sājāru >, সোঁজার < sōjārū >, East Bengali হেঁজা [hēza], OB. (Sarvānanda) < sejja-ka > (Sanskritised) (OIA. < śalyaka- + rūpa > : < śalyaka > gave in Old Māgadhī < \*śayyaka, \*seyyaka >, in Aśōkan orthography < sayakē, sēyakē >; the Bengali form < sēja- > is derived from the Māgadhī form. This < -ly- > < -yy- > of Māgadhī is absent in other dialects of Aśōka. Cf. the French modification of [lj, Δ] to [j, i]).

OIA. < -yā- > of passive forms became < -ia-, -iya-, -i- > in MB., where not assimilated with a preceding consonant. (See under *Morphology*: the Verb, 'Passive Voice'). The Western Apabhraṅśa dialects turned this < -yā- > of OIA. to both < -i(y)a- > and < -ijja- > < -ija- >. The adjectival < -iyā- > affix similarly became < -ia-, -ija- >. Bengali has some obsolete < -ij- > forms, which look like having been introduced from the West: *e.g.*, লিজে, লিজে < li(j)jē > is taken (as in the arithmetical rules of Śubhāṅkara, in the old Indian system) (= lahijjāī, labhyatē); the MB. ordinals দুঅজ, তিঅজ < duājā, tiājā >, NB. দোজ, তেজ, only in compounds like দোজ-বরিয়, তেজ-বরিয় < dōjā-bāriyā, tējā-bāriyā > a bridegroom for the second time, for the third time (\*duajja, \*duijja = dvitīyā; tiajja, tiijja = tṛtīyā) (dōsar-, tēsar- > are the genuine Magadhan forms; see under *Morphology*: 'the Numerals'). Bengali কলিজা, কলেজা < kālijā, kālējā > (kālēyā) seems similarly to be a Western form with < -j- > for < -yā- >.

[ʃi] occurs in Bengali through deaspiration of [ʃiḥi], medially and finally: *e.g.*, মাঝখানে [maʃiḥkhaṇe] in the middle (mājhā, madhya); সোঁজুতি < সোঁজুতি [ʃiḥiḥuti < ʃiḥiḥuti] evening lamp (sājhā-: sandhyā-varṭti-): etc.

[ʃi] occurs in *ts.* words: in the groups < -jy-, -jv-, -jr- >, [ʃi] is 'doubled' in Bengali. In the groups < -hy- > in *sts.*, pronounced [ʃiḥiḥi], we have the [ʃi] sound. *E.g.*, জাতি, জাত < jāti, jāt >; রাজা [raʃiḥiḥo]. (rājya); উজ্জল [uʃiḥiḥo] (ujjvala); বজ্র [boʃiḥiḥo] (vajra); সহ [ʃoʃiḥiḥo] (sahya); etc.

Sanskrit < y- > in *ts.* words is pronounced as < j- > in most cases in Northern India, and Bengali also has the < j- > pronunciation generally, except when the < y > is subscribed. The following rule laid down in



the 'Yājñavalkya Śikṣā' is obviously indicative of the medieval pronunciation of Sanskrit in Northern India, which some Yajur-vēda schools still follow in the North, but not in the South :

« pādādāu ca, padādāu ca, saṁyōgāvagrahēṣu ca |

'jah' śabda iti vijñēyō, yō' nyaḥ sa 'ya' iti smṛtaḥ || »

*At the beginning of a foot, and at the beginning of a word, as well as when compounded or analysed, the sound of « j » is to be known, and elsewhere, « y » is enjoined. (Ślōka 150, 'Yājñavalkya-śikṣā' in the 'Śikṣā-saṅgraha,' Benares, 1889.)*

The above rule holds good for Bengali pronunciation of Sanskrit, and for *ts.* in Bengali. Thus, যোগ [jōg] (yōga), যুক্তি [jukti] (yukti), Skt. যস্মিন্ [jōsmiṁ] (yasmin); দুর্যোগ [durjōg] (duryōga), *sts.* দুর্ভুক্ত [durjukt] (durbhukta); কার্য [kārj] (kārya); সংযুক্ত [saṁjukt] (saṁyuktā), etc. In a few instances, where the « avagraha » or breaking up the word is not present in the mind of the speaker, we have « y »: e.g., বিযোগ [biog], not [bijog], but স্ব-যোগ [sujog], স্ব-যুক্তি [sujukti], etc.

[j] is pronounced [dz, z] in the Eastern and Northern Bengali dialects, and this is not found in the Standard Colloquial. But in the latter, however, in the groups « -jhd-, -jht-, -jd-, -jt- », [j] has developed a [z] pronunciation, which is frequently unvoiced to [s]: e.g., মাকুআ দাদা > মেজোদাদা > মেজদা [majōdada > mejōdada > mejda > mezda] second elder brother; so বুঝিতে > বুঝতে > বুজতে [bujhite > bujhite > buzte > buste] to understand; সাজিতে > সাজতে [sajhite > sajhite > sazte > zastte] to adorn oneself. « -et-, -cht- » also similarly are assimilated to « -st- »: e.g., নাচিতে > নাচতে [nāchite > nāchte > naste] to dance; বাচিতে > বাচতে [bāchite > bāchte > bāste] to live; কাছথেকে [kac̣htheke > kactheke] from the neighbourhood = from, etc.: cf. also বিছানা > বিছনা [bic̣hāna > bic̣hna, bisna] bed.

In foreign loan words, Persian « j, z » ([z] = Arabic [z, ḏ, ḏ, z]) and « ʒ » = [ʒ] are changed to [j] in Bengali; also Portuguese « z », English [z, dz, ʒ]. See *infra*.

264. « jh », = Standard Bengali [jh], Marāṭhī Gujarātī [z], is a very rare sound in OIA., but it became quite prominent in MIA., both

in some *tadbhava* forms and in a number of non-Aryan words, and in onomatopoeic formations. « jh » words in MIA. show some relationship with the « kṣ » of Sanskrit, and with the other palatals, « c, ch, j, ś », and sometimes with the dentals. The exact derivation and affiliation of most of the « jh » words has not been settled.

The following are the typical groups of « jh- » words in Bengali : they are also to be found in most other NIA. languages and dialects.

ঝক, ঝকঝক, ঝকমক « jhāk, jhāk-jhāk, jhāk-māk » *glisten, be bright, shine* : from a MIA. « \*jha(va)kka ».

ঝকড়া, ঝগড়া « jhākḍā, jhāgḍā » *quarrel*, cf. ঝক in বকাঝক « bākā-jhākā » *reprimand, rebuke, speak sharp words* (cf. *dēśi jhakkia* = *vacana*).

ঝট « jhāt », MB. ঝাট « jhāṭṭ » *quick* (cf. Skt. *jhaṭiti*); ঝড় « jhāṛṭ » *storm, high wind* (cf. Skt. *jhaṭikā, dēśi jhaḍī* = *nirantara-vṛṣṭih*); derivatives—ঝটকা « jhātākā », ঝড়কা « jhāṛṭkā »  *jerk, clash*; ঝটপট « jhāt-pāt » *flutter* (cf. *Saurasēni Ap. « jhaḍappada » quick*). This group is probably connected with ঝর « √jhār » *flow, drip*, see below : an OIA. passive participle « \*jhrta, \*jharta » would become in MIA. « \*jhaṭa, \*jhaṭṭa, jhaḍa ». Cf. চট « cāt » *quick*, connected probably with « √car » \*cṛta, \*carta ».

ঝপ « jhāp » *splash, dash, quick* : a modification ঝুপ « jhup », and extensions ঝপাক্, ঝপাত্, ঝপাস « jhāpāk, jhāpāt, jhāpās » ; probably connected with ঝাঁপ « jhāpā » *plunge*, see below.

ঝন ঝন « jhān-jhān » *metallic sound, sound of gong* : onomatopoeic.

ঝম ঝম « jhām-jhām » *ring, patter like heavy rain* ; onomatopoeic.

ঝর « jhār » *drip, fall (as water), flow* : ঝরনা « jhārṇā » *water-fall* :

ঝরঝরিরি « jhar-jhāriyā » *clear, fine (like running-water)* ; a

modification ঝির ঝির « jhir-jhir » *gentle, fine, slow (as breeze)* ;

ঝারী « jhārī » *water-pot with a spout*. From dialectal OIA.

« √\*jhar » = Skt. « √kṣar », preserving the voiced sound of the Indo-Iranian « \*ǰhar, \*ǰǰhar » < Indo-European « \*ǵʰh₂er, \*ǵʰh₂er »).

ঝরোখা, ঝরকা « jhārōkhā, jhārākā » *lattice* (< ? *jāla-gavākṣa*).



ঝল < jhāl > (1) *hang, dangle*: झल < jhul > *dangle* > *festoon*; झলন < jhulānā > *swing*; झোলা < jhōlā > *swing, bag*, झুলী < jhulī > *bag*; झিলিমিলি < jhilihili > *lattice, shutters*; झালর < jhālār > *lace-end*. (Cf. *dēśī* jhulluri = gulma).

ঝল < jhāl > (2) *burn, be bright*; झলমল < jhāl-māl > *sparkle*; झাল < jhālā > *to clean (as a well), to clear, to polish, to repair (as a pot by soldering)*; झলসা < jhālāsā > *to roast* (cf. *dēśī* jhalusia = burnt); झলকা < jhālākā > *scorching flame* (cf. Śaur. Ap. jhalakka burn: < Skt. √jval ?).

ঝাউ < jhāu > *pine-tree* (Skt. jhābuka: < ?).

ঝাঁ < jhā > *quick, with speed of wind, as it were*: connected with Skt. < √dhmā, dham > *blow* (?); or onomatopoeitic; cf. সাঁ < sā > *quick*.

ঝাঁঝী < jhā-jhā > *shimmer of sun-shine*; ? connected with < jhāmā >.

ঝাঁক < jhāk > *shake*: extended to झাঁকরা, झাঁকড়া, झাঁকড় < jhākārā, jhākārā, jhākār > *dishevelled, loose, easily shakeable (as long hair)*; झাঁক < jhāk > *flight of birds, swarm, scattered band*; झাঁকা < jhākā > *basket (to hold loose articles)*. (Cf. *dēśī* jhāṅkharia = avacayana).

ঝাঁঝ < jhājh > *flavour, strong flavour*; *cymbals with very loud noise* (cf. Skt. jhañjhā); झাঁঝর < jhājhār > (1) *cymbals*, (2) *perforated ladle* [(1) = jarjara? (2) = jharjhara < √jhar ?]. [(2) also found as झাঁঝরা, झাঁঝরী < jhājhārā, jhājhārī >].

ঝাড় < jhār > *tree* (Skt. jhāṭa); झাঁতি, ঝাড় < jhāṭā, jhāru > *broom*; ঝাড়ো < jhārā > *to dust, to clear*, ঝাড়ন < jhārān > *duster*; झাঁতি < jhāṭ > *hair, tuft of hair*, also झাঁতি < jhāṭī >, ঝাঁটন < jhāṭān > *tuft of hair* (cf. *dēśī* jhaṭī = laghūrhdhva-kēśāḥ; but conn. with চুল < cul > *hair* = Skt. < cūḍā > ?). Also झাঁতি < jhāṭī >, ঝাঁটি < jhāṭī > *a plant*.

ঝাণ্ডা, ঝণ্ডা < jhāṅḍā, jhāṅḍā > *standard, flag* (derivation suggested from < dhvaja >, also from < jayanta >: but probably connected with ঝাড় < jhār > *tree* above).

ঝাণ্ডু < jhāṅḍu > *clever* (< ?).

ঝাঁপ < jhāp̄ṣ̄ > *jump, plunge* (Skt. jhampa: cf. *dēśī* jhampaī = bhramati); ঝাপটা < jhāp̄ṣ̄ṭā > *throwing, struggling*; ঝাঁপ < jhāp̄ṣ̄ > *covering, matted shutter*; ঝাঁপী < jhāp̄ī > *basket with lid*: cf. also ঝাপসা < jhāp̄ṣ̄ā > *hazy, 'covered-like'* (cf. *dēśī* jhampañi eyelash, connected with < √kṣap > *throw*?).

ঝাঁপান < jhāp̄ān̄ṣ̄ > *litter* (= Skt. yāpyayāna).

ঝামা < jhāmā > *burnt brick, pumice stone*; ঝামরা < jhāmārā > *ill, ill through fever, pale* (cf. Skt. kṣāma).

ঝামেলা < jhāmēlā > *crowd, noisy gathering*; *an intricate business* (cf. *dēśī* jamāla = magic).

ঝাল < jhāl̄ṣ̄ > *hot to taste*; ঝালপাল < jhālā-pālā > *burning and scorching, said of ear-grating noise or chatter* (< OIA. √jval, jvālā ?; or = Skt. kṣāra ?).

ঝাঁসা < jhāṣā > *flattery* (< ?).

ঝি, ঝী < jhi, jhī > *daughter > maid-servant* (\*dhītā < duhitā).

ঝিঁঝিঁ < jhījhi > *cricket (insect)*: onomatopoeitic, cf. Skt. < jhilli >.

ঝিঁঝিঁট < jhījhiṭ > *a tune* (Hindī jhiñjhauṭī = jējākabhuktika).

ঝিঞ্জা < jhiñj̄(ḡ)ā > *a vegetable*: cf. also চিঁচিঁঞা < cicin̄j̄(ḡ)ā > *another vegetable of the same sort* (*dēśī*).

ঝিমঝিম < jhim-jhim > *feeling of dizziness < to hear a tinkling or singing sound*: a variant of < jhām-jhām > ?; but cf. ঝিমা doze below.

ঝিমা < jhimā > *sleep, doze*: connected with ঘুম < ghum > *sleep* etc.: see §§ 199, 265.

ঝিল, ঝীল < jhil̄ṣ̄, jhīl̄ṣ̄ > *a lake, channel of water*: conn. with ঝোল < jhōl̄ṣ̄ > ?; see below.

ঝিনুক < jhinuk̄ṣ̄ > *pearl shell*: cf. জোঙ্গড়া < jon̄ḡṣ̄rā >: Skt. < śambuka >.

ঝঁঝা < jhūj̄hā > *ooze, drip, exude (as blood from a wound)*: cf. Skt. < √kṣud—kṣundatē āplavanē >.

ঝটা, ঝুঠা < jhuṭ̄(h)ā > *orts, leavings of meal; false, lying* (*dēśī* jhuṭṭha, = Skt. juṣṭa).

ঝুনা < jhunā > *seasoned, old* (< jūrṇa- ?)

ঝুম ঝুম < jhum-jhum > *tinkling noise*: ঝুমুর < jhumur̄ṣ̄ > *bells; a kind of song and dance*; ঝুমকা লতা < jhum̄ṣ̄kā lātā > *a creeper with*



*flowers in hanging clusters, like bells worn on the toes*: onomatopoeic, apparently a variant of « jhām-jhām ».

ঝরা « jhurā » powdered stuff, loose stuff: cf. চূর « cūrā » powder, Skt. « cūrṇa ».

ঝুরি « jhuri » twig: cf. ফুলঝুরি from ঝরি « phul-jhuri < -jhāri » golden rain (fire-work), < « √jhār ».

ঝুরে « jhurē » weeps: MB. অঝর « ājhāru », NB. অঝোর « ājhōrā » tears, flood of tears: ? conn. with a MIA. form « \*añj(h)u = aśru », attested in Sindhī; or connected with « √jhār »?

ঝোঁক, ঝোঁক « jhōk(h)ā » leaning, ঝুঁকে < ঝুঁখে « jhūk(h)ē » leans, ঝুঁকি « jhūki » a leaning; ঝঙ্কি < \*ঝোঁক্খি « jhākki < \*jhōkkhi » responsibility; ঝিক « jhikā » support for pot in the oven: < ?

ঝোপ « jhōpā » bush, ঝোঁপড়া « jhōpārā » cabin, cottage (Saur. Ap. jhumpadā cottage: cf. Skt. kṣupa).

ঝেঁলা « jhēṭālā » moss, scum, beside ছেঁলা « chēṭālā » (< ? : cf. Skt. śaivāla, śādvala).

ঝোড় « jhōrā » bush, scrub jungle; ঝোড়া « jhōrā » basket: conn. with ঝাড় « jhārā »?

ঝোল « jhōlā » soup; ঝোলা « jhōlā » moist, watery: cf. জোল, জুলী « jōlā, jūli » etc., pp. 65, 66.

The above are some of the more important words in Bengali with initial « jh- ». It will be seen that in most cases, no sure OIA. affinity can be found. In a certain number of cases, we find the « jh- » is obviously the result of aspiration of original « j- ». In other cases, as in « √jhār », we have inheritances from an OIA. dialect which altered Indo-Iranian « \*gǝ(h)-, \*ǝh- » to « jh- », and not to « kṣ- » as in Sanskrit. Possibly a large proportion of the « jh- » words will be explained from this point of view. Some, again, are *dēśī*, and others obviously onomatopoeic.

Medial and final « -jh- » in Bengali is found mainly in *tbh.* words:

OIA. « -dhy- » is the source commonly of this « -jh- »: e.g., ওঝা « ōjhā » (upādhyāya); মাঝ « mājhā » (madhya); সাঁঝ « sājhā » (sandhyā); বুঝে « bujhē » (budhyati); সমুঝে « sāmujhē »

(sambudhyati); যুঝে < jujhē > (yudhyati); সিঝে < sijhē > is boiled, boils (sijjhaï, sidhyatē); বাঝা < bājhā > (vandhyā).

In *ts.* words, < -hy- > is pronounced < -jjh- >: সহ্য [ʃojjʃiŋio] (sahya), বাহ্য [bajjʃiŋio] (bāhya), গ্রাহ্য [grajjʃiŋio] (grāhya), etc. In Skt. words, it is always written ह्य < hy >: but often in the *sts.* words as phonetically written, we find জ্জ < jj >, e.g., গেরাজ্জি [gerajjʃi-] (< grāhya).

#### Interchange between Palatals and Gutturals, and Palatals and Cerebrals and Dentals.

265. In a small number of words, connected in meaning and probably also in etymology, we note interchange between palatals and gutturals. These words seem to be mainly *dēśī* in origin. The gutturals are of course the older sounds. Examples are given below.

কোপ < kōpʃ > blow with a sword (connected by some with < √k|p >): কোপ, চোব < cōpʃ, cōbʃ > *ibid.*, cf. ছোবল < chōbālʃ > snake-bite, bite; খোপা, খুপী < khōṅ(g)ā, khug(g)ī > box of bamboo or cane: কোপা, চুপী < cōṅ(g)ā, cuṅ(g)ī > bamboo-cylinder used as vessel, cylinder; কামড় < kāmāṛʃ > bite: চিমড়া, চিমটা < cimāṛā, cimāṭā > pinch; ঘুম < ghumʃ > sleep: জিম < jhimʃ > doze, নিঝুম < ni-jhumʃ > silence of sleep; গমক < gāmākʃ > elegance: জমক < jāmākʃ >, জাঁক < jākʃ > pomp; খাল < khālʃ > skin: ছাল < chālʃ > skin, ছিলকা < chilʃkā > skin of fruit, ছোলা < chōlā > to skin, ছুলী < chulī > skin-disease (an Aryan group, apparently); খোঁড়া < khōṛā > lame, cf. Oṛiyā < chōṭā > lame; লেজ < lējʃ >, লেজুড়, লেজুড়ী < lē(ñ)jur(ī) > Oṛiyā < lañjā > tail: but cf. Skt. < lāṅgula >; ঢঙ্গ < ḍhāṅ(g)ʃ >, beside ধাঁজ < dhāñjʃ >, ধাঁচা < dhācā > manner, form, style, fashion; চুঁচি < cūci >, Skt. < cucuka > nipple, teat: Skt. < kuca > breast; OB. < bahēnei >, NB. বইচি, বোঁচ < bāci, bōe > a fruit = Skt. < vikaṅkata >. Cf. also Bengali চিরাতা < cirātā = Skt. kirāta-tikta: kirāta = MIA. cilāa-, cirāa- >.

Palatals, and cerebrals and dentals: টাক, টাখ < ṭāk(h) >: চাখ < cākʃ > taste (cakṣ-); টাঁ < ṭāṅ > foot, টেঙ্গরী < ṭeṅ(g)ṛī > leg (of meat), connected with জাঁ < jāṅ > = < jaṅghā > (?); MB. চেঁঢালী < cēṅḍhālī > viciousness,



connected with চণ্ড < cāṇḍā >, চণ্ডাল < cāṇḍālā > beside NB. চণ্ডাই, চণ্ডাই < tāṇḍāi, tāṇḍāi > *wildness, opposition, perversity* (?); তেঁতুল < tēṭul >, OB. < tēntali > *amarind*, Skt. < tintiḍṭi >, beside Skt. < ciñcā >, Telugu < cintā > : compare also Bengali কাঁহি as in কাঁহি-বিচি < kāi-bici > *amarind-seed*, Oṛiyā < kāyā > *green tamarind* (< \*kaññā-, \*kañca- ?); NB. চাউল < cāul >, MB. চাউল < cāulā > beside তাউল, তাঁড়ুল < tāulā, tāṛulā > = Skt. < taṇḍula > *threshed and winnowed grain* > *rice* (? Aryan : < \*taṇḍrula, cf. √tandr); Bengali চব < √cāṣ > *cultivate*, চাবা < cāṣā > *cultivator*, cf. OIA. < carṣaṇi- > *cultivating* (?), < √krṣ > : Oṛiyā < tāśā > *cultivator*; MB. দানাই < dānāi >, a pet form of the name < Janārdana >, for জনাই < \*jānāi >; কচলা < kācḍlā > *to rinse*, beside কতলা < kāṭlā >; etc.

- (3) The Retroflex or Cerebral Stops and Aspirates [ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh], and the Retroflex Flapped and its Aspirate, [ɽ, ɽh].

Cerebralisation in OIA. and in the Eastern Dialect:  
Resultant Cerebralisation.

266. The cerebrals had originated in the Aryan language in India already in the earliest period. The conditions under which the cerebral stops and aspirates (and sibilant as well as lateral) came into being are various. Thus, for example, Indo-European dental < s > under certain conditions became < ṣ > (an *sh* sound) in Indo-Iranian, and this < ṣ > changed to < ṣṣ > in OIA.; and a < t(h) > following it was duly cerebralised: e.g., IE. < \*sthithāmi > > Indo-Iran. < \*ciṣṭhāmi > > OIA. < tiṣṭhāmi >; IE. < \*usto- > > Indo-Iran. < \*ušta- > > OIA. < uṣṭa- >; OIA. superlative affix < \*-iṣṭha- > > Indo-Iran. < \*-iṣṭhā- > > OIA. < -iṣṭha- >; etc. Similarly, IE. < z > became < ṣ >, and this < ṣ > was changed to < ṣṣ > (or [ʃ]) in the oldest IA., to be cerebralised and assimilated with a following < d(h) >: e.g., < \*ni-sd-os, \*nizdos > \*niṣḍas > \*niṣḍas, \*niṣḍas > niṣḍaḥ >; < \*mizdhos > \*miṣḍhas > \*miṣḍhas, \*miṣḍhas > miṣḍhaḥ >. Indo-European groups of 'palatal' < k, g > + < t, d(h) > respectively became < ṣṭ, ḍ(h) > in OIA.: e.g., < \*oktōu > \*aṣṭāu, \*astāu > \*aṣṭāu >; < \*mṛḡdīgo- > \*mṛḡdīka- > \*mṛḡdīka-, \*mṛḡdīka- > \*mṛḡḍ-, mṛḡdīka- >; < \*liḡh-to-, \*liḡdho- > \*liḡḍha- >.

\*liḍdha-, \*liḍdha- > liḍdha >; etc. (Cf. C. Uhlenbeck, 'Manual of Sanskrit Phonetics,' London, 1898, §§ 44, 63, 86; J. Wackernagel, 'Altindische Grammatik,' I, § 145 ff; A. A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar,' § 42). Through analogy, we get <ṭ, ḍ> in certain nominal and verbal forms in OIA. (Skt.): <viṭ < \*vik < \*vikṣ < \*viṣṣ, = IE. \*wik-s >; <dviṭ < \*dvik < \*dvikṣ < \*dviṣ-ṣ, = IE. \*dwis-s >; <viḍbhiḥ < \*vijbhis < \*viḍbhis < IE. \*wigbhis, \*wig = wik >; so <rāṭ < √rāj >; <avāṭ < √vah >; etc. In addition to the above changes, the dentals were cerebralised in OIA. when they occurred in connection with the liquid <l > (and <r >). In the earliest stage of IA., the Indo-European (and Indo-Iranian) group of <l > + dental (stop, aspirate nasal, or sibilant), became cerebralised, with assimilation of the <l >: thus IE. \*spheltō > gave OIA. (Skt.) <sphaṭā-mi >; \*ghōlto- > through I-Ir. \*zhāлта- > gave Skt. <hāṭa(-ka) >; IE. \*kulth- > gave <kuṭh-āra >, \*pelnos > gave <paṇaḥ >, and \*√lals > gave <√laṣ >. But while <l > + dental was thus cerebralised, IE. <r > + dental was retained intact (except in the case of \*rn, \*rs >, which changed to <rṇ, rṣ > in OIA.): e.g., IE. \*wertō > OIA. <vartā-mi >, \*merdō > <mardāmi >, \*wornos > <varṇaḥ >, \*dhersō > <dharṣā-mi >, etc. This kind of cerebralisation (generalised into a law by Fortunatov, cf. Uhlenbeck, *op. cit.*, § 44) seems thus to have characterised the oldest Indo-Aryan, which as a whole distinguished between IE. <r > and <l >. But already as early as the time of the Vedic hymns, the earlier <r, l > were confused in the various dialects of OIA. In one dialect, that of the west, on which the speech of the Rig-Veda seems to have been based, all original <l > became <r >, apparently after the change of <l > + dental groups to cerebrals (see *ante*, p. 34), and it maintained the OIA. speech habit in not allowing cerebralisation of the group <r > + dental. In another dialect, apparently that of the extreme east (the speech of the Prācyā tracts and and the source of the eastern dialect of Aśōka—of Ardha-māgadhī and Māgadhī) all original <r > sound seems to have become <l >: so that the <r > sound was absent in this dialect. What happened in the central dialect, or dialects, in the OIA. period, to which the later Midland speech (Śaurasēni) is to be



affiliated, is not known; but it seems there was no tendency to use exclusively one sound in it. (Cf. A. A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar for Students,' Oxford, 1916, p. 11.) It is not impossible that these three groups of Aryan speakers formed originally three separate bodies, the eastern-most coming into India first, and being followed by the others, and the western-most having certain Iranian affinities. However, Sanskrit in the matter of its < r, l > sounds agrees mainly with Vedic speech, and it does not normally change a < r > to < l > when occurring with a dental. The normal OIA. < vikṛta, artha, vardhita > etc., as in Vedic and Sanskrit, can be expected to have become < \*altha, \*vikṛta, \*valdhita > in the OIA. source-dialect of Māgadhī etc.; so that Early Eastern MIA. forms like < aṭṭha, vikaṭa, vaḍḍhita > can very well be regarded as the result of the continuation of the < l > + dental > cerebral tradition in the East.<sup>1</sup> It is very likely that the cerebralisation in connection with this < l + t(h), etc. > came into being, giving rise first to forms like < \*aḷṭha, \*vaḷḍhita >, in the OIA. period. A form like < vikaṭa >, found in the Rig-Veda, is an indication of its existence in the Late OIA. stage at least. It is not necessary, however, to assume stages like < lt, lt, lṭ > in the development of < rt (ṛt) > to < ṛ >: in dialectal Norwegian and Swedish, there is change of < r > + dental stop to a cerebral stop without an < l > stage. But the case in the Prācya speech seems to have been through the < l > stage, which characterised that dialect in the Brāhmaṇa period and possibly also in the Late Vedic period: witness a form like OIA. < kṣulla >, from < \*kṣudla > (= kṣudra), found in the 'Atharva-Veda,' the 'Tāittirīya Saṁhitā' and the 'Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa' (see p. 82).

When the < r > followed a dental stop, as in the groups < tr, dr >, we find cerebralisation from Late OIA. times. (Cf. Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, I, § 147.) Such cases, however, are not so very common, and although they might be Māgadhī or Prācya in origin, nothing can be asserted about them.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the case of the Germanic name '\*Hildaz (Xildaz)' > 'Ciṭa' (see *ante*, pp. 245-246). This change of '-ld-' or '-lt-' to '-ṭ-' however, is late, and occurs as a sporadic case apparently in the South-western MIA. of the Transitional period.

Be it as it may, the nett result is that in Early MIA. of the East the OIA. < rt, rd >, etc. became cerebralised to < ṛt, ṛd > by the 3rd century B.C., but < rt, rd > remained intact in the North-west in the same period. In other dialects, of the Midland and of the South-west, they were assimilated to < tt, dd >, without cerebralisation. The Western speeches<sup>1</sup> resisted the cerebralising tendency of the East for quite a long time. But as we can see from the Aśoka inscriptions, and the Kuṣāṇa and other inscriptions in the Western areas, Eastern or Magadhan forms with cerebrals had imposed themselves on the former. This was due both to political influence of Magadha and to social and other relations between the eastern and the western tracts. Non-cerebralising dialects of the Midland, West and North-west thus gradually came to acquire and naturalise from the Early MIA. period quite a number of cerebralised forms. And the Eastern cerebralising speech, in its turn, through the strong influence exerted on it by the Midland and the Western dialects, received a number of non-cerebralised forms which have largely overlaid the original cerebralised ones. Thus Māgadhī or Eastern forms like < maṭa > (= mṛta), < \*maṭṭikā > (mṛttikā), < √vaḍḍh > (vṛdh, vardh), < bhaṭa > (bhṛta), < vaṭṭa > (vartman), etc., are found not only in the Magadhan languages, but also in other non-Māgadhī IA., like Western Hindi, Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, Marāṭhī and Panjābī. And non-Māgadhī forms like < addha > (ardha), < sattha > (sārtha), < \*vattikā > (vartikā), etc. are equally found in Bengali etc. < bhartā > bhāṭṭā, bhāṭṭa > ভাট্টা bhāṭṭā > a *bard*, originally = a *Brahman*, is a genuine Māgadhī form in Bengali, and < bhartā > bhattā, bhatta >, extended to < bhattāra >, whence Bengali ভাটার < bhātārā > *husband*, is a later and a non-Māgadhī form. Further examples will be found under the treatment of the cerebral and dental stops and aspirates individually. The Magadhan dialects became subject to greater and still greater influence of the Midland speech after

<sup>1</sup> Sindhī, alone, however, among the Western IA. tongues, developed a tendency to cerebralisation, but this seems to have been very late: e.g., 'puṭru' = 'putra', 'caṇḍu' = 'candra', 'ṭre' = 'tri', etc.



a brief period of suzerainty which it seems to have exercised in the few centuries before the Christian era over the whole of Indo-Aryandom ; so much so, that from the Second MIA. period, it borrowed numerous forms from the latter, and adopted them, to the restriction or suppression of its native forms : and these later Western borrowings have been inherited by the Modern Magadhan languages : thus « mṛta = maṭa > maṭa » gave মড়া « mārā » to Bengali, which is no longer used to indicate the past tense, but has only a restricted meaning, namely, of a *dead body* ; and a Western form « maa, maṣa » (< mṛta) was adopted in the Second MIA., which, strengthened with the « -ilā > -illa » affix, gave the Māg. Ap. past base « mailla- », whence Old and Middle Bengali মৈল « maila », as well as the forms in other Magadhan. Cf. the case of করিব « kārībā » as non-Māgadhī form, which has ousted the native Māgadhī « \*kaṭṭaviya » : see p. 375. The habit of cerebralisation, which once marked off the Eastern Aryan dialect from the dialects of the Midland and the West, has thus from the Transitional or Second MIA. period ceased to be a distinctive trait.

#### Spontaneous Cerebralisation.

267. Apart from the 'resultant' cerebralisation (through the influence of « -ṣ-, -ṣ- > -ṣ-, -ṣ- » and « -l- » in the proto-Indian stage, and of « r », or « r > l » in the eastern dialect, in the OIA. stage) which has been described above, original IA. dentals have in a number of cases been cerebralised without any explicable cause. There is no neighbouring « r » or « l » which can account for the change. A few instances of this spontaneous cerebralisation are found in OIA. : e.g., Skt. « √ḍī, ud + ḍī > uḍḍī » from « √ḍī » *to fly* ; « āḍī, āṭī » from earlier « āti » *a water-bird* ; « aṭati » < « atati » ; and a few others. But the number of such forms is on the increase from the MIA. period. (Cf. Wackernagel, I, § 148b ; Jules Bloch, *op. cit.*, §§ 117-119). It cannot be ascertained which form of OIA. or MIA. was characterised specially by this tendency. But judging from South-western and North-western Aśōkan forms, like « dbādasa- » (Girnar), « badaya- » (= « badaṣa », Shahbazgarhi : the Mansehra form « duvāḍasa- » is a

'Magadhism'), as contrasted with the cerebralised form « duvāḍasa- » (Kalsi; also Pillar Edict VI, Delhi-Siwalik, Allahabad, Radhia and Mathia and the Barabar Caves<sup>1</sup>); and Panjābī and Sindhī « paṁṁ, paṁ » (< \*paai, \*padadi = patati), as compared with Eastern and Midland (Bengali, 'Bihāri,' Hindi, etc.) cerebralised « paṁṁ » *falls* (< paḍai, \*paḍadi, \*paḍati = patati); it may be surmised that the spontaneous cerebralisation characterised the Eastern (and possibly also the Midland) dialects, rather than those of the North-west and the South-west. In a few instances, the same Aryan word occurs in two forms in NIA.: e.g., « khāi » *trench*, beside « khāi » *channel, gulf* (= khāta, \*khāta-), found also in Western Hindi. Intervocal « -n- » and « -l- » became cerebralised in all dialects in the Second MIA., but curiously enough, only the speeches of the West (Western and Eastern Panjābī, Rājasthānī-Gujarātī and Marāṭhī, and partly Sindhī) have preserved the « -ṁ-, -l- » inherited from MIA., and not the Midland dialects and the dialects of the East (except Oriyā). In the development of spontaneous cerebralisation, analogy and contamination certainly played some part: e.g., « \*ṣaṣ-daśa » > \*ṣaḍdaśa » certainly gave « sōḍaśa », and the « r » in « trayōdaśa » may have influenced the cerebralisation of the « d » which gave « \*tēḍaśa » *tēraha* : and through analogy, « ekādaśa » > \*ēgāḍaha > ēgāraha, dvādaśa » > duvāḍaśa », etc., may have originated; so Māgadhī « gaḍa » < gaṭa < gata » through the analogy of « kaḍa, maḍa » < kaṭa, maṭa » < kṛta, mṛta », and Bengali « ḍāṛḍ » < ḍāṛḍa », through influence of the following « ṛ ». But analogy and contamination do not explain cases like « patati » > \*paḍati, paḍai », « saptati » > \*sattati, \*sattai, sattari », « dakṣina » > ডাহিন ḍāhinḍ », « √daś » > MIA. daśa » Bengali « ḍāṣḍ (= gnat) », « paṅga » > ফড়িং phāriṅ » *grasshopper*, etc. Such interchange between cerebrals and dentals is unknown to Dravidian, in which each type of sound has its nett value.

<sup>1</sup> Dhanli and Jaugada (Rock Edict III), however, show 'duvāḍasa,' with the dental, rather than 'duvāḍasa': this is curious, but it cannot be doubted that the 'ḍ' forms characterised the Eastern IA speech as contrasted with the Western dialects: cf. 'paṁna-ḍasa' = 'paṁnaḍaśa' in Pillar Edict V. But the equivalents of 'caturdaśa' all show 'd' and not 'ḍ.' The numerals are a puzzle, and show cross influences.



A great many NIA. words with initial cerebral are evidently *dēśī* in origin. But it is noteworthy that the cerebral as an initial sound does not occur in Dravidian, at least in Modern Dravidian. Kōl, or 'Old Kōl,' possibly had cerebrals initially. It is also possible that the non-Aryan sources of the NIA. *dēśī* words with initial (and medial) cerebral, whether in Primitive Dravidian, or Primitive Kōl, partly had dental + « r », for the NIA. cerebral: so that the change in this matter, in Indo-Aryan at least, has been uniform for a number of words of both Aryan and non-Aryan origin. In any case, the words with initial cerebral (as well as initial palatal, in some cases) present a possible pre-Aryan substratum, and quite a numerous and characteristic one too, in MIA. and NIA.

In *dēśī* words, [ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍfi] seem to interchange with each other. The cerebrals occur largely in onomatopoeics as well.

268. Bengali [ṭ]. Initially, it is from—

MIA. « ṭ- », from OIA. « ṭ- », and from *dēśī* sources: e.g., টলে « ṭālē » (ṭalati); টাকা « ṭākā » rupee < coined money (ṭaṅka); and the following words, among others, are apparently of *dēśī* origin: e.g., টাং « ṭāṅ » foot, টেংরী « ṭēṅ(ḡ)ṛī » leg (of meat); টেংরা « ṭēṅ(ḡ)ṛā » high land, also a fish; টাঙ্গা « √ṭāṅ(ḡ)ā » to hang; টং « ṭāṅ » high ground, loft; টকর, টেকা « ṭākkārḡ, ṭēkkā » striking, competition; টুক « ṭukḡ » strike gently, note down (cf. থুক « thuk »); টুকরা « ṭukṛā » a tiny bit, টিকলী « ṭikḡlī » a slice, a piece; টোকরা, টুকরী « ṭōkṛā, ṭukṛī » basket; টুনী « ṭunī » little one, a little girl; টাঙ্গী « ṭāṅ(ḡ)ī » axe (< ṭaṅka?); টিকি « ṭiki » tuft of hair, top-knot, queue; টিপ « ṭipḡ » press with the fingers, a point; টিক, টেক « √ṭik, √ṭēk » endure, টেকা, টাকা « ṭēkā, ṭākā » repair, sew (= ṭaṅka?); টোপর « ṭōpārḡ » helmet, crown of tinsel worn by bridegrooms, টুপী « ṭupī » helmet > hat; টোনা « ṭōnā » charm, sorcery; টোল « ṭōlḡ » depression (opp. to swelling); টোলা, টুলী « ṭōlā, ṭulī » quarter in a town, টোল « ṭōlḡ » university or college quarter > Sanskrit school; টিলা « ṭilā » hillock, high land; উহল « ṭāhālḡ » walk, wander; টিয়া

< t̥iyā > parrot ; টুটী < t̥ūtī > throat ; টের < t̥ēr̥ > knowledge, consciousness ; etc., etc.

MIA. < t̥- > from OIA. dental < t- >, through spontaneous cerebralisation : e.g., টান্ < √tān > draw, make tight (√tan, tānāyati), connected with which are টন্ টন্ < t̥ān t̥ān > pain with feeling of tightness, টনক < t̥ānāk̥ > tight, memory, consciousness ; টিপ < t̥ip > drop (cf. √tip=kṣaraṇē) ; টস < √tās > drip, fall as a drop of water (cf. √taṅṣ draw to and fro, decorate, pour out), whence টসকা < t̥ās̥kā > drop off ; টাস < √tās > to be all over with any thing (cf. √taṅṣ be distressed, √tas=upakṣayē, vastu-hānir iti) ; sts. টগর < t̥āgār̥ > a flower (tagara) ; etc.

MIA. < t̥- > from OIA. < t- >, in connection with < r (l) > either immediately following or in a following syllable : e.g., টুটে < t̥ūtē > (truṭyati) ; টাট < t̥āt̥ > plate of metal, টাটী < t̥ātī > mat (trātra plate) ; টীকা < t̥ikā > sect-mark on forehead, point, patch-work (\*tilka-, tilaka-) ; টাট্ট, টাট্ট < t̥ā(t̥)ṭu > pony (tartṛka ?) ; টিকটিকি < t̥ikt̥iki > wooden triangle for whipping (tri-kāṣṭha ?) ; টাপ < t̥āp̥ > jumping, stamping of foot, টপকা < t̥āp̥kā > cross over at one bound (cf. √tṛp=hiṅsāyām) ; টক্ < t̥āk̥ > acid or sour to taste (takra- ?) ; টাক্ < t̥āku > (tarku-) ; টাকে, টাখে < t̥āk(h)ē > taste (< ? tark- ; ? cakkh=eakṣ), cf. টাকরা < t̥ākārā > palate ; টেরা < t̥ērā > squint-eyed (= Late Skt. ṭagara-), beside তেড়া < t̥ērā > awry, Hind. < t̥ēr̥hā > (conn. with < tiryac > ?) ; টাড় < t̥ār̥ >, an ornament for the arm beside তাড় < tār̥ > (tāṭa, tāḍa) ; টেনা < t̥ēnā > beside তেনা rag ; etc., etc.

Medially and finally, [t̥] is from—

MIA. < -t̥t̥-, -ṇt̥- > < OIA. < -t̥t̥-, -t̥y-, -tr-, -tv-, -rt-, -ṛt-(-|t-), -rtm-, -ṣt̥(h)-, -st- > ; also < dēśī < -t̥t̥- > : e.g., আটা < ātā > flour (\*at̥ta- < OIA. \*arta-) ; পাট < pāt̥ > silk > jute (paṭṭa) ; লাঙ্গট < lāṅgāt̥ > (\*lingga-paṭṭa) ; কোট < kōt̥ > fort, final demand (kōṭṭa, kōṣṭha) কোটাল < kōtāl̥ > (kōṭṭapāla, kōṣṭha-pāla) ; মোট < mōt̥ > load (mōṭṭa : dēśī ?) ; ঘাট < ghāt̥ > (ghaṭṭa, ghaṭṭā : dēśī ?) ; হাট < hāt̥ > (haṭṭa : dēśī ?) ; পেট < pēt̥ > (dēśī \*pēt̥ta, pōṭṭa) ; OB.



• pitā », NB. পিঠা « pētā » *earthen pot, pail*, probably conn. with the preceding; লোট, লুট « lōṭṭa, luṭṭa » *roll on the ground, scatter* (lōṭṭa, < ?); চাট « √cāṭ » *lick, back-kick* (\*caṭṭa : caṣṭa ? < √\*caṣ as in « caṣaka » *cup, wine*); বিটনা « biṭṭā » *a term of abuse (for a Brāhman generally)* (cf. viṭa; MIA. viṭṭ(h)āla- *polluter* : < viṣṭhā ?); টুটে « ṭuṭē » (*truṭyati*); খাট « khāṭṭa » (*khaṭvā*); খাটে « khāṭē » *works, labours*, খাটায় « khāṭāy » *puts money in business* (Late Skt. khaṭṭayati, < ?); টাট « ṭāṭṭa » (*trātra*); ঠাট « ṭhāṭṭa » *style, manner* (? sthā + tra); বেটা « bēṭā » *son* (? vētra; cf. vaṣa *family*); কাটে « kāṭē » *cuts*, কুটে « kuṭē » *pounds* (kaṭṭai, kuṭṭai < √kṛt- : karttati, kuṭṭati); ফাটে phāṭē » *cracks*, ফুটে « phuṭē » *bursts, pricks* (\*phaṭṭai, phuṭṭai < √sphat(ṭ), sphuṭ(ṭ) < \*sphlṭ); ছোট « chōṭā » *small*, conn. with ছুট « √chuṭ » *run, scatter* ? (chuṭ = √\*chṛt ?); কাটারী « kāṭāri » (*kartarikā*); নাট « nāṭṭa » (*naṭṭa* < narta, √nṛt); ভাট « bhāṭṭa » (*bhartā*); নেওটা « nēōṭā » (*snēha-vṛtta-*); কেওট « kēōṭṭa » (*kāivartta*); MB. নিবড়ে « nibāṛē » (*nir + √vṛt*); নাংটা « nāṅ(g)-ṭā » *naked* (\*nāṅga-vaṭṭa-, nāṅga-vṛtta-); আন্টে « āṣṭē » *smelling of rank flesh or fish* (\*āṣṭiā, \*āṣiāvaṭṭiā-, āṣiā-vṛttika-); দেউটা « dēuṭi » (*dīpa-varṭtikā*); the affix টা « -ṭā », টী « -ṭī » (? vartta-); মাটা « māṭi » (*mṛttikā*); বাঁটল « bāṭulṭa » *ball, sling-stone* (varttula); আঁওটা « āōṭā » *stirring (as milk)* (āvartta-); মোটা « mōṭā » *fat* (? murtaka); বাট « bāṭṭa » (vartma), বেটা as in বেটা বোড়া « bēṭō ghōrā » *hack* (bāṭuā < bāṭā-, vartma-); হেট « iṭṭa » (*iṣṭa*); উট « uṭṭa » (*uṣṭra*); ঘাঁট « ghāṭṭa » (*ghṛṣṭa*); পালট « pālāṭṭa » (*paryasta*); etc., etc.

MIA. « -ṇṭ- » from OIA. « -ṇṭ-, -ṇnt- »: কাটা « kāṭā » (*kaṭṭaka-*); কাটাল « kāṭāṭṭa » *jack-fruit* (kaṭṭāla-); বাটে « bāṭē » *divides, distributes, shares* (vaṇṭati); বাঁট « bāṭṭa » *teat*, বোঁটা « bōṭā » *foot-stalk of leaf or flower* (\*vaṇṭa-, \*vōṇṭa- = vṛnta).

By deaspiration of « -ṭh- », we get « -ṭ- » in MB. and NB.: e.g., শিটা « śiṭā » *dregs* (MIA. siṭṭha-, \*śiṭṭha- śiṣṭa-); আট « āṭṭa » (*āṭha, aṭṭha, aṭṭa-*); ঢেঁটা « ḍhēṭā » from চীট, চীঠ « ḍhīṭ(h)ṭa » (*ḍhṛṣṭa-*);

কাট, কাঠ < kāt(h)ṣ > (kāṣṭha); লুট < luṭṣ > (Skt. √/luṇṭh); ঠাট্টা < ṭhātṭā, from the Hind. < ṭhaṭṭhā > (< ?); etc. Cf. কোট < kōṭṣ >, গাট < ghāṭṣ > etc., above.

Through unvoicing of < ḍ >: ডাঁটা < ḍāṭā > stalk, ডাঁটা < ḍāṭī > pestle, little stick (daṇḍikā); ঢেঁটরা < ḍhēṭṣrā > proclamation by beat of drum, cf. Hind. < ḍhaṇḍ(h)ōrā >.

In the word পাকাটি < pākāṭī > dried jute-stalk used as fuel, also পাকাটি < pākāṭī >, we have a MB. or NB. case of assimilation of < ṭ > to a following < k >, from পাট-কাঠি < pāṭ-kaṭhī > (or is it from পাক-কাঠি < pāk-kaṭhī >, from the jute stalks being soaked in river or tank beds, < paṅka > ?).

NB. < ṭ > in a few cases comes from OIA. < ṇ > in OB. and Early MB. *stss.*: e.g., কেঁড়ে < kēṣṭā > < < kṣṣṇa >, তেঁড়ে < tēṣṭā > < < ṭṣṣṇā >, etc. See *infra*, under the Nasals.

In the printed text of the Caryāpadas, ট < ṭ > is found consistently for ʈ < ḍh(ṛh) >: e.g., দিট < diṭa > for দিঢ < diḍha >, গট্টে < gaṭṭī > for গঢ্চে < gaḍḍhā >, etc. This ট is certainly a variant form of the letter ʈ in the alphabet of the Caryā MS., as the ʈ < ḍh > sound remains a voiced aspirate in Early MB.

[ṭ] in foreign words commonly represents the alveolar [t] of English. See *infra*, under *Phonology of the English Element*.

## 269. Bengali [ṭh].

Initial [ṭh] is from MIA. < ṭh- > derived from—

OIA. < st-, sth- >: ঠা < ṭhā > (< √sthā >); ঠাই < ṭhāi > (sthāman); ঠেক < ṭhēkṣ > leaning, also ঠাক < ṭhākṣ > (cf. stakati strike against); ঠিক < ṭhikṣ > standing, correct, fixed, right (< √sthā ?); ঠান্ডা < ṭhāṇḍā > (\*ṭhaṇḍha-, \*ṭhaḍḍha- = stabdha ?); ঠাট < ṭhāṭṣ > style (sthātra ?); etc.

< ṭh- > is unexplained in a number of words, possibly of *dēśī* origin: e.g., ঠক, ঠগ < ṭhākṣ, ṭhāgṣ > cheat; ঠাহর < ṭhāhārṣ > cognisance of something solid and standing (by one of weak eye-sight), cf. Hind. < ṭhaharnā > to stand still; ঠাকুর < ṭhākurṣ > god, respected being; ঠাট্টা, ঠাটা < ṭhāt(h)ā > thunder; ঠার < ṭhārṣ > looking



askance, gesture, speech; ঠাস < √ṭhās > knead, press; ঠসক < ṭhāsakṣ > conquestry; ঠুক < √ṭhuk >, ঠোক < √ṭhōk > strike gently, as with a rod; ঠুলী < ṭhulī > blinkers for horses or oxen; ঠেলা < ṭheṅ(g)ā > stick; ঠেল < √ṭhēl > push; ঠেস < ṭhēsṣ > leaning; ঠোকা < ṭhōṅ(g)ā > leaf-cup; ঠোনা < ṭhōnā > a blow under the chin; ঠুঁটা < thūṭā > armless; etc.

< ṭh- > is through unvoicing, in ঠেঁটা < ṭhēṭā > (= dhīṭṭha, dhṛṣṭa), feminine ঠেঁটি < ṭhēṭī > (also = a white sārī worn by widows: < ?; cf. টেনা, তেনা < ṭēnā, tēnā > rags).

< ṭh- > seems to be intrusive in ঠেঁটি < ṭhēṭṭi > (< oṭṭha, oṣṭha). In ঠেঁ, ঠেঁ < ṭhēṅ > leg, beside টেঁ < ṭēṅ >, < ṭh- > is probably due to the aspiration of < ṭ- > (through influence of ঠেলা < ṭheṅ(g)ā > stick?).

Medially and finally, [ṭh] is from—

OIA. < -ṅṭh- >: MB. কাঁঠি < kāṭhī > (kaṅṭhikā); শুঁঠ < śuṭh > (śuṅṭhi);

OIA. < -nth- > through influence of < r >: গাঁঠ < gāṭh > (granthi);

OIA. < -rth- > > < -ṭṭh- > in Old Māgadhī: eMB. (ŚKK.) আহঁঠ < āhuṭhā >, lMB. আউঠ < āuṭṭh > = 3½ (MIA. aḍḍhuṭṭha < ardha-caturtha); চৌঠা < cāuṭhā > (caturtha-), with cerebralisation absent in < cauth > in Hindī etc.; পৌঠা < pāṭhā > billy-goat < young of animal, falling (pṛthuka, \*parthu- ?).

OIA, < -ṣṭ(h)- >: আঙুঠি > আংটি < āṅguṭhi, āṅṭī > ring (aṅguṣṭhikā); কুঠারী < kuṭhārī > chamber (koṣṭhāgārikā); কাঁঠ < kāṭhṣ > (kāṣṭha); গোঠ < gōṭhṣ > (gōṣṭha); জাঠা < jāṭhā > (yaṣṭī); জেঠা < jēṭhā > (jyēṣṭha-tāta); টৌট < ḍhīṭṭṣ > (dhṛṣṭa); নিঠুর < niṭhūrṣ > (niṣṭhura); পিঠ < piṭhṣ > (pṛṣṭha); পুঁঠি < pūṭ(h)i > a fish (prōṣṭhikā); মুঠি < muṭhi > (muṣṭī-); রীঠা < rīṭhā > (ariṣṭa-); মাঠা < māṭhā > cream (? mṛṣṭa-); মিঠা < miṭhā > sweet (miṣṭa-); শেঠ < śēṭh > (śrēṣṭhin); বাঠ < ṣāṭhṣ > (ṣaṣṭhi); লাঠি < lāṭhi > (laṭṭhi = OIA. yaṣṭī); MB. বেঠান < bēṭhānā > turban (as in the 'Caitanya-Bhāgavata': < < vēṣṭana >); etc.

OIA. < st(h)- >: আঁঠি < āṭhi > stone of fruit (asthi); পাঠায় < pāṭhāy > sends (paṭṭhāvēi, prasthāpayati); উঠান < uṭhānṣ > court-yard (\*ut-

sthāna, Skt. utthāna);  $\text{हैठ}$   $\leftarrow$   $\text{hēṭhṣ}$  *low* (\*adhiṣṭāt = adhastāt : cf. upariṣṭāt).

**270.** Bengali [ḍ, ḍh ; r, ṛh].

Intervocal  $\leftarrow$  ḍ, ḍh  $\rightarrow$  have a 'liquid' pronunciation—that of the so-called cerebral  $\leftarrow$  r  $\rightarrow$ —in all Indian languages, Aryan or Dravidian. In the northern languages (Bengali, 'Bihārī,' Hindōstānī, Panjābī, Sindhī), the  $\leftarrow$  r  $\rightarrow$  pronunciation is indicated in orthography (ṛ, ṛ, ṛ etc.); in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī, the script does not recognise the  $\leftarrow$  r  $\rightarrow$  modification, any more than the Dravidian alphabets. The  $\leftarrow$  r  $\rightarrow$  pronunciation is at least as old as the Transitional MIA. period (see *supra*, p. 249), and it is a sort of link in the change of  $\leftarrow$  -ḍ-, -l-, -l-  $\rightarrow$  to  $\leftarrow$  -r-  $\rightarrow$  and *vice-versa*, in MIA. and NIA. (cf. Pischel, §§ 238, 240, 241, 258). The liquid pronunciation of  $\leftarrow$  r  $\rightarrow$  never occurs initially; and the stop  $\leftarrow$  ḍ  $\rightarrow$  occurs in the interior of words only when it is doubled (except in loan-words, like those from English, where we find single intervocal stop  $\leftarrow$  -ḍ-  $\rightarrow$ ). In East and North Bengali, in Assamese, and even in portions of West Bengal (in Murshidabad district, for instance),  $\leftarrow$  ḍ  $\rightarrow$  r  $\rightarrow$  is reduced to  $\leftarrow$  r  $\rightarrow$ ; and  $\leftarrow$  r, r  $\rightarrow$  are confused in some class dialects in different parts of Bengal.

$\leftarrow$  -ḍh-  $\rightarrow$  -ṛh-  $\rightarrow$  became deaspirated to  $\leftarrow$  r  $\rightarrow$  in Late MB. (see p. 442).

**271.** Bengali [ḍ], initially, is from MIA.  $\leftarrow$  ḍ-  $\rightarrow$  (except where the cerebralisation is a late phenomenon in Bengali), mainly in *dēśī* words, and in some cases from OIA.  $\leftarrow$  d-  $\rightarrow$ , with or without influence of  $\leftarrow$  r  $\rightarrow$  :

*e.g.*,

ডর  $\leftarrow$  ḍarṣ  $\rightarrow$  *fear* (dara); ডাবা  $\leftarrow$  ḍābā  $\rightarrow$ , ডাবর  $\leftarrow$  ḍābā-rṣ  $\rightarrow$  *a round vessel* (darvī ?); ডুলী  $\leftarrow$  ḍulī  $\rightarrow$  (dōlikā); ডোঙ্গা  $\leftarrow$  ḍōṅgā  $\rightarrow$  (? drōṅī : probably *dēśī*); ডল  $\leftarrow$  √ḍāl  $\rightarrow$  *press, rub* (√dal); ডলা  $\leftarrow$  ḍālā  $\rightarrow$  *lump* (dalaka- ?); ডাল  $\leftarrow$  ḍālṣ  $\rightarrow$  *branch* (\*ḍalla = dru, dāru ?); ডাল, ডাইল  $\leftarrow$  ḍāl, ḍāil  $\rightarrow$ , beside earlier দাইল, দালি  $\leftarrow$  dāil, dāli  $\rightarrow$  *split pulse* (dālita); ডালিম  $\leftarrow$  ḍālimṣ  $\rightarrow$ , beside দাড়িম  $\leftarrow$  dārimṣ  $\rightarrow$  (dāḍimba); ডোর  $\leftarrow$  ḍōrṣ  $\rightarrow$  *string* (cf. dōraka, ḍōraka); ডেড়  $\leftarrow$  ḍērṣ  $\rightarrow$  beside দেড়  $\leftarrow$  dērṣ  $\rightarrow$  (\*ḍiādḍha, diādḍha = dvyardha); NB. ডাঁড়  $\leftarrow$  ḍāṛṣ  $\rightarrow$  beside দাঁড়  $\leftarrow$  dāṛṣ  $\rightarrow$  *oar* (danḍa); ডাঁশ  $\leftarrow$  dāśṣ  $\rightarrow$  *gnat* (dañśa); ডাহুক  $\leftarrow$  ḍāhukṣ  $\rightarrow$  (cf. Skt. dātyūha); ডুব্ব



◀ *ḍumuraḥ* ▶ (udumbara); ডাহিন, ডাইন, ডান ▶ *ḍā(h)inaḥ, ḍānaḥ* ▶ (*dakṣiṇa*); OB. ▶ *ḍāḍhi-* ▶ *burnt rice* (\**daḍḍhia, dagdhikā*); MB. *sts.* ডাড়কা ▶ *ḍārūkā* ▶ *fellers* (*dārūkā*), etc.

Initial ▶ *ḍ-* is found in ডোম ▶ *ḍōmḥ* ▶ (in Sanskrit *ḍōmba*), ডিম ▶ *ḍimḥ* ▶ (*dimba*), OB. ▶ *ḍauḍha* ▶, NB. ঢোড়া ▶ *ḍhōṛā* ▶ a *water-snake* (by transference of aspirate) (\**ḍuḍḍuha, ḍuḍḍubha, dundubha*), ডামাজেল ▶ *ḍāmāḍōlḥ* ▶ *tumult* (cf. *ḍāmara*), etc.; but these seem to be of *dēśī* origin, like the following, which are some of the typical ▶ *ḍ-* words of Bengali: e.g., ডাক ▶ *√ḍāk* ▶ *shout*; ডুব ▶ *√ḍub* ▶ *sink* (cf. MIA. *buḍḍa* = Beng. বড় ▶ *√bur* ▶); ডাগর ▶ *ḍāgarḥ* ▶ *big*, ডেকরা ▶ *ḍēkṛā* ▶ *ungainly, loutish*; ডহর ▶ *ḍāhārḥ* ▶ *deep*; ডবকা ▶ *ḍābākā* ▶ *buxom*, cf. ডবডবে ▶ *ḍābḍābē* ▶ *juicy*, ডাব ▶ *ḍābḥ* ▶ *green coco-nut*; ডগা ▶ *ḍāgā* ▶ *end of a branch*; ডাঙ্গ ▶ *ḍāṅṅ* ▶, ডাঙ্গ (গ্র) ▶ *ḍāṅṅ(gra)ḥ* ▶ *stick, pin, goad*, conn. with ডক ▶ *ḍāṅkā* ▶ *biting*; ডাহা ▶ *ḍāhā* ▶ *complete, entire*; ডহুয়া > ডেও ▶ *ḍāhuā* > *ḍēō* ▶ a *fruit, custard-apple*; ডুকরা ▶ *ḍukṛā* ▶ *to blubber out*; ডেম, ডেঁপ ▶ *ḍēmḥ, ḍēṅḥ* ▶ *sprout, young of snake*; ডোল, ডোল ▶ *ḍōlḥ, ḍōlḥ* ▶ *shape*; ডেঙ্গর ▶ *ḍēṅgarḥ* ▶ *louse*; ডাঁসা ▶ *ḍāṣā* ▶ *half-ripe (as fruit)* (= *that which is to be bitten hard*, < *√daś* ?); ডাঁটো ▶ *ḍāṭō* ▶ *stiff, able*; (= *daṅḍa* - ? : see p. 492 *supra*); ডালা ▶ *ḍālā* ▶ a *basket*; *pour, throw* (cf. ঢালা ▶ *ḍhālā* ▶ *pour*); ডিঙ্গা ▶ *ḍiṅṅ(g)ā* ▶ *boat, to step or cross over something* (conn. with ডোঙ্গা ▶ *ḍōṅṅ(g)ā* ▶ *above* ?); ডিবা, ডিবিয়া ▶ *ḍibā, ḍibiyā* ▶ *small round box* (conn. with ডাব above ?); ডুমা ▶ *ḍumā* ▶ a *piece, square slice*; ডেরা ▶ *ḍērā* ▶ *house, tent*; ডোবা ▶ *ḍōbā* ▶ *puddle* (conn. with ডুব ▶ *√ḍub* ▶ *sink* ?); ডোল ▶ *ḍōlḥ* ▶ *large drum-shaped pot or bucket*; ডোকলা ▶ *ḍōkḍlā* ▶ *spendthrift* (conn. with ডেকরা ▶ *ḍēkṛā* ▶ *above* ?); etc.

Medially and finally, [ḍ > ṛ] is from—

OIA. ▶ *-ṛ-*, commonly from ▶ *-ṛt-*, or *dēśī* sources, > MIA ▶ *-ḍ-* : আখড়া ▶ *ākḥḍrā* ▶ (*akṣa-vāṭa-*); কড় ▶ *kārḍ* ▶ *ring, bracelet* (*kaṭa, kṛta*); MB. কানড়(ত) ▶ *kānḍ(ā)* ▶ (*karnāṭaka-*); চড়ে ▶ *caṛē* (*caḍai, caṭati*); চিড়া ▶ *cīṛā* ▶ (*cipiṭaka-*); জুড় ▶ *√jur* ▶ (*√yut*); ঝাড়

- « jhārṣ » (jhāta) ; পুড়ে « purē » *burns* (puṭati) ; কুঁড়ে, কুঁড়িয়া « kūrē, kūrīyā » *hut* (kuṭi-) ; খড়ী « khārī » *chalk* (khatikā) ; বড়া « ghārā » *vase* (ghaṭa-) ; ঘোড়া « ghōrā » (ghōṭaka-) ; ধড় « dhārṣ » (dhaṭa : dhṛta) ; নড় « nārṣ » *dancer > a caste* (naṭa : nṛtu) ; MB. নিয়ড় « niyārṣ » (nikaṭa) ; পেড়া « pērā » (pēṭaka-) ; বেয়াড়া « bēyārā » (vikaṭa-) ; বাড়ী « bārī » (vāṭikā : √vṛt) ; বড়ী « bārī » (vaṭikā) ; বাহুড়ে « bāhurē » *returns* (vyāghuṭati) ; ভড় « bhārṣ » *soldier, servant > a surname ; a kind of boat* (bhaṭa, <bhrta) ; MB. মোড় « māurṣ » (mukuṭa) ; সাড়ী « sārī » (sāṭikā) ; তোড়ে « tōrē » (trōṭayati) ; কোড়ে « phōrē » (sphōṭayati) ; কাড়ে « phārē » (sphāṭayati) ; etc., etc.
- OIA. « -ḍ- » : গুড় « guṛṣ » (guḍa<?) ; ছোড় as in †ছোড়ান « chōṛānṣ » *key* (cf. chōṭayati *splits, opens* < √chuṭ) ; নীড় « nīṛṣ » (nīḍa) ; খোড়ে « khōrē » *digs* (kṣōḍa-) ; নাড়ী « nārī (nāḍikā) ; বড়শী « bārṣī » *fish-hook* (baḍīśa-) ;
- OIA. « -ḍy- » : জাড় « jāṛṣ » *cold* (jaḍḍa, jāḍya) ;
- OIA. « -ḍr- » : উড়ে, উড়িয়া « urē < urīyā » (Oḍḍīaa-, Āudriyaka-) ; বোড়া « bōrā » *a large snake* (vōḍra-) ; বুড়ি « burī » *one fourth of a paṇa, 1/4th of 80 = 20* (vōḍrī) ; বড় « bārā » *big* (Late Skt. vaḍra < ? ; but probably < vaṭa-, vṛta) ;
- OIA. « -ṇ- » > MIA. « -l- » ? : বেউড় « bēurṣ » *kind of bamboo* (cf. Pali vēḷu = vēṇu) ; পাহাড় « pāhārṣ » *hill* (cf. pāsāṇa) ;
- OIA. « -ṇḍ- » : কুঁড় « kūrṣ » (kuṇḍa) ; কাঁড় « kāṛṣ » *arrow* (kāṇḍa) ; খাঁড় « khārṣ » *molasses*, খাঁড়া « khārā » *heavy sacrificial sword* (khaṇḍa-) ; ছিঁড়ে « chīrē » (chiṇḍati) ; চাঁড়াল « cārālṣ » (caṇḍāla) ; আঁড় « āṛṣ » (aṇḍa) ; নাড় « nārṣ » (laṇḍa) ; OB., MB. পাণ্ডিআ « pāṇḍiā », NB. পাড়ে « pārē » *a North Indian Brāhman* (paṇḍita-) ; কাঁড় « phārṣ » *circumference* (phaṇḍa, phaṇḍa *belly* < ?) ; ভাঁড়ার « bhārṣ » (bhāṇḍāgāra) ; মাড় = মাঁড় « māṛṣ » (maṇḍa) ; শুঁড় « śūrṣ » (śuṇḍa) ; ষাঁড় « ṣārṣ » (ṣaṇḍa) ; etc. ;
- OIA. « -ṇḍr- » : পুঁড় « pūrṣ » *sugar-cane, a tribe* (puṇḍra) ;
- OIA. « -t- », mainly in connection with « ṛ, r » : পড়শী, পড়শী « pār(i)śi » (prativēśin) ; MB. পড়ীছা « pārīchā » (prattikṣaka-) ;



so পড়ি < pāri > << prati- > in MB. পড়িহায় < pārihāē > (pratibhāti), পড়িহাস < pārihāsā- > (pratibhāsa-), etc.; পড়ে < pāre > (paḍai, \*paṭati, patati); ফড়িঙ্গ < phāriṅ > (Pali paṭaṅga, patanga); বহেড়া < bāyṛā < bāhērā > (MIA. bahēḍaa- = vibhītaka); also আমড়া < āmṛā > (āmṛātaka), শিঙ্গাড়া < śiṅ(ḡ)ārā > (śṛṅgātaka, -ṭaka), etc.; Māgadhī Pkt. < gaṛa > (gata) is on the model of < kaḍa, maṛa > (\*kaṭa, maṭa = kṛta, mṛta) : this < gaṛa > is found in the MB. of the ŚKK. (see p. 343, footnote). Cf. সড়ক < sārākṣ > road (sṛta, √sṛ to go). The OIA. < -ṭ- > > MIA., NIA. < -r- > words should properly come under this heading. The common IMIA. and NIA. pleonastic affix < -ḍ- > -ṛ- >, = eMIA. < -ṭ- >, seems to have been < -ta- > in OIA. : see *infra*, under 'Formative Affixes.'

OIA. < -dd- > -ḍḍ- > > MIA. < -ḍḍ- > > Beng. < -r- > : উড়ে < urē > (uḍḍayati, ud + dayati).

OIA. < -dr- > > MIA. < \*-ḍḍ- > : খুড়া < khurā > (\*khuḍḍa-, kṣudratāta); পাড়া < pāṛā > village quarter (padra village, cf. Vaṭa-padra > Vaṭavadda > Vaṭōd- = Baroda in Gujarat);

OIA. < -nd- > : সাঁড়াশী < sāṛāśī > (MIA. \*saṅḍaṅśia, Skt. sandaṅśikā);

OIA. < -rt- (-ṛt-) > : see under < -ṭ-, -t- > above.

OIA. < -rd- > > MIA. < -ḍḍ- > : কড়া < kārā > (kaparda-); ছাড়ে < chārē > (chardati); মারে < māṛē > pounds (as in an apothecary's mortar) (mardati);

OIA. < -l- > > < -l- > > < -ḍ- > : তাড়ী < tāṛī > fermented date-palm juice, 'toddy' (tāla, \*tālikā).

Through deaspiration, intervocal and final [r̥] has in all cases become [r̄] in NB. : see under [r̥], below.

The following are some of the unexplained words with interior [ḍ > r̄]; they are probably of *dēśī* origin : এড় < √ēr > give up, নড় < √nār > move, মুড় < √mur > fold : all these three roots are found in Dravidian (Tamil); আড় < āṛḍ > cross-wise, screen, whence MB. আড়ানী < āṛānī > umbrella, NB. আড়াল < āṛālḍ > obstruction; আড়্ড < āḍḍā > club, rendezvous; আড়গড়া < āṛḡārā > stables; খড় < khārḍ >, also খেড় < khērḍ > straw, fuel, খড়কিয়া

« khārṣṭkiyā » *tooth-pick of rushes*; খিড়কী « khirṣṭki » *window, back-door* (MIA. khaṣṭakki); খাড় « khāru » *bracelet* (khaṣṭu-); গাড় « gāru » *water-pot with spout*; গড় « √gār » *to roll*, whence গাড়ী « gārī » *carriage*, গড়িয়ান « gāriyān » *sloping ground* (= MIA. gaṣṭa: see p. 66); গেঁড় « gēṭṣṭ » *sprout*; গোড় « gōṣṭ » *foot* (MIA. gōṣṭa), গোড়া « gōṣṭā » *beginning*; গোঁড় « gōṣṭṣṭ » *fleshy navel* (see p. 67); গোঁড়া « gōṣṭṣṭā » *bigot, bigoted partisan*; ঘাড় « ghārṣṭ », OB. « ghātā » *neck*; চোরাড় « cōārṣṭ » *ruffian* (see p. 71); নড়ী « nārī » *stick*; MB. নাড়া, নাড়া « nār(h)ā », NB. নেড়া « nēṣṭā » *shaven-head*; পাড় « pāṣṭ » *chief, excessive*; † পাড়া « pāṣṭā » *buffalo*; ফাঁড়া « phārā » *impending danger, lucky escape*; ভিড় « bhirṣṭ » *crowd*; লড় « √lār » *fight*; লাড় « lāru » *sweet-meat* (MIA. laṣṭu-); হোড় « hōṣṭ » *competition, slippery* (cf. হড়াহড়ি « huṣṭhuṣṭi » *shaking and pushing*); হাড় « hārṣṭ » *bone* (= Late Skt. haṣṭa-); etc., etc.

[ḍ-, -ḍ-] in foreign words represents the alveolar [d] of English; also the Persian dental « d » in ডিহি « ḍihi » *district, area* (dih count-y), দেগ « ḍēg » *caldron* (dēg).

272. Bengali [ḍh]. Initially, it is from--

OIA. « ḍh- »: ঢুক, ঢোক « ḍhukē, ḍhōkē » *enters* (√ḍhāuk > MIA. ḍhōkkaī *approaches*): but cf. ছ, ছঁ next page;

OIA. « dhṛ- » in চৌটে « dhṛṣṭ » (dhṛṣṭa);

OIA. « \*ṣṭh- »: ঢিলা « ḍhila » (MIA. « ḍhilla- » = « \*siḍhila-, \*ṣiṭhila » beside Skt. « sithila » < « \*ṣṭhila »: but this derivation is very doubtful);

OIA. « sth- »: ঢাকে « ḍhākē » (« ḍhakkāi < \*ṭhagati < sthagati »: very doubtful).

In ঢোঁড়া « ḍhōṣṭā » *a water snake*, we have « ḍh » through aspiration: see ante, p. 425.

In most « ḍh- », however, as in those given above, the etymology is doubtful: « ḍh- » words are mostly *dēśī*. Typical Bengali words: ঢঙ্গ « ḍhāṅ » *style, manner, gallantry, coquetry*; ঢামালি « ḍhāmāli » *revelry, orgy*, also ধামালি « dhāmāli »; ঢনা « ḍhānā » *pale, weak*; ঢল « √ḍhāl » *to slope, to lean, to flow*; ঢাক « ḍhākṣṭ » (Skt. ḍhakkā<?); ঢাঙ্গা « ḍhāṅ(ḡ)ā » *tall*; ঢাল « ḍhālṣṭ » *shield*; ঢালে « ḍhālē » *pours*, ঢালু « ḍhālu » *sloping*, conn. with ঢল;



ঢাঁচা < ḍhācā > *form, shape* (also = ধাঁচা); ঢিকা < √ḍhikā > *be-weary* (cf. Skt. dhikṣ); ঢিপ < ḍhip > *sound of something falling* (cf. √ḍip = kṣēpanē); ঢবি < ḍhibi > *mound*, ঢেবুয়া < ḍhēbuā > *a lump > a coin (stamped bit of copper)*; ঢিবরী < ḍhibārī > *axle-iron*; ঢিমা < ḍhimā > *slow*; ঢিল < ḍhilṣ > *clod, piece of stone*; হুল < √ḍhul > *move to and fro (as a chowry), doze, nod one's head in sleep*; হুড় < √ḍhūr > *seek* (MIA. ḍhunḍhai); টু < ḍhū > *butting with the head*, হুস < √ḍhus > *push with the head, gore*; ঢেউ < ḍhēu > *wave*; ঢেঁকী < ḍhēki > *rice-pounding machine, lever machine*; ঢেঁটরা < ḍhēṭārā > *proclamation by beat of drum*; ঢেঁকুর < ḍhēkurṣ > *belching*; ঢেঁড়স < ḍhēṭāsṣ > *a vegetable, 'lady's fingers'*, ঢেঁড়ী < ḍhēṭī > *seed-pod (of the poppy), an ear-ornament*; ঢেকা < ḍhēkā > *push* (cf. ধাক্কা < dhākkā >); ঢেমন < ḍhēmānṣ > *a wanton or characterless person*; ঢেমেচা, -সা < ḍhēmeā, -sā > *a musical instrument, beside ধাঙসা < dhāṅsā >*; ঢের < ḍhērṣ > *much, excessive, a heap*; ঢেরা < ḍhērā > *scrawl*; ঢো < √ḍhō > *remove articles*; ঢোল < ḍhōlṣ > *drum (dēśī ḍhōlla)*; ঢোল < ḍhōlṣ > *a surname* (cf. Śaur. Ap. ḍholla-*lover*); etc.

Medially, [ḍhi = rfi] of OB., reduced to [ḍ > r], comes from—

OIA. < -ṭh- > (generally < -rth- >) > MIA. < -ḍh- >: পড়ে > পড়ে < pārḥē > pārṣē > (paṭhati < √prath); কুচালী > কুড়াল, কুড়ুল < \*kuṭhālī > kuṭālṣ, kuṭul > (kuṭhāra- < \*kultihāra, cf. Latin culter); গড় > গড় < √gārḥ, gār > *make, build, shape* (√gaṭḥ, √grath).

OIA. < -ḍh- >: MB. গাঢ় < gārḥā > (gāḍha-); দঢ় > দড় < dārḥā > dārā > (dṛḍha-); আঢ়া > আড়া < ārḥā > ārā > *a grain measure* (āḍhaka-); \*সেঢ়ী > সিঁড়ী < \*sērḥī > sīṭī > *steps* > (śrēḍhī-);

OIA. < -ṣṭ(h)- > > Early MIA. < -ṭṭh-, -ṭh- > > Second and Late MIA. < -ḍh- >: কাঢ়া > কাড়া < √kāṭhā > √kāṭā > *snatch away, raise (a shout)* (kṛṣṭa-); \*কুঢ়ি > কুড়ি < \*kuṭṭhi > kuṭī > (kuṣṭha-); দাঢ়া > দাড়া < dārḥā > dārā > (daṅṣṭrā-); দাঢ়ী > দাড়ী < dārḥī > dārī > *beard* (daṅṣṭrikā); বেঢ়া > বেড়া < bēṭhā > bēṭā > (vēṣṭa-); মাঢ় > মাড় < mārḥā > mārṣ > *water in which rice is boiled* (mṛṣṭā); লুড়ী, লুড়ী < luṭī, nuṭī > *pebble* (lōṭa-: see p. 307); etc.

OIA. < -ṛdh-, -rdh- > > Māgadhī MIA. < -ṛh- >: আঢ়ত > আড়ত < ār(h)ātṣ > *store, magazine* (ṛdha-: cf. āḥya); বাঢ়ে > বাড়ে

< bār(h)ē > (vaḍḍhāi, vardhatē); বৃঢ় > বৃড়া < bur(h)ā > (vṛddha-); সাড়ে > সাড়ে < sār(h)ē > plus half (\*sarḥāhi < sārḥa-); \*আড়াঈ > আড়াই < \*ārḥāi > ārāi > 2½ (\*aḍḍha-titīya, arḥa-tṛtīya); আড় < āṛḥ >, probably from \*আঢ় < āṛḥā > (aḍḍha, arḥa-), as in আড়-মাতলা < āṛḥ-mātḥlā > half-drunken, আড়-পাগলা < āṛḥ-pāgḥlā > half-mad, আড়-চিবান < āṛḥ-cibānā > half-chewed, etc.; বাঢ়ই > বাড়ুই < bārḥāi > bārui > (vardhakin); বাঢ়ন > বাড়ন < bārḥānā > bārānā > broom, as in the street-cry বীড়া-বাড়ন < bīṛā-bārānā > pot-rests (of straw = viṭa-) and brooms (vardhana); etc. The word গঢ় < gārḥā >, NB. গড় < gārḥ > fort, seems to be from a 'Māgadhī' or Prācyā < \*garḥa > < OIA. < \*gr̥dha > (whence possibly the Vedic and Skt. < gr̥ha, gēha >, due to Prakritisations) = Indo-European < \*gr̥dhō- >, cf. Slav < gradŭ > town, etc. (Cf. C. C. Uhlenbeck, 'Etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache,' Amsterdam, 1899, under < gr̥ha >; T. Bloch in the 'Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1906-07,' p. 126, foot-note; A. Walde, 'Lateinisches etym. Wörterbuch,' Heidelberg, 1910, under < cohors >).

The < -ḥ- > in রাঢ় < rāḍha > is obscure: a connection with a < \*raḍḥa < raṭṭha < rāṣṭra > does not seem convincing. চড় < √cārḥ > ride, is found in Hindi, and seems to be due to aspiration of চড় < √cār > (attested in the Śaurasēnī Apabhraṅśa fragments in Hēma-candra's grammar) = < √caṭ > in Skt. (< cṛta ?).

These words have < -ḥ- > and < -ḥ- > -ṛh- >: ঢকা < ḍhakkā >, মূঢ় < mūrḥā >, নবোঢ়া < nabōṛḥā >, অরূঢ় < ārūrḥā >, etc.

(4) The Dental Stops and Aspirates [t, th, d, dh].

273. The dentals do not present any difficulty. Barring cases of cerebralisation (which was native Māgadhī), and palatalisation in connexion with < -y- > (which was non-Māgadhī), and a few instances of labialisation in connexion with a labial or denti-labial (which also was non-Māgadhī), the dentals have had a uniform history. The non-cerebralised forms in



cases where we have preceding < r > in OIA. are apparently old loan-words from the Midland and Western dialects.

Bengali [t].

Initially, [t] is from MIA. < t- >, coming from—

OIA. < -t- >: MB. তড় < tāṛṣ > (tāṛṣa, \*tṛpta); তল < tālṣ > (tala);  
 তরশু < tāṛṣu > (tirah-śvaḥ); তা < tā > (tāpa), also তাও < tāō >;  
 তাঁত < tāṭṣ > (tantra, tantu); তাত < tāṭṣ > (tapta); তাকে < tākē >  
 (tarkayati); তাজে < tājē > (tarjati); তাড়ী < tāṛī > *toddy* (tāla-);  
 তিতা < titā > (tikta-); তিল < tilṣ > (tila); তেল < tēlṣ > (tāila); তোলে  
 < tōlē > *raises* (tōlayati), etc.;

OIA. < tr- >: তিন < tin = tīn > (tiṇṇi, trīṇi); তে < tē- > (tri-, tray-);  
 তোড়ে < tōṛē > (trōṛayati); তোড়ী also টৌড়ী < tōṛī, ṭōṛī > a *Rāgini*  
 (trōṛikā, tōṛikā);

OIA. < tv- >: তুই < tui > (tvayā-, tva-); তুরিত < turitṣ > (tvarant-);

OIA. < y- >, by analogy changed to < t- > in MIA.: তুমি < tumi >  
 (tumbē, \*tumbahi = yuṣma-, yuṣmābhiḥ).

In the interior of words, [t] is from—

OIA. < -ṅkt- > > MIA. < -nt- >: পাঁতি < pāṭi > *row, a line, an*  
*opinion* (paṅkti);

OIA. < -tt- >: উতরে < utārē > (uttarati); মাত < māṭṣ >, মাতাল  
 < māṭālṣ > (matta); ভীত, ভিত < bhīt, bhit > (bhitti);

OIA. < -t- > with accent following > MIA. < -tt- >: জিত < jitṣ >  
*victory*, also জিত < √jit > *to win* (jitta, jitā); cf. পিতল < pitālṣ >  
 (pittala > pitā);

OIA. < -t- > with spontaneous nasalisation > MIA. < -nt- >: সোঁতা  
 < sōṭā > *current*, OB. < sonta- > (sōnta, srōtas); পুঁতি < pūṭi >  
*fine beads strung in ornaments* (? pōntia = \*prōṭikā, prōṭa);

OIA. < -tr- > > MIA. < -tt- >: আরতি < āṛāti > (ārātrika); করাত  
 < kāṛāṭṣ > (karapatra); খেত, কেত < khētṣ > (k-ētra); খন্তা  
 < khāntā > (khanitra-); MB. গাত < gātā > (gātra); চীতা, চিতা  
 < cītā, citā > *leopard* (citraka-); চরিত < cāritṣ > (caritra); চাটুতি  
 < cāṭuti > a *surname* (caṭṭa-putra); ছাতা < chātā > (chatra-); MB.  
 জায়তী < jāyāṭi > *horoscope* (jāta-patrikā); য়াতা, জ়াতা < jāṭā > *quern*

- (yantra-); MB. ছুতার < chutārṣ > (sūtra-dhāra); নেত < nētṣ > *fine cloth* (nētra); পইতা < paītā > *sacred thread* (pavitra-); পাত < pātṣ > (patra); পুত < putṣ > (putra); বেত < bētṣ > (vētra); MB. বৃহিত, বোহিত < buhitā, bōhitā > (vahitra); মাহত < māhutṣ > *elephant-driver* (mahāmātra); মূত, মুত < mūtṣ > (mūtra); রাতি, রাত < rāt(i) > (rātri); তীস < -tīṣ > (-triṣat); etc., etc.;
- OIA. < -kt- > > MIA. < -tt- >: ঞালতা < ālātā > (alakta-); ছাতু < chātu > (śaktu-); তিতা < titā > (tikta-); ভাত < bhātṣ > (bhakta); মোতী > MB. মুতী < mōtī > mutī > (māuktika); রতি < rātī > (raktikā), from the Hind. < rattī >; রাতা < rātā >, রাতুল < rātulṣ > *pink, red* (rakta-); সৈতান < sētānā > *moistened* (sikta-);
- OIA. < -ktr- > > MIA. < -tt- >: জোত < jōtṣ > *farm*, জুতা < jutā > *shoe* (yōktra-);
- OIA. < -ṭt- > > MIA. < -tt- >: ছত্তীস < chātṭīṣ > (ṣaṭtriṣat), beside the *sts.* ছত্তিরিশ, ছত্তিস < chātṭ(i)riṣṣ >.
- OIA. < -nt-, -ntr- > > MIA. < -nt- >: আঁত < ātṣ > (antra); উরুত < urutṣ > *thigh* (p. 325); MB. কাঁতি < kāti > (kānti); তাঁত < tātṣ > (tantra, tantu); দাঁত < dātṣ > (danta); বহুত < bahutṣ > *much, excessive, many* (? bahu-vant-); MB. ভাঁতি < bhāti > (bhrānti); সাঁতলা < sāotālṣ, sāōtālṣ > *Santal = border-tribe* (sāmanta-pāla); সাঁতরা < sāātṣrā > *a surname* (sāmanta-rāja); সিঁতি < sīti > (simanta-); etc. The locative affix ত, তে < -tā, -tā, -tē > (< anta, anta + hi); the dative post-position তরে < tārē > (antara + hi); etc. The MIA. affix < -anta > of the present participle has given ইত < -it- > in Bengali: see pp. 132, 335. Cf. মাইতি > মাইতী < māiti < māhitī > *a surname* (mahanta- + -ika : Oṛiyā māhiti);
- OIA. < -pt- > > MIA. < -tt- >: নাতি < nāti > (\*naprika = naptṣ); নিবুতি < niṣuti > (niṣupta-); বিনতি < bināti > (vijñapti-); সাত < sātṣ > (sapta); সতের < sātērā > (sapta-daśa); (in সত্তর < sāttārṣ >, একাত্তর < ekātārṣ > etc., we have < -tt- > in NB. for OIA. < -pt- >); ঠুত < √sut > *to sleep* (supta); etc.
- OIA. < -rt- > > MIA. < -tt- >: MB. কাতি < kāti > (kārttika); OB. গাঁতি < gāti > (garta-); বাতি < bāti > (vartikā).



In ছুত < chūt > *pollution, untouchability*, we have [t] through unvoicing and deaspiration of < -dh- >, from OB. চূধ < chudha > (ksubdha), with influence of √ছ, ছৌ < √chū, chō > *touch*.

In বোলতা < bōlātā > *wasp*, it seems we have [t] from < -ṭ- > or < -l- > (Skt. varātā, varalā; Hind. barrā).

[t] is intrusive in জাঠতুতা, খুড়তুতা, পিসতুতা, মাসতুতা, মামাতুতা < jāṭh-t-utā, khur-t-utā, pis-t-utā, mās-t-utā, māmā-t-utā > *cousins, children of father's elder brother, younger brother, and sister, and of mother's sister, and brother respectively*, side by side with জেঠতা, খুড়তা, পিস্ততা etc. < jēṭh-utā, khur-utā, pisu-tā > etc. (< \*jēṭhāutā, khurāutā, piusiutā: jyēṣṭha-tāta-putra, kṣudratāta-putra, piṭṛṣvasrikā-putra, etc.)

[t] is found for < st > in a few MB. *stss.*: তিরি < tiri > (stri), তন < tānā > (stana).

[t] occurs in *sts.* forms. e.g., জুগতি < jugāti >, also জুগিং < jugit > (yukti); বাতাস < bātāś > (vāta-); MB. পতিয় < √pātiyā- > (pratyaya). It is found also in some *ts.* affixes, like ইত < -itā- >: e.g., থকিত < thāk-itā > (√thāk to be at stand-still). In *ts.* words, there is 'doubling' of the [t] in the groups < -tm-, -ty-, -tr-, -tv- >, also in < -thy- >: e.g., আত্মা [ātta], হত্যা [hottæ], রাত্রি [rattri], দিত্ত [dittā], মিথ্যা [mitthæ].

In the word বিতিকিচ্ছি < bitikicchī > *bad, ugly* (= vicikitsa-), we have an uncommon change of < -c- > to [t], to avoid repetition of the < c > sound; cf. also folk-Bengali তিকিচ্ছে < tikicchē > (= cikitsā).

Intervocal [th] tends to deaspirate, and a number of *thh.* forms like হাত < hāt > (for eMB. হাথ < hāthā >) have dropped the aspiration quite early.

The English alveolar [t] is normally represented by the cerebral [ṭ] in Bengali, but we find the dental in a few cases: e.g., ডাক্তার < ḍāktār > *doctor*; হাঁসপাতাল < hāspātāl > *hospital*; তারপিন < tārpīn > *turpentine*, etc. For [t] in loan-words from the Persian, Portuguese, French, English, see *infra*.

274. Bengali [th]. Initially, [th] is from—

- OIA. < st-, sth- >: থর < thār > (stara); MB. থাহ < thāhā > (stāgha); MB. থন < thānā > (stana); থান < thānā > (sthāna-); থাম < thām > (stambha); থাকে < thākē > *remains, arrests oneself* (√sthā?);

√stabh- + √kr ?) ; থির < thirā > (sthira) ; থাল < thālā > *plate* (cf. sthālī) ; থায় < thōy > (sthāpayati) ; থোড়া < thōrā > (stōka-) ; *stss.* থিতা < thitā > *subside*, থিতু < thitu > *established* (sthita-);

In the word থরথর < thārāthārā > *trembling, shaking*, cf. MIA. < tharaharā > *trembles*, the origin of the [th] is not clear. In থুক < thukā >, থুথু, থুতু < thut(h)u > *spittle*, it is clearly onomatopoeic. [th] is of unknown origin in the following (probably *ilēsi*) words: থতমত < thātā-mātā > *taken aback* (conn. with < stabdha > ?) ; থল < thāl >, থাস < thās >, *the idea of flabbiness* (prob. onomatopoeic); থাবা < thābā > *paw*, with which are connected থাবড়া < thābārā >, থাপ্পড় < thāppārā > *slap*, etc.; থিক < thik > *the idea of teeming, as of maggots* (onomatopoeic ?) ; থুঁথি > থুঁতি < thūt(h)i >, থুঁতনী < thūtānī > *chin*, থোঁথা, থোঁতা < thōt(h)ā > *fat chin*; থুড়া, থুরা < √thurā, √thurā > *mince (as meat)*; থুবড়া < thubrā > *to tumble down face forward, tottering old person*; থেঁতান < thētānā >, extended to থেঁতলান < thētālānā > *to pound, to mash*: থোঁবা < thōbā > *bunch* (< stabaka ?) ; থোড় < thōrā > *inner part of the plantain tree*, etc.

In the interior of words, [th] is from—

OIA. < -tth- > : অশথ < āśāthā > (āśvattha) ; ইথ < ithē > (itthā-) ; কয়েথ, কথ < kā(yē)thā > (kapittha) ; কুলথী < kulāthī > (kulattha-) ; তুঁতিয়া < tūtiyā > from \*তুঁথিয়া < \*tūthiyā > (tūttha-).

OIA. < -tr- > : হেথা < hēthā > (atra-), য়েথা < jēthā > (yatra-) (?).

OIA. < -nt- > : সিঁথি, সিঁথা < sīthi, sīthā >, beside সিঁতি, সিঁতা < sīti, sītā > (sīmanta-) ; cf. Maithilī < karathi, bhanathi > etc. = MIA. < karanti, bhaṇanti >.

OIA. < -rth- > > MIA. < -tth- > : সাথ, সাথে < sāthā, sāthē > *company, in company with* (sārtha-) ; চৌথ < cāuthā > (caturtha), a non-Māgadhi form.

OIA. < -st(h)- > : নথ < nāthā > (nastā) ; আথান্তর < āthāntārā > (avasthāntara) ; MB. *sts.* আবথা < ābāthā > (avasthā) ; কায়থ < kāyēt(h)ā > (kāyastha) ; পাথর < pāthārā > (prastara) ; পুথি, পুঁথি < puthi, pūthi > (pustikā ; see p. 194) ; MB. পৈথান < pāithānā > (pada-sthāna) ; বাথান < bāthānā > *cow-pen* (? vāsa-sthāna) ; মাথা < māthā > (mastaka-) ; মুথা < muthā > (musta-) ;



MB. হাত্ < hāthā > > NB. হাত্ < hātṣ > (hasta); শিখান < śithānā > (śiras-sthāna): etc.

[th] occurs in *ts.* words: কথ্ < kāthā >, প্রথম < prāthāmṣ >, বথ্ < yāthā > [j̥ōtha], etc.

In foreign words: the English spirant sound of [θ] regularly becomes [th] in Bengali.

275. Bengali [d]. Initially, it is from—

OIA. < d- >: MB. দে < dē > (= dēva, dēha); দাঁত < dāntṣ > (danta); দাপ < dāpṣ > (darpa); দাঁড় < dāṛṣ > (daṇḍa); MB. দিঠি < diṭhi > (dṛṣṭi); দশ < dāśṣ > (daśa): MB. দেয়া < dēyā > *sky, cloud* (dēva-); দুখ < dukhṣ > (duḥkha); দাড়ী < dāṛī > (daṅṣṭrā-); দেউটী < dēuṭī > (dīpa-vartikā): দেখ < √dēkh > (dṛkṣ-); দৌল < dīghālṣ > (dīrgha-la-); দুধ < dudhṣ > (dugdha); দোনা < dōnā > *leaf-packet* (damana'ka-); etc.

OIA. < dr- > > MIA. < d- >: দৌড় < √dāuṛ > (drava-ḍa: see pp. 345, 348); দাম < dāmṣ > (dramya < Greek drakhmē);

OIA. < dv- > > MIA. < d- >: দু < du- > (dvi-); দু'দিয়া, দু'দে < dūdiā, dūdē > *quarrelsome, masterful, strong* (dvandva-); দুনা < dunā > (dviḡuna-); -দোয়া, -দে < dīā > dē > (dvīpa-).

In the interior of words, [d] is from—

OIA. < -dd-, -dr- > > MIA. < -dd-, -nd- >: কোদাল < kōdālṣ > (kuddāla < ?); আদা < ādā > (ādraka-); উদ in উদ-বিড়াল < udṣ-biṛālṣ > *otter, lit. 'otter-cat'* (udra); নীদ, নিন্দ < nīdṣ, nindṣ > (nidrā); OB. < bhāda > (bhādra); MB. মুদড়ী < mudārī > *ring* (mudrā-); হলুদ < haludṣ > (haridrā); সোদো as in NB. সোদো ভাসান sōdō-bhāsānā > *a festival, when toy boats with lights are floated in rivers or tanks* (\*sāduā < \*sawudduā < samudra-+ -uka- ?);

OIA. < -dm- > > MIA. < -dd- >: ছাদ < chādṣ > *roof* (chadma? see *infra*, next page).

OIA. < -dv- >: ছাদলা, ছেংলা < chādṣlā, chēṅlā > *moss, slice* (? sādvala-: see under ঝেংলা, p. 481).

OIA. < -bd- > > MIA. < -dd- >: OB. < sāda > (śabda);

OIA. <-nd->: ছাঁদ <chāḍḍ> (chanda); ননদ <nānādḍ> (nanandā);  
সিঁদুর <sīdūrḍ> (sindūra);

OIA. <-ndr-> > MIA. <-nd->: চাঁদ <chāḍḍ> (candra);

OIA. <-rd-> > MIA. <-dd->, a non-Māgadhī change: আদা  
<ādā> (ārdraka); কাদা, কাদো <kādā, kādō> (kardama); কুঁদে  
<kūdē> jumps (kūrdati <?>); চৌদ <cāuddā> (caturdaśa);  
পাদ <pādḍ> (parda); বাদল <bādālḍ> (vārdala <?>); মাদল  
<mādālḍ> (mardala); etc.

[d] is intrusive and euphonic in বাদর <bādārḍ>, probably borrowed  
from the Hind. <bandar> (vānara); cf. জাঁদরেল <jāḍrēl> huge, big =  
Hind. <jandrāl> <English general.

[d] for [ḍ] we get in দনাই <dānāi> for জনাই <jānāi> (= janārdana); গাঁদলা <gāḍḍlā>, probably for গাঁজলা <gāḍḍlā> scum, froth;  
Chittagong রাদহাঁস <rādḍhāsḍ> for রাজহাঁস <rājḍhōsḍ> swan; and  
probably দাঙ্গা <dāḅḅgā> fight, brawl is a variant of Persian <jang> battle.

Through voicing of [t(h)], we get [d] in a number of words: e.g.,  
অশ্বদ <āśvudḍ> = অশথ <āśāthḍ> (āśvattha); কদবেল <kādḍbēlḍ> for  
কদেথ-বেল <kāyēthḍbēlḍ> (kapittha-bilva), through progressive assimi-  
lation; ছাদ <chādḍ> roof seems rather to be from the voicing of the  
dental in ছাত <chātḍ> (chatra), rather than from a form like OIA.  
<chadma> (see above, under <-dm->). NB. [d] through deaspiration of  
final and intervocal [dʱ] is exceedingly common.

In *tss.*, [d] is retained: and in <-dm-, -dy-, -dr-, -dr-, -dhm-, -dhr-,  
-dhy-, -dhv->, the stop is lengthened in *tss.*

[d] in foreign words: see *infra*. English spirant [ð] becomes [d].

276. Bengali [dʱ]. Initially, from—

OIA. <dh->: ধন <dhānḍ> (dhana); ধান <dhānḍ> (dhānya-); MB.  
ধরে <dhārē> (√dhṛ); ধুনে <dhunē> (dhūnōti); ধনৌ <dhānī>  
lady, woman (\*dhanikā); OB. <dhāmḍ> (dharma); ধায় <dhāy>  
(dhāvati); ধোয় <dhōy> (dhāvayati); ধূয়া <dhūyā> (dhūma-);  
ধলা <dhālā> (dhavala-); ধোখা, ধোকা <dhōkhā> dhōkā > to  
be weary, to pant (√dhuks-); ধড় <dhārḍ> torso (dhṛta-); ধোসা  
<dhōsā> a grey woollen stuff (dhūsa-); ধুতি <dhuṭi> (dhōtra-);



- ধাঁধা < dhādhā > (dhandhā- < ?); ধূনা < dhūnā > (dhūpana-);  
 ধূলা < dhūlā > (dhūli-) etc.;  
 OIA. < dhr- > > MIA. < dh- >: ধূয়া < dhūā > *refrain* (dhrūva-);  
 OIA. < dhv- > > MIA. < dh- >: ধস < √dhās > (dhvas); MB. ধুন  
 < dhuni > (dhvani).

Medially—

- OIA. < -gdh- > > MIA. < -ddh- >: দুধ < dudhṣ > (dugdha);  
 OIA. < -ddh- >: MB. আবুধ < ābudhā > (abuddhi); MB. বুধি < budhi >  
 (buddhi); উদধা < udhō > (uddhava); ধার < dhārṣ > *loan* (uddhāra);  
 পিন্ধ < √pindh > (apinaddha); সাধ < sādḥṣ > *desire* (śraddhā);  
 জুধি, জুধ, সুধি, সুধ < śudh(i), sudh(i) > *knowledge* (śuddhi);  
 OIA. < -dhr- > > MIA. < -ddh- >: MB. গিধ, গিধিনৌ < gidhā, gidhini >  
 (gṛdhra, gṛdhriṇī);  
 OIA. < -ndh- >: আধার < ādhārṣ > (andha-kāra); আধি < ādhi >  
*dust-storm* (andhikā); কাধ < kādhṣ > (kandha, skandha); বিঁধ  
 < √bīdh > (vindh, vyadh); বাধ < bādḥṣ > (bandha); OB.  
 < sādhi < (sandhi), etc.;  
 OIA. < -bdh- > > MIA. < -ddh- >; OB. < labdhā > (labdha-); OB  
 < chudha > *impure* NB. চুত < chutṣ > (kṣubdhā-);  
 OIA. < -rdh- > > MIA. < -ddh- >: আধ < ādhṣ > (ardha); বধনা  
 < bādḥṣnā > *water-pot with spout* (vardhana-);

[dʰi] through transference of aspiration is not uncommon: e.g., গাধা  
 < gādḥā > (gaddaha-, gardabha-); sts. সন্ধ beside সন্দ < sānd(h)ā > (sandēha);  
 dialectally চৈধ্য [çʰoiddʰi] = চৌদ্দ < çāuddā > < < cauddaha > (caturdaśa).

[dʰi] interchanges with the cerebral [dʰi] initially in some cases: e.g.,  
 টাঁচা, ধাঁচা < ḍhācā, dhācā > = *style*, also ঢাধ < ḍhāḍ >; ধৌড়া < dhōṛā > beside  
 চৌড়া < ḍhōṛā > (= ḍuṇḍubha, dundubha); টীট, beside বীট < ḍhīṭṣ, dhīṭṣ >  
 (dhrṣṭa); ঢেঁড়স, ধেঁড়স < ḍhērāsṣ, dhērāsṣ > a *vegetable*; ধাউস, চাউস < ḍhāūsṣ,  
 dhāūsṣ > *huge* (= \*ḍhāb-u-sā < ḍhābā, ḍhibi mound, hillock ?); etc. A  
 number of < -dh- > words in Bengali (as in other NIA.) are obscure: e.g., ধুম  
 < dhūmṣ > *pomp, splendour, hugeness* (cf. ধূমসা < dhūmṣ-sā > *fat*); ধাক্কা  
 < dhākā >, *push*, ধকল < dhākālṣ > *strain*, beside MB. ঢেকা < ḍhēkā > *push*;  
 ধামা < dhāmā > *basket*; ধামসা < dhāmṣsā > *squeeze, beat, press*, cf. ধামালী

« dhāmālī » *sport, orgy, revelry*; धाड़ी « dhārī » *grown-up animal, leader*; धिङ्गि « dhiṅgi » *wanton, full of spirits, bad*; धुत्तना « dhucānā » *basket to wash grain*; धोकड़ « dhōkārḍ » *rags*; धाङ्गड़ « dhāṅgārḍ » *a sweeper < aboriginal or low-caste man from the Kōl and Oraon land*; धे, दे, द(h)ेत « d(h)ēt » *an exclamation of disgust, etc., etc.*

[dh] occurs in *ts.* words.

- (5) The Labial Stops and Aspirates [p, ph, b, bh], and the Bilabial and Denti-labial Spirants [ɸ, ɸ; f, v].

277. Labialisation of the OIA. groups of dental stops (or aspirates) + « m » or « v » is a phonological development which is quite noteworthy in MIA. (see Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 129). Two kinds of treatment are found in MIA.: (i) assimilation of the labial nasal or semi-vowel to the preceding dental (*e.g.*, ātmā > attā); (ii) labialisation (*e.g.*, ātmā > atpā > appā). Judging from the evidence of Aśōkan MIA. (in which the dialect of Girnar normally uses « -tp- » for « -tv-, -tm- » and « -db- » for « -dv- »), from a Greek transcription like « Barakhē » = « Dvārakā », and from Modern Gujarātī and Sindhī (*e.g.*, « bē, bbē » > *two*) it can be very well inferred that the labialisation with « v, m » characterised the dialects of the Gujarat side in the First MIA. period. Labialisation was absent in the East (and possibly also in the Midland) in the Early MIA. period, but it was found in the North-western speech: *e.g.*, the equivalents of « dvādaśa » in the Early MIA. dialects were, as can be inferred from the Aśōka inscriptions, « duvāḍasa, duvādasa » in the East and the Midland, « dbādasa » in the South-west, and « badaya, = \*bādaḍa » in the North-west; and those of « ātman » were, respectively in the East and the Midland, in the South-west and the North-west, « atta- », « atpa- », and « ātma » (as in Mansehra: the Shahbazgarhi « ata- = atta » seems to be a 'Māgadhism'). The North-western speech also shows change of « m, v » to « p » after a sibilant: *e.g.*, « pravāsapi = \*pravāsasmin = pravāsē », « spasuna(m) = svasṛṇām », « spamikēna = svāmikēna » etc. This is a change which is not found in other parts of India, but it has



a parallel in the Iranian change of < śv > to < sp >, as in < spa-ka, aspa > = < śvan, aśva >.

The labialised forms are very few in Bengali and in other Magadhan (see below). These forms can very well have come to the Eastern dialects (and to those of the Midland) from the dialects of the West where they seems to have originated. They were early established in the Northern Indian *koinē* based on the Midland speech, which became the Pali language: and their acceptance in the various forms of MIA. was due to the influence of this *koinē*.

### 278. Bengali [p].

[p] is a sound which tends very easily to be pronounced without contact of the lips, and in Old Bengali, some groups like < na + √pār > *not to be able* became নার < √nār > in MB. through a stage < \*nawār >, which is preserved in Assamese as < nōwār >. Apart from the spirant pronunciation of the aspirates [ph, bh], the stop [p] is pronounced as a bilabial open consonant or spirant, [ɸ], in the Eastern Vanga dialects; and in Noakhali and Chittagong, the lips are frequently so far apart as to reduce the [ɸ] into a sound almost like a voiceless [h]: e.g., Sylhet Bengali পাপ < pāpɸ > = [ɸa:ɸ], পূজা < pūjā > = [ɸuɸa], পরমা < pāysā > *piece* = [ɸœjɸa]; Tipperah, Noakhali and Chittagong পুত < putɸ > *son* = [ɸu:t, hu:t], পোলা < pōlā > *child* = [ɸola, hola], পুটীমাছ < pūṭi-māchɸ > *a fish* = [ɸuṭiās, huṭiās], পেট < pētɸ > = [ɸe:t, hɛ:d], পাইয়াছি < pāiyāchi > *I have received* = [haisi], পলাইয়াছে < pālāiyāchē > *has run away* = [halaise], etc. One can compare the change of [p] to [ɸ, h] in Japanese, in Modern Kaṇṇaḍa, and in other languages.

Initially, [p] is from MIA. < p- >, from—

OIA. < p- >: পড়ে < pārē > (patati); পা < pā > (pāda); পান < pānɸ >, পান, পাণ < pānɸ, pāṇɸ > (pāna; paṇa); পিবে < piē > (pibati); পুত < putɸ > (putra); পিসি < pisi > (pitṛ-śvasṛkā); পুছে < puchē > (pṛechati); পুঁজা, পুরা < puā > (pūpa-); পোনে < pāunē > (pādōna-); পরে < pārē >, MB. পরে, পহিরে < pārē, pāhirē > (paridhiyatē); পুকুর < pukurɸ > *tank* (puṣkarin); পইতা < pāitā > (pavitra-); MB. পহ, পহঁ < pāhu, pāhū > (prabhu); পাবড়ী < pābṛī > *petal*

(parva-); পরথ < pārākhṣ > (parikṣā); পুড়ে < purē > *burns* (puṭati); MB. পানহে, †পানা < pānāi, pānā > (upānah-); etc., etc.

Also in *dēśī* words, e.g., পেট < pēṭṣ > *belly*, পোক, পোকা < pōk(ā) > *worm*, পাক < pākṣ > *twist, whirl*, পৌটা < pōṭā > *entrails, exudation from nose*, পটোল < pāṭōlṣ > *a vegetable*, etc.

OIA. < pr- >: পুতি < pūti > *beads* (\*ponta-, prōta-); পিয়া < piyā > (priya-); পিয়াল < piyālṣ > (priyāla); পর < pārṣ < pārā > (prahara); পহেলা, পরলা < pāhēlā, pāylā > (pratha-illa); MB. পেখ < √pēkh > (prēkṣ-); পাঁচিল < pācīlṣ > (prācīra); পুঁঠি < পুঁঠি < pūṭi < pūṭhi > (prōṣṭhikā); পোঁছে < pōṅhē > (prōṅchati); MB. পেম < pēmā > (pēmma, prēman); MB. পেল < pēlē >, NB. কেল < phēlē > (pēllāi, prērayati); MB. পাউষ < pāuṣṣ > (prāvṛṣa); পড়িশি < pāriṣi > (prativēśin); MB. পড়ীছা < pāṛiṅhā > (pratīkṣaka-); পইশে > পশে < pāiṣē > pāśē > (praviśati); পইঠা < pāiṭhā > *stairs, foundation* (pratiṣṭhā-); etc., etc.

In the interior of words, [p] is from—

OIA. < -tp- > > MIA. < -pp- >: উপজে < upājē > (utpadyatē); উপাড়ে < upārē > (utpāṭayati);

OIA. < -p- > > MIA. < -mp- >: পিপড়া, পিপড়া < pip(i)rā >, OB. < pimpidā > (cf. Skt. pipilikā); শাপ < sāpṣ > *curse* (\*sampa = śāpa: cf. abhisampāta);

OIA. < -pp- >: পিপুল < pipulṣ > (pippali); জলপিপী < jālṣ-pipī > *a kind of bird* (pippaka, pippikā);

OIA. < -py- > > MIA. < -pp-, -mp- >: রূপা < rūpā > (rūpya-); খোঁপা, খোঁপা < khōpā, khōpā > *hair done into a knot* (\*kṣupya-? or kṣumpa-?); খোঁপান < jhōpānṣ > (yāpya-yāna);

OIA. < -pr- > > MIA. < -pp- >: ছিপ < chipṣ > *a fast boat* (kṣipra; or < *dēśī* sippa shell?); বাপ < bāpṣ > *father* (vapra);

OIA. < -mp- >: চাপা < cāpā > (campaka-); কাঁপ < kāpṣ > (kampa); NB. সাঁপুড়া < sāpūrā > *basket, pot* (samputa-);

Also in *dēśī* words: টোপর < ṭōpārṣ > *crown, helmet*, টুপী < ṭupī > *hat*; চাপ, চিপ, চূপ < √cāp, cip, cup > *press* (cf. Saur. Ap. campijjāi = ākramyatē); চাপড় < cāpārṣ > *slap* (cf. Skt. carpaṭa < ?); ছাপ



◀ √chāp ▶ to print; হড়পী ▶ hāṛṛpī ▶ basket, snake-charmer's basket; শিপ ▶ śipṣ ▶ libation-pot (dēśi sippa = shell, oyster shell), etc.;

OIA. ◀ -rp- ▶ > MIA. ◀ -pp- ▶: কাপ, খাপ ▶ kāpṣ, khāpṣ ▶ sheath (\*skarpa, karpa > MIA. khappa, kappa); কাপড় ▶ kāpāṛṣ ▶ (karpa-ṭa); খাপরা ▶ khāpṣrā ▶ tile (khappara-); কাপাস ▶ kāpāsṣ ▶ (kārpāsa); OB. ◀ kāpurṣ ▶ (karppūra); দাপ ▶ dāpṣ ▶ (darpa); সাপ ▶ sāpṣ ▶ (sarpa); সোপে ▶ sōpē ▶ (samarpayati); etc.;

OIA. ◀ -ṣp- ▶: ভাপ ▶ bhāpṣ ▶ (bhappa, \*bāppha, bāspa), by transposition of aspiration.

OIA. ◀ -tm-, -tv- ▶: আপন ▶ āpānṣ ▶ (appaṇ-, cf. Girnar Aśōkan atpa- = ātman); the affix -পন, -পনা ▶ -pānṣ, -pānā ▶ (MIA. ◀ -ppaṇa- < -tvana ▶); ছাপর ▶ chāpārṣ ▶ bedstead with frame for curtains (chatvara).

Cases of [p] by deaspiration of [ph] are rare initially in Bengali, but quite common intervocally and finally. Through unvoicing of [b] we get [p] in a few cases: e.g., পাপড়ী ▶ pāpāṛī ▶ petal beside পাবড়ী ▶ pābṛī ▶ (parva-); the curious sts. আদোপে ▶ ādōpē ▶ at all, in the least < \*আদোবে ▶ ādōbē > < ādōwē ▶ for Sanskrit ◀ ādāu ▶ [adou] + loc. aff. ◀ -ē ▶; etc.

[p] in ts. words is doubled in the groups ◀ -pr-, -pl-, -py- ▶. In some sts., ◀ -sp- ▶ has given [p]: e.g., পরশ ▶ pāśāṣ ▶ (sparśa), পেষ্ট ▶ pāṣṭā ▶ (spaṣṭa).

In foreign words, intervocal [p] frequently is from [f] of Persian, Portuguese, English: see *infra*.

### 279. Bengali ফ [ph, ʃ, f].

Initially, it is from OIA., MIA. ◀ ph- ▶: ফল ▶ phālṣ ▶ (phala); ফলার ▶ phālārṣ ▶ feast (phalābāra); ফলা ▶ phālā ▶ (phalaka-); ফাগ ▶ phāgṣ ▶ (phalgu); ফাগুন ▶ phāgunṣ ▶ (phālguna); ফাল ▶ phālṣ ▶ (phāla); ফেনা ▶ phēnā ▶ (phēna-); ফু ▶ phu ▶ sound of blowing with the mouth (cf. phutkāra); ফুল ▶ phulṣ ▶ flower (phulla); ফাঁকি ▶ phāki ▶ emptiness, laziness, < negligence (phakkikā < ?); ফাঁড় ▶ phāṛṣ ▶ circumference < belly (phaṇḍa < ?), etc.

Also from OIA. < p- >, by aspiration : কাতা < phātā > *float of quill in angling line* (? patra-); কঁস < phāśā > (pāśa); কড়িঙ্গ < phāriṅ(g)ā > *grasshopper* (patanṅga); MB. ফলঙ্গ < phālāṅgā > *jump, leap* (? plavaṅga : sts.); কেলৈ < phēlē > < MB. পেলৈ < pēlē > (pēllai, prērayati); কাউড় < phāuṛḍ > (*bamboo*) *stick with big joints* (? parva); etc.

OIA. < sp-, sph- > MIA. < ph- > Bengali [ph]: কস্ as in কস্কা < phāśkā > *to slip away, to lose touch with* (conn. with √sprś ?); কুটে < phuṭē > (sphuṭyati); কাটে < phāṭē > (\*sphṭyati, phaṭṭai); কাড়ে < phārē > (sphārṭayati); কোড়া < phōṛā > (sphōṛta-); কাল < phālā > *jump* (sphāla); করশা, করছা < phārśā, phārṣhā > *clearing of darkness, dawning* (√sphar, √sphur); কাউ < phāu > *excess, addition, extra on little articles sold* (sphāti—\*sphātuka); sts. কটিক < phaṭikā > (sphaṭika), কুর্তি < phurṭi > (sphūrṭi), etc.

[ph] in the middle of words is from—

OIA. < -mph- > : গৌফ < gōphā > (gumphā); লাক < lāphā > (lamphā);  
 OIA. < -rph- > : MB. নাকাএ < nāphāē > for লাকাএ < lāphāē > *coquettes* (cf. √raph, raphati, ramphati, raphati = *goes, moves*);  
 OIA. < -ṭuph- > \*ṭph- > MIA. < -pph- > : OB. < kāphala > (kapphala, \*kaṭphala, kaṭuphala);  
 OIA. < -sph- > MIA. < -pph- > : MB. আকালে < āphālē > (āsphālayati).

Some words in [ph] are obscure in Bengali: e.g., ফেরো < phērō, phāruā > *goblet, water-pot* (originally = *with a broad brim*? cf. √sphāra); ফিকা, ফেকা < phikā, phēkā > *pale*; ফিক-ব্যথা < phik-byāthā > *sudden pain in the chest, side or stomach* (< pakṣa ?); গৌফা < gōphā > *cave*, also গুম্ফা < gumphā > (cf. guhā); ফেউ < phēu > *jackal, jungle dog* (cf. phēru : onomatopoeitic?); ফির < √phir > *to turn*; কালতো < phālātō > *excess*; ফেসো < ফাঁসুআ < phēsō < phāsuā > *fibre* (conn. with < aṅśu > ?); ফিন্গ < phiṅ(g)ā > *a tiny bird*; ফড়িরা, ফড়ে < phāriā > phōrē > *middle-man, a dealer who buys up from the producer*; ফাঁড়া < phāṛā > *impending danger*; ফাঁফর, ফাঁপর < phāp(h)ārā > *confusion* (cf. OB. bhābharī-, Skt. bhārbharā); etc., etc.



In the dialectal word লাকরা < lāphārā >, beside লাবড়া < lābārā > *vegetable hotch-potch with pumpkin*, there is [ph] from < -p- < -b- < -u- > (< alābu, lāu, lāu + ḍā > \*lābārā > : cf. আদোবে < ādōbē > from < ādāu + ē >, p. 511).

[ph] occurs in foreign words, for < f >.

280. Bengali [b]. Initially, it is derived from—

OIA. < dv- > > MIA. (non-Māgadhī) < b- > > OB. < b- > : বার < bārā > (dvādaśa), বাইশ < bāiś > (dvāviṅśati), etc. ;

OIA. < -p- > > Second MIA. < -v- > > OB. < b- > : বইসে, বসে < bāisē, bāsē > (\*uvaīsai, upaviśati) ; †বইঠা < bāiṭhā > *to sit down, a paddle for rowing*, বইঠা > বঁটা < bāiṭhi > bōṭi > *large knife with a wooden seat-handle for slicing vegetables* (upaviśta-) ;

OIA. < b- > : MB. বাহ < bāhā > (bāhu) ; বকরা < bākārā > (barkara-) ; বুধ < bujhē > (budhyati) ; MB. বুদ্ধী < budhī > (buddhi-) ; বেল < bēl > (bilva) ; বঁদ < būd > (bindu) ; বাহির < bāhir > (cf. bāhya) ; MB. বালা < bālā > *youth, boy* (bālaka-) ; বিচি < bici > (bija? ; vṛtya-?) ; বিল < bil > *beel, marshy hollow* (bila) ; বাণ < bāṇ > (bāṇa) ; বাবুল, বাবলা < bābul, bābālā > *acacia tree* (barbula) ; বাধ < bādha > (bandha) ; OB. < bāhira > (badhira) ; বহেড়া < bāhēṛā > (MIA. bahēḍaa, OIA. bibhītaka) ; etc. ;

OIA. < br- > : বামন, বামুন < bāmān, bāmun > (brāhmaṇa) ; বোলে, বলে < bōlē > bālē > (bravīti, MIA. bollāi) ;

OIA. < m- > : বোল < bōl > (mukula) ; বুজ, বুজ < √būj, buj > *close (as eyes), fill up* (√mudr-y- ?) ;

OIA. < v- > : বউ < bāu > (vadhū) ; বয়, বহে < bāy < bāhē > (vahati) ; বা < bā > (vāta) ; বাঁ < bā > (vāma) ; বাক < bāk > (vakra) ; বাজ < bāj > (vajra) ; বান < bān > (vanyā) ; বাউল < bāul > (vātula) ; বিয়া, বে < biyā, bē > (vivāha) ; বিশ < biś > (viṅśati) ; MB. বিসরে < bisārē > (vismarati) ; বেড়া < bēṛ > (vēṣṭa) ; বনারসী < bānārāsī > (vārāṇasīya) ; etc., etc. Also in *sts.* and *ts.* words, Skt. < v- > becomes [b].

OIA. < vy- > : বাঁ, বাঁও < bā, bāo > (vyāma) ; বাখান < bākhān > (vyākhyāna) ; বাঘ < bāgh > (vyāghra) ; বেড়া < bēṛā > (vyāpāra-) ; MB. বোহারী < bāuhārī > *wife* (vyavahārikā *slave-*

woman), see pp. 345, 384; বেঙ < bēṅḍ > frog (vyangga); sts. বাগড়া < bāgḍā > (vyāghata-).

Interior [b] represents—

OIA. < -ḍv- > MIA. < -bb- > : ছাব্বিশ, ছাব্বিশ < chā(b)biṣḥ > (ṣaḍviṅśati);

OIA. < -mb- >, mainly in sts.: নেবু < nēbu > (nimbuka), (see pp. 366, 367);

OIA. < -mr- > MIA. < -mb- > : † আম্র < āmbḥ > (āmra); † তাম্রা < tāmbā > (tāmra-);

OIA. < -rb- > MIA. < -bb- > : দুবল, দুবলা < dubāl(ā) > (durbala-); আর্ব < ārbḥ > tumor (cf. arbuda);

OIA. < -rv- > MIA. < -bb- > : গাবান < gābānā > to vaunt, to boast (garva); চাবান, চিবান < cābānā, cibāna > to chew (√carv); ডাব < ḍābḥ > round pot, green coco-nut (cf. darvī); সব < sabbḥ > (sarva);

OIA. < -v- > in sts.: নব্বই, নব্বই < nabbāi, nabbui > (navati); MB. জোবন < jōbānā > (jōbbana, yāuvana); etc.

Euphonic [b] from < w̄ > : আদোবে < ādōbē > at all (< ādōwē = ādāu + -ē > : see p. 511).

[b] through deaspiration of [bh] is common in medial and final positions in NB.

By transference of aspiration, we have বোন, বহিন < bōnḥ, bāhin > (bhaginī).

In a few cases, there is an intrusive [b] after < m > in OB. and MB. : see p. 367.

Intervocal and final [b] in a few words has become vocalised to < u > : e.g., ফাউড়া < phāuḍā > a big stick (< pābḍā < parva-); বাউরী as in বাউরী চুল < bāurī culḥ > long hair in curls (Pers. < babr > lion, < babrī > lion-like = with wavy mane).

In sts. and sts., [b] occurs for both < b > and < v > ; and the sound as usual is lengthened (or doubled) before < r >, and in the groups < -bhy-, -bhr- >.

For [b] in foreign words, see *infra*.



## 281. Bengali [bf].

Initially, [bf] represents—

OIA. < b- >, by aspiration, spontaneous or transferred: e.g., ভূসি < bhūsi > (busa-); ভূতড়ী, ভূতড়ী < bhut(u)ṛī > *entrails, contents (as of the jack fruit)* (busta, MIA. buttha); ভূখ < bhukha > (MIA. buhukkha < bubhukṣā); ভাপ < bhāp > (bāspa); cf. ভিস্তী < bhisti > *water-carrier*, from Persian < bihišti >;

OIA. < bh- >: ভাত < bhāt > *boiled rice* (bhakta); ভাল < bhāl > (bhadra-); ভিন < bhin > *separate* (bhinna); ভাঁজ < bhāñj > (bhañja); ভিখ < bhikh > (bhikṣā); ভাড়া < bhārā > *rent, hire* (bhāṭaka, √bhṛ); ভাঁড় < bhāṛ > (bhāṛḍa); ভূই < bhūi > (bhūmi); ভরসা < bhārāsā > *hope, reliance* (bharavaśa-); ভেলকী < bhēlki > *magic* (cf. Skt. √bhāl see, †ভেল √bhēl see); etc., etc.;

OIA. < -bhy- >: ভিতর < bhitar > (abhyantara); ভিজ < √bhij > *be drenched* (abhyañj); ভিড় < bhir > *crowd* (? abhyaṭ-);

OIA. < bhṛ-, bhr- >: ভোল, ভুল < bhōl & bhul > *mistake, confusion* (bhrama + MIA. -alla, -ulla); ভোরি < bhōmṛā > for \*ভোর < \*bhāṛā > (bharamara-); ভাই < bhāi > (bhrātṛ-); ভাজ < √bhāj > *to fry* (√bhraj); ভাজ < bhāj > (bhrātṛ-jāyā); etc.;

OIA. < m- >, through the transposition of following < h >: ভৈষ < bhāiṣ >, ভয়সা < bhāyṣā > (\*mhaīsa, mahiṣa, mahiṣa); ভেড়া < bhērā > (\*mhēḍa-, mēha-ḍa-, mēṣa-), beside মেড়া < mērā > *ram*.

In the interior of a word [bf] is derived from—

OIA. < -bhy- >: সাতার < sābhār > *place-name in Dacca district* (sabhyāgāra); আভাঙ্গ < ābhāñ > *smearing all over the body, as oil* (abhyañga);

OIA. < -bhr- >: †আভ < ābh > *light cloud, mica*, আবছা < ābḥā > for \*আভছা < \*ābhā-ḥā > *hazy* (abhra);

OIA. < -rdhv- >: MB. উভা < ubhā > *erect, standing* (ubbha, non-Māgadhī, < ūrdhva);

OIA. < -rbh- >: উভিয়া যাওয়া < ubhiyā jāwā > *disappear, as camphor when left in the air* (ubbhaa, udbhṛta); উভর < √ubhār > *be in excess, descend* (ud + √bhṛ, bhar); গাভুর < gābhur > *youth*,

*young man* (garbha-rūpa); গাভীন > গাবীন < gābhīnā, gābīnā >, used generally of cattle (garbhīṅī);

OIA. < -rv- > > MIA. < -bb- > > < -bh- > in নিভায় < nibhāy > beside নিবায় < nibāy > (\*nibbāvēi, nirvāpayati); MB. সব < sabbā > beside সব < sabbā, sarva > > < sabba > (influence of *ts.* < sabbā >: see p. 319);

OIA. < -hv- > > MIA. < -bbh- >: \*জিভ, জিব < jibhā > jibh > (jibbhā, jihvā); বিভল < bibhālā > (bibbhala, vihvala). The old traditional pronunciation of Skt. < -hv- > in Bengal was [bbfi], e.g., [abbfiān] = < āhvāna >, now = [aḍfiān], and [ʃʒibbfiā] as a *ts.* word is now yielding to [ʃʒiufiā].

OIA. < -mbh- > is reduced to [m] in Bengali; but an intrusive [bf] after [m] is found in some cases in Bengali (see p. 367): cf. OB. (Sarvānanda) < bāmbhāṇa- > = NB. বামন, বামন < bāmānā, bāmunā > (brāhmaṇa); eMB. (ŠKK.) চাম্বেলী < cāmbhēlī > for চামেলী < cāmēlī > a flower, Hind. < camēlī >; Oriyā < āmbhē, tumbhē > = আমি, তুমি < āmi, tumi > (amha-, tumha-).

In ভিটা < bhiṭā > *homestead, mound, ruin-mound*, from < \*bhiṭṭa >, beside OB. < hiṭṭa, hiṭṭi, viṭi >, etc. (see p. 66), the < bh > seems to be falsely restored, on the analogy of < √bhū > √hō >, < -bhāṇḍa- > -hāṇḍī >, etc., also probably influenced by the word < bhitti >. The word < bhāñji > *sneezing* in OB. (Sarvānanda), = NB. হাঁচী < hāci > (from an earlier < \*hāñci >, cf. Skt. < hañjī >, which is onomatopoeic), also seems to show a falsely 'restored' < bh- >.

A number of < bh- > words in Bengali remain unexplained: e.g., ভোঁদা < bhōdā > a lumbering fellow, fat and foolish; ভূঁড়ি < bhūṛi > fat in the belly; ভেকট, ভেকটা < bhēkṭā, bhēkṭi > a fish; ভড়ং < bhārāṅ >, beside ভোরঙ্গ, বোরঙ্গ < b(h)ōraṅ > trumpet; OB. < bhābhāri > coquetry, cf. Skt. < bharbharā > confusion = NB. ভাবড়ান < bhābhārānā > to get confused; ভাঁজি < bhāñji > wine-still; ভাঁটা < bhāṭā > a ball, the egg-fruit (\*baṭṭa-, vṛtta-?); ভাটা, ভাটা < bhāṭi, bhāṭā >, beside ভাঁজি, ভাঁজি < bhāñji, bhāñji > ebb-tide, low land, down country (√bhṛ?); ভাউলিয়া < bhāuliyā > a kind of boat; ভূরা < bhūrā > powder; ভেস্টা < bhēstā > mix-up, etc., etc.



[bf] occurs in *ts.* words; and in foreign words, it commonly represents the [v] of Portuguese, and occasionally of English.

(6) Dropping of OIA. Intervocal Stops in MIA.

282. This has been described before, pp. 83-85, 252-253, 338-345, 433. In a very large number of cases, the genuine *tbhs.* with elision have been replaced by *ts.* and *stss.*, so that in most NIA., and especially in Bengali, the elision as a characteristic thing in the phonology of the native element is generally lost sight of. Examples need not be given here: they will be found in the pages referred to, and *passim*.

Loss of intervocal <-p-> in a case like নারে <nārē> *is not able*, Assamese <nōwārē> (na pārayati), is Old Bengali, the <-p-> being changed to <-v-> or <-w-> in Late MIA. Sporadic cases of loss of stops occur in MB. In a few words in MB., [d>ɾ] is lost: *e.g.*, তাউল, চাউল <tāulɬ, cāulɬ> < earlier তাঁড়ল <tāṛulā> (in the 'Sūnya-Parāṇa') (=tanḍula); MB. পৈল <pāilā> *fell* for পড়িল <pāṛilā> (paḍia + illa, patita-), through the analogy of মৈল কৈল <māilā, kāilā>, and cf. also 'Bihārī' <dhaīl> *caught* (dhr̥ta + alla); and হাঁড়িশাল <hāṛisālā> *room for cooking-pots, kitchen* > Late MB. হাঁড়াল <hāsyālɬ = hāisālɬ> > NB. হৈসেল <hēsēlɬ> *kitchen*.

Elision of intervocal consonants of NB. in the Chittagong dialect has been noted before, *e.g.*, at p. 454.

The reduction of the single intervocal aspirates to [f] in Bengali is illustrated below: see under [f].

[II] THE NASALS: NEW BENGALI [ŋ, n, m]; OLD AND MIDDLE BENGALI [ŋ, w̃, ɲ].

283. The five class nasals of Skt., <ŋ ũ, ṇ, n, m, >, as well as <anusvāra>, figure in Bengali orthography, but in the language they have passed through many vicissitudes. OIA. and MIA. <anusvāra> has disappeared from Bengali or has resulted in a mere nasalisation (see pp. 358-359). In *ts.* and *stss.*, Skt. <anusvāra> figures, but it has taken up a [ŋ] pronunciation now: probably in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa it had

become [w̄] (see p. 244). This [ŋ] or [w̄] pronunciation was current in Bengal in the 7th century : witness, for example, the spelling « saṅścāla » for « saṁścāla » in the Tipperah inscription of Lōkanātha, and also « vaṅśē » for « vaṁśē » in the inscription of Mād̄hava-varman of Kōṅgōda. The use of « ṅ » for the « anusvāra » occasionally crops up in inscriptions in other parts of India, but it seems that there it was only sporadic, and the [ŋ] value was the one which early became established in Bengal, and in Eastern India generally. The « anusvāra » thus having developed the [ŋ] pronunciation in the East, it ceased to be used in Bengali-Assamese and Oṛiyā orthography for class nasals, a practice which is continued elsewhere in India. A Bengali will read नन्द = नंद as [nɔṅdɔ] and not as [nɔndɔ], पण्डित = पंडित as [pɔṅdit] and not as [pɔndit], कंबल = कवल as [kɔṅbɔl] rather than [kɔmbɔl]; and a recent attempt at spelling-reform in Bengali by simplifying compound consonants like ञ, ण, ङ, ष, ङ, ञ etc. to ৎ, ঞ, ঙ, ঞ, ঞ, ঞ, according to the pan-Indian usage, has failed.

284. « -ṅ-, -ñ- » occurred only before their corresponding class consonants in OI V., and « -ṅṅ- » is also found. MIA. « -ñ- » initial, « -ññ- » intervocal occur (*e.g.*, Pali ñāna = jñāna, añña = anya), but initial « -ṅ- » and intervocal single « -ñ-, -ṅ- » as well as « -ṅṅ- » are not found. In Old Bengali, the sound of [ŋ] occurred only before the guttural stops and aspirates, and probably also for « anusvāra » in *ts.*; and « -ñ » [ɲ] was found, only as a reduced nasal before the palatals in *tbhs.*, and as a full sound in *ts.* In New Bengali, [ŋ] occurs in final and intervocal positions only : it is derived from MIA. « -ṅg- », and is written intervocally as ঞ, ঞ, « -ṅg-, -ṅ- » and finally as ঞ, ঞ, « -ṅg-, -ṅ-, -ñ- ». What is ঞ [ŋ] in New Bengali was ঞ, ঞ [ɲ], [-ṅg-] or [-ṅg] in Middle Bengali (see pp. 360, 361, 363, 364).

The modern value of the letter ঞ is [ŋ]. But in MB., the value was that of a nasalised bilabial semi-vowel or spirant—of [w̄] or [ɽ]. The Modern Bengali name for the letter ঞ, which is [ũã, ũõ, õã], is on the basis of this old pronunciation. In Musalmāni Bengali (see pp. 210-212), « wān > wā » in Persian words, and « w̄ » of Hindōstāni, are written ঞ, following the MB. usage: *e.g.*, নোশেরঙা « nōśērāṅā = nōśērŵā », Persian



« Nōṣērwān »; পাত্ৰ « pāṭra = pāw̄ » = Hind. « pāw, pāw̄ ». This intervocal « w̄ » of OB. originated from a single intervocal « -m- » of MIA., in the Late MIA. period, and it is a development to be noticed in all NIA. languages except Sinhalese. In MB., this « w̄ » became a nasalisation of the contiguous vowel, and the glide element remained in Early MB. — a « w̄ » as before, when the contiguous vowel was a back sound, and a « ~y » sound when it was a front one. Possibly this palatal modification of the glide, from [w̄] to [j̄, ~j] or [ɲ], took place as early as OB. times. The [w̄] pronunciation was not indicated by the historical spelling with ম « m » in OB.: e.g., OB. সাক্ষম « sāṅkama », = [ʃākṵw̄m], whence NB. সাকো [ʃāko], and OB. সামী « sāmī » = [ʃāwī, ʃāɲi?], whence NB. সাই [ʃāi]. In Early MB., as in the ŚKK., either the « candra-bindu » was used, e.g., কৌমরী, কৌমরী « kōyārī (for র, see p. 341), kōārī = kōwārī » (kumārī), কৌমলী, কৌমলী « kōālī, kōyālī = kōwālī » (kōmala-), সৌমর « sōārā = sōwārā » (sumara-, √smar), beside a Sanskritised স্মারী « smārī- », and পৌমর « pōārā = \*pāwārā » (prabāla); or ম « m » was used, following the old spelling, e.g., সামী « sāmī = sāwī = sāñī » (svāmī); or the ঞ্, ঞ্ « ñ, ñ̄ » was introduced, as in সোঞর « sōñṛ- » (sumara, √smar), গোসাঁঞ « gōsāñī » (gōsvāmī).

As yet there is no use of উ « ũ » for the « w̄ » sound in the ŚKK. In MB. orthography from the 15th century, উ « ũ » and ঞ্ « ñ » became established for the sounds of « w̄ » and « w̄ > ~y » respectively, in addition to the « candra-bindu », and the employ of ম « m » fell into desuetude. NB. has lost the glides entirely, and uses উ and ঞ্ no more, and simply employs the « candra-bindu ». Cf. Middle Orijā of the 15th century, as in the inscriptions, « sāmūtā » (« sāmauta »: also New Orijā « sātāñī » *title of respect for ladies*), « cāmārā » (cāmara).

Examples of change of OIA. single intervocal « -m- » to nasalisation, with or without the glide element, in Bengali :

আঁওলা « āñōlā », beside আমলা « āmṣlā » (āmalaka-); আঁব, আঁহিব « āñṣ, āñṣṣ » (āmiṣa); আঁচার « āñcāy » *sips water > washes mouth after eating* (ācāmati); MB. (ŚKK.) উদাঁও « udāñṣ » (uddāma); the affix উ « -ñ̄ », as in MB. and dialectal Bengali (North), 1st person, present tense, < MIA.

◀ -ama, -amu = aṣa, -aṣu ▶ = OIA. ◀ -āmaḥ ▶ : e.g., কৰোঁ ◀ kārō ▶ (karama, \*karāmaḥ = kurmaḥ), চলোঁ ◀ calō ▶ (calāmaḥ), etc. (there may be some influence of হোঁ, হউঁ ◀ hō, \*haū ▶ < ◀ aham ▶ in this); MB. কুঁৱৰ, কোঁৱৰ ◀ kuṅṅarḥ, kōṅṅarḥ ▶ *prince*, NB. কোঁৱৰ, কৌৱৰ ◀ kōṅṅarḥ, kōārḥ ▶ *a surname* (kumāra); MB. কৌমল, কোমল ◀ kōwālā- ▶ (kōmala); MB. কাঁৱৰ ◀ kāwūr ▶, OB. কামৰ ◀ kāmaru = kāwarū ▶ (Kāma-rūpa); কাঙল, কাঙল, beside কামলা = কাঙলা ◀ kāḍḍā, kāḍḍā, kāmaḍḍā ▶ (kāmala-); MB. খুঁৱা, NB. খুঁৱে ◀ khūñā-, khūē ▶ *a coarse silk stuff* (kṣumā, ksāuma-); গাঁ ◀ gā ▶ (grāma); গাঁই ◀ gāi ▶ (grāmika); MB. গোঙাও ◀ gōṅṅāē ▶ *passes (time)* (\*gamāpayati); গোসাঁই ◀ gōsāi ▶ *lord, master, a Vaiṣṇava guru* (gōsvāmin); MB. চঙক, চৌক, চমক, NB. চমক ◀ cāṅṅakḥ, cāṅṅakḥ (p. 348), cāmākḥ ▶ (cf. Skt. camat-); জামাই ◀ jāmai ▶, commonly pronounced [jōṅṅoi] (jāmāṭṭ); জোয়ান ◀ jōānḥ = jōānḥ ▶ (yamānti); MB. (ŚKK.) জাঁওঁ ◀ jāṅṅō ▶ *with a pumice-stone*, cf. NB. জামা ◀ jāma ▶, p. 480; ঠাই ◀ ṭhāi ▶ (sthāman); দাঁ ◀ dā ▶ *a surname* beside দাম ◀ dāmḥ ▶ (< ◀ -dāman ▶ in personal names like ◀ Rudra-dāman, Indra-dāman ▶, etc.); ধুঁআ, ধোঁয়া ◀ dhūñā > dhūā ▶ (dhūma-); না ◀ nā = nā ▶ *indeed* (nāma), e.g., as in কে না বাশী বাও বড়ায়ি সে না কোন জনা (p. 266), এসো না ◀ ēsō nā ▶ *do come in* (= āviśata nāma); নোঁয়া, নোঙা ◀ nōñā, nōṅṅā ▶ *to bend* (nāmaya-); MB. নেআলী ◀ nēāli = nēwāli ▶ (navamallikā); OB. পঁউআ ◀ pāuā = paūā ▶ (Second MIA. paūma- < paduma = padma); পানী, পাইন, পান ◀ pāni = pā(i)n = pāñi, pā(i)n ▶ *a surname*, beside the Sanskrit form ◀ prāmāṇika ▶; বা ◀ bā ▶ (vāma); বা, বাও ◀ bā, bāō ▶ (vyāma); ভূই ◀ bhūi ▶ (bhūmi); MB. ভুঁয়া, NB. ভুঁইয়া ◀ bhūñā, bhūiyā ▶ (bhūmika-); মো ◀ mō = mō ▶ (mama); রোঁ ◀ rō ▶ (lōman, rōman), beside রোঁয়া ◀ rōā ▶; সঁপে ◀ sāpē ▶ (samarpayati); MB. সোঁৱৰে ◀ sōwārē ▶ (sumarāi, smarati); MB. সাঙল ◀ sāṅṅālā ▶ (śyāmala); সঁকো ◀ sākō < \*sākō ▶, OB. ◀ sāṅkama ▶ (saṅkrama); সঁতি, সঁথি ◀ sīt(h)i ▶ (śimanta-); সঁতৰা ◀ sātṭarā ▶ *a surname* (sāmanta-rāya); সঁওতাল ◀ sōṅṅotālā ▶ *a Santal* (sāmanta-pāla); সাঁই ◀ sāi ▶ *lord, God* (svāmin); MB. (ŚKK.) সোঁআ ◀ sōā ▶ (sama-) as in কানাসোঁআ ◀ kānā-sōā ▶ *touching the edge*; হেঁতু ◀ hēṭṭ ▶ (hēmanta); etc., etc. The ◀ candra-bindu ▶ is normally omitted when the word has a nasal : see p. 362.

There is loss of this nasalisation from ◀ -m- ▶ in some words. The reason for this cannot be determined, and the language is rather capricious :



*e.g.*, কাদা, †কাদো < kādā, kādō > (kardama); the affix ই < -i > of the verb 1st person (< -\*iwi, \*-imi = -āmi, -āmi >: চলি < cāli > < < caliwi, calimi, calāmi >: see p. 351); আনাগোনা < ānā-gōnā > *coming and going*, OB. < awanā-gāwanā > (āgamana- + gamana-); পাঁচই, সাতই, আটই > পাঁচুই, সাতুই, আটুই (see p. 372). Cf. বনওয়ারী, বেনোয়ারী < bānwārī, bēnwārī > *a name* (vana-mālī), from the Hindi.

The reverse process of nasalising spontaneously a < -w- > sound, either original (i.e. = < -v- > in Skt.) or derived (*e.g.*, from < -p- > of OIA.) is also found, in both *tbhs.* and *stss.* This trait is one inherited from MIA. by NIA: see p. 368 ff. Examples: কাছিম < kāchīmṣ > (kacchapa); MB. গিম < gimā > (grīvā); ছাত্তিম < chātīmṣ > (saptaparṇa): an intermediate stage is found in MB. ছাণীয়ণ, ছাত্তীয়ণ < chāṇiyāṇa, chātīyāṇa > (as in the ŚKK.); ছুয়ে, ছোয় < chūē > chōy > *touches* (\*chutūvai, chuvai = sprṣati); MB. ছামনী < chāmānī, chāwānī > beside NB. ছাউনী < chāunī > *awning* (< \*chāwānī, \*chādāpanikā); চিড়া < cīṛā > *flattened rice* (\*ciwiṛāa-, cipiṭaka-); OB. (Sarvānanda) < jamāla > for < \*jōwāla = jōwāla >, NB. জোয়াল, জোয়াল, জোল < jōālṣ, jōālṣ, jōlṣ > *yoke* (yuga + -ālā); MB. (ŚKK.) পৌষার < pōṣārā > (prabāla); *stss.* পিদীম < pidīmṣ > (pradīpa: p. 357); *stss.* বষ্টম < bāṣṭumṣ > (vāiṣṇava); MB. শাধন < śāwānā > (śrāvaṇa); etc., etc. Cf. Western Hindi < puhamī = pṛthivī >, Old Rājasthānī < gēmara, hēmara = gajavara, hayavara >, Maithilī < nēñōcha = nēpathya > *adornment*, etc.

Intervocal < -m- > of NB., from MIA. < -mb-, -mm-, -mh- >, even tends to be pronounced as < -w- > in NB., and the < -w- > sound is actually arrived at in a few instances (cf. 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' §31): *e.g.*, উয়ান, উয়ান beside উমান < ūānā, uwānā, umānā > *heating, warming* (\*umhāvaṇa, = Skt. uṣma). The Chittagong dialect characterises itself by changing the derived < -m- > of Common Bengali to a nasalisation: *e.g.*, আই [āi] = < āmi > I, তুই [tūi] = < tumi > *you*, কৈর [kōra] = < kumṣrā > *pumpkin*; etc.

In MB. there was also change of intervocal < -b- > to < -m- >, for which see below, § 288.

ঙ < ṅ > is used for < ẏ > < < m > in MB.: this fact brings about the interchange between ঙ, ঙ [ṅ] and ম [m] in some cases in NB. Generally,

where an [m] or [ŋ] closes a syllable, one can be used for the other in NB., or a nasalised vowel can be used for either. Thus, আমলা, আঙলা [amla, aŋla] beside a rather rare আঙলা [aŋla] (= āmalaka-); আচমকা, আচংকা [ač̣əmka, ač̣əŋka] *suddenly*; বোমটা, বোঙটা [gʱomṭa, gʱoŋṭa] *veil*, cf. Hind. < ghuṅghaṭ >; বুনসী, বুঙসী [gʱumʃi, gʱuŋʃi] *coloured thread worn round the waist*; তুমরী, তুঙরী [ṭhumri, ṭhuŋri] *a kind of melody*; আপিন, আপিং [apim, apin] *opium* (Perso-Arab. < afyūm >); OB. কামনী < kāmanī > *a grain*, NB. কামনী, কাংনী [kamni, kaŋni] (Skt. kaṅgu); ঢেমচা, ডেঙসা [ḍhemč̣a, ḍheŋč̣a] *a drum* (also with ধ < dh- >); ভিন্নরুল [bhinnrul] *hornet*, for \*ভিন্নরুল [bhinnrul] (= bhinn̄garōla); etc. Cf. বোতাম, বোতাঙ [botam, botan] *button* (Portuguese < botaõ > [butaũ]), etc.

### 285. The [ɲ] sound in Bengali.

Just as ঙ < ŋ > denoted the sound of < Ẃ > in MB., so ঞ < ñ > [ɲ] was used for the nasalised palatal glide, < ẏ >, which, after all, is acoustically not very much different from the palatal nasal < ñ >. ঞ্ < ñi < would stand for < ī >, or < yi >, as well as for < Ẃ > when fronted to < ẏ > in connexion with < e > or < i >: words like মুই < mui >, ভূই < bhūi >, সাই < sāi >, খুইয়া < khūiyā >, গাই < gāi >, would be written মুঞ < muñi >, ভূঞ, সাঞ, খুঞ, গাঞ, as well as মুয়ি < müyi >, ভূয়ি, সায়ি, খুয়া গায়ি, etc. গায়েন < gāyēnṣ̄ > *singer* is also found spelt as গাঞেন < gāñēnṣ̄ >. Even initially, we find, in rare cases no doubt, ঞ for ঁ, ই < ē-, i- >: e.g., in a 17th cen. MS. (VSP., p. 665), occur ঞেহারে, for ইহারে = NB. ইহাকে < ihākē > *to him, he* (honorific); ডাঞ [ḍaṅa] forms its adjective ডেঞে [ḍeṅe], and the [ŋ] is first changed to the palatal [ɲ] through the influence of the preceding [e] to ডেঞে, which is now written ডেয়ে and ডেও, pronounced [ḍeō], e.g., ডেয়ে পিপড়া < ḍēyō piprā > *big black ants*. উয়বা < bhāyāṣā > *made of buffalo-milk*, from ভৈষ < bhāiṣ > < mahisa >, is found as ভঞবা < bhāñāṣā >; and we get even মঞ < miñā > beside মিয়া < miyā > *a title of respect, a common term of address for Mohammedans* from the Persian < miyān, miyā > *a title of respect*. The conjunctive participle affix ই < -i >, ইয়া < -iyā > is nasalised in West Bengali; and one way of writing this < -I, -iyā > is with ঞ—ঞে, ইঞে, ঞে, which spelling is plentiful in MB. MSS.: e.g., খাঞে = খাইয়া *having eaten*, করিঞে = করিয়া *having done*, etc. The use



of ঞ < ñ > is a noticeable thing in the graphic system of the ŚKK., as of most MSS. from West Bengal: and we even find the < candra-bindu > superscribed on ঞ—*e.g.*, কাহ্নাঞ < kahnāñ > for < kahnāi > (kṛṣṇa), where the syllable < āi > gets its nasalisation merely through the preceding < n >. সনে < sāmē > > \*সাঁওঁ > > সঞে < sāñē > *instrumental post-position = with*, now occurs as সনে < sāñē > [jōne] in NB.; and ঠাইয়ে < ṭhāiyē > > ঠেয়ে < ṭhēyē >, ঠেঞে < ṭhēñē > *in the place near-by = with*, has become, by the reverse process, ঠেঙে < ṭhēṅē > in the Calcutta Colloquial.

In eMB., as it is clear, ঞ had lost its [ɲ] value, and had become a mere nasalised frontal vowel, or a nasalised frontal semi-vowel [ē, i]. The name which the letter ঞ has in NB., namely [iṣ, iā], preserves its old value. The use of ঞ has all but disappeared in NB., being found only in a few words like স্নিঞা, and in some old-fashioned spellings like গোসাঁঞ < gōsāñi >; and in the *ts.* word য়াঞা < yācñā >, the unique and unfamiliar group ঞ্, ঞ্ঞ < cñ > is pronounced as < -ciṅ(g)ā > for < -ciñā > [jṣicṣiṅ(g)a, e].

### 286. [ɲ] in Bengali.

The letter for [ɲ], ঞ, is freely used in Bengali orthography, not only in *ts.* but also in *tbh.* and foreign words, although no Bengali can pronounce the sound properly without training. Its occurrence in *tbh.* words is due to two things. Firstly, it occurs as a relic of an earlier state of things when the [ɲ] pronunciation obtained in MIA., and probably also in Old Bengali; and secondly, where the ঞ has been restored, with an eye to the spelling obtaining in the Skt. prototypes—*e.g.*, in words like কাঞ < kākaṅṣ >, কাঞ < kāṅṣ >, সোঞ < sōṅṣ >, বাঞ < bāṅṣ > *spelling* (=kaṅkaṣa, kaṅṣa, svaṅṣa, vaṅṣana); and in a few instances, it is purely arbitrary, as in রাঞি < rāñi > *queen* (but cf. Oriyā < rāñā, rāñi >, Marāṭhi < rāñi >), beside রানী < rāñi > (rājñi) (see pp. 226-227). In foreign words, supposed affinity or actual resemblance in form with native or *ts.* words having ঞ is responsible for spellings like হরঞ < hāyṅ > *troubled*, করঞ < phārmāñ > *royal order*, কোরঞ < kōrāñ > *the Koran* (=Persian < hayrān, farmān >, Arabic < qurʿān- >), নরঞ < nārmāñ > (English *Norman*), etc. The fact that Bengali orthography is modelled on that of Skt., which allows only groups like < -ṅṣ-, -ṅñ- >, and not < -ṅṣ-, -ṅñ- > (and < -ṣṣ- >, but not

< -śt-, -st- >), is responsible for our writing গভ(ব)র্ণমেন্ট < gāb(h)ārṇamēntṣ > *government*, ইংলণ্ড, ইংলণ্ড < iṅ(g)āṅḍāṅḍṣ > *England* etc. with < ṅ >.

In Late MB., there is always confusion between ṅ and ṇ, as in NB., which indicates that the cerebral sound was lost. [ṅ] has been dentalised in the Bihārī dialects, as well as in Eastern Hindī and Typical Western Hindī (Braj-bhākhā, Hindōstānī); also in Assamese. The use of [ṅ] for [ṅ] is confined among scholars and Sanskritists in the Bihārī and Hindī tracts, and [ṅ] with the audible flap is the result of an attempt to pronounce [ṅ] through Sanskrit influence. Oṛiyā alone of the Magadhan languages preserves this sound. It seems likely that Bengali possessed it in the Early MB. period. The Oṛiyā name for the letter < ṅ > is < āṅā > and the Bengali < āṅā > [āṅ] : the prothetic < ā, ā > indicates the glide sound that came initially in pronouncing < ṅ >. The name < āṅā > is now getting to be old-fashioned in Bengal, the schools now teach the learned name < mūrdhānyā ṅā > which the Bengali-speaker ordinarily reduces to [moddfianno no : ] or [moddfian(:)o].

It is difficult to determine when the [ṅ] pronunciation became obsolete in Bengali. There is no regularity in the matter of < ṅ > and < ṇ > in the Caryāpadas; nor, again, in the ŚKK. But the MSS. of these works use < ṅ > with a persistence which is quite remarkable. The ŚKK., for instance, writes the Bengali equivalent of the < √jñā > with < ṅ > — জ্ঞাṅ < jāṅ >, 124 times, and with < ṇ >, জ্ঞাṇ < jāṇ >, only 7 times. The Caryāpadas have the same root with < ṅ > 8 times, with < ṇ > 3 times. Oṛiyā has the cerebral, < jāṅ >. Can it be taken to mean that in OB. and MB., to the end of the 14th century, the [ṅ] sound existed, but there was a general confusion in its employment, as a preliminary to its disappearance from speech? Doubtless there was some established phonetic habit in the matter of the use of [ṅ] and [ṇ] in OB. and MB., but the irregularity of the orthography in the MSS. misleads us. Sarvānanda spells a number of words with < ṅ >: this, as Rai Bahadur Yogesh Chandra Vidyānidhi suggests (VSPdP., 1326, pp. 87-88), most probably is in accordance with Old Bengali pronunciation. But no law regarding the occurrence of < ṅ > can be deduced from it: e.g., < upalaṅī = udvartana >;



« kāmāṇa = \*kāwāṇa = kaṅgu »; « jhamāpāṇa = yāpya-yāna »; « tēlāvaṇī », but « piṭhāvānī »; « trimāṇa » = NB. dialectal त्रिभन « triṅ(g)ānā »; « bābhāṇī-āṭhī = brāhmaṇika-yaṣṭi- »; « rasāuna = Skt. laśuna »; « tiṇa = tṛṇa »; « bīyaṇa = NB. बिन बिन = Skt. viraṇa »; besides a few other words.

In the absence of other evidence, Oṛiyā cerebralisation should suggest for us some clue as to the habits of OB. and MB., and certainly of Māg. Ap. But although Modern Oṛiyā is pretty definite, Middle Oṛiyā spelling, as in the 15th and 16th century inscriptions (see p. 107), is not fixed in this matter. Thus, for example, the word « māṇā » = *plural affix* (« mān-ava »), is mostly spelt with dental « n », but occurs with « ṇ » in the inscription of 1542; we have « śuni » *having heard* in inscr. of 1485, but « śuṇi » in one of 1499; and both « māṇiki, māṇiki » in that of 1466. Judging from Modern Oṛiyā, the principle of cerebralisation appears to have been this: intervocal « -ṇ-, -n- » of OIA. (in *tbhs.*) occur as « -ṇ- » in Oṛiyā; but where a double nasal of MIA. (from earlier consonant groups) results in a single intervocal nasal in Oṛiyā, it is a dental nasal, except in a few words like « rāṇā, rāṇī » *king, queen*, where the cerebralisation appears to be irregular and obscure. Māgadhī Apabhraṇśa may reasonably be expected to have had the cerebral intervocally only. There is no indication of cerebralisation of OIA. « -n- » in Aśōkan Prakrit, or in Pālī, or again in the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. The cerebralisation of single « -n- » took place during the Second MIA. period when there seems to have been manifest a tendency towards it (as well as towards cerebralisation of « -l- ») in all Indo-Aryan. This tendency has died out now in Western and Eastern Hindī, in the Pahārī speeches, in the ‘Bihārī’ dialects, in Bengali-Assamese; but it is still present in Lahudī and Panjābī, Sindhī, Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, Marāṭhī and Oṛiyā. According to the grammarians of literary Prakrit, « n » in all positions became « ṇ » in most of the Pkts. But in the Apabhraṇśa stage, it would seem that initial « -ṇ- » was once more dentalised, but introvocal « -ṇ- » remained. In some cases, through Sanskrit influence, *tbh.* forms of inherited words like « maṇa (manas), jaṇa (jana), dāṇa (dāna), diṇa (dina), thāṇa (sthāna), pāṇī (pāṇīya) », etc.,

would tend to have the « ɳ » 'corrected' to the dental, at least in spelling, and in later times even in pronunciation, as it seems to have happened in the case of the Oṛiyā « mānā ». But so long as the cerebral normally continued to be the intervocal sound, popular speech would certainly treat *ts.* with intervocal « -n- » in the *ts.* way ; just as at the present day, in Oṛiyā, in Marāṭhī, in Gujarātī-Rājasthānī, and in Panjābī, intervocal [n] in Sanskrit, Persian and even English borrowings frequently becomes [ɳ] in the speech of the uneducated masses (at least according to the observation of the present writer). Similar conditions can reasonably be expected to have prevailed in Early NIA.

It seems that cerebralisation as in Oṛiyā prevailed in OB. and Early MB. But this is a mere assumption ; and it cannot be said to have held good for all the forms of Early MB. It is very likely that only the Western Bengal area, including West Bengali and Oṛiyā, preserved cerebralisation in NIA. times. The genuine cerebral [ɳ] (and not its Upper Ganges Valley substitute [ɳ̄]) seems to be still found intervocally in the dialects of extreme West Bengal (cf. LSI., V, Part I, pp. 91 ff. : in the transcriptions of specimens from this dialect, by Bengalis in the Bengali character, ঙ্গ « ɳ̄ » has been used for [ɳ], just as ড় « ɳ̄ » has been used for [l̄]—a common mistake found also in the Bengali attempt at representing phonetically the Oṛiyā [ɳ] and [l̄] : e.g., মুন্ডিষ « mūṇṣṣ » [muṇiʃ] *man-servant*, শুন্ডি « śuṇṣi » [ʃuṇi] *having heard*, জিন্ডিস « jīṇṣis » [ʃiṇiʃ] *article* (= Persian « jins »), আন্ডা « āṇṣā » [aṇa] *anna*, মন্ডুস, মন্ডুব « māṇṣuṣ » [maṇuʃ] *man*, আপন্ডার « āpaṇṣār » [aṇar] *of self*, তখন্ড « tākhāṇṣā » [takhon] *then*, জন্ড « jāṇṣā » [ʃiṇon] *person*, সন্ডলেক « śuṇṣlek » [ʃuṇlek] *heard*, আন্ডি « āṇṣi » [āṇi] *having brought*, etc. ; so সন্ড « śaṅṣ » [ʃok] *all*, আন্কাড় « ākaṇṣṣ » [aka] *famine*, নিকন্ডি « niṅṣi » [nikli] *having come out*, etc.).

In parts of Bengal, in the Proto-Bengali and OB. periods, [ɳ] seems to have developed a [ɳt] pronunciation. A form like « drōṇṣa » for « drōṇa » in the Lōkanātha Inscription from Tipperah probably indicates the presence of this pronunciation as early as the 7th century. The occurrence in NB. of [t̄, ɳ̄t̄] for [ɳ] in some *sts.* words seems also to show



that: e.g., *sks.* কিপটা < kipṭā > miser (kṛpaṇa-); চিকটা, as in চিকটা মাটি < cikṭā māṭi > (cikkaṇa mṛttikā); ফটা < phāṭā > (phaṇa-); কেটে < keṣṭā > কালকিশটা < kālṣ-kiṣṭā > deep black, (also as a name কৃষ্টি < kriṣṭ(y)ā > (kṛṣṇa); তেষ্টা < tēṣṭā > (tṛṣṇā); বৈষ্ণ [boiṣṭum] < \*[boiṣṭiṭōṣo] (vāiṣṇava); বিষ্ট < biṣṭū, biṣṭu > (viṣṇu). In the pronunciation of *tss.*, the < ṇ > in < ṣṇ > becomes [ṭ̃] in the old-fashioned pronunciation, e.g., তুষ্ণী [tuṣṭi] (tuṣṇī), উষ্ণ [uṣṭi] (uṣṇa), etc.; and this leads to confusion between ষ্ট < ṣṭ > and ষ < ṣṇ > in writing—e.g., the common enough inscription in tobacco-dealers' shops in Calcutta—বিষ্ট পুরের উৎকৃষ্ট তামাক < biṣṭupurēṣṭ utkṛṣṭā tāmak > for বিষ্ণুরের উৎকৃষ্ট তামাক < biṣṇu-..., utkṛṣṭa > the best tobacco from Vishnupur. The school is now changing the Old Bengali pronunciation [ṣṭi, ṣṭ̃, ṣṭ̃] to a new [ṣṇ]. (Cf. the common pronunciation of স্নেহ < snēha >, স্নান < snāna > as [st̃ōṣo, st̃ā:n]). Possibly [ṇ] is the source of the [r] in সাড় < sāṛṣ > consciousness = OB. < sāṇa = sāna > (saṁjūā, MIA. saṇṇā) (but cf. NB. সান < sānṣ > gesture), and আনাড়ী < ānārī > foolish, ignorant (aṇṇāṇi, ajūānin) (but cf. আনাড় < ānārṣ > infrequented, unknown, as a place, which is probably from < aṇṇā-ḍa-, ajūāta- >).

Taking all these facts into consideration, it would be allowable to think that [ṇ] existed as a phoneme in the Bengali language upto the middle of the eMB. period, at least in parts of West Bengal. From the beginning of the 15th century, probably, it ceased to exist as a cerebral.

287. Bengali 'dental' [n] is really an alveolar sound. The cerebrals in Bengali are rather advanced: they are retroflex palato-alveolar sounds, i.e. sounds produced with the curled tongue-tip on the hard palate slightly above the teeth-ridge, and not exactly on the dome or arch of the palate: so that the change of the nasal [ṇ] to alveolar [n] was a matter of course.

Initially, Bengali [n] comes from—

OIA. < n- > : না < nā > (na); না < nā = nā > (nāma expletive, see p. 519); নই < nāi > I am not (na + √as): MB. নখতা < nakhātā > (nakṣatra-); নাট < nāṭṣ > (naṭṭha, naṣṭa); নাতি < nāti > (naptṛ-); নাচ < nācṣ > (nṛtya); নাপা, নাড়া < nāṅ(ḡ)ā > (nagga- < nagna-); নীদ < nīdṣ > (nidrā); *sks.* নৌতুন, নতুন < nōtunṣ >, < MB. নৌতুন < nāutunā > (\*nava-tana, nūtana); নয়া < nāyā > (nava-); etc., etc.

The OB. and eMB. spellings with initial  $\eta$  <  $\eta$ - > seem only to be a practice taken over from MIA. orthography : the pronunciation was that of [n].

OIA. < jñ- > : dialectal Beng. নাইহর, নাইরর, নারর, নারের < nāihārṣ, nāi(y)ārṣ, nāyērṣ > (also লাইহোর, লাইওর < lāi(h)ōrṣ >) *married woman's father's house* (jñāti-grha);

OIA. < sn- > > MIA. < nh-, ṅh- > : না, নাহা < √nā, nāhā > (√ṅhā, √snā), cf. sts. নাপিত < nāpitṣ > (ultimately from < √snā >, cf. Pali < nahāpita >); MB. নেহ < nēhā >, NB. নেই < nei > *affection, indulgence* (snēha);

Initial [n] in Bengali interchanges very frequently with [l], and occasionally intervocal [l], for which see under [l], below.

In the interior of a word, [n] is from—

OIA. < -jñ- > > MIA. < -ṅñ- > : আনাড় < ānārṣ > (aṅṅā-ḍa, ajñāta-ṣa); বিনতি < bināti > *petition* (viṅṅattia, vijñaptikā); দান as in হাত দান < hātṣ-sānṣ > *gesture with the hand* (saṅṅa, saṅṅjñā);

OIA. < -ṅ- > : often written  $\eta$  <  $\eta$ - > : নারায়ণ, নারায়ণ [navarā] (nārāyaṅa); কিনে < kinē > (krīṅāti); কাণা < kāṅā > (kāṅa-); কণ, ধন < kṣānṣ = khānṣ > (kṣāṅa); গুণে < guṅē > (gaṅayati); পণ < pānṣ > (paṅa); লুণ, মুন < luṅṣ, nuṅṣ > (lavaṅa); ফণা < phāṅā > (phaṅa-); শণ < śaṅṣ > (śaṅa); শাণ < śānṣ > (śāṅa); সনে < śunē > (śṅṅōti); শাঙন, সাঙন < śāṅṅānṣ, sā- >, sts. ছাবন, ছাবন < ch(r)ābānṣ > (śrāvaṅa); etc., etc.;

OIA. < -ṅḍ- > : see p. 365;

OIA. < -ṅy- > : † পুন < puṅṣ > (puṅya);

OIA. < -n- > > MIA., OB. < -ṅ- > > IMB. < -n- > : আঙ্গন < āṅ(g)ānṣ > (aṅṅana); আনে < ānē > (āṅayati); জানে < jānē > (jānāti); পানী < pānī > (pānīya); নানী < nānī > (navanīta); † পানই < pānāi > (upānah); মন < mānṣ > (manas); মাহুস, মুনিস < mānuṣṣ, munisṣ > (manuṣya); হেন < hēnā > (\*āihāṅa, āisaṅa = \*ētādṛśana); ননদ < nānādṣ > (nanandā); etc., etc.;

OIA. < -nt- > > Late MB. < -n- > (through influence of pronominal forms in < -n- >): করেন < kārēnṣ >, চলেন < cālēnṣ >, বান < jānṣ >



- etc. (= MIA. karanti, yānti); এমন < ēmānḍ > beside এমত < ēmatḍ > so, such, thus, cf. Oṛiyā < ēmāntā >;
- OIA. < -nd-, -ndh- >: modern reduction, see p. 366;
- OIA. < -nn- >: আনাছ < ānāḥḍ > greens < grain (annādyā); উনুই, উনই < unui < unāI > spring (unna-); ছিনাল < chinālḍ > woman of loose character (chinna-); ভিন < bhinḍ > separate (bhinna); MB. সানা < sānā > corslet (sannāha);
- OIA. < -ny- >: আন < ānḍ > (anya); ধান < dhānḍ > (dhānya); বান < bānḍ > (vanyā); মানে < mānē > honours, obeys (manyatē); MB. শূনা < śūnā > (śūnya-);
- OIA. < -m- > > MIA. OB. < -m̄- > > OB. < -m̄- >: সনে < sānē > with, OB. < samē > = [ḥōmē] (sama);
- OIA. < -rṇ- > > MIA. < -rṇ- >, often written ṇ < ṇ >: কান, কাণ [ka:n] (karṇa); কানড় < kānāḍḍ > (karṇāṭa); চূন, চূণ [ḥu:n] (cūrṇa); পান, পাণ [pa:n] betel-leaf (parṇa); OB., MB. কণিয়ার, কলিয়ার < kāṇiārā, kāliārā > (karṇikāra); বানান, বাণান < bāṇānḍ, bānānḍ > spelling (varṇana); বিনান < binānā > to make a plait of hair, to spin out a long tale (\*varṇāpana + vinyāsa), বিনুনী < binunī > plait (\*varṇāpanikā + vinyāsa); সোন, সোণ [ḥona] (svarṇa-); etc.
- OIA. < -ṣṇ-, -sṇ- > > MIA. < -ṇh- >: কান, কানু, কানাই < kānā, kān-u, kān-āi > (kṛṣṇa); উনান < unān >, উনানী < unānī > oven (\*uṇhāvāṇia, \*uṣṇāpanikā); জুনি, জোনাকী < juni, jōnā-ki > moonlight > fire-fly (jyōtsnā-); পানান < pānānā > to cause milk to flow into the udder (prasnava); etc., etc.
- OIA. < -hn- > > MIA. < -ṇh- >: চিন < cinḍ > (cinna); and denominative চেনা < √cēnā > to know, recognise, adjectives অচিন, অচেনা < ācinḍ ācenā > unknown.

For the reduction of intervocal < -n- > to a nasalisation, see p. 373. ধুনী < dhunī > fire place (of a yogī) (\*-dhūpanikā) has a form ধুঁই < dhūi > (= \*dhūmikā?). OIA. < -n- > is lost before < -t- > in < -ant- > of the present participle. Loss of < -n- > is noticed in পশুরী < pāśurī > < \*পনসেরী < \*pānśērī > five seers, and পদারী < pāsārī > shop-keeper, cf. Hind,

< pansārī > (< pañya-śālika > : dropping of < -n- > possibly through influence of < prasāra > a spreading-out).

In some unexplained words, we find < -n- >, e.g., নারী < nārī >, নেরা < nērā > shaven-head; তেনা, টেনা < tēnā, ṭēnā > rags; চোনা < ṭhōnā > a blow under the chin (cf. চোক, চুক < √ṭhōk, √ṭhuk > to strike gently); নড়ী < nārī > stick; নলেন, নলিরান < nōlēn < nāliyān > fresh date-molasses (navala-?); নরা < nānuā > small, tiny, cf. Hind. < nanhā >; নাজিনা < nājina > = শাজিনা < śājjinā > a tree (śōbhāñjana-); মূলা < nulā > forearm, paw, hand-less; etc., etc.

Final < -n, -ṅ > occasionally interchange in foreign words: e.g., সাবান, সাবাং < sāvān, sāvāṅ > soap (Portuguese < sabaõ >); এষ্টাকিন < eṣṭākin > = stocking, টিকিন < ṭikin > a kind of stout cloth = ticking; আপিং, আপিন, আপিম < āpiṅ, āpin, āpim > opium (Perso-Arabic < afyūm >); etc.

[n] in foreign loan-words: see below.

### 288. Bengali [m].

Initially, [m] comes from—

OIA. < m- >: মা < mā > (mātā); মৌ < māu > (madhu); মন < mān > (manas); মিতা < mitā > friend (mitra-); মড়া < mārā > (mṛta-); মাঝ < mājha > (madhya); মিছা < michā > (mithyā-); মুনি < munis > (manuṣya); মু < mu > (mukha); মুগ < mug > (mudga); etc., etc.;

OIA. < mr- >: মাখে < mākhē > smears (mrakṣati); মাখন < mākhān > butter (mrakṣaṇa);

OIA. < śm- > > MIA. < hm- >: মশান < māśān > (śmaśāna); মোছ < mōch > (śmaśru).

In the root মুছ < √much > wipe, [m] is probably from < pr- > (beside √চৌছ < pōch > = pra-uñch). Initial < b- > has become [m] in মিনি < mini > = বিনি < bini > without (< bihīna = vihīna-; or binā = vinā). In মুচকিরা হাসা < mucakiyā hāsā > to smile, probably we have the [m] from < sm- > in OIA. < √smi >.

In the middle of a word, [m] represents—

OIA. < -nm- >: MB. উমড়া < umārā > (unmarda); MB. উমান < umānā > to weigh (unmāna, unmāpana).



- OIA. <-p-> > MIA. <-v-> > IMIA., OB. <-ṅ-, -ṅ->: কাছিম <kāchimḥ> (kacchapa); ছাতিম <chātimḥ> (saptaparṇa); sts. পিদীম <pidimḥ> (pradīpa).
- OIA. <-mb->: OB. <kāmali> a name (=Kambalāmbara-pāda); নিম <nimḥ> (nimba); জাম <jāmḥ> (jambu-); চুম্বে <cumē> (cumbati); sts. কদম <kādāmḥ> (kadamba); etc., etc.;
- OIA. <-mbh->: কুমার <kumārḥ> (kumbhakāra); কুমৌর <kumīrḥ> (kumbhira); খামার <khāmārḥ> (skambhāgāra);
- OIA. <-mm->: MB. ছাম্ <chāmu> (sammukha), whence NB. sts. সুমুখ <sumukḥ> in front of.
- OIA. <-mr-> > MIA. <-mb->: আম <āmḥ> beside আঁব <ābḥ> (amba-, āmra); তামা, তাঁবা <tāmā, tābā> (tāmra-).
- OIA. <-rma-> > MIA. <-mm->: কাম <kāmḥ> (karma); ঘাম <ghāmḥ> perspiration (gharma); মামড়ী <māmḥ-ṛī> crust (marma-ṭa-); OB. <dhāma> (dharma); etc.;
- OIA. <-ṣm-, -sm-> > MIA. <-mh->: গুমট <gumātḥ> stuffiness (grīṣma?); উমান <umānā> to be hot (uṣmāpana); আমি, তুমি <āmi, tumi> (asma, yuṣma-);
- OIA. <-hm-> > MIA. <-mh-, -mbh->: বামন, বামুন <bāmānḥ, bāmunḥ> (brāhmaṇa);
- OIA. <-v->: see p. 521.

Intervocal <-m-> <-ṅ->, when turned preconsonantal in NB., became <-m-> optionally, beside <-ṅ-, -ṅ->: this has been noticed at pp. 521-522.

In MB., there are cases of change of intervocal <-b-> to [m], through an open nasal [w̄] stage. Thus, in East and North Bengali, the affix বু, বৌ <-bū, -bō>, for the 1st person future of the verb, regularly becomes মু, মো, ম্ <-mu, -mō, -mḥ>: e.g., Sādhu-bhāṣā করিব <kāribā> I shall do, earlier Bengali করিব will, wilt, shall do, করিবৌ <kāribō> I shall do = East Bengali করিমু, করম, করিম, করম, করম্ <kārimu, kārumḥ, kārimḥ, kāramḥ, kārmu>; sts. বষ্টম <bāṣṭum> = <vāiṣṭava>, MB. form [bōiṣṭōb(ō)]; MB. সারেমানী beside সারেবানী, সাহেবানী <sāyēmānī, sāyēbānt, sāhēbānī> canopy, umbrella <Persian <sāyah-bān>; সব <sābḥ> (sarva) is found as সম <sāmā, > সম্ <sāmā> in MB. This change of <-b-> > <-m-> is found in Early Oṛiyā:

*e.g.*, in the 15th and 16th century inscriptions, we have < nēmā = nēbā > *to take*, < bāiṣṇāmā < bāiṣṇābā > ; and Modern Oṛiyā has < -mi > for < -bi > in verb forms, *e.g.*, < dēkhimi = dēkhibi > *I shall see*. The Bihārī dialects also know this change: *e.g.* Magahī < calmā = calbā, lēmā = lēbā > *you will go, you will take, etc.*

[m] occurs in *ts.* and *sts.* forms: *e.g.*, প্ৰনাম < pēnāmā > (pranāma), MB. পুনিম, পুনমি < punimā, punāmi > (pūrṇimā), etc. For [m] in *ts.* consonant groups, see p. 373. The nasalisation in which this [m] results is frequently dropped.

In some compounds, there is an intrusive [m], which is euphonic in origin: *e.g.*, খোলা-ম-কুচি < khōlā-m-kuci > *a pot-sherd* (< খোলা = tile, কুচি = piece); ফুল-ম-পেড়ে (< পাড়িয়া) < phulā-m-pēṛē (< pāriyā) > *a dhōṭī with floral (phulā) border (pārā)*; মুঠ-ম-হাত < muṭ(h)u-m-hāt > *with closed fist*; মড়াফে, মড়াফে < māṛā-ṅ-cē, mōṛū-ṅ-cē > < \*māṛā-m-ciya < \*maṛa-m-avaccia > (mṛta + m + apatya + -ikā) *a woman whose children always die*; English *bat + ball* becomes ব্যাটবল < byāṭ-bāl > [bæṭbəl], beside ব্যাটবল < byāṭā-m-bāl > [bæṭombəl] (probably here the [m] originates from English itself—*bat and ball* [bæt ənd bɔ:l, bæt ŋ bɔ:l, bæt ŋ bɔ:l]); Skt. < jalamaya > becomes জলময় < jālā-m-māy > *all covered with water* (here the 'doubling' may be through emphasis: see p. 448). In পাতমুচি, পাতমুচি < pātā-m-ci, pātā-ṅ-ci > *mat*, we have influence of সতরাজি < sātārāñci > *carpet, cotton rug* = Pers. < šatranjī > *chequered rug*. In reading multiplication tables in Bengali, [m, ŋ] is used, instead of the locative-instrumental [e]: *e.g.*, বার একে বার < bārā ēkē bārā >, or বারকে বার < bārākkē bārā > = *12 × 1 is 12*, বার দুগুণে চব্বিশ < bārā duguṇē cābbiś > *twice twelve are twenty-four*, but তিন বারম্ (বারং) ছত্রিশ < tinā bārām (bārāṅ) chāttriś > *3 × 12 are 36*, beside, rarely, তিন বারয় ছত্রিশ < tinā bārāy chāttriśā >; so বার বারম্ (বারং) এক শ চুরাশি < bārā bārām (bārāṅ) ēkā śā cuālliś > *12 × 12 = 144*. This [m] recalls the euphonic < -n- > of Dravidian; and a similar euphonic [m] is noted in MIA.: *e.g.*, Pali < ēkka-m-ēkka >, < ēkañca jēyya-m-attānañ > *may conquer self alone*, Jaina Ardha-māgadhī < gōṇa-m-āī > *ox etc.*, < aṇṇa-m-aṇṇa > *reciprocally*, āhara-m-āī > *food etc.*, < dīha-m-addhā > > *distant, lit. with a long way, etc.*



For [m] in foreign words, see below.

[III] THE SEMI-VOWELS [ɔ̃, ɔ̄].

289. OIA. < y > = [j, ĩ] and < v > = [ũ, w, v, v] when initial became respectively [ʃ̥] and [b] in Bengali, and medially between vowels they were dropped in Second MIA. Later they originated as glide sounds intervocally, to avoid hiatus: in Bengali the OIA. and MIA. values of semivowel [ĩ, ũ] and of spirant [j, ʃ; v, v] were replaced by those of semivowel [ɔ̃, ɔ̄]. These sounds did not have any phonemic value: their nature and origin between < udvṛtta > vowels has been discussed in pp. 338-342. The letter য (৳) < y > is much used in Bengali orthography, but it does not often indicate any sound, and য (৳) in MB. MSS. is only a vowel-bearing consonant in words like যঙ্গ = অঙ্গ < aṅgá >, যনন্ত = অনন্ত < anántá >, অমি = আমি < āmi >, I, যত্তম = উত্তম < uttámá >, ইহার = বিহার < ihārā > etc. য < yá > in the middle or end of words normally stands for the sound of [e] in NB.: e.g., উপায় beside উপাএ [upae] (upāya), করয় = করএ [kōrœ] (karāi, karōti), ময়নামতী = মএনামতী [mœnamōti] a name (Mayanā = Madanāvati), etc.; the locative সময়ে [ʃomœe, ʃomœ] is written সময় < sāmāyá >, and বয়স, পায়স < bāyāsá, pāyāsá > commonly become [bœʃ, pœʃ]. Final postvocalic [e] in *tbh.* words is ordinarily written য in MB.: e.g., খায় [khae] eats, চালায় [č̣alae] causes to go, দেয় [dœe] gives, ঘোড়ায় [g̣hōrae] with, on or by a horse, etc.

In NB., with a preceding or following [i] sound, the front glide য [ɔ̃] is not audible, unless a distinct syllable is uttered. [ɔ̃] occurs in NB. finally after [ɔ, a, e, œ, o], and in the interior of a word between [ɔ] and [a] only: e.g., হয় [fiɔ̃] is, খায় [khaɔ̃] eats, সহায় [ʃ̣oɦiaɔ̃] help, নীচেয় [nič̣eɔ̃] downstairs, দেয় [dœɔ̃] gives, শায় [ʃ̣oɔ̃] sleeps; দয়া [dœɔ̃a] mercy, বয়স [bœɔ̃ʃ] age, মায়া [maɔ̃a] illusion, নায়ক [naɔ̃ok] leader. These are really diphthongs in NB.: see *supra*, under New Bengali Diphthongs.

The English or Persian sound of [j], as in *York* [jɔɪk, jɔ:k], *yes* [jes]; *Europe* [jœɪp], Persian < yār > [ja:r, jɔ:r], etc. is unknown to Bengali, and the Bengali substitute is [i]: ইয়োক্ [iɔɪk], ইয়েস্ [ies], ইয়োরোপ, ইউরোপ

[iorop, iurop], ইয়ার [iar] etc.: the Skt. spelling with য = য, as য়োর্ক, য়েন, য়োরোপ, য়ার would not emphasise the initial semivowel.

The modification of post-consonantal < -yă, -yâ > in *ts.* words has been discussed before: see under 'Epenthesis,' pp. 381 ff., and under 'Bengali [æ, æ:],' pp. 410 ff. A spelling like < prattarthī > for < pratyarthī > in the Manahali Grant of Madana-pāla (see p. 185) shows that the dropping the subscribed < -y- > in pronunciation of Skt. was the way in the beginning of the 12th century: but in the 7th century the < -y- > was fully pronounced: witness the spellings আর্য়, বীর্য় < ārya, vīrya > [a:rj̥o, vi:rj̥o] in the Lōkanātha inscription of Tipperah, and not, as in MB. and NB., আর্য়, বীর্য় < āryya, vīryya > = [a:rj̥j̥(ɪ)ɔ, bi:rj̥j̥(ɪ)ɔ].

290. [ɔ̃] has also been discussed before, side by side with [ɔ̃]. In MB., Skt. subscribed < -vă-, -vâ- > was pronounced as [ɔ̃o, oɔ], and this pronunciation came to be written as ওয়া, ওয়া; but [ɔ̃o, ɔ̃o > ɔ:] and [ɔ̃o] became to some extent interchangeable: e.g., *sts.* সোয়াথ [ʃoath], beside *ts.* সোয়াস্তি, স্বস্তি [ʃoasti, ʃoasti, ʃo:sti] *peace* (svasti); সোয়াদ, স্বদ [ʃoad, ʃo:d] (svāda), see p. 403; সোয়ামি [ʃoami] (svāmi); সোয়াদশী [doadoʃi] (dvādaśī); আশোয়াস [aʃoʃ] (āśvāsa), etc. These pronunciations are now old-fashioned and are getting out of use. Subscribed < -v > in initial syllables is now ignored, e.g., স্বাদ [ʃa:d] (svāda), দ্বার [da:r] (dvāra), স্বকীর [ʃokio] (svakīya), etc.; and medially it becomes a simple consonant-doubler, in Skt. as well as in the spelling of Perso-Arabic borrowings: e.g., স্বত্ব [ʃottɔ] (svatva), পক্ব [pɔkkɔ] (pakva), অশ্ব [oʃʃo] (aśva), etc.; মফ্বল, মফ্বল < māphā(h)svāla > [mɔphoʃʃɔl] *country-side, away from head-quarters* = Perso-Arabic < mufassil- >.

Skt. influence has restored the ব < -v- > subscribed to some *tths.* in Bengali orthography, which lost it in pronunciation long ago in the First MIA. Period: e.g., জল = জল < √jval > = [ʃʃɔl] *to burn*. There has even been some scholastic attempt to restore the OIA. value of ব = < -v- > both inscribed and isolated, but it has proved a failure: e.g., ষ্বানেক, ষ্বানবেক < Śvānvēk > = the German name *Schwanbeck*, which the uninitiated would read as [ʃannek] or [ʃanbek]; হ্বেন্থ সাঙ্গ < Hvēnthā-sāngā > = *Hwen Thsang* the Chinese pilgrim; বেবর < Vēvār > = *Weber*; বলাণ্টিন ডুবাল < Vālaṅṭinā



Duvāḷḷ = *Valentin Duval*; স্বেন হেডিন < Svēnḥ Hēḍinḥ > = *Sven Hedin*, etc.

[ō] glide often in intervocal positions lost the vowel following it, and formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel: e.g., অাওতা [aōta] *shade* from MB. [aō:ta] (\*āwātā < āavatta- < ātapatra-); sometimes it was changed to [u] through influence of following [i] (see p. 398); sometimes it was assimilated with a preceding vowel, e.g., আনাগোনা [anagona] < [aō(ə)na gōō(ə)na] *coming and going*; and in a few cases, it changed to [b]; e.g., আদোবে [adobe] (see p. 111), হাবড়া beside হাওড়া [fiabrā, fiaora] *the town of Howrah*, etc. [ōa] in the affix < -wālā > borrowed from Hindōstānī (= Bengali < -ālā >) became [o] in Bengali: গাড়ীওয়াল [gariōala] > গাড়ীওলা [gariola] *cabman*, beside native Bengali গাড়ীআলা [gariāla].

The glides in foreign loan-words: see *infra*.

#### [IV] THE BENGALI ALVEOLAR FLAPPED OR TRILLED SOUND [r], AND ALVEOLAR LATERAL [l].

291. It has been surmised that the OIA. dialects fell into three groups in their treatment of [r] and [l] sounds, and that 'Prācyā' or Eastern OIA., the source of Māgadhī and the modern Magadhan speeches, was an [l] dialect. (See p. 34, pp. 484-485.) Sanskrit shows its composite character as a literary language in its [r] and [l] words occurring side by side: e.g., < rōhita : lōhita ; śrī-la : ślī-lā ; rōman : lōman ; rēkhā : lēkhā ; kṣudra : kṣulla ; rōcana : lōcana ; raghu : laghu ; rabh : labh >. This occurrence in Sanskrit of the same word in two forms is at the basis of the dictum of the Indian grammarians, < ra-la-yōr abhēdaḥ > *there is no distinction between < r > and < l >*.

This line of isogloss was present in OIA. and First, Transitional and Second MIA. periods, at least so far as the Māgadhī dialect is concerned, as it can be seen from the evidence of the inscriptions and of Vararuci. We can see from the inscriptions how the North-western dialect (which in the Vedic period was an < r > dialect) fared during the First MIA. period: it took up the < l > sound, apparently through 'down-country' influence. The Midland dialect (the source of Śaurāsēnī), and the South-western dialects

(the sources of the ancient speeches of Malwa, Rajputana and Gujarat, and of Mahārāṣṭrī), seem to have always had both < r > and < l >. The modern representatives of all MIA. dialects show disagreement with Sanskrit at times; and developments in them in Second and Late MIA., and Early NIA. times, as well as the influence of sister and cousin speeches and of standard languages, have made it impossible to trace the continuity of the history in the matter of < r, l >.

Bengali as a Magadhan language ought to have only one sound representing the Māgadhī single liquid < l >. But Bengali has both < r > and < l > in *tbh.* words as well. Bengali has < r > words, *e.g.*, √धर < dhār >, कर < √kār >, मर < √mār > etc., in addition to what may be called its inherited Māgadhī forms in < l > and in < l- > n- > initially (= Skt. r), like शालिक < śālikḥ > (= sārīkā, Māgadhī Pkt. \*śālikka), पाँचौल < pāñcīḥ > (\*pañcīla = Skt. prācīra), and MB. नह < nāchā >, OB. (Sarvānanda) < lāccha > (Māgadhī lacchā = rathyā).

The predominance of < r > forms over < l, l- > n- > ones in the Eastern Magadhan speeches would belie their Māgadhī origin. What are these < r > forms due to in Eastern Magadhan? Either it was the result of a tendency in East Magadhan, in the Apabhraṁśa and Early NIA. periods, (a tendency which characterised Central and West Magadhan also, and West as well), to change at a later time, Early Braj-bhākhā in the original, inherited < l > to < r >; or it was due to the presence in Bengal, during the formative period of Bengali, of speakers of < r > dialects from Northern India, who had a great influence in the evolution of the language. Both the factors may have been present together: but the < l > r > tendency does not seem to have been so wide-spread, as a number of original < l > words have survived: in any case, it had received a check quite early. Bengal had received settlements of Brāhmins from Northern India from the time of the Imperial Guptas, and probably even earlier, as we can see from inscriptions (see pp. 76-77). These Brāhmins, it may be expected, brought their own Prakritic speeches with the < r > sound, before they accepted the Māgadhī Ap. of the land where they settled: and their class dialects would certainly have the < r > sound. Above all, with the



Brāhmins came the tremendous influence of Sanskrit. The speech of the Brāhmins, as that of the aristocracy of culture, would certainly modify the language of those communities which accepted their lead. The influence of Skt. grew greater and greater. The result was that the < r > words from Skt., as the forms employed by the most intellectual classes, were largely established in Bengali at the time of its differentiation from the Central and West Māgadhi groups, i.e. before the 10th century. By that time, what may be called the 'lambdacism' of early Māgadhi, i.e. the habit of changing < r > to < l >, which characterised it in the 6th or 3rd century B.C., or 4th century A.C., had worn itself out. < r > words are found in Old Bengali toponomy, as in the inscriptions, and in the remains of OB. prior to 1200 A.C., just the same as in NB. Initial < l >, whether *lbh.* or *ts.*, tended to become < n > in all Magadhan, probably at this juncture.

The 'Bihārī' speeches, however, although they possess both < r > and < l >, are more faithful to their Māgadhi origin in preferring one sound only. The single < l > sound of Māgadhi (in non-initial positions generally) seems to have become an < r > in the Central and Western forms of Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa (see p. 96; Hoernle, 'Gaudian Grammar,' pp. ix, 13, 14, 63). Western Hindī (Braj-bhākhā), as well as the literary form of Eastern Hindī—the latter coming between Western Hindī and 'Bihārī'—also changed < l > (and < ṛ >) to < r > (see p. 156). Bengali-Assamese and Oṛiyā, on the other hand, never developed as a characteristic this tendency to confuse < r > and < l >, or to have a special preference for < r >. Change of intervocal < -ḍ- > -ṛ- > to < r > in Western Hindī occurred in late times; the change of intervocal < l > to < r > seems to have been through a < -l- > stage—< -l- > \*-l- > \*-ṛ- > -ṛ- >. This < -l-, -ḍ- > r > is not found in the Old Western Hindī of Cauda Bardāi, nor is it much noticeable in Kabīr; but in the Braj-bhākhā of Sūra-dāsa and Bihārī-lāla, and the rest, it is very much in evidence. Modern Hindōstāni is not characterised by this, although it has some words with < r > for < l >, mostly borrowed from Braj-bhākhā. It seems that intervocal < l > which became < l̥ > in most MIA., changed to < ṛ > and then this < ṛ >, and < ḍ > ṛ > both became the < r > in the Braj-bhākhā, Bundēli and Kanaujī tracts (Upper Gangetic Doab,

excepting the Hindōstānī area): in Panjābī, Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, this remained < l >. In the West and Central Magadhan area, this < -l >, or < -l̥ >, became < r >. Eastern Māgadhān kept the dental < l >, but probably through Skt. influence, < r > was frequently brought in.

292. The < l > sound is now absent in the Upper Ganges Valley; it is not found in any of the Magadhan speeches, except Oṛiyā. In most Second MIA., single intervocal < l > of Early MIA., whether original (i.e., found in the oldest IA.) or derived (i.e., developed out of < r >, as in Māgadhi) was cerebralised to < l̥ >. Māgadhi of the Second and Third MIA. periods probably had this < l̥ >. But it became a dental or alveolar < l > once more in all Magadhan of the NIA. period, excepting in Oṛiyā. Oṛiyā has cerebral < -l̥ > which corresponds to OIA. single < -l̥ > (and < r >), and alveolar < -l >, which corresponds to MIA. < -ll̥ >. In the eastern alphabet which was current in the present-day Magadhan tracts prior to the 13th century, there was no separate letter for < l̥ >. Oṛiyā used the ordinary ञ=ञ for the < l̥ > which occurred intervocally, and developed as early as the 13th century a letter ञ with a diacritical mark, for the intervocal alveolar < -l̥ >. It seems that in the Māgadhi Ap. stage, alveolar < l > occurred initially, and medially only when doubled; and cerebral < l̥ > occurred singly intervocally only: the same letter apparently could do for both, as their position in speech was fixed, and together, they formed one phoneme. The same thing seems to have been the case in Early Marāṭhī (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 148). One can recall the usage in the orthography of Second and Transitional MIA. with regard to the representation of both the voiced stops and spirants by the same letter (see pp. 252-253). Bengali (as well as other NIA.) shows ञ < r̥ > for < l̥ > in a few words, e.g., তাঁড়ী < tāṛī > *fermented palm-juice* (= tāḷa, tāla), মির্জা < miṛḷ > (√mil): this < r̥ > is undoubtedly derived from the cerebralised < l̥ >, and the < r̥ > formations can be called sporadic relics from the Māg. Ap. stage with the < l̥ >. In any case, judging from the evidence of other NIA. like Panjābī, Rājasthānī and Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, as well as from Oṛiyā, the presence of < l̥ > in Māgadhi Apabhraṅśa can very well be assumed. One need not ascribe the < l̥ > sound in Oṛiyā to Dravidian



influences exclusively, as Beames has done in his *Comparative Grammar* (I, p. 245).

In Old Māgadhī, before the Aśōkan period, < l > before < y > was palatalised [li, lj > Δ > jj], which gave < -yy- > in Aśōkan Prakrit. There is no trace of it in Later Māgadhī: the resultant < -yy- > has become < j > in Bengali in a solitary example (see p. 476). A slightly palatalised < l > [li] is found in dialectal NB. in cases where an original < i > is dropped (see p. 380): e.g., কাল [kali] < কালি [kali] (kalya), গাল [gali] < গালি [gali] (garha-). In dialectal (West Bengali) forms like হোর [fiār, fiari] *loss*, মার [maīr, mari] *a beating* < হারি, মারি [hari, mari], there is similarly a slightly palatalised [ri].

The cerebral < l > is now absolutely a foreign sound in Bengali, so much so that a Bengali speaker confuses the Oṛiyā < l > with his own ড < ṛ >. To make fun of Oṛiyā articulation, specially on the stage, জড়, গোপাড়, বড়াম, কড়কতা < jāṛā, gōpārā, bārārāmā, kāṛākātā >, etc., are used for the correct Oṛiyā forms with < l >; and this < ṛ > is further extended to words which do not have [l]—e.g., জগড়নাথ < jāgṛ(ā)nāthā > (Jagannātha), অবধড় < ābādhārā > (avadhāna), স্তভড়দড়া < subhār(ā)dārā > (Subhadrā), etc.

### 293. Sources of Bengali [r].

Initially, Bengali [r] represents Skt. < r- > which probably ousted Māgadhī < l- > in most cases: রাত্টি < rāti > (rātri) beside the dialectal sts. নাত্তির < nāttirṣ > = রাত্তির < rāttirṣ >—< nāttirṣ > being for \*lāttirṣ >, influenced no doubt by a Māgadhī < \*latti > > lōh. < \*lāti >; রাং < rāṅ > (raṅga); রূপা < rūpā > *silver* (rūpya-); রুই < rui > *a fish* (rōhita); রাঁড় < rāṛṣ > (raṅḍā); রা < rā > (rāva): রাঁষে < rāṣe > (rāṣyati); রানী < rānī > (rājñī); রিঠা < riṭhā > (ariṣṭha-); রোয় < rōy > (rōpayati); রেড়ী < rēṛī > (ēraṅḍa-); etc., etc.

The words রৌ, রৌয়া < rō, rōā >, cf. Skt. < lōman >, NB. *ls.* লোম < lōmṣ >; রসুন < rāsunṣ >, OB. (Sarvānanda) < rasāṇa >, beside Skt. < lasuna >; রাড়, রাড় < Rār(h)ṣ<sup>1</sup> >, beside Jaina Ardha-māgadhī < Lāḍha >.

<sup>1</sup> The Skt. 'Rāḍha' is probably based on a vernacular form with 'r' occurring side by side with the from in 'l' (attested from the Ardha-māgadhī and Tamil) in the Second MIA. period.

Tamil (Tirumalai inscription, 1024 A. C.) « Ilāḍam »; and a few others, probably seem to be due to an « r- » tendency in some tracts at least of West Bengal.

In the middle of a word, [r] corresponds to—

Skt. « -r- », either through the influence of Skt., or through spontaneous change within the language itself: e.g., আখর « ākhārṣ » (akṣara); আর « ārṣ » and (Māg. avala=apara); আরসী « ārṣī » (\*āalaśī, \*āarasī = \*ādaraśa-, ādaraśa-); ইদুর « idurṣ » (indura); MB. উর « √ur » come down, descend (ava-tar-, √tṛ); উতরে « utārē » (uttarati); the affix র, এর « -rā, -ērā » for the genitive (-kara, -kera = kārya); †কেরা « kērā » clerk (kīraka-); কেরাণী « kērāṇī » clerk (kīraka + karaṇika); করে « kārē » (karōti); কেয়ারী « kēyārī » bed round a plant (kēdārikā); খয়ের « khāyerṣ » (khadira); MB. গহির « gāhirṣ » (gabhīra); গেরুয়া « gērūā » (cf. gāirika); গোরা « gōrā » (gāura-); ঘর « ghārṣ » (gṛha); চরে « cārē » (carati); চুর « cūrṣ » (cf. cūrṇa); চোর « cōrṣ » (cūra); ডুমুর « ḍumurṣ » (udumbara); তেরছ « tērāchṣ » (tiraśca-); নায়র « nāyārṣ » (nāgara); পরে « pārē » (paridhiyatē); পুর « pūrṣ » (cf. pūrṇa); বীর « bīrṣ » (vīra); সায়র « sāyārṣ » (sāgara); etc., etc.

Skt. « -l- »: নঙ্গর, লঙ্গর « nāṅgārṣ, lāṅgārṣ » anchor (=lāṅgala); নিহার, নেহার « √nihār, nēhār » to see (ni + √bhāl); MB. পৌআর « pōāra » (prabāla); ফরকা « phārṣkā » blade, shield (phalaka-); মেহার, মেহারী « mēhār(i) » a palace, a place-name (mahālaya-); etc.

It represents also—

OIA. « -ṭ- » > MIA. « -ḍ- »: পাৰুল « pāruḷ », OB. « pāralī » (pāṭalī); জাৰুল « jāruḷṣ », OB. « jāralī » (jāṭalī); জড়ুল, জরুল « jāruḷṣ, jāruḷṣ » (jaṭula);

OIA. « -ḍ- »: বেৰাল « bēralṣ » (viḍāla);

OIA. « -t-, -d- » > Second MIA. « -ḍ- », in the numerals esp.: বার « bārā » (dvādaśa); সত্তর « sāttārṣ » (saptati); সরেশ « sārēśṣ » best, good (\*śaīśa, \*śaḍīśa, sarisa = sadṛṣa).



Change of [ḍ > ṛ] to [r] is characteristic of East and North Bengali, and also of forms of West Bengali. The standard dialect has a few words showing interchange of [ṛ] and [r] : e.g., লাভড়া, লাফরা < lābhṛā, lāphṛā > (see p. 513); কাঠড়া, কাঠরা < kāṭhṛā, -rā > *lumber* (kāṣṭha); টুকরা < ṭukṛā > *piece*, beside Hind. < ṭukrā >; পেটড়া, পেটরা < pēṭṛā, -rā > *box* (\*pēṭṭa, \*pēṭṭa = pēṭaka-); OB. < kaḍakaca >, NB. করকচ < kārḍ-kācḥ > *rock salt*; কড়াচা, করচা < kārācā, kārācā > *biographical notes* (cf. Hindi < karḥā > *war-song, song of heroism* : kaḍakkha = kaṭākṣa ?); MB., West Bengali মারুলি < māṛuli > *mopping the front of the house-door* (? মাড়ুলী < māṛāli > < √ maṇḍ >); etc.

294. Bengali phonetics is still Prakritic enough to drop a pre-consonantal [r] and double the following consonant by way of compensation, in both *tbh.* and *ts.* words (see pp. 448-449). This habit is present throughout the history of the language : e.g., in the OB. period, in the Kamauli grant of Vaidya-dēva (p. 184), we have the *sts.* and *tbh.* spelling < nninaya > for < ninnaya > (= nirṇaya). These modified *stss.* occur principally in the speech of the masses, and frequently they are written as pronounced, especially in the drama and in the conversational passages in fiction : e.g., কাম < kāmā >, beside *ts.* কর্ম < kārma >, *sts.* করম < kārāmḥ > and *tbh.* কাম < kāmḥ >; সমত্ত, সোমত্ত < sāmāttā, sōmāttā > *grown-up (as of a girl)* (? samartha); কত্তা < kāttā > *master, 'governor'* (kartā); গিন্নি < giṇni > (\*girṇi = gṛhiṇi); চন্নামেত্ত < cānnāmēttā > (cārṇāmertā = caraṇāmṛta); MB. নত্তা < nāttā > < ন-রাতিয়া < nā-rātiyā > *festival on the 9th day after birth of child*; পুষ্করী < puṣkāṇi > (puṣkārṇi, puṣkarīṇi); উত্তিন্ন < uttinnā > (uttirṇa); পোষ্কর [poṣker] *clear* (pōṣkērḥ < \*pāiṣkārḥ < pariṣkāra); বন্ননা < bānnānā > (varṇanā); মাল্লে [malle] beside মারুলে [marle] = Standard Bengali মারিল < māriḷ > *he struck*; ক'ছে [kocḥ(h)e] beside ক'রছে [korḥ(h)e] *is doing* = Standard করিতেছে < kārītēchē >; Persian < širīni > > শিরনী < širni >, শিনি < šinni > *sweets offered to a saint*; etc., etc. Cf. the assimilation of < ṛ > in MB. *stss.*, p. 357. Exceptions, where the [r] resists assimilation, have been indicated at p. 449.

This dropping of [r] characterises the speech of the uneducated classes, of women and of children; and for common words, educated

speech is not unaffected by it. As there is the impression that the [r] forms are the learned ones, we find, in the attempt to be learned, forms like সাহায্য [śāhāyā] (sāhāyā), চিন্তাবিত [cintāvita] (cintāvita), চিৰ্ণ [cīrṇa] (cibna), etc., in both writing and speech. MB. has a false restoration জর্ন < jārmā > for জন্ম < jānmā >: see p. 376. The Perso-Arabic < muqaddamah > has given the Bengali মোকদ্দমা < mōkād-dāmā >, beside a 'learned' মোকর্দ্দমা < mōkārddāmā > *law-suit*; and বেহদ্দ < bēhāddā > *beyond limit*, Persian < bē-ḥadd >, at times figures as বেহর্দ্দ [bēhōrddā]; and Ar. < bāqī > > বাকী < bākī > *remainder* has even been Sanskritised to বক্রী < bākri >.

Intervocal [r] as a rule is not dropped in Bengali, except, of course, the NB. dropping of an original intervocal [r] which becomes pre-consonantal through epenthesis: e.g., করিতে < kārītē > *to do* > ক'ত্তে < kōttē > (through কইরতে < kairte >). But in a few instances, intervocal [r] seems to have been dropped without being pre-consonantal: cf. OB. (Sarvānanda) < bīyaṇa >, NB. বেনা < bēnā > (vīraṇa-); মরাই < mārāi > *store for rice, corn-loft* (Late Skt. marāra); ছাই < chāi > *ashes* (? kṣāra); কেউ < phēu > *jungle dog* (phēru), etc. On the other hand, euphonic [r] to prevent hiatus is sometimes met with: e.g., কারুর < kā-r-u-r̥ > beside কাউর < kāur̥ >, কার < kāru > = কারো < kārō >, genitive of indefinite pronoun কেহো, কেহ, কেউ < kēhō, kēhā, kēu > *some-body*; বিরাশী < bi-r-āsī > (dvi + aśīti); বিরান(র)ই < bi-r-ā-nā(bbā)i > (dvi + navati); হাটুরে < hāt-u-r̥ > from হাটরিয়া = \*হাটইয়া < hāt-ā-r-iyā, \*hāt-ā-iyā > *belonging to the market*; so কাঠরিয়া, কাঠুরে < kāṭhāriyā, kāṭhurē > *wood-cutter* (the last two through the analogy of নগরিয়া < nāgāriyā > *belonging to town*, পাথরিয়া < pāthāriyā > *stony*, etc.?).

But initial [r] is sometimes dropped, and there is equally a prothesis of [r]. This omission, as well as prothesis of [r], is found pretty frequently all over Bengal, but in the speech of the masses in North Central and North Bengal this seems to be most common: e.g., রামের রস < rāmēr̥ r̥ās̥ > for আমের রস < āmēr̥ r̥ās̥ > *mango-juice*; আজ for রাজা < ājā < rājā > >, etc. One or two words in Standard Bengali seem to have this prothetic [r], e.g., রোজা < rōjā > *snake-doctor, witch-doctor* for ওজা < ōjhā > (upādhyāya); and



in the Calcutta Colloquial, হেটে = < iṭe > is frequently heard for রীঠা, রিঠা < riṭhā, riṭhā > *soap-nut*.

For [r] in foreign words, see *infra*.

295. Bengali [l] : initially, [l] in all cases may be said to go back to Māgadhī < l- > which corresponds to—

Skt. < l- > : লহে, লয় < lāhē, lāy > *takes* (labhatē); লাগ < lāgṣ > (lagna); লা < lā > (lākṣā); লাখ < lākṣ > (lakṣa); লাজ < lājṣ > (lajjā); লুঠ < √luṭh > (√luṇṭh); লুন < lunṣ > (lavana); লোহা < lōhā > (lāuha-); also লাউ < lāu > (alābu); etc.

Skt. < r- > : OB., eMB. রাছ < rāchā >, MB. নাছ < nāchā > (rathyā); \*নাতি < lāti > > \*নাতি < nāti >, which influenced a dialectal *sts*. নাত্রির < nāttirṣ > (rātri); লেজুড় < lējurṣ > *tail (of paper kite)* (cf. rajju);

Skt. < y- > : লাঠি < lāṭhi > (yaṣṭi- ?);

In the interior of words, [l] < Māgadhī < -l- > (or < -l- >), and < -ll- > equating—

Skt. < -ḍ- > : কোল < kōlṣ > (krōḍa); চুল < culṣ > (cf. cūḍā); ডালিম < ḍālimṣ > (dāḍimba); ষোল < ṣōlā > (ṣōḍaṣa); cf. খেল < khēlṣ > (√\*skrīḍ, krīḍ);

Skt. < -dr- > > MIA. < -ll-, -ḍḍ- > : ভাল < bhālā > (bhadra); মাল < mālṣ > *wrestler, fighter* (malla, madra);

Skt. < -r- > : চালিশ < cālīṣṣ > (catvāriṅsat); পাঁচাল < pācīlṣ > (prācira); পালায় < pālāy > (palāyatē, parāyatē); পেলে, ফেলে < pēlē > phēlē > (pēllāi, prērayati); শালিক < śālikṣ > (sārikā); হালি as in হালি মুগ < hāli mugṣ > *green moong pulse* (hārita-); হলুদ < hāludṣ > (haridrā);

Skt. < -rṇ- > > MIA. < -ll- > : বোল < ghōlṣ > (√ghūrṇ); চোল, চুল < √cōl, cul > *to distil* (cūrṇa-); etc.;

Skt. < -ry- > > MIA. < -ll- > : পাল < pālā > *turn* (paryāya), Hind. < pāri >; পালং < pālāṅ > (paryāṅka); পালট < pālāṭṣ > (paryasta)

Skt. < -rh- > : গালি < gālī > (garhā). শিলট, শিলেট < śilāṭṣ, śilēṭṣ > *Sylhet* (< \*śirhaṭṭa = śrihaṭṭa > : in DeBlau's map, 16th century, we find < Sirote >);

- Skt. < -l- > : আগল < āgalā > (argala); আঙুল < āṅulā > (aṅguli);  
 আঙলা < āṅlā > (āmalaka-); আউল < āulā > (ākula); আলতা  
 < ālāta > (alakta-); আলি, আইল < āli, āil > (āli); আলস < ālasā >  
 (ālasya); উখলী < ukhālī > (ōkkhala-, udūkhala-); ওলা < √ōlā >  
*descend* (ava-labh); কলা < kālā > (kadala-); কাজল < kājālā >  
 (kajjala); গিলে < gilē > (gilati); MB. ছেলি < chēli > (chagala-);  
 থালা < thālā > (sthāla-); তুলা < tūlā > *cotton* (tūlaka-); দুবল  
 < dubālā > (durbala); পিতল < pitālā > (pittala); পাথালে  
 < pākhālē > (prakṣālayati); MB. মাউলানী < māulānī > (mātu-  
 lānī); মাল < mālā > (mālā); শালা < śālā > (syāla-); শিল < śilā >  
 (śilā); লাঙল, নাঙল < lāṅālā, nāṅālā > (lāṅgala); *sts.* পিলা, পিলে  
 < pilā, pilē >, পিলাহা < pilihā > (plthā), etc., etc.;
- Skt. < -ly- > : কলি < kāli > (kalya); কুলা < kulā > *winnowing fan*  
 (kulyaka-); MB. মূল < mūlā > (mōlla, mūlya); শেল < śēlā > (śēlla,  
 śalya);
- Skt. < -ll- > : করেলা < kārēlā > (karavēlla); কোল < kōlā > *Kōl tribe*  
 (Kōlla, *dōśī*); ছাল < chāl > (challi); *sts.* ভালুক < bhālukā >  
 (\*bhallukka, cf. Skt. bhalluka); মাল < mālā > (malla <  
 madra);
- Skt. < -lv- > : ওল < ōlā > (ōlva); বেল < bēlā > (bilva).

In borrowings from Hindōstānī, < -lh- > becomes [-l-] in Bengali: e.g.,  
 কোল, কল < kōlu > *oil-presser* (Hind. kōlhū = *oil-mill*); জোলা < jōlā >  
 (Mohammedan) *weaver* (Hind. < jōlhā >, beside < julāhā > < Persian  
 < julāh >: the Bengali word may have been borrowed straight from the  
 Persian).

[l] occurs in words of *dōśī* origin: e.g., পিলা, পিলে < pilā, pilē > as in  
 ছেলপিলে, -পুলে < chēlē pilē, -pulē > *children* (cf. Tamil < piḷḷai >, Oriyā  
 < pilā >: or is it the *tbh.* form পোলা < pōlā > *child*, as in East Bengali, <  
 < pōta-la- > ?); পালান < pālānā > *udder of cow* (cf. Telugu < pālu >, Tamil  
 < pāl > *milk*); পালঙ, পালম < pālāṅ, pālām > *spinach*; etc.

[l] figures in onomatopoeics.

There is dropping of [l] in পোয়াল, পোহাল < pō(h)ālā > *straw*  
 (= palāla); also in চ' [çʰ:] for চল [çʰal] (= Skt. cala) *come thou*.



Intrusive [l] occurs in তালুই < tālui > beside তাউই < tāui > *brother or sister's father-in-law* (< \*তাঅই, \*তাঅউ < \*tāāi, \*tāāü > < < tātagu >), to prevent hiatus.

[l] in foreign words is discussed below.

296. [l] becomes [n], mainly initially. This tendency is common to all Magadhan speeches, and probably characterised the Apabhraṃśa Māgadhi dialects. Conversely, there is change of [n] to [l]. Examples:

[l] > [n]: MB. নাছ as in NB. নাছদোর < nāchḍ-dōārḍ > *street door* (lācha, lacchā, rathyā); নাঙল < nāṅālḍ > (lāṅgala); নাউ < nāu > (alābu); নুচী < nuči > *thin wheaten cakes fried in butter* (cf. Hind. < lucui >); নাড়ু < nāru > (laḍḍuka); নুন < nunḍ > (lavana); নেজ < nējḍ > *tail* (cf. lañja); sts. নক্ষী < nākḥī > (lakṣmī), নখিন্দর < nākhindārḍ > *a name* (Lakṣmīndra); sts. নোক < nōkḍ > (= lōka; nakha); নাটাই < nāṭāi > *reel for thread*, নাটু, নাটিম < nāṭṭu, nāṭim > *top*, beside forms with লা- < lā- >; নাল < nālḍ > beside লাল < lālḍ > *red*; etc., etc. The forms with initial [n], rather than [l], are used, so far as the Standard Colloquial is concerned, more among women and children than among men, and are not regarded as standard forms.

The plural affix গুল < -gulā > becomes গুনো < gunō >; and -লুম < -lum >, affix of the past tense first person in the Standard Colloquial, is found in certain West Bengal districts (e.g. Hugli) as হু < -nu >, e.g., কন্ন < konnu > *I did* < ক'রহু < kornu > < করিহু < kārīnu > = করিলু, করিলুম < kārīlū, -lum >, 'sādhu-bhāṣā' করিলাম < kārīlām >; so চন্ন < connu > *I went* < চলিহু < cālinu > = চলিলাম < cālīlām >, etc. This < -inu > affix is much employed in poetry.

[n] > [l]: †লা < lā > (nā, nāva = nāu); লাট < lātḍ > (naṣṭa); লাজ < lāj(g)ā > (naṅga-, nagga-, nagna-); †লাইহোর, লাইহর < lāihōrḍ, lāihārḍ > beside লাইয়র, লায়র < nāiyārḍ, nāyērḍ > *married woman's father's home* (\*nāihara, jñāstigr̥ha); লড় < √lār > for নড় < √nār > *to move* (see p. 497); †লয় < lāyḍ > for নয় < nāyḍ > *nine* (nava), *is not* (nā + hāy); etc., etc. It is found also in a few

foreign words; লোকসান < lōksān > *loss* (also লোসকান < lōskān > by metathesis) (= Perso-Arabic < nuqsān >); লক < lākḥ > *line, thread* (Persian < nax >); †লোট < lōṭ > = English *note, bank-note*, †লুটিশ < luṭiśḥ > = English *notice*, লম্বর < lāmbārḥ > = English *number*, etc. This change of [n] to [l] is looked upon as a rustic trait, and although one or two [l] forms have been accepted as standard, e.g., লাক্স and লোকসান, they are generally regarded as vulgar. Certain tracts, especially in Central Rāḍha, are noted for the preference among the masses for the [l] sound initially.

[V] THE SIBILANTS: THE PALATAL [ʃ], AND THE DENTAL [s].

297. Bengali has one sibilant phoneme, the palato-alveolar [ʃ] and the dental or alveolar [s] is only a subsidiary form of it—[ʃ] normally becoming [s] when occurring before [t, d, n, r, l]. In East and North Bengali, of course, [ʃh] is reduced to [s]. The pure palatal sibilant is preserved in Bengali only among the Magadhan speeches (see pp. 58-59, 92, 245): in Oṛiyā, the [ʃ] has been slightly dentalised and is very like [sɪ] rather than like a pronounced [ʃ] sound. In the 'Bihārī' speeches, the palatal is not used now, only dental [s], although spelling (in the Kaithi script) employs < ś >, which possibly shows the occurrence of the palatal pronunciation in early times. The dentalisation of the sibilant in the Western and Central Magadhan tracts probably is due to the overwhelming influence of Upper India under which these tracts have been for some thousand years: and besides, the [s] sound was probably never absent in Magadha itself, at least dialectally. In Early Assamese, intervocal [ʃ] became [fi], and in recent Assamese single [ʃ] initial or intervocal is pronounced as the guttural spirant [x], although written শ, ষ, স < ś, ṣ, s >. East Bengali partly agrees with Assamese in turning [ʃ] to [fi] (see p. 79). It is only in West Bengali that the original Māgadhī value is kept intact. In this point, more than in anything else, Bengali has remained faithful to its Māgadhī character. It is not impossible, however, that the dental sound



occurred in class dialects even in the Western Bengali area itself, among communities originally of Kōl speech, and among other communities which immigrated from the contiguous Bihar. In fact, [s] rather than [ʃ], is still found among certain communities in Western Rāḍha and elsewhere, although it is regarded as very vulgar in the Standard Colloquial speech.

In writing [ʃ], Bengali orthography has always employed all the three letters শ, ষ, স. In Old Bengal epigraphic records, < ś, ṣ, s > are confused, demonstrating their levelling to one sound which was that of [ʃ]: e.g., in the Bangarh inscription of Mahīpāla (p. 183) occur spellings like < sāila-sikhara, sāul̥kika, puṇya-yasō, parāsara, madhuśūdaṇa-sarmma-, viśuva-saṅkrāntāu >; in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadēva (p. 184), < santi = śānti, viṣayilla = viṣayilla, śīmā, vāyavya-disa >, etc.; also in other inscriptions similar interchanges are found. In Early Bengali and Assamese MSS., as well as in the Oṛiyā epigraphical records, interchange between the sibilant letters is very common, and there is ordinarily no deference paid to the *ts.* or foreign words. But in the hands of educated scribes, *ts.* words generally would be spelt as in Skt., and the *tss.* would exert a certain amount of guidance in spelling the easily recognisable *lkh.* derivatives: e.g., বোন < ṣōlā > (ṣōḍaśa); বাঁড় < ṣāṛṣ > (ṣaṇḍa); বাঠ < ṣāṭhṣ > (ṣaṣṭhi); আউব < āu-ṣ > (ā-vṛṣ); আ(ই)ব < ā(i)ṣṣ > (āmiṣa); শিকল < śikāḷṣ > (śṛṅkhala); শরা < śārā > (śarāva); শ < śā > (śata); শেঠ < śēṭh > (śrēṣṭhin); সহ < sāi > (sakhī); হাঁস < hāṣṣ > (haṇsa); বাশ < bāṣṣ > (vaṇśa); etc., etc. A similar modelling of *lkh.* spelling on that of the *tss.* also took place in Oṛiyā.

Padre Assumpçam uses only < x > = [ʃ] in his transcription of East Bengali: e.g., আইসে < aixe > comes, সূর্য < xurzio > sun, সত্য < xoito > truth, বাইশ < baix > twenty-two (also = বাসি stale), ষোল < xolo > sixteen, সঁচি < xansa > true, শুইয়া < xoia > having slept, অস্থা < axtha > faith, দাখনা < xantona > condolence, শাস্ত্র < xaxtro > scripture, etc. It would be seen that Padre Assumpçam uses < x > [ʃ] for the sibilant before < t, th > also, as in < axtha, xaxtro >; in NB. in this position we have [s] normally (see p. 297); but < s > is used in the works of the Padre for ষ, ছ = [ts, s] only: see *supra*, pp. 464-465.

## 298. Sources of Bengali [ʃ].

OIA. < ś, ṣ, s > regularly changed to < ś > in all cases in Māgadhī > Bengali, and it is not necessary to give further examples. Groups of < ś, ṣ, s > + a semivowel, or groups of < -rś-, -rṣ-, etc., become < ś-, -śś- > in Māgadhī, which remained as [ʃ] in Bengali, written শ, ষ, স. Examples—

- < -rś- > : আরশী < āraśī > (ādarśa- : see p. 256);  
 < -rśv- > : পাশ < pāś > (pārśva);  
 < rṣ, ṣ > : চাব < cāṣ > *till* (? carṣ = √krṣ); ষব < √ghāṣ > *rub* (√ghṛṣ); আউষ < āuṣ > (ā-vṛṣ); MB. পাউষ < pāuṣ > (prāvṛṣa-);  
 < -śm- > > < -śś- > : রাশ < rāś > *rein* (raśśī, raśmi);  
 < śy > : শালা < śālā > (śyāla-, syāla-); শাম < śām > (śyāma); MB. শামলা < śāwālā > (śyāmala); OB. < dīśai > (dṛśyatē); বেসাত্তি < bēśati > *commerce* (< vāśīya-);  
 < śr > : MB. শ্রবণ < śrāvaṇā > (śrāvaṇa); শ্রেষ্ঠ < śrēṣṭh > (śrēṣṭhin);  
 মিশাল < miśāl > (miśra-); শাস্ত্রী < śāśūrī > (śvaśrū-);  
 < śv > : MB. শুন < śunā > *dog* (śvan); শুর, *ts.* spelling, = [ʃofur], (śvaśura); শোয়াস, শস [ʃoaʃ, ʃo:ʃ] (śvāsa); শাস্ত্রী < śāśūrī > (śvaśrū-ṭī); পরশু < pārśśu > (paraśvaḥ);  
 < -ṣy- > : মনুষ, মুনি < mānuṣ >, munī > (manuṣya); রীষ < rīṣ > (rīṣya-, Irṣyā); তুষে < tuṣē > (tuṣyati); রুষে < ruṣē > (ruṣyati);  
 < -sm- > MB. বিসরে < biśārē >, পাসরে < pāśārē > *forgets* (\*viśśalāi, \*paśśalāi = vismarati, prasmarati).  
 < -sy- > : আলস < ālās > (ālasya); কাঁসা < kāśā > (kāṣya-); লাস < lās > (lāśya); হাস < hās > (hāśya); শাস < śās > (śasya);  
 < sr, sṛ > : আস as in আস পাস < āś pās > (asrā); পিসী, মাসী < piśī, māśī > (piṭṛṣvasṛ, mātṛṣvasṛ); সোঁতা < sōṭā > (sōnta-, srōtas);  
 < sv > : সাঁই < sāi > (svāmi); গোসাঁই < gōśāi > (gōśvāmi); সুর < sur > (svara);  
 < -hśv- > : MB. নিশাস < niśās > (niḥśvāsa);  
 < -hsv- > : MB. নিসান, নিশান < niśān >, niśān > *music* (niḥśvāna).

A sibilant preceded by < anusvāra > is preserved (as a palatal sibilant as usual) in Bengali: e.g., মাস < māś > (māṣa), বীস < biś > (viṣati), ডাঁশ



« dāśā » *gnat* (daśa), शिशु « śiśu » (śimsapā), वैश « vāś » (vaśa), हंस  
 « hāś » (haśa), etc., etc.

299. Bengali, in common with other NIA. languages, presents cases of change of single intervocal sibilants to « -h- ». This change is a MIA. one, and came in vogue in the Second MIA. period, and was rather prominent in the Apabhraṅśa stage, and is carried down to recent NIA. The nature and extent of this modification are not clear. It affects a special group of words and inflections, e.g., the numerals (the decades and the septuagintades), the genitive affix (« -asya > -āha » : but cf. « -s » in Kaśhmīrī, and in European Gipsy), the future affix (« -iṣyati > -ihaī », etc. : but cf. « -s- » in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī and in Western Panjābī). Isolated words in all NIA. also show this change : for Bengali examples, see below under [fi], §302. The change of the genitive « -sya » to « -ha » in Late MIA. may have been due to the influence of the locative and instrumental plural affixes « -hi, -hī » ; and for the change of the future « -iṣy- » to « -ih- », there may have been the influence of a periphrastic form like « dātāham » > Second MIA. (Ardha-Māg. and Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī) « dāham ». (See below, *Morphology*, under 'Noun Inflections: Genitive,' and under 'Verb: Future Precative and Future Tense'). The « -h- » form for these inflections is found in a fairly wide tract, and came to be well-established only in the Third MIA. period, although a few cases of this change occur sporadically in earlier Pkts. The Southern Pkt. of the Transitional MIA. Period, as in the Andhra country, shows this change initially as well as intervocally, e.g., « hiru = śrī, Hādakaṇi = Śātakarni » (E. J. Rapson, 'Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty in the British Museum,' London, 1908, p. xx). But this seems to be isolated, and not to have had any connexion with the change in the Northern Indian Prakrits. The « -h- » words, including the numerals, possibly originated in some Panjab dialect, whence they were early adopted into a *koinē* like Pali, and then were passed on to other forms of IA. : witness Panjābī forms like « hār = āśāḍha, pōh = pāuṣa, dah (also « das ») = daśa, vih = viṅśati, tih (trih) = triṅśat, cāih = catvāriṅśat, pañjāh = pañcāśat, ikahāṭh = ēka-ṣaṣṭhi, tra(i)h = √tras, baih = upa√viś, plh = √piś, saubrā = śvasura-, nūh = snuṣā », etc., as compared

with other NIA. forms in «s», e.g., Hindī «asāṛh, pōs, das, bīs, tīs, cālīs, pacās, iksāṭh, (taras), baīs, pīs, sasurā» etc. In Bengali *tbb.* forms which have normally evolved from OIA., intervocal [ʃ] is kept: e.g., আইসে, আসে [aiʃe, aʃe] *comes* (āviśati); MB. উলাস «ulāsā» (ullāsa); আঁইষ, আঁষ [āiʃ, ā:ʃ] *meal* (āmiṣa); আঁকুণী, আঁকণী [āk(u)ʃi] (aṅkuṣikā); দশ «dāśā» beside OB. (Caryās) «daha», NB. দহলা «dāhālā» *card of ten* (daśa); চলিস, †চলস্ [cʰoliʃ, tʃoloʃ] (calasi); পড়িশী, পড়ণী [por(i)ʃi] (prativēśi); বাসর [baʃr] (vāsa-gṛha); নিষুতি [niʃuti] (niṣupta-); মশা [moʃa] (maśaka-); the emphatic enclitic particle সি «-si» as in MB. (ŚKK.), e.g., সে-সি «sē-si» *that indeed*, NB. স্ «-s» as in ভাগিন্ «bhāgyi-s» [bhāggiʃ] < ভাগ্যে সি «\*bhāgyē-si» *luckily indeed*, †NB. সিন «sin» < earlier সিনি «\*si-ni» *rather* (cf. Vedic «sīm»); etc., etc.

The occurrence of «-h-» in Assamese, e.g., «hāhi» *smile, laughter* (√has), «bāhī» *flute* (vañśi), «mānuh» (mānuṣa), «Ahām» *Ahom*, written অসম «āsāmā», is isolated, and connected with it is the change of both intervocal and initial [ʃ] in East Bengali dialects (see p. 79): and the «-h-» words in Bengali, noted in §802 below, are not at all connected with Assamese or East Bengali specially: they are mostly pan-Indian. The East Bengali tendency to use «h» for [ʃ] is noted in Bengali literature as early as the 16th century, and it can only have arisen considerably earlier. But in West Bengal it has always been ridiculed. Kavi-kaṅkaṇa in the 'Caṇḍī-kāvya' (c. 1580) makes the 'Bāṅgāl' or East Bengali sailors say «bārbā» for সর্বা «sārbā» *all*, «hākālā» for সকল «sākālā» *all*, «hukutā» for শুকুতা «sukutā» (*dried*) *condiment*, beside deaspirated forms like «bāi» for ভাই «bhāi» *brother*. Earlier, we learn from the biographies of Caitanya that he used to make fun of the East Bengali pronunciation after his return from Vaṅga (East Bengal) to Nadiyā. The old Sanskrit verse describes this character of East Bengali articulation—

«āśtrvādātā na gṛhṇīyāt pūrva-dēśa-nivāsinām :

'śatāyur' iti vaktavyē, 'hatāyur' iti bhāṣiṇām. »

*Accept not the blessings of the dwellers in the Eastern lands ;*

*When śatāyuh (may you live a hundred years) is to be said, they say*

*hatāyuh (may your life be ended) !*



This pronunciation is not noticed by Padre Assumpçam, and I have not found it represented in the Perso-Bengali MSS. from Chittagong (pp. 228 ff.), where only ش is found for শ, ষ, স: although the < h > pronunciation is fairly common.

The Upper Indian pronunciation of < ষ > as < kh > is found in a few Bengali borrowed words: see pp. 460-461.

300. The use of the palatal [ʃ] for < ś, ṣ, s > is the crux of Bengali articulation: the Skt. word < saviśesa >, in a Standard New Indian pronunciation [saviʃe:ʃə], but in Bengali [ʃəbiʃeʃ], is quite a good Shibboleth to find out a Bengali speaker. Bengali [ʃ] tends occasionally to pass into the aspirated palatal affricate < ch > [tʃh]: see pp. 465, 472, 473. A pronunciation of [ʃ] as [tʃ(h)] is a common speech defect in Bengali, found especially among the masses. Cf. also MB. (ŚKK.) ছন্দ < chāchānda > (svacchanda); sts. ছান, চান < c(h)ān > (snāna); sts. ছকড় < chākkāṛḍ > *hackney carriage* (śakata); মিছরী < michrī > *sugar candy* (= Perso-Arabic < misrī >); Calcutta Coll. মোচোরমান [moʃorman] for মুসলমান [muʃolman] (musalmān); Portuguese < pires > [piriʃ] > পিরিচ < piric > *saucer*; Hindī < alag-sē > *remaining distinct, without touching* > আলগোছে < ālgōchē >.

Conversely, there are a few cases of [ʃ] for < c, ch >: OB. < kacchu >: NB. খসু > খউন, খোস < khāsu > khāus > khōs > *itches*; MB. (ŚKK) নিশিবৌ < niśibō > *I shall offer, shall sacrifice, shall cast away as a sacrifice* (see p. 266, *supra*) for < nichibō > (cf. Hindī < nichāwar > *sacrifice, offering*, MB. নিছা < nichā >, নিছনি < nichāni > *offering or casting something to avert the evil eye*: < ? : cf. < ni-kṣip > *throw*, or < ni-kṣap > *fast, do penance*, or < niścātaya > as in the 'Atharva Veda' = *to scare or drive away*); OB. (Sarvānanda) < śukra > for < \*śūka > *vinegar* (eukra).

301. An intrusive sibilant occasionally characterises the vulgar pronunciation of some *ts.* words: e.g., দুষ্ [duʃk(h)u] (duḥkha); উচ্চারণ [uʃtʃarən] (ucecāraṇa); তুচ্চ [tuʃtʃa] (tuccha); একত্র, একস্তর [əkostro, -tor] (ēkatra); গঙ্গাতীর [gəŋgastir] (gaṅgā-tīra); † North Bengali জ্ঞাতা [gñāsta] (jñāti); etc. In certain parts of East Bengal, the form আষ্ট < āṣṭā >, doubtless a similar form with intrusive < ṣ >, and influenced no doubt by

the Skt., for *tbh*. আট < āṭṭ >, is much used. These groups, < ṣk, śc, ṣṭ, st > recall the existence of similar groups in Māgadhī Pkt. Nothing can be more against the trend of MIA. phonetics than such groups: and it cannot be known whether the < śk (sk), śc, śṭ, śt > of the Prakrit grammarians were in actual agreement with spoken Māgadhī. < śc > might be only a way of indicating the affricate sound of [č], like < ŷc > (see p. 248). Or it may be that the < ś > forms were actually heard in Māgadhī, as in present day Bengali, as 'learned' ones, in folk-speech: in NB., the forms with the sibilants are certainly due to a desire to appear learned. Cf. the intrusion of < r >, p. 542, *supra*. So it may have happened that the attempts of some Māgadhī speakers to emulate the Skt. gave rise to forms like < gaścadi, laskaśe, pēśkadi, puścadi, maśtagē, bhaśṭālagē > etc. for < gacchati, rākṣasa, prēkṣatē, pṛechati, mastaka, bhaṭṭāraka >, which were generalised in the West as Magadhan peculiarities.

In the form জাস্ত < jāstutā > for জেঠুতা, জাঠুতা < jēṭhutā, jāṭṭutā > (see p. 503), the intrusive sibilant is due to the analogy of similar forms like মাস্তুতা < māśṭutā >, পিস্তুতা < piśṭutā > etc.

[j, s] in foreign words: see *infra*.

#### [VI] THE GLOTTAL FRICATIVES, VOICED [f], UNVOICED [h].

302. Bengali [f] is a voiced sound, as in OIA. Initially the [f] of OIA. has generally been preserved in NIA., except in certain dialects, *e.g.*, in East and North Bengali and occasionally in Assamese. Intervocal [f] of OIA. is in origin always a derived sound, having been weakened from Indo-Iranian < \*gh, \*ǰh >, and also partly from < \*dh, \*bh >. In MIA. of the Second Period, all OIA. single intervocal voiced aspirates except < -ǰh- > became [f], and this [f] fell together with the OIA. [f]. Medial [f] continued undisturbed down to eMB. times: after which it tended to drop off.

Initially, Bengali [f] in *tbhs*. comes mainly from OIA. < h- >, *e.g.*, হাত < hātṭ > (hasta); হাঁস < hāśṭ > (haṅsa); হামা < √hāmā > to crawl (MIA. dial. < √hamm > crawl); হিং < hiṅ > (hiṅgu); হীরা < hīrā > (hīraka); হিন্ন



« hiyā » (hṛdaya-); হলুদ « hāludā » (haridrā); MB. হনে « hunē » *sacrifices* (√ hu); etc., etc.

« bh- » in some words gives [fi] in Bengali. An early example is « √bhū » > « √hō », found already in Aśōkan MIA. It seems that « bh- » h- » first originated in the middle of a sentence, and in compounds where it would be in an intervocal position. Then from occurrence in compounds etc., the resultant « h- » would be established initially. Thus, হাঁড়ী « hāṛī » pot, beside ভাঁড় « bhāṛā » (-bhāṛā); হঠ « √hāṭh » *recede* < « bhraṣṭa- »; ছড়ী « huṛī » a sailing ship beside ভড় « bhāṛā » a large boat (? bhṛta); OB. « hēla-ka » beside Skt. « bhēlaka » raft; OB. « hādusa » beside « bhādusa » food half-dressed; NB. হৌদল « hōdālā » pug-faced, ugly and uncouth beside ভৌদা « bhōdā » fat and ugly; হাপর « hāpārā » smith's bellows, beside ভাপ « bhāpā » steam. Similar change of « kh-, gh- » seems to occur in হেঁড়াল « hēṛālā » crocodile beside ঘড়িয়াল « ghāṛiyālā »; হাম « hāmā » measles beside ঘাম « ghāmā » sweat < sun-shine; হামার « hāmārā » farm, granary beside খামার « khāmārā » (skambhāgāra, ? harmyāgāra).

In the middle of a word, [fi] comes from—

OIA. « kṣ- » : লা « lā » < লাহ « lāhā » (lākṣā); কে « -kē », dative post position (\*kahi, \*kakhi, \*kakkhi, kakṣē ?);

OIA. « -kh- » : in some cases the [fi] is dropped early in MB. : e.g., OB. « ahēri », MB. আহেরি « āhēri » hunter (ākhēṭika); মু « mu » (muha, mukha); নরুন « nārūn » (naha-haraṇī, nakha-haraṇa-); MB. রেহ « rēhā » (rēkha); MB. লিহে « lihē » (likhati); শিওর « śiōrā » (śihara, śikhara); সহৈ « sāi » (sahī, sakhī); OB. « suha » (sukha);

OIA. « -gh- » : হালকা « hālkā » (laghu : cf. p. 315); MB. বাহড়ে « bāhurē » (vyāghuṭati), also OB. « bahuḍai », printed বহ উই in Caryā 8; OB. « thāhī », NB. থাই, থাই « thāī, thāī » bottom (stāgha-); also in দেহরা, বাসর < বাসহর, নায়ের < নাইহর « dēhārā; bāsārā < bāsā-hārā; nāyērā < nāihārā », respectively = temple, chamber for bride and bridegroom, a married woman's father's home (dēva-ghara, vāsa-ghara, jñāti-ghara, < -grha);

- MIA. < -ḍh- >, in MB. (SKK.) আহুঠ < āhuṭṭhā >, IMB. আউট < āuṭṭ > 3½ (aḍḍhuṭṭha, ardha-caturtha) ;
- OIA. < -th- > ; তহে, কয় < kāhē, kāy > (kathayati) ; কাহিনী < kāhini > (\*kathinikā) ; গু, গু < gu, gū > (gūha, gūtha) ; the imperative affix হ, হ as in MB. চলহ, চলহ < cālāhā, cālāhu > = NB. চল, চলো < cālā, cālō > (OIA. < -atha > of the present indicative + < -ata > of the imperative, 2 plural) ;
- OIA. < -dh- > : [fi] frequently dropped : MB. আইহ > এরো < āihā > > ēyō > (avidhavā) ; গম < gāmḥ > for \*গউ, \*গহ, \*গোহ < \*gāū, [goṣu], \*gāhū, \*gōhī > (gōdhūma) ; দই < dai > (dahi, dadhi) ; বউ, বৌ < bāu > (bahū, vadhū), মউ, মৌ < māu > (mahu, madhu) ; মউরী, মৌরী < māuri > anise (madhurikā) ; রাই < রাহী < rāi < rāhi > (Rādhikā) ; সা, সাহ, সাহা < sā, sāhā, sāhā > merchant (sādhu) ;
- OIA. < -ph- > : \*শিহলী > NB. শিউলী < \*śihāli > śiuli > (śēphālikā) ; OB. শিহড় < sihaṛa > (> NB. শিকড় < śikārḥ >) (cf. Skt. śiphā, see p. 457) ; OB. < maṇahala > (maṇahala = madanaphala) ;
- OIA. < -bh- > : গহীর < gāhīrḥ > (gabhīra) ; MB. নিহারে, নিহালে < nihārē, -lē > (nibhālayati) ; পঁহু < √pāhūch > reach (pra + bhū + ccha : see p. 473) ; MB. পহ, পহ < pāhu, pāhū > (prabhu) ; পোহার < pōhāy > dawns (prabhāti, \*prabhātāyatē) ; বহেড়া < bāhērā > (MIA. bahēḍaa-, vibhītaka-) ; বিহান, ব্যান < bihānḥ > byānḥ > dawning (vibhāna) ; লহে > লয় < lāhē, lāy > (labhatē) ; লা, লাহা < lā(hā) > a surname (? lābha) ; সুহা > সুও, সো < suhā > suō, sō > (subhagā) ; similarly দুহা > দুও, দো < duhā > duō, dō > (< \*dubhaga = durbhagā) ; সোহাগ < sōhāgḥ > affection, husband's love (sāu-bhāgya) ; হিলান < hilānḥ > leaning (abhilagna) ; etc. It is lost in forms like আমি, তুমি < āmi, tumi > (ambahi, tumbahi = asmābhiḥ, yuṣmābhiḥ) ;
- OIA. < -h- > : generally lost to NB. : আহার < āhārḥ >, OB. < ahāra > (āhāra) ; বাহির < bāhirḥ > (MIA. bāhira, cf. Skt. bahiṣ, bāhya) ; MB. বাহ < bāhā > (bāhu) ; বহে, বয় < bāhē, bāy > (vabati) ; বহত < bāhutḥ > (\*bahu-vant-) ; MB. (SKK.) বাহুক < bāhukā >, NB. বীক, বীক < bāikḥ, bāikḥ > carrying pole, Hindi < bahangī >



(vihan̄ga-); কুই < rui > *carp fish* (rōhita); লোহা, নোহা, নো < lōhā, nōhā, nō > (lāuha-); মহে, ময় < sāhē, sāy > (sahatē);

OIA. \* -ś-, -ṣ-, -s-; -ṣy-, -sy- >: this change has been discussed before, p. 549. Examples: the numerals এগার, বার, তের, চৌদ্দ, পনের, বোল, সতের, আঠার < ēgārā, bārā, tērā, cāuddā, pānērā, ṣōlā, sātērā, āṭhārā > = 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 respectively (< -aha < OIA. -āsa); একাত্তর, বাহাত্তর, তিরাত্তর, চুয়াত্তর, পঁচাত্তর, ছিরাত্তর, সাতাত্তর, আটাত্তর < ēkāttārṣ, bahāttārṣ, tiyāttārṣ, cuāttārṣ, pācāttārṣ, chiyāttārṣ, sātāttārṣ, āṭāttārṣ > = 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78 (< ēka- etc. + hattari, = -saptati), but cf. উনসত্তর < unā-sāttārṣ > 69, which preserves the sibilant; the genitive affix, তাহ, তা < tāha, tā > *he, it* (tasya); এহ, এ < ēhā, ē > *this* (\*ēaha, ēdāśśa, ētasya); ওহ, ও < ōhā, ō > *that* (\*ōaha, \*avuha, \*aṣṣuha, amušśa, amuṣya), etc., etc.; the OB. locative affix হি, হি < -hi, hī > represents probably a blend of a Māgadhī \* -aśśī, \* -aśśīni < -asmin > + an OIA. \* -dhi, \* -dhim >, attested from the Greek locative affixes < -thi, -thin >; the future precative affix ইহ < -ihā- > (-iṣyatha); the verb substantive হ < √hā = √ \*āh > (√as), confused with হো < √hō > < √bhū >, e.g., < asti, \*asati > \*ahaī > হয় < hāy >, < na + \*ahaī > > নহয় < nāhāy > > নয় < nāy > *is not*, < na + āsit > > নাই < nāhī > > নাই < nāi > *was not > does not exist* (cf. সে করে নাই < sē kārē nāi > *he did not do*), etc.; the pronominal adjectives হেন, কেন, যেন < hēnā, kēnā, jēnā > < এহেন, কেহেন, জেহেন < ēhēnā, kēhēnā, jēhēnā >, cf. Maithilī < aihan, kaihan, jaihan >, beside other NIA. < aisan, kaisan, jaisan > = < ētādṛśa-, kīdṛśa-, yādṛśa- > etc.; and a number of isolated words, like কাহন < kāhānṣ > (Pali kahāpaṇa, Skt. kāṛṣāpaṇa); গোহাল < gōhālṣ > (gōśāla); MB. (Śūnya-Purāṇa) st. বিহরাম < bihārāmā > (viśrāma); মেড়া < mēṛā > ram (mēha-ḍa- = mēṣa-); OB. (Caryās 35, 50) < daha-diha > (daśa-diśa). Cf. Maithilī, Hindī < puhup > (puṣpa), and < diharā, dahārā > *day* (Śaur-Ap. diha-ḍa- = divasa-), found in Hindī, Rajasthānī-Gujarātī, Panjābī. In the present-day Bhōjpurīyā,

« -st-, -sṭ- » becomes [-fit-, -fiṭ-], e.g., [afite] = « āstē » *slowly* (Pers. « āhistah »); [daḥituri] *customary commission* = Persian « dasturi »; [ifiṭisan] = English *station*; [mifiṭiri] = « mistri » *mason, artisan*, from the Portuguese.

The reverse process, changing « -h- » to « s », seems to characterise the Caryā (no. 19) word « kaśālā » for « kāhāla, kāhala », NB. কাহল « kāhālā » *drum*.

The groups « -śn-, -ṣṇ-, -sn- » became « nh, ṇh » in MIA., and their resolution in NB. has been to [n], the aspiration being dropped: see p. 529. OIA. « -ṣm-, -sm- » > MIA. « -mh- » have become [m] in NB.; see p. 531.

303. A prothetic [fi] occurs in Bengali. The eastern dialect of Aśōka has a similar prothetic « h- »: e.g., « hēvam, hida, hēdisa » (« evam, idha idṛśa »: the second one by metathesis?). Examples from Bengali: হাকুলি « hākuli » *be full of anxious fear* (ākula-); হাঁটু « hāṭu » *knee* (cf. OB. « aṇḍu », Skt. « aṣṭhivant- »); OB. « hariṭha » *soap-nut* (ariṣṭa); MB. হাইবাস « hāibās » *yearning* (? adhi-vaś: by metathesis); MB. স্টস. হাবিলাব « hābilāṣ » = « habilax » in Assumpçam (abhilāṣa); MB. হলাস « hullāsā » (ullāsa); হেথা « hēthā » *here* (cf. ṣṭha, atra); হেঁচকা « hēcṅkā » *pull*, Hindī « aīcnā » *to pull* (= « ā-krakṣ- », acc. to Hoernle); হোথা « hōthā » *there* (amutra); MB. হারামদ « hārāmād » *Portuguese pirate-ship* (Portuguese « armada »); etc. South-Eastern Bengali of Chittagong has a large number of words with this intrusive initial « h- ».

For euphonic [fi] in MB., see p. 341. Cf. Skt. « vikaṅka », MIA. « \*vianka », but OB. « baheñci », MB. বইচি « bāici », NB. বোচ « bōc » *a fruit*.

[fi] occurs in a number of words of obscure origin: হাঁট « √hāṭ » *walk, trudge* (cf. Gujarātī « hēḍvū », Skt. « √hiṇḍ »); হড়কা « hāṛṅkā » *slippery* (? bhraṣṭa); হোড় « hōṛ » *competition*; হড়া « √huṛā » *push*; হড়কা « huṛṅkā » *bolt* (= *that which is pushed in* ?), also *timid*; হুড়ম « huṛum » *puffed rice*; হতোম « hutōm » *screeching or hooting owl*; হল « hul » *sting of wasp or bee*; হাঁদা « hāḍā » *foolish, idiotic*; হালি, হোল « hāli, hāil » *helm*, also *group of four (or five)*; হাঁফ « hāph » *deep breath* (onomatopoeic ?);





305. Unvoiced [h] in Bengali : this, however, is found at the end of a syllable, after a vowel, when it would be written with the « visarga » (also after an unvoiced stop or affricate, [kh, çh, ðh, th, ph]), forming an aspirate). This voiceless [h] is like the English sound in *hat, happy* etc. It is found in a few exclamatory words, and is optionally changed to the voiceless velar, palatal or bilabial spirant according to the nature of the preceding vowel = e.g., আঃ : [ah:, ax:], হৈঃ [ih:, iç:] (also হৈশ্ [iʃ:]), এঃ = [eh:, eç:], ওঃ = [oh:, oç:], উঃ = [uh:, uʃ:].

The final « visarga » in Skt. words has the proper unvoiced [h] value in Bengali : « rāmaḥ, sumanāḥ, muniḥ, sādhuḥ, kavēḥ, gurōḥ, rāiḥ, gāuḥ », etc. are pronounced by Bengali speakers as [ra:moh, ʃumənɑ:h, munih, ʃɑ:ɖɦuh, kəbe:h, guro:h, roih, gouh], and not as [ra:məfiə, sumɑnɑ:fiə, munifi, sɑ:ɖɦuʃiə, kavɛ:ʃiə, guro:ʃiə, raifi, gɑuʃiə], as for example in Northern India. Final « visarga » in a number of naturalised *ts.* is not now pronounced in Bengali : e.g., বহশ্ : [boɦuʃɔ], for [boɦuʃɔh] ; চক্ষ্ [çjekku] rather than চক্ষুঃ, জ্যোতি [j̥joti] rather than জ্যোতিঃ = « cakṣuḥ, jyōtiḥ ». « Visarga » in Skt. words merely 'doubles' the consonant following : e.g., দুঃখ [dukkhə], অন্তঃকরণ [əntəkkərəŋ], পুনঃপুনঃ [punəppunə], নিঃশ্বাস [niʃʃaʃ] (niḥśvāsa), etc. : hence in writing Perso-Arabic words, instead of using a double consonant ligature, or two consonants, the « visarga » is sometimes employed (or the group of consonant + « -v- ») generally before sibilants : e.g., মফঃস্বল (also মফঃসল, মফসল) « māphāḥsvālā » = [məphoʃʃəl, məfoʃʃəl] *country district* = Perso-Arabic « mufassal » ; তমঃসুক [təmoʃʃuk] *bond, receipt* = « tamassuk », etc.

In foreign names, « visarga » is occasionally used for the unvoiced [h] at the end of a syllable : e.g., নামঃ « nāmāḥ » = Persian « nāmah », ইউয়ান্ শিঃ কাই « Iuyān Ših Kāi » *Yuan Shih K'ai* etc. Foreign [h, fi] (as well as [h] of Arabic) become [fi] in Bengali.



## CHAPTER VI

### PHONOLOGY OF THE FOREIGN ELEMENT: PERSIAN

306. Arabic words have come into Bengali through the medium of Persian,<sup>1</sup> after these were naturalised in that language and had conformed to its phonetics: as such, they are to be treated as Persian words.

Some Turkī words were no doubt borrowed in India direct from Turkī during the early years of the Mohammedan conquest, in the 12th and 13th centuries, and a few more may have come in with Bābur in the 16th. But a large number of Turkī loan-words occur in Persian also, and subsequent accretions of Turkī words seem to have been through the medium of Persian, as the Turkī speech quickly fell into disuse in India, but Persian maintained its predominance all along.

The sound system of Persian as a living speech now is not what it was in the 13th and 14th centuries. In Persian itself there are dialectal differences. Standard Persian as spoken in the western and central provinces of Persia—especially Fārs and 'Irāq-'Ajāmī—has deviated considerably in its phonetics from 'Classical' Persian of 400 years ago. The literary form of New Persian which was brought to India by the

<sup>1</sup> Bengal was never settled in by any considerable body of Arabs from whom Arabic words might be borrowed by the people of the land. The article 'al,' so characteristic of Arabic nouns and adjective formations, was dropped when Arabic words were borrowed in Persian: and Persian received most of its Arabic element more through books than through contact with Arabic speakers. Arabic words in Bengali and other Indian languages have not preserved the 'al.' The people of Spain, for instance, came in intimate touch with the Arabic-speaking Moors, and loan-words from the Arabic in Castilian and other speeches of the Peninsula have the Arabic article, and the orthography indicates an attempt to represent the Arab pronunciation: thus, the Arabic 'al-qāḍī, al-qur'ān, al-qurbān, at-ṭabal, al-qal'ah, al-burg (burj)' are found in Spanish (Old and Modern) as 'alcayde, alcoran, alcorban, atabal, alcalá, Alborge,' while the Bengali (and Hindostānī) forms are কাজী 'kājī' judge, কোরান 'kōrān' the Koran, কোরবান 'korbān' sacrifice, ডবলা 'tablā' drum, কেল্লা 'kellā' fort, বুরুজ 'buruj' turret, bastion.

Turks and the Tājiks (see pp. 193, 202) was New Persian as spoken in Eastern Iran; and the dialects current here, especially the Tājik dialect of Afghanistan, at the present day show the least divergence, both in phonetics and grammar, from 'Classical' New Persian, i.e., New Persian as used by the Islamic writers of Persia, from the 10th century downwards. The Tājikī dialect specially is but a local form of literary Persian and not an independent Iranian dialect (cf. 'Grundriss der iranischen Philologie,' Part I, Vol. II, p. 407: 'Bemerkungen über Tādschikī'). Tājik pronunciation will be regarded as archaic in Western Persia. The archaic pronunciation is still followed in India, and in studying the phonology of the Persian element in Indian languages, we are to take that into consideration.

Turkī pronunciation modified Persian phonetics to some extent in India because in the dissemination of Persian, Turkī speakers had some hand: 'as the kings of India were for the greatest part Túránians, the immigration of Túránian Mohammedans was constantly kept up. It is for this reason that we find so many Túránian peculiarities among Indian speakers and writers of Persian. We may in fact say, that the Persian of Indian writers is Túránian.' (H. Blochmann, 'The Prosody of the Persians according to Saifi, Jāmi and other Writers,' Calcutta, 1872, pp. xv, xvi; cf. also H. Blochmann's notes on 'Isti'māl-i- Hind,' or Indian peculiarities in the use of Persian, in the JASB., Vol. XXXVII, No. I for 1868, pp. 32-38.) Turkī words in India, again, came to be pronounced in the Persian way when actual contact with that speech was at an end. The pronunciation of the two languages thus affected each other in India to some extent.

A large percentage of the Persian words in Bengali has been borrowed from Hindōstānī, including many of the hybrid forms, half-Persian, half-Indian, or Persianised Indian, like < kōtwāl > with dental < t > = Indian < kōṭwāl > (in Hindōstānī), কটওয়াল < kōṭwāl > (in Bengali) = *head of city police*, which sprang up in Northern India during the Mohammedan rule. But it would be a mistake to suppose that most Persian words in Bengali came through Hindōstānī. Persian was brought to Bengal before Hindōstānī had developed into a *lingua franca*, much less as a culture language, after becoming the home-language of the Mohammedan ruling houses and town



people of Northern India. Persian was widely studied in Bengal. But it is now impossible to determine what words were directly borrowed from Persian and what words were borrowed through Hindōstānī: specially when Hindōstānī (when exactly we do not know, but probably from the time it became the language of the Moslem emperor and his court in Delhi) adopted the foreign sounds of [q, x, ɣ, z, f]. In the present study, Perso-Bengali words will be taken in connexion with the Persian originals, without any reference to Hindōstānī (or Turkī): and the pronunciation in the Calcutta dialect, as well as transliterations following the pronunciation in the original language in early times, will be indicated.

307. 'Early Persian,' by which term the older phase of the New Persian or Post-Islamic Persian can conveniently be indicated, had the following sounds :

VOWELS.

		Front	Central	Back
High	...	i:, i		u:, u
Mid	...	e:, e	(ə)	o:, o
Low	...	a	(a)	ɑ:
Diphthongs...		aɪ		aʊ

CONSONANTS.

	Glottal	Uvular	Velar	Palato-alveolar	Dental	Denti-Labial	Bi-labial
Stop	(ʔ)	(q)	k g	tʃ dʒ	t d		p b
Affricate			(ŋ)		n		m
Nasal				l			
Lateral				r			
Trilled				ʒ	s, (θ), z, ð	f v	
Fricative	h		x, xʷ, ɣ	ʃ			w
Semivowel				j			

The sound system of New Persian is not much different from that of Middle Persian (Pahlavi). Of the consonants, it may be remarked that the uvular stop [q] possibly existed in Early Persian as an imposition from Arab.c (and also from Turki). [ $\hat{t}$ ʃ,  $\hat{d}$ ʒ] =  $\text{č, č}$ , were probably tongue-tip alveolar or palato-alveolar affricates, as now; [t, d] were interdental stops; and [ɲ] occurred only before [k, g], being written  $\omega$  « n »; and [m] was written  $\rho$  « m », as well as  $\omega$  « n » before « b », e.g. [gumbaz, ʃamba(h)] being written « gnbð, šnbh » = *tower, sabbath*. About the fricatives, [h] was probably an unvoiced sound, but intervocally it was probably voiced; [x, ɣ] =  $\text{ç, ç}$  were the velar spirants, and [xʷ], written  $\text{چ, چ}$ , was a [x] pronounced with rounded lips, which has become a simple [x] in Modern Persian pronunciation. And the fact that in the traditional Indian pronunciation [xʷ] is frequently [x] shows that this simplification is some centuries old. [θ] probably existed in the earliest form of New Persian (witness a name like « Gayōmarθ »), but by the time that Persian was introduced into India, it was altered to [s] or to [t]. [ð] developed afresh in New Persian in intervocal or final position from an earlier [d]: it occurred in Early Persian of the 13th century, but from the 14th century, however, this [ð] tended to be reduced to [z], and in verb forms it was frequently restored back to [d] (cf. P. Horn, 'Neupersische Schriftsprache,' p. 81, in 'Grundriss der iranischen Philologie'; JRAS., 1895, p. 237). The Persian words borrowed in India show both a [ð] and a [z] basis in their modifications.

In Modern Persian as now spoken in Persia proper, esp. Western Persia, some innovations have come in which are not found in India. The velar stops [k, g] have advanced considerably, and have become the palatal stops [c, ɟ]; except when they occur before back vowels [o, u], when they retain their old values. The New Persian unvoiced stops are now-a-days very strongly aspirated,  $\text{پ, ت}$  being pronounced [ph, th], and  $\text{ک, چ}$  [kh, ch]; and the voiced stops  $\text{ب, د, گ}$  [b, d, g(j)] as a consequence are often unvoiced, becoming almost [p, t] and [c, k], paralleling what has happened in some Germanic languages, and in most forms of Chinese. The Arabic sound of [q] has become a voiced guttural spirant, intermediate between the uvular and



the velar sounds, which can be conveniently represented [g]. And the Arabic ʕ = [ʕ] occurs as the « hamzah » or glottal stop, [ʔ], in Persian (cf. 'L'Écriture phonétique internationale,' 2e édition, International Phonetic Association, London, 1921, p. 15).

As regards the Persian vowels, it is to be noted that the short « ä » is a front sound, [a], even approaching the South English [æ], in Modern Persian of Persia; and the long « ā » is a back vowel very much withdrawn: it is an [ɑ:] which resembles in acoustic quality the English [ɔ:]; and before [m, n], it even becomes [u] (cf. JRAS., 1895, p. 238; Platts and Ranking's Persian Grammar, Oxford, 1911, p. 13). Modern Persian short « ä » [a] has developed a long form [ɑ:], which occurs side by side with [ɑ:], and this [ɑ:] in its turn has developed a short [a] in some cases. In Early Persian, the short sound was probably equally a frontal [a], or perhaps a central sound, and the long [ɑ:] was a back vowel. The short vowels « ē, ö, ĩ, ũ » were found in Early Persian, as they are in Modern Persian of Persia. The long vowels [e:, o:] existed in Early Persian: they were very close sounds, and in Modern Persian of Central and Western Persia they have been altered respectively to [i:, u:], thus having fallen together with the original [i:, u:] of Early Persian. The [e:, o:] sounds are known as « majhül » or *unknown* sounds, and the [i:, u:] sounds « ma'rūf » or *known*, as the former did not occur in literary or Classical Arabic. [e:, o:] still obtain in Eastern Iran, in the Tājik dialect (cf. T. W. H. Tolbort, 'Rābinsan Krúso' in Persian, in the Roman character, London, 1878, pp. xi, xii): thus the original Early Persian distinction between « šēr » *lion* and « šīr » *milk*, and similar forms, is still preserved in Eastern Iran, whereas both have become « šīr » in Central and Western Persia. Persian of India has faithfully retained the « majhül » sounds of Early Persian. The diphthongs [ai, au] of Early Persian roughly corresponded to the similar groups in medieval Skt. pronunciation (see p. 242): in Modern Persian, they are pronounced as [ei, ou].

Stress in Modern Persian is ordinarily on the final syllable (cf. F. Rosen, 'Modern Persian Colloquial Grammar,' London, 1898, p. 8); and in all likelihood, the final stress obtained in Early Persian also (cf.

P. Horn, 'Neupersische Schriftsprache,' § 47, where we have cases of loss of initial syllable in New Persian). The initial stress system of Bengali has had its way with Persian loan-words, ignoring their original stress.

308. The sounds which were peculiar to Arabic were altered to their nearest equivalents in Persian, and only Persianised Arabic words are found in the Indian speeches. A study in detail of the sounds of Arabic is out of scope here. Arabic presents a literary form, based on the old speech of Hijaz (specially of the Qurayš tribe of Mecca), and modified later by scholars on the model of the purer dialects of the Bedouins of Nejd or Central Arabia: and besides, there are the dialects, extending from Iraq to Morocco. It was the dialect of Iraq with which Persian came in contact mainly, and some peculiarities of 'Irāqī pronunciation are possibly to be found in Persian (*e.g.*, the Modern Persian pronunciation of the Arabic  $\text{ق}$  « q » as that of the voiced velar spirant [g], —Arabic of Iraq turned the [q] to a voiced sound, the uvular stop [q], quite early). But Arabic words seem to have been borrowed into Persian more from books than from contact with Arabic speakers: so that a consideration of the phonetics of Arabic would not be so very important in the study of the Arabic loan-words. Still, some points will be of interest as the Arabic element is said to take up over two-thirds of the vocabulary of New Persian, and consequently of the Persian loan-words in Indian languages.

Classical Arabic, as in the pre-Islamic literature of Arabia, in the Koran, and in the literature of the first few centuries of the Hegira, has preserved more faithfully than any other Semitic language the sounds and forms of the Primitive Semitic speech, although its oldest document does not go beyond the 4th century A. C. (barring a few insignificant and problematic remains some centuries earlier in date). The sounds of Classical Arabic, as spoken in Hijaz, and in Central and Northern Arabia in the 7th-8th centuries, were in all likelihood the following,<sup>1</sup> using the symbols of the International Phonetic Association :

<sup>1</sup> The sound-system of Old Arabic of the 6th-8th centuries can be reconstructed through a study of (i) the Phonetics of spoken forms of Arabic of the present day, *e.g.*, of



	Glottal	Uvular	Velar	Palatal	Palato-alveolar	Alveolar or Dental		Inter-dental	Denti-labial	Bilabial
						Velar-ised	Simple			
Stop ...	ʔ	q (?q)	k (?g)	(?c) ɟ		t (ḏ)	t d			b
Nasal ...		(N)	(ŋ)	(ɲ)			n			m
Lateral ...					l	(l) ḏl				
Trilled ...					r					
Fricative...	ħ, f, s	χ <sup>1</sup> γ <sup>1</sup>	(x g)		ʃ	s, z (ḏw)	s z	θ ḏ	f	(?f) w
Semivowel.				j						
Vowels ...	a, a: (a, a); i, i:; u, u:; (ɛ, e, ɔ, o).									

About the above sounds, the following points may be noted.

[ʔ], the glottal stop, is the sound of the « alif-hamzah » of Arabic. As a rule it was dropped in Persian, but was retained only between two similar vowels. Only in learned pronunciation the glottal stop is sought to be retained in Perso-Arabic words in Urdū.

Arabia Proper (Hijaz, Nejd, Oman, Hadramaut, Yemen) and of Iraq, of Syria, of Egypt, and of Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria and Morocco; (ii) the phonetic theories of the medieval grammarians of Arabic, beginning from the 8th century, as embodied in treatises on pronunciation and rules for intoning the Koran (qirā'at, tajwīd), as well as the traditional method followed in reading the Koran by professional readers (qārī) among Islamic peoples; (iii) early transcriptions of Arabic names and words in foreign languages (Greek, Persian etc.) and *vice versa*; and (iv) comparative phonology of the various Semitic speeches. Cf. 'Encyclopædia of Islam,' article 'Arabia (Arabic Language)'; 'Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages' by De Lacy O'Leary, London, 1923; Grammars of different dialects of Modern Arabic; W. H. T. Gairdner, 'Egyptian Colloquial Arabic,' Cambridge; Lumsden's Arabic Grammar, Calcutta, 1805 (for Old Arabic phonetic theories); cf. also the papers to the VSPdP. for 1924 and 1925 by S. K. Chatterji and Muhammad Shahidullah.

<sup>1</sup> The symbol [χ] is used in the IPA. script for the unvoiced uvular fricative. For the voiced uvular fricative, the IPA. symbol is a modification of [ʁ], indicating its connexion with the (French) trilled uvular [ʀ]: in this table, the Greek letter [γ] has been employed instead.

The unvoiced uvular stop, [q] = ق, is also pronounced dialectally (in Arabia proper and in Iraq) as the *voiced* uvular stop, [g]. It is described by Arab phoneticians as a voiced sound (majhūrah), apparently taking into consideration this [g] value. In New Persian of Western Iran, [q] is commonly modified to a voiced velar spirant, [g], based on the stop [g] value: e.g., [iqra:r] agreement = [egra:r]. In India, the normal value is a velar [k], though the uvular [q] is heard in Urdū among city peoples through the influence of Arabic scholars.

[k] = ك : this sound has become the affricate [tʃ], like the sound of *ch* in English *church* [tʃ ɜ:tʃ], in Syria and in parts of Arabia proper, as well as in Iraq. A voiced affricate value, [dʒ] is also known. It is not unlikely that in Hijaz in the 7th century its value was that of the palatal stop, [c]: the change apparently from the oldest Arabic [k] to the modern dialectal affricate sound of [tʃ] was through this [c] stage. In Early Persian, the [k] value was the one that was adopted, and this [k] has now become [c] as in native Persian words. The voiced velar [g] was in all probability the sound of گ in Muhammad's time, but by the 8th century it seems to have been advanced to the palatal stop [j] in Arabia proper and Iraq. Old transcriptions of Greek words in Arabic employ گ (as well as گ̇ = [ɣ]) for the Greek « gamma ». The [g] sound is still preserved in Egypt. The palatal stop [j] has further become the affricate [dʒ] over a great part of the Arabian world, including Arabia proper, Syria and Iraq. It is the [dʒ] value which obtains in Persian, and in India also it is [dʒ] (झ).

For [t], and other velarised sounds, see next page.

[t, d] were blade-alveolar or blade-teeth sounds. An aspirate [th] = ث, seems to have occurred as the feminine affix: it became normally [fi] in a final position.

The nasals: [n] and [ŋ], as well as palatal [ɲ] occurred before their corresponding stops, and were represented by the letter for [n] = ن.

The fricatives: [ħ] = ح, is the characteristic 'whispered h' of Arabic. [h] = ه, was a voiced sound. Both fell together and became one common « h » sound, an unvoiced sound in Persian, [h], and a voiced one in the Indian languages, [ɦ].



[ʕ] = ع, the ‘intermittent voice,’ is *the* special sound of Semitic, about the exact organic character of which there is difference of opinion. It is a continuant sound produced in the glottal region. Many Arab dialects are now dropping it. In Persia, a check in the voice, or the glottal stop, is substituted for it, e.g., [عجم > jamʕ] *collection* became [dʒamʕ]. In India, [ʕ] is ignored: it simply lengthens a connected < a > vowel: but Arabic scholars often affect it in Urdū, and many merely substitute the glottal stop for it.

The letters ح, ح respectively had the *uvular spirant* sounds [χ, γ], and these are the values commonly found at the present day; but the more advanced *velar spirant* sounds of [x, ɣ] are also found dialectally, and probably they existed side by side with the uvular ones as variants of the latter in Old Arabic.

[θ] = ث, like the English *sh*. [s, z] = س, ز, as in English. [θ, ð] = ث, ذ, respectively = the *th* in English *thin, then*: in Persia and India, they become [s] and [z]. [f] = ف, denti-labial spirant as in English, but it is likely that in Muhammad’s time its value was that of a bilabial [ɸ], coming as this sound does from Primitive Semitic [p].

The sounds of [t̤, z̤, s̤, d̤] = ط, ظ, س, ذ, the so-called ‘emphatics,’ form a characteristic group of Arabic. They are distinguished from the ordinary dentals by their [ü] or [w] quality. The old Arabic grammarians called them ‘covered’ letters (*mutbaq*), apparently referring to the raising of the back of the tongue towards the soft palate in pronouncing them: this *gest* gives to these sounds their ‘thick’ or ‘dark’ quality, as compared with the simple dentals. Of these, ط is commonly the stop sound (*šadīdah*), unvoiced, [t̤]; but it has also a voiced stop pronunciation, a [d̤] sound, from early times. The Arabic grammarians call it *voiced* (*majhūrah*): ط therefore agrees with ج = [q, ɟ] in representing both a voiced and an unvoiced stop. In Persian, in Turkī, and in the Indian languages, the ‘dark’ or ‘emphatic’ quality of ط is ignored, and its voiced form is unknown, so that ط = [t̤] has become a simple dental [t], indistinguishable from ت = [t]. س[s̤] is an [s] with the [w] quality: in Persian and in the Indian languages, it becomes a simple [s], the same as س. س, ذ, ظ are two Arabic letters

the exact sounds of which in Old Arabic cannot be determined for certain.  $\text{ظ}$  seems originally to have been a 'covered' or 'velarised' form of the spirant  $[\theta]$ —a sort of  $[\theta^w]$ , but it had become a voiced sound (majhūrah) by the 8th century, as we can see from the old Arabic grammarians: it probably became a velarised  $[\delta^w]$ .  $\text{ظ}$  is the spirant (rixwah) form of  $\text{ظ}$ , and like  $\text{ظ}$ , it apparently had in Old Arabic both a voiced and an unvoiced value  $[\theta^w, \delta^w]$ . Both of these are now heard in dialects of Arabia proper. A common modification of  $\text{ظ}$  in Arabic-speaking lands is to a velarised  $[\text{z}]$ , = the voiced form of  $\text{س}$   $[\text{s}]$ . The Persian (and Indian) approximation of  $\text{ظ}$  is a simple  $[\text{z}]$ , and this is apparently based on the  $[\text{z}]$  value. The nature of  $\text{ظ}$  in Old Arabic is difficult to make out. It was a voiced sound (majhūrah), velarised (mutbaq, musta<sup>q</sup>liyah), spirant or continuant (rixwah), *not* a sibilant (safirah): it was a unilateral alveolar, pronounced by striking or placing the tongue against the alveolar region to the left or right:  $\text{ظ}$  would thus be a kind of unilateral velarised  $[\text{t}]$ , as in English *well*  $[\text{wɛl}]$ . This value is not unknown even at the present day in Arabia itself (Hadramaut), and the Malay pronunciation of  $\text{ظ}$  as  $[\text{l}, \text{dl}]$  points to the same thing. But the dialectal pronunciation now in the Arabic-speaking lands makes  $\text{ظ}$  (in addition to the  $[\text{t}]$ ) either a spirant  $[\delta^w]$ , or  $[\text{z}]$  (like  $\text{ظ}$ ); or a mere stop  $[\text{d}^h]$  = the velarised form of the dental  $[\text{d}]$ ; or a 'sulcal' sound, the tongue being made into a groove (through which the air passes) and the blade advanced beyond the edge of the teeth; or makes a unilateral, *alveolar* continuant, a sort of combined  $[\text{d}^h]$ , for which the single letter  $[\text{d}^h]$  also can conventionally be used. This last was apparently its value in Old Arabic. Persian turned it to a simple  $[\text{z}]$ , which was thus based on a dialectal  $[\delta^w]$  or  $[\text{z}]$  pronunciation.  $[\text{z}]$  is the basis of Indian forms of the Perso-Arabic words with  $\text{ظ}$ . Recently some Arabic scholars in India tried to introduce the pure Arabic sound (non-sibilant alveolar unilateral) of this letter in reading the Koran, but ordinarily it results only in an approximation  $[\text{dw}]$ .<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some time ago there was a heated controversy among Indian Mohammedans on the proper pronunciation of  $\text{ظ}$  in reciting the prayers in Arabic, one school declaring that the pronunciation of this letter as 'z,' as in the word  $\text{ظالين}$ , would make the prayer



[l] was the ordinary 'clear l,' as in Southern English *lean, land*; but it is very likely that a subsidiary form of the phoneme, a velarised 'dark l' [ɫ], occurred in Old Arabic, as it does in some of the modern dialects.

The semivowels [j, w] were like English *y* and *w* in *yes* and *wet* [jɛs, wɛt].

About the vowels, there were three types in the Oldest Arabic, [a, i, u]: [a] probably also occurred as a central or palatal [ä, a]; and [a, a], [i] and [u] were modified respectively to [ɛ, e, ɔ], [e], and [o], taking their colouring from the contiguous consonant. The long forms, [a: (a:), i:, u:], originated in Old Arabic (specially in the Hijāzī dialect) from earlier combinations of [a, i, u] with [ʔ]. Modifications of the vowels in Arabic need not be discussed. Diphthongs like [ai, ei, oi, ou, eu] etc. were unknown; but the combinations [aj (aj), aw] resulted in the diphthongs [ai, au], which are preserved in Persian.

The special Arabic sounds which were modified or suppressed in Persian were thus [ʔ, q, ʃ, ʧ, ʒ (ðʷ), ħ, fi, ʕ, χ, γ, s, ʔ (d̡), θ, (ð)], which became respectively [zero, g (or k), dʒ, t, z, h, h, ʔ, x, g, s, z, s, z (ð)].

Influence of Arabic affected Persian orthography to some extent by bringing in the use of *س, ط, ڄ, څ* and other pure Arabic letters in writing some native Persian words: but this of course did not in the least affect the pronunciation.

**309.** The sounds of Turki may also be briefly reviewed, as Turki influenced the Persian of India to some extent. Turki of the West, Osmanli Turki of Asia Minor and Constantinople, is a younger dialect with which India has had nothing to do. The Turki of the Mohammedan conquerors of India of the House of Ghazna, of the House of Ghor, and

faulty and so null and void before God, and that the faithful should try to pronounce *من* properly, which was as 'dw,' according to the notions of many. Bengali Mullās and Maulavīs had their share in this 'd(w)āllin-zāllin' controversy, which has now been set at rest by making 'z' allowable for the unlearned; but it of course had no bearing on the pronunciation of Bengali loan-words from Perso-Arabic, which show *ج* 'j' for 'z' in the place of the original sound or letter.

of the Slave Kings like Qutbu-d-dīn Ībek and İltutmiş, of the early rulers of Bengal like Bakhtyār-i-Khalji, Haşāmu-d-dīn Euez Sultān Ghiyāşu-d-dīn, Nāşiru-d-din Maḥmūd, Şaifu-d-din Yaghantāt, Malik 'İzzu-d-dīn Toghrih Tughan Khān, Qamaru-d-dīn Tamur Khān, Mughişu-d-dīn Ozbek, 'İzzu-d-dīn Balban, and of personalities like Ulugh-i-'Aẓam Zafar Khān Bahrām İtagīn (one of the earliest patrons of Musalmān learning in Bengal and India, in the 13th century), as well as that of Sultān Bābur and his Moghals, was the Eastern or Chagatai (Caqatai), or so-called Uigur dialect, which is now spoken in Central Asia (Turkistan, Balkh, Herat, Khorasan). Typical Central Asian Turkī of the 10th-13th centuries, as spoken by a large percentage of the Mohammedan invaders of Northern India, seems to have possessed the following sounds (cf. A. Vambéry, 'Cagataische Sprachstudien,' Leipzig, 1867; R. B. Shaw, 'A Sketch of the Turkī Language,' Calcutta, 1878; the 'Kudatqu Bilik,' a Turkī didactic poem of c. 1069, editions by A. Vambéry and by W. Radloff; Vilhelm Thomsen, 'Inscriptions de l'Orkhon,' Helsingfors, 1896; I. Nemeth, 'Türkische Grammatik,' Leipzig, 1916; the works of W. Radloff on Turkī Linguistics; Gibb, History of Ottoman Poetry, Vol. I; etc., etc.):

## CONSONANTS.

	Glottal	Uvular	Velar	Palatal	Palato- alveolar	Alveolar or Dental	Bilabial
Stop ...		q (g)	k g		tʃ dʒ	t d	p b
Affricate ...							
Nasal ...		(ŋ)	ŋ			n	m
Lateral ...					l		
Trilled ...					r		
Fricative ...			x ɣ	ʃ (j)		s z	(ʁ) w
Semivowel ...	h			j			



## Vowels

Front : unrounded, [i, e, ε, a] ; rounded, [y, φ], commonly written in the Roman character as « ü, ö » respectively ;

Back : rounded, [u, o, ə, α] ; unrounded, [ʊ], commonly indicated in Roman script by « y » ; and probably also [v]=an unrounded [o].

There were properly no long vowels.

These sounds of Turkī need not be described fully : they are simple enough. The [f] of Persian and Arabic normally became [p] in Turkī, but the bilabial [ɸ] probably existed as a Turkī approximation. The special vowels of Turkī were easily simplified in Persia and India to [a, i, u, e, o, Δ]. Turkī words in Indian languages in later times, even when they were borrowed direct from Turkī, conformed to the Persian way of pronunciation (*e.g.*, [ordu] > [urdu:], [φzбек] > [uzbag]) ; and some Turkī words seem to have come by way of Persian. They will be regarded as Persian words in all cases (see pp. 212, 213).

**310.** From the 17th century, after Hindōstānī took shape and grew in importance, Persian words entered into Bengali through that language, and older borrowings direct from Persian were probably made to conform to Hindōstānī forms. The sounds of Hindōstānī were the following :

Verals : [k, kh, g, gʱ, ŋ] ;

Patatal affricates : [tʃ, tʃʰ, tʃʒ, tʃʒʰ], or Palato-alveolar affricates—  
[tʃ, tʃʰ, dʒ, dʒʰ] ;

Cerebrals : [t, tʰ, d, dʰ] ;

Dentals : [t, th, d, dh, n] ;

Labials : [p, ph, b, bh, m] ;

Liquids : [r, l] ;

Sibilant : [s] ; Aspirate : [h (h)] ;

Semivowels or Fricatives : [j, w (v)] .

Vowels : [Δ, ə, α ; i, i ; u, u ; e, o ; (e, o)] ; Diphthongs—[Δi, Δū], which became respectively [æe, æ:, ε:] and [əo, ə:, ð:] .

The vowels can all be nasalised.

The sounds of Persian (including Perso-Arabic, and Turkī) which did not have equivalents in Western Hindi (Hindōstānī) (and in other

Indo-Aryan), were therefore [q, g; x, x<sup>w</sup>, g; ʃ, ʒ; z; ð; f]. The normal equivalents in naturalised words were [k] for [q], and very rarely [g]; [g] for [q, g]; [kh] for [x, x<sup>w</sup>]; [s] for [ʃ]; [ʒ] for [z, ʒ]; [ʒ, d] for [ð]; and [ph] for [f]. The OIA. ॠ, ॡ [ʃ, ʒ] were lost to Western Hindī (including Hindōstānī) in the MIA. period: in reading Sanskrit, [s] was normally substituted for ॠ [ʃ, ʒ], and [kh] for ॡ [ʒ] in all Northern India excluding Bengal (see p. 243), according to the medieval tradition. But through the influence of Persian, its [ʃ] sound, slightly different from both the [ʃ] and [ʒ] of Indo-Aryan, was engrafted on Hindōstānī, as well as on Sindhī and on the Panjābī dialects: and it is this [ʃ] which is now employed by speakers of Hindōstānī and Western Hindī generally, as well as of Panjābī etc., for both the [ʃ] and [ʒ] of Sanskrit, as a newer and seemingly more correct pronunciation than the older [s, kh]. [ʃ] is used in Persian words as well,—but the unlearned masses frequently turn it to [s]. Like [ʃ], the sounds of [f] (or its approximation [F]), [x], [g] and [z], may be said to have been introduced into Hindōstānī, through the presence of a large number of Persian words with these sounds; and what is more, [f, x] are actually found to have been imposed on some native Indian words, in Hindōstānī and in Panjābī.

311. In Hindustan proper, Persian words have generally remained faithful to their original forms, in the matter of the vowels, making allowance for the slight alterations necessitated in naturalising words into a foreign language. The words have in the main preserved their full forms. But the peculiar phonetics of Bengali, especially its system of accentuation, has wrought a sad havoc with the Persian sounds, both consonantal and vocal, and with the Persian forms as a whole. Thus it would be difficult to recognise Persian « sarīštah » in শেরেস্তা [ʃeresta] *court office*, « xarīdār » in ব'দেব [khodder] *buyer*, « bunyādī » *with a basis* in ব'নেদি, ব'নিদি [bonedi, bonidi] *well established, respected (as a family)*, « qissah » *story* in কেচ্ছা [kecʃha] *scandal*, « ħuqqah » in হুকো [ħūko] *a hookah*, « muharrir » in মুহুরী [muħuri] *clerk*, « bē-wuqūf » in বেকুব [bekub] *fool*, « tašarruf » in তছরূপ [toʃħrup] *tampering (as with money)*, etc., etc. Certain irregularities in phonetic alteration from the Persian to the Bengali forms, however, are to be



noticed: this is due to the intermediary influence of Hindōstāni in most instances.

In the transliteration of the Perso-Arabic and Persian words (given within brackets as source-forms of the Bengali words), the following is the system employed:  $\text{آ}$ ,  $\text{ا}$  =  $\text{a}$  (Persian  $\text{ا}$  =  $\text{a}$ );  $\text{ب}$  =  $\text{b}$ ;  $\text{پ}$  =  $\text{p}$ ;  $\text{ت}$  =  $\text{t}$ ;  $\text{ث}$  =  $\text{θ}$  (Persian =  $\text{ś}$ );  $\text{ج}$  =  $\text{j}$  (International Phonetic Association symbol =  $[\text{j}]$ , for Arabic);  $\text{چ}$  =  $\text{c}$ ;  $\text{ح}$  =  $\text{ħ}$  (IPA. symbol: ordinarily  $\text{ħ}$  is used);  $\text{خ}$  =  $\text{x}$ ;  $\text{د}$  =  $\text{d}$ ;  $\text{ذ}$  =  $\text{ð}$  (Persian =  $\text{ð}$ ,  $\text{z}$ );  $\text{ر}$  =  $\text{r}$ ;  $\text{ز}$  =  $\text{z}$ ;  $\text{ژ}$  =  $\text{ʒ}$  (IPA. symbol =  $[\text{ʒ}]$ );  $\text{س}$  =  $\text{s}$ ;  $\text{ش}$  =  $\text{ʃ}$  (IPA. symbol =  $[\text{ʃ}]$ );  $\text{ص}$  =  $\text{s}$ ;  $\text{ض}$  =  $\text{ð}$  (Persian =  $\text{z}$ );  $\text{ط}$  =  $\text{t}$ ;  $\text{ظ}$  =  $\text{z}$ ; ( $[\text{s}, \text{ð}, \text{t}, \text{z}]$  for  $\text{ص}, \text{ض}, \text{ط}, \text{ظ}$  are the IPA. symbols used here in transliteration also: in transcribing Arabic,  $\text{س}, \text{د}, \text{ت}, \text{ز}$  are employed commonly, and in this book, in the narrative, these, as well as  $\text{ħ}$  for  $\text{ح}$ , have been used);  $\text{ع}$  =  $\text{ʕ}$  (IPA. symbol);  $\text{غ}$  =  $\text{g}$  (in Arabic, an uvular guttural spirant, the IPA. symbol for which is  $[\text{χ}]$ );  $\text{ف}$  =  $\text{f}$ ;  $\text{ق}$  =  $\text{q}$ ;  $\text{ک}$  =  $\text{k}$ ;  $\text{گ}$  =  $\text{g}$ ;  $\text{ل}$  =  $\text{l}$ ;  $\text{م}$  =  $\text{m}$ ;  $\text{ن}$  =  $\text{n}$ ;  $\text{و}$  =  $\text{w}$ ;  $\text{ū}, \text{ō}$ ;  $\text{ه}$  =  $\text{h}$ ;  $\text{ی}$  =  $\text{y}$ ,  $\text{ī}, \text{ē}$ ;  $\text{ای}$  =  $\text{ay}$  (Arabic),  $\text{ai}$  (Persian);  $\text{آو}$  =  $\text{aw}$  (Arabic),  $\text{au}$  (Persian).

#### TREATMENT OF THE PERSIAN SOUNDS IN BENGALI. THE VOWELS.

**312.** Persian final vowels, as a rule, whether long ( $\text{ā}, \text{ī}, \text{ū}$ ), or short ( $\text{ă}$ ), normally are not dropped in Bengali, as Persian words came in mainly in the Late Middle Bengali period.

Vowels in initial syllables are also preserved without much modification. It is the vowels in the interior of words which suffer from the greatest alterations.

#### [I] SHORT VOWELS.

##### (1) Short $\text{ă}$ .

**313.** Short  $\text{ă}$  of Early Persian was probably a central vowel, with leanings towards the frontal  $[\text{a}]$ , and possibly it was  $[\text{ə}]$  when unstressed. The normal North Indian value of Persian  $\text{ă}$  is  $[\text{a}]$ , and  $[\text{ə}]$  in unstressed positions.

(i) In Bengali, Persian « ʾ » when initial became [a], written আ (see p. 314). Words with initial « hamzah » from the Arabic drop the « hamzah ». Examples: আকছার [akʃhar, † aksar] *always* (akšar < Ar. ʾakḥar); আচকান [aʃkan] *loose coat, tunic* (ackan); আঙ্গুর [aŋgur] *grape fruit* (angūr); আঞ্জীর [aŋʒir] *fig* (anjīr); আন্দাজ [andaʒ] *casting, determining, deliberating* > *approximation* (andāz; but cf. তীরন্দাজ [tirāndaʒ] *archer* < tīr-andāz); আমানৎ [amanət] *deposit* (amānat); আপশোশ, আকসোস [ap(h)ʃoʃ] *sorrow, regret* (afsōs); আবনূস [abnuʃ] *ebony* (abnūs); আবোয়াব [aboab] *heads (of taxation)* (abwāb); আমীর [amir] *prince, nobleman* (amīr); আনার [anar] *pomegranate* (anār); আলব(ত)ৎ [albət, albat] *certainly* (albattah); আল্লা [alla] *God* (Allāh); আশরফী [aʃrop(h)i] *a gold coin* (ašraf+1); আসল [aʃl, aʃol] *genuine* (asl); আসামী [aʃami] *(one in a list of) names* > *a rent-paying cultivator*; *a culprit* (asāmī); আসবাব [aʃbab] *furniture* (asbāb); আহাম্মক, আহাম্মুক [aɦammək, -muk] *fool* (aɦmaq-); আমেজ [ameʒ] *shade, faint trace, nuance* (amēz); etc., etc.

When in Arabic words the ʿ [ʔ] occurred initially, it was changed to the « hamzah » = [ʔ] in Persian; and in Bengali [ʔ > ʔa, a:] normally became আ = [a]: e.g., আক্কেল [akkel] *wisdom* > *sense* (ʔaql); আজব [aʒɔb], *strange* (ʔajab); আরজ [arɔʒ] *petition* (ʔarʒ < ʔard-); MB. আর্দাস, আর্দাশ [ardaʃ, addaʃ] *petition* (ʔarz-dast); আবা [aba] *a loose coat* (ʔabā); আরেস [aɛʃ] *comfort, luxury* (ʔayš); etc.

(ii) Persian « ʾ » in initial syllables after a consonant generally becomes [ɔ] in Bengali. This [ɔ] is unlauded to [o] through influence of a following [i] or [u] (see pp. 396-397). E.g., কদম [kɔdɔm] *foot-print, step, pace (of a horse)* (qadam); কদর [kɔdɔr] *merit, value* (qadr); কবজ, কবচ [kɔbɔʒ, kɔbɔʃ] *receipt, voucher* (qabʒ < qabʔ-); কবর [kɔbɔr] *grave* (qabr-); খবর, খপর [kɔbɔr, khɔpɔr] *news* (xabr); করার, করাড় [kɔrar, -ar] *condition* (qarār); খরগোস [kɔrɔgɔʃ] *hare* (xar-gōš); কর্জ [kɔrʒɔ] *debt, loan* (qarʒ < qarʔ); খরচ [kɔrɔʃ] *expense* (xarc); কম [kɔ:m] *less, small quantity* (kam); গজ [gɔ:ʒ] *yard (measure)* (gaz); গজল [gɔ:ʒɔl] *a metre, a kind of melody* (gazal); গরজ [gɔrɔʒ] *interest, concern* (garʒ < garʔ); গর্দা [gɔrda] *dirt, lees* (gardah); চকমকী [ʃɔkmoki]



*flint-stone* (Turkī caqmāq); জখম [ʃiʔkħəm] *wound* (zaxm); জবান [ʃiʔban] *word* (zabān); জলদ [ʃiʔləd] *quick movement in music* (jald); জমা [ʃiʔma] *gathering* (jam<sup>o</sup> < jam<sup>e</sup>); তকমা [təkma] *badge* (Turkī tamga); তক্ত [təktə] *throne* (taxt); তনখা, তংখা [tənkħa, təŋkħa] *pay, honorarium* (tanxwāh); তদারক [tədarək] *arrangement, enquiry* (tadāruk); তবলা (tabla) *small drum* (ṭablah); তরফ, তরপ [tərəp(h)] *side* (ṭarf); নকশী [nəkʃi] *carver, engraver* (naqqāš + I); নগদ [nəgəd] *cash* (naqd); নহর [nəfiʔr] *channel* (naḥr); নমাজ [nəmaʃi] *prayer* (namāz); পর্দা [pərdə] *screen* (pardah); পশম [pəʃəm] *wool* (pašm); ফতে [fəte] *victory* (fatḥ); বরকন্দাজ [bəkəndaʃi] *matchlock-man, armed attendant* (barq-andāz); বখেয়া, বকেয়া [bək(h)ea] *back-stitch, sewing with long stitches, stitched and repaired cloth* > *something not new and good* (baxyah); বজায় [bəʃiʔae] *in place, intact* (ba-jā-š); বজাত [bəʃiʔat] *vicious* (bad-šāt < -šāt-); বহর [bəfiʔr] *ocean, extent* (baḥr); মতলব [mətləb] *intention* (matlab); রফা [rəpha] *arrangement, finishing* (raf<sup>e</sup>); শহর [ʃəfiʔr] *city* (šahr); সর্দার, সদ্দার [ʃərdar, ʃəddar] *chief, headman* (sardār); হক [fiʔk] *truth* (ḥaqq); হরফ, হরপ [hərəp(h)] *letter of the alphabet* (ḥarf); etc., etc.

Cases of change of « ǎ » > [ɔ] to [o]: কম [kəm] *less*, but কমী [komi] *smallness in quantity* (kamī); কবুল [kobul] *admitting* [qabūl]; খরিদ [khorid] *buying*, খ'দেদ [kħodder] *buyer* (xarīd, xarīdār); খলীফা [kħolip(h)a] *caliph*, (slang) *a clever man* (xalīfah); গরীব [gorib] *poor* (garīb); চর্বি [ʃərbi] *grease* (carbī); জমী [ʃiʔmi] *land* (zamīn); জরী [ʃiʔori] *gold lace* (zarī); জল্দী [ʃiʔoldi] *quick* (jaldī); তফসীল [təp(h)ʃil] *details* (tafsil); তম্বী [tombi] *threatening* (tanbih, tambih); দলীল [dolil] *document* (dalīl); দস্তুর [dostur] *order, order of business* (dastūr); নজীর [noʃiʔir] *precedent* (nazīr); ফতুই [photui] *a short coat* (fatōʔī); বকরীদ [bokrid] *the Baqr-ʿĪd festival* (baqr-ʿīd); বন্দুক [bonduk] *rifle* (bandūq); হকুক [fiʔokuk] *truth, facts of a case* (ḥaqqūq); etc., etc.

Also words with initial [m], like মহল [məfiʔl] *suite in a large house, quarter* (maḥl), occasionally have [o] for [ɔ] although there is no following [i] or [u].

Post-consonantal « ǎ » in initial syllables, however, becomes আ [a] and not অ [ɔ] in some cases. We have [a] when one of two consonants

following is dropped: e.g., খাসী [khaʃi] a castrated goat (xasī, xassī); চাঁদা [čāda] subscription (candah); নাগরা, নাকরা, নাকারা [nagra, nak(a)ra] kettle-drum (naqqārah); মামুদ [mamud] a name (mahmūd-): পালোয়ান [palōan] wrestler, professional athlete (pahlwān); কাওলী [kaḍali] a tune (qawwāl+I); খাতা [khata] note-book, blank-book (xatt-hā); মাল্লা [malla] for \*মালা (mālā) sailor (mallāḥ); দালাল [dalal] broker (dallāl); তাঁবু [tābu] tent (tambū); সানক [ʃanək] china or pewter dish used by Mohammedans (sahnak); etc.

But quite a number of other words show [a] instead of [o]. These [a] words are due, either to the influence of native words of similar sound with [a]; or to post 18th century influence of Hindōstani: Hindōstāni [ʌ] now is normally represented by আ [a] in NB., but in Late MB., অ [o] would be used. [a] forms in Bengali thus are generally recent. Examples: কামান [kaman] bow > cannon (kamān); কাবাব [kabab] roast meat (kabab); বাদাম [badam] almond (badām); চাপকান [capkan] tunic (capkan); জাহাজ [ʃiʃaʃaʃi] ship (jahāz); জাহান্নাম [ʃiʃaʃiannam] hell (jahannum); তাকিয়া [takia] bolster (takyah); তামাম [tamam] all, end (tamām); তালাক, also তাল্লাক [talak, tallak] divorce (talāq); তামাদী, তাঁবাদী [tamadi, tābadi] barred by limitation (tamādī); তর, তারা [tara, tara] manner (tarah); দামামা [damama] drum (damāmah); সাজা [ʃaʃʃa] punishment (sazā); খালাস [khalaʃ] freed (xalās); মানা [mana] prohibition (mana?); কালন্দর [kalondar] mendicant (qalandar); কানাৎ [kanat] awning (qanāt); লাগাম [lagam] rein (lagām); হাবেলী, হাবলী, হাউলী [ʃiab(e)i, ʃiauli] palace (ʃawēli); হারাম [ʃiaram] forbidden (harām); হাজার [ʃiaʃʃar] thousand (hazār); হালুয়া [ʃialua] a sweetmeat, pudding (ʃalwā حلیوة); হাওয়া [ʃiaḍa] wind, air (hawā); হাবশী [ʃiabʃi] Negro, Abyssinian (ʃabʃi); বাহার [baʃiar] spring > beauty (bahār); বাহাদুর [baʃiadur] brave (bahādur); হাঙ্গামা [ʃiaŋgama], (also হেঙ্গামা [ʃiaŋgama], see p. 322) disorder, riot (hangāmah); etc., etc.

The frontal [a] pronunciation of Persian is represented by [e, æ], written এ, in some words; but these [e, æ] forms are rare, and occasionally they are brought about through influence of a contiguous [e, i]. Examples: সেলাম, স্লাম, ছলাম [selam, sælam, ʃelam] salutation\* (salām);



বেজাই beside রাজাই [reʒʒai, ræʒʒai, raʒʒai] *quilt* (razāi); ফেসাদ, ফেসাদ, beside ফাঁসাদ [phæʃad, phæ-, phā-] *difficulty, turmoil, troubled situation* (fasād); ফেরেব [phereb] *deceit* (farēb); মেরামৎ [mæramət] *repairs* (marammat); জেরা [ʒɛra] *a little* (žarā < ʒarā?); রেজা [reʒʒa] *a name* (razā < radā?); কেরামৎ [kæramət] *miracle* (karāmat); সেরেস্তা [ʃeresta] *court office* (sarrištah); হেস্তনেস্ত [hestonesto] *final settlement* (hast-nīst); নেমাজ beside নমাজ, নামাজ [nemɑʒi, næməʒi, nɑməʒi, namaʒi] *prayers* (namāz); নেকরা [nækra] *trickishness, coquetry* (naxrah); জেনানা [ʒɛnana] beside জানানা [ʒɛʒnana] *women's apartments, women* (zanānah); MB. একবর beside NB. আকবর [ekəbbər, akbər] *Akbar* (Akbar: cf. the Portuguese transcription of the Moghal Emperor's name, « Equebar »); এজিদ [eʒʒid] *a name, Yazīd* (Yazīd).

« ä- » in initial syllables also occurs as [i, e]: e.g., কিখাব [kiŋkhab] *brocade* (kam-xwāb); কিল্লা > কেল্লা [killɑ > kella] *fort* (qalʿah); নেমক [nemək] *salt* (namak); মিহি [mihi] *fine* (mahīn); শিরপেঁচ [ʃirpēč] *crest worn on turban* (sar-pēč); ইসবগুল [iʃəbgul] *seed of the fleawort* (asb-gūl, isb-gūl); রিপু [ripu] *sewing* (rafū); etc. Also as [u, o] in হুজুর [huʒʒur] *presence* (hāzūr < hūdūr); পুলাও > পোলাও [pulaɔ, polɑɔ] *dish of rice and meat with butter* (Early Pers. palāw, Modern Pers. [phila:v]); and in a few other words, which thus show a special modification of the « ä » of Persian in India. Cf. also রোমজান [romʒʒan], beside রমজান [romʒʒan] *the Ramadan month* (ramazān < -dān); বোগদাদ [bogdad] *Bagdad* (Bagdād); মকবুল [mokbul] *a name* (maqbul); কোমর [komor] *waist* (kamar), etc., which show [o] in NB.

(iii) Interior « ä » normally becomes [ɔ] in Bengali, and owing to the phonetic habits of Bengali (see p. 400), this [ɔ] is liable to be changed to [o]: ওকালৎ [okalət] *advocacy* (wakālat); বগল [bɔgəl] *arm-pit* (baḡal); কমর > কোমর [kəmər > komor] *waist* (kamar); মত্বরা [məʃkərə] *joke* (masxarah); রসদ [rəʃd] *supplies* (rasad); মৌলবী [moulobi] *Persian and Arabic scholar* (maulavi); হলাফ, -প [hələp(h)] *oath* (hālaf); বিশবৎ [riʃbət] *bribe* (rišwat); কাগজ [kagaʒi] *paper* (kāgaʒ), etc., etc. But in a few instances, through the influence of a preceding [σ], we find [a] rather than the expected [ɔ] in the interior of words: e.g., আচকান [ačkan] *loose*

*tunic* (ackan); আলবাৎ beside আলবৎ [albat, albat] *certainly* (albattah); আমদানী [amdani] *importation* (āmadani); রপ্তানী [rəptani] *export* (raftani), on the model of the preceding word.

◀ ä ▶ connected with [ʳ] figures as [a] in the interior of words in Bengali: দাবী [dabi] *claim* (daʳwi); সাদী [ʃadi] *a name* (the celebrated Persian poet) (Saʳdi); নাল [na:l] *horse-shoe* (naʳl); রাল [ra:l] *ruby* (laʳl); কাবা [kaba] *temple at Mecca* (kaʳbah); বাদ [ba:d] *subtraction; after* (= post position) (baʳd); জাল [ʃʒa:l] *forgery* (jaʳl); তাজিরা [taʃʒira] *shrine* (taʳzyah); তাজ্জব [taʃʒʒab] *strange* (taʳjjab); তালিম [talim] *instruction* (taʳlim); মানে [ma:ne] *meaning* (maʳani); তালিকা [talika] *list* (taʳliqah); etc., etc.

Influence of ◀ y ▶ changes ◀ ä ▶ to [e]: কায়ম [kaʳem] *established, fixed* (qāyam, qāʳim); আয়েন্দা [aʳen-da] *coming* (āyandah, āʳindah); কেফায়েৎ [kephaʳet] *sufficiency, profit* (kifāyat), etc.; in ইহুদী [ifiudi] *Jew* (yahūdi), we have [i] for ◀ ya ▶. Initial ◀ wä- ▶ similarly becomes [o, ə, u]: e.g., ওকত [oktə] *time* (waqt); অজ্ঞেদ [əʃʒed] *a name* (Wazid); উকীল [ukil] *pleader* (wakil), etc. ◀ ä ▶ in connection with [xʷ] changes to [u, o] in Bengali: e.g., আখুন্সী [akhunʃʒi] *a Mohammedan title = teacher* (āxʷand-jī).

A preceding [i, e, ə], through Vowel Harmony, modifies ◀ ä ▶ to [e] (cf. p. 400): সেকেন্দর [ʃekendər] *a name*, also সিকন্দর [ʃikəndər] (Sikandar = Alexander); রেবেনচিনি [rebənʃʒini] beside রেবনচিনি [rebənʃʒini] (*China*) *rhubarb* (rēvand-ʃ-ʃini), etc. Through Vowel Harmony, we have change of interior ◀ ä ▶ to [u]: e.g., মৌলুবী beside মৌলবি [moulubi, moulobi, mouləbi] *Mohammedan scholar* (maulavi) (see p. 392); হুনর [hunur] *art, cleverness* (hunar); চাকুরী beside চাকরী [ʃʒakuri, ʃʒak(ə)ri] *service* (cākarī); মুহুরী [mufuri] *clerk* (muḥarrir); উজুবুক [uʃʒbuk, uzbuk] *idiot, fool* (uzbak); মোকরুরী মৌরুশী [mokruri mouruʃi] *permanent and hereditary tenure* (muqarrarī, mauruʃi < mawrūθ-); মুরুব্বী [murubbi] *patron* (murabbi); মুছুদ্দী [muceʃhuddi] *accountant, controller of a firm* (mutasaddi); etc., etc. In তাগুৎ, তাউৎ [taɡut, taʳut] *strength*, beside তাকৎ [təkət] (tāqat), and MB. দগোল্লাদ [ʃʒogollad], সবলাত [ʃʒokolat] *a costly stuff* (saqalāt), we have [u, o] for [ə] in the place of ◀ ä ▶.

There is loss of interior ◀ ä- ▶ through the dominant initial stress of Bengali: see below, under 'Dropping of Vowels.'



(iv) Final [a] of Persian, written with the « hā-i-muxtafi » (i.e. the imperceptible final « h »), becomes আ [a] in Bengali: e.g., বান্দা [banda] *slave* (bandah); কিনারা [kinara] *edge* (kinārah); খাজ(া)না [khaʃʃ(a)na] *tax* (xazānah); খলীফা [kholip(h)a] *Caliph*; a *clever man* (xalifah); বেচারা [beʃʃara] *pitiable person* (bēcārah); খাজা [khaʃʃa] *a title* (xwājah); etc., etc. This « hā-i-muxtafi » frequently represents the Old Arabic feminine forms in ʾ (-at-, -ath-?). Persian « -ah, » [a] > [a] is the normal change in Bengali which is found by the score—no other change being admitted.

Final « ʾ, -aʾ » of Arabic words, pronounced [aʔ] in Persian, normally becomes [a] in Bengali: e.g., জমা [ʃʃōma] *collection* (jamʾ); মানা [mana] *prohibition* (manʾ); মশাল [moʃal] *torch* (mašʾal); তাবিজ [tabiʃʃ] *amulet* (taʾwiʃʃ), etc.

Apocope of « -ā »: see below.

(2) Short « ī, ʾ » of Persian (= kasrah, zēr).

314. The « kasrah » in Early Persian, as in Modern Persian, had the sounds of both short [i] and short [e]. Modern Hindōstānī prefers the [i] sound. In Modern Bengali, there is occasionally an attempt to bring in the close sound through Hindōstānī influence, but in the bulk of the words naturalised, we find [e]. Examples: এজার, ইজার, ইজের [eʃʃar, iʃʃar, iʃʃer] *trousers* (izār); ইজারা, এজারা [iʃʃara, eʃʃara] *lease* (ijārah); ইজ্জৎ [iʃʃōt] *honour* (ʾizzat); এনাম, ইনাম [enam, inam] *present, gift* (inām); এনসāফ, ইনসāফ [enʃaph, inʃaph] *justice* (insāf); ইমাম [imam] *religious guide* (imām); এরাদা, ইরাদা [erada, irada] *desire* (irādah); এলাহি [elahi] *God* (ilāhī); ইল্লৎ [illat] *filth* (ʾillat); ইশাদী [iʃadi] *witness* (ishādī); ইশারা [iʃara] *beckoning* (išārah); এস্তেমরারী [estemrari] *permanent* (istimrārī); এস্তাফা, ইস্তাফা [estāpha, istāpha] *resignation* (istaʾfā); নিশান [niʃan] *banner* (nišān); মিছিল [miʃhil] *procession* (miʃl < miθl); জিঞ্জির [ʃʃinʃʃir] *chain* (jinzir); কিস্তী [kisti] *boat* (kištī); কেতা [keta] *section, measure* (qitʾah); কিশমিশ্ [kiʃmiʃ] *dried raisins* (kišmiš); নিকা(হ) [nika(ho)] *marriage* (nikāh), also নেক(হ) [neka(ho)]; এক্তিয়ার > এক্তার [ektiar, ektar] *command, power* (ixtiyār); এজলাস [eʃʃilās] *court* (ijlās); একরার [ekrar] *agreement* (iqrār);

এজাহার, এজেহার [eʃʒaɦar, eʃʒeɦar] *deposition* (izahār); এতেলা, এতেলা [et(t)ela] *news, information* (italā°); এলাকা [elaka] *jurisdiction* (°ilāqah); কেতাব [ketab] *book* (kitāb); কেছা [keccʰa] *story > scandal* (qissab); খেলাৎ [khelat] *present, robe of honour* (xil°at); খেসারৎ [kheʃarot] *damages* (xisārat); জেলা [ʒila] *district* (ʒilāh < ʒilāh); দেমাগ, -ক [demag, -k] *brain, intellect, pride* (dimāg); পেয়ালা [peala] *cup* (piyālah); বেলোয়ারী [beloari] *crystal, glass* (billauri); মেজরাব, -প [meʃʒrab, -p] *pletrum* (mizrāb < midrāb); স্রেফ, সেরেফ [sre:ph, ʃerep(h)] *unmixed, only, merely* (sirf); হেঁদু [hēdu] *Hindu* (hēndū), beside হিত্ত, হিন্দু [ɦidu, ɦindu] (hindū); হেনা [ɦena] *the Henna plant* (ɦinā); চেহারা, চেহেরা [ʃehara, ʃehera] *portrait, figure* (cihrah); মেহেরবাণী [meherbani] *kindness* (mihrbāni); ভিত্তি [bhisti] *water-carrier* (bibišti); etc., etc.

ওয়াকিফ, ওয়াকিব [oakiph, -b] *knowing* (wāqif); ওয়ারিস [oariʃ] *heir* (wāriš < wāriθ); কুর্নিশ [kurniʃ] *salutation* (kūrniš); খাতির [khatir] *regard, respect* (xātir); তারিখ [tarikʰ] *date* (tārix); †হারেছ [ɦares] *a name* (ɦāriθ); সালিস [ʃaliʃ] *third party, arbitrator* (šāliš < θāliθ); দাখিল [daxil] *entered* (dāxil); নাজির [naʒir] *supervisor* (nāzir); নালিশ [naliʃ] *complaint* (nāliš); ফাজিল [phaʒil] *excess, superficial, impertinent* (fāzil < fādil); হাজির [ɦaʒir] *present* (adj.) (ɦāzir < ɦādir); কাদের [kader] *a name* (qādir); মোজাহেম [moʒaɦem] *strict* (muzāhim); আলেম [alem] *scholar* (°ālim); etc., etc.

The « kasrah-i-izāfat » = [i, e], is rendered by [e]: শাহে রুম [ʃaɦerum] *Emperor of Turkey* (šāh-i-Rūm), তক্তে তাউস [takte tauʃ] *peacock-throne* (taxt-i-tāūs); সোবে সাদেক [ʃobe ʃadek] *true dawn, early dawn* (subh-i-sādiq), etc., etc.

In a few cases, we find [ə] for the expected [e] or [i]: e.g., সাজশ [ʃaʒʃəʃ] *collusion* (sāziš); নাবালক [nabalək] *minor* (nābālig); সনাক্ত [ʃonakto] *identification* (šināxt); মৌসিম, মৌসুম, মরসুম [mouʃim, mouʃum, morʃum] *season* (mausim), etc. Cf. also সুপারিস [ʃupariʃ] *recommendation* (sifāriš), with [u] for « i », and আতর [atər] *otto* (°iṭr), with [a] for « \*ā < i ». In জবাই [ʒɔbai] beside জবে, জবেহ [ʒɔbe(ɦɔ)] *killing an animal by cutting its throat* (jabih), we find change of the « kasrah » to [ai].

For Aphæresis, Syncope and Apocope of [i, e], see *infra*: also for Anaptyxis of [i, e] in Bengali.



(3) Short « ũ, ǒ » of Persian (=zammah, pēš).

315. The remarks made with reference to « i, ǝ » of Persian are also applicable with regard to « ũ, ǒ ». Bengali prefers the [o] sound, but [u] is also known: but unlike the [i, e] forms, [o] and [u] are kept apart, the same word not ordinarily appearing with both the vowels.

MB. উরুদু [urudu] *camp* (urdū, Turkī ordu); কুদরৎ [kudrot] *power* (qudrat); কুলুপ [kulup] *pad-lock* (Indian Persian qulf < qufl); খুঁকি [khuŋki] *dry path, dry chaff* (xušk-); গুজরান [guʃʃran] *passing (as time)* (guḡrān); জুদা [ʃʃuda] *separate* (judā); জুলুম [ʃʃulum] *tyranny* (zulm); জুলপী [ʃʃulpi] *hanging side-locks* (zulf); তুরুক [turuk] *Turk, Mohammedan* (turk); দুনিয়া [dunia] *world* (dunyā); দুশমন [duʃmən] *foe* (dušman); দুধা [dumba] *sheep* (dumbah); ফুরসৎ [phurʃət] *leisure* (fursat); বুরুজ [buruʃʃ] *bastion* (burj); বুলবুল [bulbul] *nightingale*; মুছদুদী [mucʃʃuddi] *accountant, partner of firm* (mutasaddi); মর্দাফরাস [murdəphərəʃ] *remover of corpses* (murdah + farōš); মুন্সেফ [munʃep(h)] *a judicial officer* (munsif); মুলুক, মুলুক [mu(l)luk] *country* (mulk); রুজু [ruʃʃu] *filing of a plaint* (rujūʃ); সুরকি [ʃʃurki] *red > brick-dust* (surx-); হুকুম [ʃʃukum] *command* (hukm); হালিয়া [ʃʃulia] *description of man wanted* (hūlyah);

ওমরা, ওমরাহ [omra(ʃi)ʃ] *noblemen* (umrāʃ); ওস্তাদ [ostad] *master, especially in the arts* (ustād, ǝstād); ওরফে [or(ʃ)phe] *alias* (ʃurf); ওমার [omar] *a name* (ʃumār); ওসমান [oʃʃman] also † ওছমান [osman] *a name* (ʃuʃmān < ʃuḡmān); ক্রোক [kro:k] *attach (property)* (Turkī qurq); খোদ [kho:d] *self* (xʃud); খোদা [khoda] *God* (xudā); খোলাসা [kholəʃʃa] *clear* (xulāsah); গোনা [gona] *sin* (gunāh); গোসা, গোসা [goʃʃa, goʃʃa] *anger, fit of sulks, dudgeon* (gussah); গোলাপ [golap] *rose < rose-water* (gul-āb); চোস্ত [ʃʃostə] *quick, well-set, elegant* (eust); জোলাপ [ʃʃolap] *a purgative* (julāb); জোব্বা [ʃʃjobba] *a loose garment* (jubbah); তোকা [tophə] *splendid, beautiful* (tuḡfah); নোক্তা [nokta] *a dot* (nuqtah); নোকসান, লোকসান [nokʃan, lokʃan] *loss* (nuqʃān); পোস্তা [posta] *plinth* (puʃtah); বৌচকা [bōeka] *bundle* (Turkī bugeah); মোহম্মদ [mohomməd] (Muḡammad); মোকদ্দমা [mokəddəma] also মকদ্দমা [məkəddəma] *lawsuit* (muqaddamah); মোল্লা [molla] *Mohammedan priest* (Perso-Turkī mullā)

< Ar. mawlā); মোক্ষম [mokkhəm] *strengthened, secure, unambiguous* (muḥkam); মোগল [mogol] *Mogul* (mugal); মোরগ [morog] *fowl, cock* (murg).

বুজুর্ক [buʒʒurk] *impostor, miracle-worker* (buzurg *great*); নাখোদা [nəkhodə] *captain of a ship > a Mohammedan trading class* (nāxudā); কসুর [koʃur] *fault* (qasur < qusur); চাবুক [ʃəbuk] *whip* (cābuk).

In a few words, we find অ, আ [ɔ, a] for « ũ, ǒ » of Persian : গাওরা [gəʊ] *witness* (< gāwāh = guwāh); মক্‌সল [məʃəʃol] *country district* (mufassal); নবাব [nəbāb] *Nabob, prince, ruler* (nawāb, nawwāb < nuwwāb); সাব্দ [ʃəbud] as in সাক্ষী সাব্দ [ʃəkkhi ʃəbud] *witnesses* (šubut < θubut); মনিব [monib < \*məuib] *beside মুনিব [munib] master* (munīb); মজুর [məʒʒur < \*məʒʒur] *labourer* (mazdūr < muzdūr); মকদ্দমা *above*; অশান [əʃəno] *to cleave to (as a fault)* (\*urs); তদারক [tədərək] *enquiry* (tadāruk); তগল্লব [təgəlləb] *cheating, forgery* (taḡallub); সহরং *beside সোহরং [ʃəʃərət, ʃəʃərət] publishing (as by beat of drum)* (šuhrat); সহবৎ [ʃəʃəbət] *companionship* (suḥbat); etc.

Syncope of « ũ, ǒ »: see *infra*. Anaptyxis of [u, o] in Bengali: see also *infra*.

## [II] LONG VOWELS.

The quantity of Persian has entirely been modified according to Bengali phonetic habits. (See 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' §§ 53ff.)

### (1) Long « ā ».

316. Persian « ā » normally occurs as [a] in Bengali, initially, medially and finally: e.g., আইন [ain] *law* (āʔin); আদব [adəb] *politeness* (ādab); আদমী [admi] *man* (ādamī); আবকারী [ābkāri] *excise, relating to intoxicants* (ābkāri); আম [a:m] *public* (\*ām); আবরু [abru] *honour* (āb-rū); আল্লা [alla], এলাহি [elahi] *God* (allāh, ilāhī); কানুন [kanun] *law, custom* (qānūn); কাগজ [kəgəʒʒi] *paper* (kāḡəʒ); কাকের [kapher] *infidel* (kāfir); কেতাব [ketəb] *book* (kitāb); কিনারা [kinara] *edge* (kinārah); খারাপ [kharap] *bad* (xarāb); খোদা [khodə] *God* (xudā); খোন্দকার



[khondakar, khon(d)kar] *reader* > *Mohammedan surname* (xwand-kār); গেরেস্তার, গ্রেপ্তার [g(e)reptar] *arrest* (giriftār); জবান [ʒɔʒɔʒɔn] *word (of honour)* (zabān); জায়গা [ʒɔʒɔʒɔga] *place* (jāʒgāh); জবাব [ʒɔʒɔʒɔbɔb] *reply* (jawāb); জমায়েৎ [ʒɔʒɔʒɔməʒet] *gathering* (jamāʒat); জাফরান [ʒɔʒɔʒɔphɔrɔn] *saffron* (zaʒfrān); তাল্লাস [tallaʒ] *search* (talāš); তাকাদা, তাগাদা [takada, tagada] *call or demand for payment* (taqāʒdā); তাবে [tābe] *dependent, inferior to (in grade)* (tābiʒ); তাল্লা [talla] as in আল্লাতাল্লা [alla-talla] *God is exalted the Exalted One* (taʒālā), also তাল্লা [taalla, taʒalla]; দারোগা [daroga] *superintendent of police* (dārōgah); দুনিয়া [dunia] *the world* (dunyā); নাকচ [naʒkocʒ] *(to make) defective, to cancel* (nāqis); কোরান [koran] *the Koran* (qurʒān); বাজু [baʒʒu] *arm* (bāzū); মাত [ma:t] *dead, finished* (māt < maʒata he died); মাল্লা [malla] *sailors* (mallāh); শয়তান [ʒɔʒetan] *devil, Satan* (šaitān); হাজার [haʒʒar] *thousand* (hazār); হালাল [halal] *lawful, properly killed (animal, for meat)* (halāl); হালুয়া [halua] *sweetmeat, pudding* (halwā); হিজরা the [hiʒʒra] *Hegira era* (hijrā); etc., etc.

Change of « ā » > [a] through Umlant and Vowel-Harmony to [e, o, ɔ, i, u] is found in a few instances: ইজের [iʒʒer] *trousers* (izār); ইশেরা [iʒʒera] *gesture* (išārah); বিলাত > বিলেত [bilat > bilet] *Europe* (wilāyat); হিসাব-কিতাব > হিসেব-কিতাব [hiʒʒab-kitab > hiʒʒeb-kiteb] *books and accounts* (hisāb, kitāb); নিশেন [niʒʒen] *banner* (nišān); নিকে [nike] *wedding* (nikāh); খ'দেদ [khodder] *buyer* (\*khāirdār < xarīdār); তৈয়ার > ত'য়ের [toiar > toer] *prepared, ready* (taiyār); দিস্তে [diste] *quire* (distah); খোলসা [kholoʒa] *clear* (xulāṣah); গুনোগার [gunogar] *compensation* (gunāh-gār); গোমস্তা [gomosta] *agent, rent-collector* (gumāstah); জুদো [ʒɔʒudo] *separate* (judā); মুরোদ [murod] *power* (murād); তুরপোন, তুরপুন [turpon, turpun] *awl* (turfān); হিসাবী > হিসেবী > হিসিবি [hiʒʒabi > hiʒʒebi > hiʒʒibi] *clever at accounts, methodical* (hisābi); বিলাতী > বিলতি [bilati > biliti] *foreign, European* (wilāyatī); ফিরঙ্গী > ফিরঙ্গী > ফিরেঙ্গী > ফিরিঙ্গি [phirɔngi > phirɔngi > phirengi > phiringi] *European, Eurasian* (firangi, firāngī); etc.

In তরফা [tɔɔpɔɔ] *nautch girl* (tāʒifah), we have change of the group « -āʒi- » to [ɔɔ], [œ]; so পয়মাল [pɔɔemal] *destroyed, crushed* (= pāʒi-māl). Cf. হরকরা [hɔɔrkɔɔra] *peon, post-boy* (harkārah); বরগী [bɔɔrgi < \*bɔɔrgi] *a Maratha*

*raider* (bārgīr *light cavalry*); and ফলসা [phəlʃa] a *fruit* (fālsah), through influence of ফল < phālʃ >.

Persian < yā, iā, ēā > in the initial syllable after a consonant become [æ, æ] in Bengali, in a number of words (see pp. 412, 421): e.g., পেয়লা, প্যালা [peɾɔ, pæɾɔ, pæɾɔ] *cup* (pyālā); পেয়াদা, প্যাদা [peɾɔɔ, pæɾɔɔ, pæɾɔɔ] *footman* (piyādah); জেয়াদা (ʃteɾɔɔ, ʃtæɾɔɔ) *much* (ziyādah); দেয়াল [deɾɔl, dæ:l] *wall*, beside দেওয়াল [deɾɔl] (dīwāl > \*diāl); পেঁয়াজ, প্যাঁজ [pæɾʃtʃi, pæ:ʃtʃi] *onions* (pyāz); মেয়াদ, ম্যাড [meɾɔd, mæ:d] *term, imprisonment* (miyād); খেয়াল, খ্যাল [kheɾɔl, khæ:l] *wish* (xyāl); বেয়ারাম, ব্যারাম, ব্যায়রাম [beɾɔɾɔm, bæ(e)ɾɔɾɔm] *disease, illness* (bē-ārām); ঝাকত [ʃækɔt] *impelling, urging* (siyāqat); etc.

For Syncope of Persian < ā >, and Anaptyxis of [a] in Bengali in Persian loan-words, see below.

(2) Persian < I, ē >.

317. The < māʾrūf > and < majhūl > pronunciations of ۛ, which obtained in Early Persian, are both found in Bengali, as [i, e]. Initial or medial [ʔ] is ignored.

< I > > ই, ঐ [i]: ইমান [iman] *faith, honesty* (Imān); ইরান [iran] *Īrān, Persia* (Irān < ērān); ইদ, ঐদ [i:d] *the 'Īd festival* (ʔid); ইসা [iʃɔ] *Jesus* (ʔisā); মৌজা, মিরজা, মূজা [mirʃtʃɔ, mriʃtʃɔ] *Prince, Mirzā* (mirzāh); আমীর [amīr] *prince* (amīr); চৌজ [tʃi:ʃtʃi] *article* (tʃ); জিন [ʃtʃi:n] *saddle* (zIn); তীর [ti:r] *arrow* (tīr); পীল, পিলখানা [pi:l, pilkhana] *elephant, elephant-stable* (pīl, pīl-xānab); বীমা [bimɔ] *insurance* (bīmah); ফিরোজা [phiroʃtʃɔ] *light blue colour* (firōzah); শিক [ʃi:k] *iron spit* (sīx); শিরনী, শিনি [ʃirni, ʃinni] *sweets, milk etc. (offered to a saint)* (ʃīrni, ʃīrni); অছি [oʃhi] *testator* (wasī); আইন [ain] *law* (āʔin); আবুখ্বী [akhunʃtʃi] *a reader, a teacher* (āxwāndjī); বাজী [baʃtʃi] *sport > trick, magic* (bāzī); আমিন [amin] *survey-officer < a trusted one* (amīn); কশিদা [koʃidɔ] *a kind of embroidery* (kaʃidah); কাজী [kaʃtʃi] *a Mohammedan judge* (kāʃī < qāʃī); ঠুখবীস [khobiʃ] *evil spirit* (xabīs < xabīθ); জায়গীর [ʃtʃægīr] *land granted for service* (jāʔgīr); তজবীজ [toʃtʃibiʃtʃi] *investigation* (tajwīz); তব্বিত [tobit]



*constitution (of the body)* (ḥabī'at); তসবীর [toḥbir] *picture* (taswir); তবীল [tobil] *funds, treasury, cash* (taḥwil); তামিল [tamil] *execution of an order* (ta'mil); নজদিক, নজিক, নগিচ [noḥḍidik, noḥḍik, nogicḥ] *near* (nazdik); হকীম [ḥokim] *doctor practising the Arabic system of medicine* (ḥakim); বকশীশ [bokḥiḥ] *present* (baxšiš); মুনিব, মনিব [munib, monib] *master* (munib); জমী [ḥimmi] *land* (zamīn); শরীক [ḥorik] *sharer* (ḥarik); শিরিশ, শিরেশ [ḥiriḥ, ḥireḥ] *glue* (sirīḥ, sirēḥ); etc., etc.

« ē » > এ [e]: আমেজ [ameḥḥ] *shade, faint trace, nuance* (amēz); আন্দেশা [andeḥā] *reflexion, concern* (andēshā); ইংরেজ [ingreḥḥ] *English* (ingrēz, angrēz, Arabic inklis-); জেব [ḥe:b] *pocket* (jēb < Ar. jayb); তেজ [te:ḥḥ] *sharp, quick* (tēz); শের [ḥer] *lion* (ḥēr); দরবেশ [darbeḥ] *Dervish, Mohammedan religious mendicant* (darwēḥ); পেশ [pe:ḥ] *presenting (as a suit in law)* (pēḥ); দস্তাবেজ [dastabeḥḥ] *papers (in a law-suit)* (dastāwēz); দায়ের [daer] *pending (law-suit)* (dāyēr); দেওয়ান [deoaḥ] *minister, manager, office master* (dēwān), also দেয়ান [dean]; নেক [ne:k] *good* (nēk); পেশা [peḥā] *trade, occupation* (pēshā); কেরেব [phereb] *deceiving* (farēb); বে [be:] *prefix of negation* (bē-); বেশ [be:ḥ] *well, good* (bēḥ); রেশম [reḥom] *silk* (rēshā); সফেদ [ḥophed] *white* (safēd); হাবেলী [ḥabeli] *mansion, palace* (ḥawēli); হামেশা [ḥameḥā] *always* (hamēshā); সরখেল [ḥorkhel] *commander of a troop* (sar-xēl); etc., etc.

In ইংরাজ [ingraḥḥ], as a variant of ইংরেজ [ingreḥḥ], we have an irregular change of « ē » to [a]: cf. a phrase like ইংরাজ-রাজ [ingraḥḥ-rajḥ] *the English rulers*, in which the jingle is responsible for the change in the vowel.

For loss of Persian « ī, ē », and insertion of Bengali [i, e] in Persian loan-words, see below.

### (3) Persian « ū, ū ».

318. Like ۛ, Early Persian ۛ had two sounds, which are both preserved in Bengali, as [u, o]. Examples:

Persian « ū » > Bengali উ, উ [u]: আবনূশ [abluḥ] *ebony* (abnūs); ইউনানী [iunani] *Greek > Arabic (system of medicine)* (yūnāni); ওজু [oḥu]

*ablutions* (wazū > wuḍu); উর্দু [ardu] the *Urdū language* (urdū); ইহুদী [ihudi] *Jew* (yahūdi); কানুন [kanun] *law, customs* (qānūn); কুরনিশ [kurniʃ] *bow* (*before a prince*) (kūrniš); খুশী [khuʃi] *joy* (xūš + i); খুব [khu:b] *much* (xūb); খুন [khu:n] *blood, murder* (xūn *blood*); তরাজু [təraʒu] *scales* (tarāzū); ছরবীন [durbin] *telescope* (dūr-bin); নূর [nu:r] *light* (nūr); রুমাল [rumal] *handkerchief* (rū-māl); সূরৎ [ʃurət] *beauty* (sūrat); শুরু, শুরু [ʃuru] *beginning* (ʃurū°); বারুদ [barud] *gunpowder* (bārūd); সূদ [ʃu:d] *interest on money* (sūd); সূরুয়া, সুরুয়া [ʃurua] *broth, soup* (sūrwā < sōrbā, sūrbā); হাজুর [ɦuʒur] *presence > lordship* (ɦazūr > ɦuḍur); হরী [ɦuri] *fairly, heavenly nymph* (ɦūrī); etc.

Persian « ɔ » > Bengali ɔ [o]: কোপ্তা [kopta] *pounded meat-balls in soup* (kōftah); আফশোশ [ap(h)ʃoʃ] *grief* (afsōs); কানুনগো [kanun-go] *registrar of a district* (qānūn-gō); খোশামদ, -মোদ [khoʃaməd, -mod] *flattery, fawning* (xōš-āmad); গোস্ত [gostə] *meat* (gōšt); গোর [go:r] *grave* (gōr); গোল [go:l] *crowd, noise* (gōl); জোর [ʒo:r] *strength* (zōr); তোক [to:k] *iron collar (for punishment)* (tōq < tawq); তোতা [tota] *parrot* (tōtā); তোপ [to:p] *cannon* (tōp); তোবা [toba] *repentance* (tōbah); তোষক [toʃək] *mattress* (tōšak); দারোগা [daroga] *superintendent (of Police)* (dārōgah); দোকান [dokan] *shop* (dōkān < dukān); পোদদার [poddar] *cashier, money-changer* (fōtāh-dār); বন্দোবস্ত [bāndobəstə] *arrangement* (bandōbast, band-u-bast); মোম [mo:m] *wax* (mōm); বোয়, বো, বর [boe, bo:, bœ] *smell, perfume* (bōy); রোশনৌ [roʃni] *illumination* (rōšanī); রোজ [ro:ʒi] *day* (rōz); শোর [ʃo:r] *din, tumult* (šōr); etc., etc.

[ɔ] and [o] being interchangeable, in a few cases we have [ɔ] for [o] in Bengali: e.g., বর = বো [bœ, bo:] *above*; লবান [loban] *gum, incense* (lōbān < Ar. lubān); মৌরশ [mourəʃ, mouroʃ] *hereditary* (maurūs < mawrūθ); বন্দবস্ত [bāndobəstə] *arrangement* (bandōbast, band-u-bast); etc.

For changes of a general nature of « ū, ɔ », see below.

### [III] THE DIPHTHONGS.

#### (1) Persian « ai ».

319. Persian « ai » becomes [oi] in Bengali when the next syllable has [i, j] in the original form: e.g., কৈফিয়ৎ [koiphiet] *explanation*



(kaifiyat); গৈবী [goibi] *secret* (gaibi), but cf. গায়েব [gaeb] *secret* (gaib); তৈয়ার, তয়ের [toiar, toer] *ready, prepared* (taiyār); সৈয়দ [ʃoiəd] *a descendant of the Prophet of Arabia, an Arab Mohammedan, a class among Mohammedans* (saiyad); etc.

In other cases it becomes [œ], [ai, æ], or [e]: e.g., খয়রাত [khærat] *charity* (xairāt); খয়ের খাঁ [khæerkhā] *well-wishing, loyal* (xair-xwāh); ময়দা [mæda] *flour* (maidah); ময়দান [mædan] *field* (maidān); কয়েদ [kœd] *imprisonment* (qaid); বয়েত [bœt] *verse, couplet* (bait); শয়তান [ʃœtan] *Satan* (šaitān); ফয়সালা [phœʃala] *agreement* (faisalah); বগয়রা [bœgœra] *and the rest* (waḡairah); ছয়লাপ [çhœlap] *inundation* (sail-āb); হয়রান [fiœran] *worried* (hairān); etc.

গায়েব [gaeb] *hidden* (gaib); পায়খানা, পাইখানা [paekhana, paikhana] *water-closet* (pai-xānah); পাইকার, পাইকের [paikar, paiker] *wholesale dealer* (paikār); বায়না [baena] *advance money* (bai-ānah); etc.

আলেকোম [alekom] as in সেলাম আলেকোম *the Mohammedan salutation* = *peace be with you* (salām ʿalaikum); পয়গম্বর [pœgœmbœr], beside পেগম্বর [pegœmbœr, pœgœmbœr] *prophet* (paigambar); শেখ [ʃœ:kh] *a title* (šaix); etc., etc.

Instances also occur which show the transformation of « ai » to [ɔ] and [a], by syncope of the second element: e.g., গায়েব [gaeb] *hidden*, also গাপ [ga:p] (gaib); কাঁচী [kæççi] *scissors* (Turkī qainci); বেগর [begœr] *without* (bi-gair). The case of তোঁকমারী [tokmari] *the seed of ocimum pilosum* (tuxm-i-raihān) is due partly to folk-etymology (cf. মার « mār » *kill*), through intermediate forms like [\*tokmerean, \*tokmareā].

## (2) Persian « au ».

320. Persian « au » commonly occurs as [ou] in Bengali: it is also found as [ɔo], and occasionally also as [au, ao] and [o]: e.g., তৌজি [touʃçi] *a description roll* (taujiḥ); দৌলৎ [doulət] *prosperity* (daulat); ফৌজ [phouʃçi] *troops* (fauj); চৌবাচ্চা [çhœubæççæ] *tank, cistern* (caubaccāh); ফৌৎ [phœut] *death* (faut); মৌসম [mouʃœm] *season* (mausim); মৌজা [mouʃçi] *area, district* (mauza<sup>o</sup> < mawḏa<sup>o</sup>-); মৌজুদ, মৌজুদ, মজুদ [mouʃçiud,

moḥḥud] *existing, present* (maujūd); মৌরুশী [mouruḥi] *inherited* (maurūḥi < maurūḥi); মৌলবী, মৌলভী [moulobi, moulovi] *Mohammedan scholar* (maulavi); রোগন, রোগন, রোগন [rouḡan, rōḡan, roḡan] *fat, polish* (raugan); রৌশন in রৌশন চৌকী [rouḥon ḥouki] *Indian musical band* (rauḥan-); সঙগাং [ḥōḡat] *present* (sauḡāt); সৌদা, সৌদা [ḥouda, ḥōda] *purchase, articles* (saudāḥ); হাওদা [ḥaoda] *howdah* (haudah); নৌবং, নৌবং [noubat, nōobat], also নহবং [naḥobat < nōobat, nōobat] *Indian musical band* (naubat); হৌজ [ḥouḥḥi] *cistern* (ḥauḥ < ḥawḥ-); সৌখীন [ḥoukhin] *desirous (of fancy things), amateur, fancy (articles)* (ḥauḥin); ঔরঞ্জিব, আওরঞ্জিব, অওরঞ্জিব, etc. [ourḡḥib, aorḡ-, orḡ-], also আরঞ্জিব [arḡḥib] *a name = the emperor Aurangzēb*; etc., etc.

In a few words, « au » occurs as [ɔ] in Bengali: e.g., স্বখ [ḥō:k(h)] *pleasure (in fine things), good taste, luxury* (ḥauḥ); মজুদ [moḥḥud < moḥḥud], see above; জহর [ḥiḡḥar] *precious stones, gems* (jauhar); নকর, নৌকর, নৌকর [nəkər, noukər, nokər] *servant* (naukar); etc. This modification is based on the Hindōstānī value of « au » as [ɔ, ɔ:].

Bengali বেলোয়ারী [beloari] *made of crystal or glass* (billaurī) is based on an Indianised form « \*bilawarī ».

#### [IV] CHANGES OF A GENERAL CHARACTER.

##### (1) Combination of Two Separate Vowels.

321. Two distinct vowels or syllables separated from each other by a semivowel or the « hamzah » in Persian (= « hamzah » or « ʿayn » in Arabic) combine into a diphthong in Bengali: e.g., আয়েন্দা [aenda] *coming, future, next* (āʿindah, āyindah); আয়না [aena] *mirror* (āʿinah); আয়না [aema] *land given in (charitable) endowment* (āʿimmah); আশনাই [aḥnai] *friendship > love intrigue* (āḥnāʿi); কলাই [kolai] *plating, gilding* (qalaʿi); কসাই [koḥai] *butcher* (qasāʿi); কায়েম [kaem] *standing, fixed* (qāʿim); কায়দা [kæda] *rule, mode, manners* (qāʿidah); তাউস [tauḥ] *peacock* (ḥāwus, ḥāʿūs); লায়েক [læk] *worthy, fit* (lāʿik); নায়েব [næb] *agent, sub-agent* (nāʿib); ফায়দা [phaeda] *profit* (fāʿidah); বালাই [balai] *calamity* (bālā); মেরজাই [merḥai] *a short coat* (mirzāʿi); মুদ্দই [muddoi]



*claimant, suitor* (mudda<sup>2</sup>); রোশনাই [roʃnai] *illumination* (rōšanāi); শনাই [ʃanai] *a pipe (in music)* (śah-nā<sup>2</sup>); সরাই [ʃorai] *inn* (sarā<sup>2</sup>); হালুই, হালওয়াই [ʃalui, ʃaloi] *pastry or sweetmeat maker* (halwā<sup>2</sup>); হাউই [ʃaiui] *rocket* (hawā<sup>2</sup>); etc., etc.

Within Bengali itself, when there is hiatus after the dropping of an intervocal [fi] < Persian [h] = Persian « h », Arabic [ħ, fi], the two « udvṛtta » vowels combine into a diphthong: e.g., সেপাই [ʃepai] *soldier, sepoy* (sipāhi); সোরাই [ʃorai] *earthen jar to cool water* (surāhi); সেয়াই, জ্বাই, জ্বাই [ʃeai, ʃvai] *ink* (siyāhi); সই [ʃoi] *signature, valid* (saḥīh); সাহেব, সায়েব [ʃa(ʃi)eb] *master, European* (sāhib); খেয়াস [kheaʃ] *desire* (xwāhiš); etc., etc.

## (2) Dropping of Vowels.

### (i) Initial Vowels (Apheresis, Aphesis).

322. Dropping of initial syllables is extremely rare in Persian loanwords. The word সওয়ার, সোয়ার [ʃoar, ʃoar], noted at p. 313, is an Early MIA. borrowing from Old Persian (cf. « asavāri » in the Bharhut inscriptions < Old Pers. « asabāri »). In তেয়াৎ [teat] *caution, wariness* (iḥtiyāt) there is loss of initial « i- ». Other examples are not found.

### (ii) Vowels in the interior of a word (Syncope).

323. There is dropping or assimilation of interior vowels to a considerable extent.

[a] « -ā- »: মুহুদ্দী [muceʃhuddi] *accountant, office-master* (mutāsaddi); মশলা [mɔʃlɔ] *maxim, judgment* (masalah); চাকরান্ [ʃɔkron] *free land for servants* (cākārān); মাতবর [matbər, madbər] *respected person, elder* (\*muātābār < mu<sup>2</sup>tābar); তায়নাৎ, তায়নাৎ [tænat, tænat] *appointment, duty* (ta<sup>2</sup>āyynāt); নাতোয়ান [natoan] *weak, feeble* (nātāwān, nātūwān); নিমকী [nimki] *salted* (namākīn); রাইয়ৎ, রাইয়ৎ, রেওৎ [raiɔt, raɔt, reot] *tenant farmer* (ra<sup>2</sup>āyyat); তছরূপ [toʃhurup] *embezzlement* (tasarruf); মোকরর [mokrər] *confirmed* (muqārrar); কোয়ারা [phoara] *fountain* (fāwwārah); মোতফরকা [motphorka] *scattered, miscellaneous* (mutāfarriq); রমজান

[rɔmʃɪʒan] *Mohammedan Lent* (ramādān); etc., etc. There are cases of loss of internal « ä (ā) » by assimilation: e.g., রক্ষা [reat] *protection, abatement* (riʔāyāt); জমীজেরাৎ [ʃɪzomiʃɪʒerat] *land and property* (zamin zirāʔāt); তরনাতী [tɔenati] *relating to service* (taʔāyynāti); বিলাত [bilat] *foreign land, Europe* (wilāyāt); মোতাজ্জে [motajʃʃe] *favorable* (mutāwājjah); মোতায়েন [motaen] *appointed* (mutāʔayyin); মোদ্দা [modda] *the thing asserted, matter under discussion* (muddāʔā); মানে [mane] *meaning* (māʔāni); হালদার [fialdar] *a surname < military or civil officer* (hāwālāh-dār).

[b] « -ī-, -ē- »: generally after « ā »: e.g., আলাদা, আলাহিদা [alada < ala(f)ida] *separate* (ʔalāhidah); এক্তার < এক্তিয়ার [ektar < ektiar] *authority* (ixtiyār); কাওয়াজ [kawajʃʃ] *regulations, parade of troops* (qawāʔid); আস্তে [aste] *slowly* (ahistah); জহরৎ [ʃʃɔʃɔrɔt] *jewellery* (jawābirāt); জাতি [ʃʃɔsti] *excess* (\*zyāzti, \*ziyāḏti < ziyādāti); ভিত্তি [bfisti] *water-carrier* (bihiṣti); etc.

The « ī, ē » of the « izāfat » is dropped in some cases in Persian itself: e.g., খানসামা [khanʃamo] *butler* (xān-i-sāman); রাওয়রাʔী [raeræʔ] *a Persianised title = chief* (rāy < rājā) of chiefs (rāy-i-rāyān); etc.

Cf. also হাজরে [haʃʃire < \*ʃʃɔʃʃira] *attendance* (hāzīr < hādīr), †মোর্চে [morʃe] *a song of lament of the Kerbela day* (marʃiyah < marḥiyah), etc., through Bengali contraction by Umlaut and Vowel-Harmony.

[c] « -ū-, -ō- »: মামলা [mamla] *law-suit, affair* (muʔāmlah); মাফিক [maphik] *suitable to, agreeing with, in measure with* (muwāfiq); মক্কেল [mɔkkel] *client* (muʔaqqal); মাতবর [matbɔr] *elder* (muʔatbar); তরনাত [tɔenat] *appointment* (taʔayynāt); তফাত [tɔʃat] *distance* (tafāwut); তোয়াক্কা [toakka] *reliance* (tawaqquʔ); মায়না [maena] *view, inspection* (muʔāynah); কাবলী [kabli] beside কাবুলী [kabuli] of Kabul (Kābuli). Cf. MB. তপাস [tɔpaʃ] *search*, NB. তাবাস in তব্ব-তাবাস « tāttwā-tābāʃ » *enquiry after well-being (with presents of sweets)*: see footnote, p. 213.

[d] « -ā- »: খাজনা [khaʃʃna], *rent tax* (xazānah); তৈরী beside তৈয়ারী [toiri < toiri] *prepared* (taiyārī); বায়না [baena] *advance money* (bayʔānah); মশলা [mɔʃla] *ingredients, spices* (masālah < -liḥ); মাহিনে, মাহিনে [mā(h)ine] *monthly pay* (māhānah, māhiānah); রওনা [roona] *departed* (rawānah); হাউই [fiawi] *rocket* (\*hawī < hawāi); etc.



[e] « -i-, -ē- »: after Epenthesis and Harmonic Change: গালচে < গালিচা [galɕe < galicɕa] *carpet* (gālɕah); ফরমাব beside ফরমাইব [phərma(i)f] *order, commission* (farmāʔis); খদ্দর [khodder] *buyer* (xaridār); পলতে > পলিতা [polte < pōlita] *wick of a lamp* (fatilah > \*falitah); হাবলৌ, হাউলৌ [fiabli, fiauli] *mansion* (hawēlī); etc.

[f] « -ū-, -ō- »: loss rare: আফিম, আঁপিম [ap(h)im] *opium* (afyūm); দাদখানি [dadkhani] *a kind of rice* (dāʔūd-xānī)—here we have change by epenthesis to দাদখানী [daɔ̃dkhani] first: see p. 379.

### (iii) Final Vowels.

324. The final short vowels of Arabic forms were dropped in Persian. Excepting « -āh > -ā », final short vowels are non-existent in New Persian. Bengali as a rule preserves the final vowels of Persian. The words আলবৎ, আলবাৎ [albot, albat] *certainly* (albattah) and বেবাক [bebak] *all* (bē-bāqī) are among the very few instances in Bengali where a final sound, expected to be retained, is dropped.

### (4) Addition of Syllables.

#### (i) In the interior of words. Anaptyxis.

325. Persian versification recognises a short vowel, the « nīm-fatḥah » or *half-fatḥah*, between consonants (a liquid, aspirate, nasal or sibilant, or semi-vowel, followed by another consonant). A short anaptyctic vowel was thus present in the Persian speech in early times. In some cases, this indistinct glide vowel has developed into a full sound in Bengali: e.g., নাজেহাল [naʒʒeɦal] *extreme trouble* (< \*nazaʔ-hāl < nazʔ-hāl); আহাম্মুক [aɦammuk] *a fool* (\*aɦmaq < aɦmaq); সোহরৎ [soɦorət] *publishing, as news* (\*soɦerət < suhrat); মহকুমা [məɦkuma] *sub-division (of a district)* (\*maɦkumah < maɦkumah); মেহনৎ [meɦnət] *labour* (\*məɦnət < mihnat); বেলোয়ারী [beloari] *glass, crystal* (\*billawərī < billaurī); etc.

Anaptyxis of short vowels characterised the Persian transformation of Arabic words (cf. P. Horn, 'Neupersische Schriftsprache,' pp. 39-41, in

the 'Grundriss der iranischen Philologie'). Anaptyxis is also found in Bengali: also intrusive vowels between two stops ending a word. (See pp. 374 ff.) Forms like « qarz, wazn, naql » etc. of Persian were not tolerated: they were modified to « qaraz̄ (or qarza), wazan, naqal » before becoming Bengali.

Insertion of [a, ɔ > o]: †আকলন্দী [akəlmondi] *cleverness* («<sup>°</sup>aql-mandi): but cf. আকেল [akkel] *sense* («<sup>°</sup>aql): আতর [at̄or] *otto* («<sup>°</sup>atr < «<sup>°</sup>itr); ওজন [oʒ̄ɔn] *weight* (wazn); ওজর [oʒ̄ɔr] *objection, excuse* («<sup>°</sup>uzr < «<sup>°</sup>adr); ওয়াকফ [oakəp̄h] *religious trust (property)* (waqf); কবজ [kəbɔʒ̄ɔ] *receipt* (qabz < qabḏ); করজ [kəɔʒ̄ɔ], also কর্জ [kəɔʒ̄ɔ] *borrowing* (qarz > qarḏ); কসম [kəʒ̄ɔm] *oath* (qasm); কবর [kəbər] *grave* (qabr); কদর [kədər] *value, worth* (qadr); খরচ [k̄həɔɔʒ̄ɔ] *expense* (xare): খসম [k̄həʒ̄ɔm] *husband* (xasm); গরম [ḡɔrəm] *warm* (garm); চশম [ʒ̄əʒ̄ɔm] *eye* (cašm); জখম [ʒ̄ɔk̄həm] *wound* (zaxm); জলদ [ʒ̄ɔləd] *quick (in music)* (jald); তরফ [təɔɔp̄h] *side* (ḥarf); দরদ [d̄ɔrəd] *pain* (dard); নরম [n̄ɔrəm] *soft* (narm); নহর [n̄ɔɦ̄ɔr] *channel* (naɦr); পশম [p̄əʒ̄ɔm] *wool* (pašm); বরফ [b̄ɔɔp̄h] *ice* (barf); বহর [b̄ɔɦ̄ɔr] *sea, width* (baɦr); মগজ [m̄əgɔʒ̄ɔ] *brains* (magz); মতন [m̄ɔtən] *text, reading* (matn); মোহর [m̄ɔɦ̄ɔr] *seal* (muhr); রকম [r̄əkəm] *sort* (raqm); শহর [ʒ̄əɦ̄ɔr] *city* (šahr); সদর [ʒ̄əɔr] *headquarters* (sadr); শরম [ʒ̄əɔm] *shame* (šarm); হরফ [ɦ̄ɔɔp̄(h)] *letter of the alphabet* (ɦarf); etc., etc.

[i, e]: আকেল [akkel] *sense (in man)* («<sup>°</sup>aql); এলম [elem] *learning* («<sup>°</sup>ilm); জিনিস [ʒ̄ɔiniʒ̄] *article* (jins); জিগির [ʒ̄ɔigir] *courage* (jigr); †জ্বলেদ [ʒ̄ɔləd] (*leather binding of book, volume*) (jild); নিরিখ [nirikh] *scales, balance* (nirx); ফতে < ফতেহ্ [ph̄ɔt̄e < \*ph̄ɔteɦ̄] *victory* (fath̄); ফিকর [ph̄ikir] *trick, ruse, plan* (fiqr); মিছিল [miʒ̄hil] *procession* (mišl < miθl); মেহেরবানী [m̄eɦ̄ɔrbani] *kindness* (miɦ̄bāni); etc., etc.

An intrusive [i] occurs before the suffix «-ānah» in Bengali forms of some Persian words: e.g., মাহিয়ানা > মাহিনা, মাইনে [maɦ̄iana, maɦ̄ina] *monthly pay* (māh-ānah); সালিয়ানা beside সালানা [ʒ̄əliana, ʒ̄əlana] *annual* (sāl-ānah); শামিয়ানা [ʒ̄əmiana] *awning* (šām-ānah); সাহেবিয়ানা [ʒ̄əɦ̄ɔbiana] *affecting European ways* (sāɦ̄ib-ānah); etc. Cf. also জরিমানা [ʒ̄ɔrimana] *fine* (jar-mānah), Hindōstāni « jarimānah » (so Hindōstāni « ganjifah » *playing cards* = Persian « ganjāfah »).



[u, o] : কুলুপ [kulup] *padlock* (qulf < qufl); কোরোক, ক্রোক [korok, kro:k] *attachment of property* (Turki qurq); জুলুম [ʃʊlum] *oppression* (zulm); বুরুজ [buruʃʃ] *bastion* (burj); মোরগ, মোরোগ [morog] *cock* (murg); হুকুম [hukum] *order* (hukm); etc., etc.

(ii) At the end of words.

Final groups of two stops, or of a fricative or sibilant *plus* stop, ordinarily take the [ɔ, ɔ > o] vowel finally in Bengali (see p. 304). *E.g.*, ওক্ত [oktɔ] *time* (waqt); গোস্ত [gostɔ] *flesh meat* (gōst); চোস্ত [çostɔ] *quick, clear* (cust); খোন্দকার [khondəkār], beside খোনকার, খনকার [khonkar, khonkar] *a title (= reader)* (xwand-kār); † জঙ্গ [ʃʃɔŋgɔ], beside জং [ʃʃɔŋ] *battle* (jang); তক্ত [tɔktɔ] *throne* (taxt); দরখাস্ত [dɔrkxastɔ] *petition* (dar-xwāst); দরিয়াস্ত [doriastɔ] *enquiry* (dar-yāft); দস্তখত [dɔstɔkxət] *signature* (dast-xatt); দোরস্ত [dorostɔ] *right, fit* (durust); পছন্দ [pɔçʃhɔndɔ] *choice* (pasand); পোক্ত [poktɔ] *ripe, seasoned, cooked* (puxt); ফর্দ [phɔrdɔ] *list* (fard); ফস্ত [phɔstɔ] *bleeding, opening a vein* (fasd); বরদাস্ত [bɔrdastɔ] *tolerate* (bardāst); মক্শ [mɔkʃɔ] *writing exercise* (mašq); রপ্ত [rɔptɔ] *practice, habit* (rabt); জব্দ [ʃʃɔbdɔ] *punished, punishment* (zabt < dābt); লাজবর্দ [laʃʃɔbdɔ] *lapis lazuli* (lājaward); সনাক্ত [ʃɔnaktɔ] *identification* (šināxt); সর্ত, শর্ত [ʃɔrtɔ] *condition* (šart); সোপারদ [ʃɔpɔrɔddɔ] *charge over, hand over* (supurd); হদ্দ [ʃɔddɔ] *limit* (hadd); হস্তনেস্ত [ʃɔstɔnestɔ] *final settlement* (hast-nist); etc. In ফিরিস্তি [phiristi] (*fihrist*) *list*, জুল্পী [ʃʃulpi] *side lock* (zulf), and বালাই [balai] *calamity* (balā), we have a final [i] added.

Some of the above words, with liquid or nasal, ought to have taken a vowel in the interior rather than at the end.

Words with a final « -h », which was pronounced in Persian, either drops the « -h », or retains it and takes a final vowel [ɔ, a] after it (see p. 557); *e.g.*, রাহী [rafiɔ] *way, journey* (rāh).

Nasalisation of vowels : this is treated under the Nasals, below.

THE CONSONANTS.

[I] The Glottal [h], and [ʕ] of Arabic.

326. The Persian [h] sound represents also the Arabic [ħ, fi].

Bengali, Persian < h > becomes হ [fi] : but except where initial, Bengali [fi] is a very unstable sound, and is frequently dropped.

Initial < h- > : হজম [fiɑʒɔm] *digestion* (hazm < haḏm); হপ্তা [fiɔpta] *week* (haftah); হাওয়া [fiɑɔɑ] *air* (hawā); হাজার [fiɑʒɑr] *thousand* (hazār); হামেশা [fiameʃɑ] *always* (hamēšah); হেঁচু, হিঁচু, হিন্দু [fiɛdu, fiɪdu, fiɪndu] *Hindu* (Hindū); হনুর [fiunur] *skill* (hunar); হক [fiɔ:k] *truth* (ḥaqq); হজরৎ [fiɑʒɪrət] *presence = exalted person* (hazrat < ḥaḏrat); হাকিম [fiakim] *judge* (ḥākim); হদ্দ [fiɔddɔ] *limit* (ḥadd); হলফ [fiɔɔp(h)] *oath* (ḥalf); হাফেজ [fiapheʒɪ] *protector, one who has the entire Koran by heart* (ḥāfiẓ); হাজৎ [fiɑʒɪt] *lock-up* (ḥājat); হালাল [fiɑlɑl] *lawful (meat)* (ḥalāl); হামলা [fiɑmlɑ] *attack, raid* (ḥamlah); হঁকা [fiuka] *hookah* (ḥuqqah); হিসাব [fiʃɑb] *accounts* (hisāb); হরী [fiuri] *heavenly nymph* (ḥūrī); হোজ [fiouʒɪ] *cistern* (hauẓ < ḥawḏ); etc., etc.

In parts of East Bengal, initial [fi] becomes [ʔ] : see p. 269.

Interior < h > :

(i) Intervocally it generally remains, although its articulation is very much weakened: e.g., আলাহিদা, আলাদা [ɑlɑhiɔɑ, ɑlɑɔɑ] *separate* (ʔalāhidah); এস্তিহার, ইস্তাহার [ɛstɛhiɑr, istɑ-] *notice* (istihār); ওজুহাত [ɔʒʒuʃiɑt] *causes, grounds* (wajūhāt); এলাহি [ɛlɑhi] *God; magnificent* (ʔilāhī); জেহাদ [ʒɛʃiɑd] *religious war* (jihād); শাজাহান [ʃɑʒɑʃiɑn] *the Emperor Shāh Jahān* (Šāh-jahān); জাহির [ʒɑʃiɑfir] *manifest* (zāhir); বাহাল, বাহাল [bɑʃiɑl, bɑʃiɑl] *confirmed* (bahāl); বেহৌশ, বেহঁশ [beɦiɔʃ, -ɦiɔʃ] *senseless* (bē-hōš); মোহম্মদ [mɔɦɔmmɔd] *Muhammad* (muḥammad); মোহরম [mɔɦɔrɔm] *the Muḥarram festival* (muḥarram); এজাহার [ɛʒɑʃiɑr] *deposition* (izahār); রেহাই [reɦiɑi] *excuse (as a fault or debt)* (riḥāʔi); নেহা(র)ৎ [neɦiɑ(e)t] *excessive* (nihāyat); সাহেব [ʃuɦeɦ, ʃuɦeɦ] *gentleman, European* (sāhib); বহস [bɑɦɔʃ] *argument, dispute* (bahs < bahθ); etc.

Intervocal [h] in Bengali frequently disappears: see p. 552. Examples from the Persian loan-words—খেয়াস [kheɑʃ] *desire* (xwāhiš): আলাদা [ɑlɑɔɑ] *separate* (ʔalāhidah); সই [ʃɔi] *signature* (šāhiḥ); আস্তে [aste] *slowly* (āhistah); হামরাই [ɦɑmrɑi] *succouring, eager to help* (ham-rāhi); etc. In ভিস্তি [bɦisti] *water-carrier* (biḥisti), we have aspiration through contact by loss of intervening vowel.



(ii) « h » forming the first element in a consonant nexus (a) either requires the prop of an intrusive vowel to remain; or (b) is dropped, modifying in some cases the preceding vowel; or (c) it is changed to [i, e] : e.g., (a) তহনীল [toɦioɦil] beside তনীল [toɦil] *treasury* (taɦsil); ফিহিরিস্তি, ফিরিস্তি [fi(fi)risti] *list* (fiɦrist); মেহনৎ [meɦnoɦnoɦ] *labour* (miɦnat); চেহেরা, চেহারা [ʧeɦera, -ara] *figure, portrait* (eiɦrah); মোহর [moɦoɦ] *seal, a gold coin* (muɦr); তহবীল, তবীল [toɦioɦil] *purse, treasury* (taɦwil); বহর [boɦoɦ] *sea, width* (baɦr); সহবৎ [ʃoɦioɦoɦ] *association* (saɦbat); শহর [ʃoɦoɦ] *city* (ʃaɦr); মহকুমা [moɦoɦkuma] *a part of a district* (maɦkuma); etc., etc.; (b) তোফা [toɦfa] *fine* (tuɦfaɦ); দলীজ [doliɦʒi] *portico* (daɦliɦʒ); প(ত)লোয়ান [paloɦ, pɔloɦ] beside পহলওয়ান [pɔɦioɦloɦ] *wrestler, athlete* (paɦlwāɦ); বল্লম [boɦloɦ] *lance* (baɦlam); শানাই [ʃaɦnai] *pipe (music)* (ʃaɦ-nāɦ); সানক, সানকী [ʃaɦoɦk, ʃaɦki] *plate* (saɦnaɦk); মাঞ্জল [maɦʒal] *tax, postage, fare* (maɦʒul); মামুদ [maɦmud] *a name* (maɦmud); সেংখানা [ʃeɦkɦana] *water-closet* (saɦt-xāɦnaɦ); মেরাপ [meɦraɦp] *temporary roofing (of mats)* (miɦraɦb); etc.; (c) দহসৎ, দহসৎ [doɦioɦoɦt, doɦeɦoɦoɦt] *alarm, fear* (daɦsaɦt); বায়না < বাহানা [baɦna < baɦana] *excuse, plea, demand* (\*baɦnā < baɦnaɦ); etc.

In মেথর [meɦtoɦoɦ] *prince > sweeper* (miɦtaɦr), there is metathesis followed by aspiration.

« h » forming the second element of a consonant group is dropped : e.g., ইসাদী [iɦʒadi] *witness* (iɦʒāɦdi); মলম [moɦloɦ] *ointment* (maɦɦam); সারেং [ʃaɦeɦ] *master of small steamer* (saɦ-hang), etc.

Final « h ». The « hā-i-muxtaɦ » of Persian is changed, with the preceding « ā », to [a] in Bengali : see p. 579, ante. E.g., তা [ta:] *sheet of paper* (taɦ); তাজা [taɦʒa] *fresh* (tāɦʒaɦ); দানা [dana] *grain* (dāɦnaɦ); etc. Final « h » after « ā » where it was pronounced in Persian, is generally retained in Bengali, with the prop of a final vowel : e.g., সাহ(ী) [ʃaɦioɦ, -ɦioɦ] beside শা [ʃa:] *king* (ʃāɦ); রাহা [raɦia] *way* (rāɦ); সরবরাহ(হ) [ʃoɦboɦra(ɦioɦ)] *supply* (saɦ-barāɦ); রাহাজানী [raɦiaɦʒani] *high-way robbery* (rāɦ-zani); নিকা(হ) [nika(ɦioɦ)] *marriage* (nikāɦ), etc. In other cases « -h » is merely dropped : e.g., সই, সই [ʃoɦ(ɦioɦ)] *signature* (ʃaɦiɦ); তম্বি [toɦbi] *chiding, threatening* (taɦbiɦ); তৌজি [toɦʒi] *district* (taɦʒiɦ).

Final « h » (= Arabic « ħ » after a consonant) normally becomes [e] in Bengali: e.g., ফতে [phate] *victory* (fath); সোলে, ছোলে [ʃole, ɕhole, sole] *agreement* (sulh); সোবে [ʃobe] *dawn* (subh), but cf. সুবা [ʃuba] *province* (sūbah: sūbah-i-Bangālah = সুবে বাঙ্গলা [ʃube baŋla]).

327. Arabic [ʔ], in Persian resulting in the glottal stop [ʔ]. This is lost to Bengali, normally: e.g., আজব [aʃʒɔb] *strange* (ʔajab); আতর [atɔr] *otto* (\*ʔatr < ʔitr); ওয়াজ [oʊʒi] *sermon, preaching* (waʔz); আরজ [arɔʃi] *petition* (ʔarʒ < ʔard); আরবী [arbi] *Arabian, Arabic* (ʔarab-); ইজ্জৎ [iʃʃiʒt] *honour* (ʔizzat); ঈদ [i:ɪd] *the ʔĪd fastivel* (ʔid); ওজর [oʃʃɔr] *excuse* (ʔozr > ʔudr); আশে [aeʃ] *pleasure, comfort* (ʔaiš); অকু, ওকু [oku] *place where an event took place* (waqūʔ); ইনাম [inam] *largesse* (inʔām); এতাল [etala] *summons* (itālāʔ); খেলাৎ [khelat] *robe of honour* (xilʔat); জমা [ʃʃiʒma] *collection, deposit* (jamʔ); দোয়া [doa] *prayer* (duʔā); মোনফা, মুনফা [monɔpha, munɔpha] *profit* (munafaʔ); মৌজা [mouʃʃiʒa] *district* (mauʒaʔ > mawdaʔ); তাঁবে [tābe] *in a subordinate position* (tābiʔ); etc.

In a few cases, however, interior [ʔ > ʃ], when pre-consonantal or intervocal, or final [ʔ], has developed into a palatal semi-vowel, « y » (= [ɔ̃] in Bengali): e.g., তায়দাদ [tæɪdɪd] *enumeration, sum, approximation* (taʔdād); জমায়েৎ [ʃʃiʒmæɪt] *gathering* (jamāʔat); বিদায় [biɪɪ] *farewell* (« wiɪāʔ »: commonly regarded as a Sanskrit formation = « vidāya »); তায়াল [tæɪɪ] *the Exalted One* (Allāh taʔālā *God is exalted*); †নিয়ামৎ [niɪɪmɪt, neɪɪmɪt] *grace, gift* (niʔmat); সায়েত, সাইত [ʃæɪt, ʃait] *time, watch* (sāʔat).

[II] The Uvular stop [q], and the Velars [k, g; x, xʷ, ɢ].

328. [q] of Arabic, = both [k] and [g(qʔ)] in Early Persian, and [q] of Turkī, occur normally as ক [k] in Bengali, but there are a few words which show গ [g].

[q] > [k]: Initial: কয়েদ [kœɪd] *imprisonment* (qaid); কদম [kɔɪm] *pace, step* (qadam); কালন্দর [kɔlɔndɔr] *mendicant, 'calender'* (qalandar); কোরান [koran] *the Koran* (qurʔān); কোরবানী [korbani] *sacrifice* (qurbāni); কুলুপ [kulup] *padlock* (qufl); কবজ [kɔbɔʃʃi] *receipt, bond* (qabʒ < qabʃ); কোরোক, ক্রোক [k(o)rok] *attachment of property* (Turkī qurq); কসাই



[kəʃai] *butcher* (qasāʔi); কেলা [kella] *fort* (qilʔah); কালিয়া [kalia] *meat curry* (qalyah); কুদরৎ [kudrət] *might* (qudrat); etc.

Medial: অক্কেল [akkel], also †আকল [akəl] *sense, wisdom* (ʔaqI); একরার [ekrar] *acknowledgment* (iqrār); এলাকা [elaka] *jurisdiction* (ilāqah); ওকত [oktə] *time* (waqt); হাঁকা [fiŋka] *hookah* (huqqah); হুকক [fiokek] *facts* (haqq); বাকী [baki] *remaining* (bāqI); বেবাক [bebək] *without remainder, all* (bē-bāqI); মনকা [mənəkka] *dried grapes* (munaqqā); চকমকী [ʃəkʃək] *flint stone (to strike a fire)* (Turkī caqmāq); চাকু [ʃəkku] *knife* (cāqū < Turkī); etc.

Final: হক [fiək] *truth, true, rightful* (haqq); তবক [təbək] *dish, layer, stratum* (təbaq); MB. তোক [to:k] *ring for the neck (for punishment)* (tōq > təuq, təwq); তসদীক [toʃdik] *proof, verification* (tasdiq); লায়েক [laek] *fit, worthy* (lāʔiq); মক [məkʃə] *copying* (mašq); সক, সখ [ʃək(h)] *desire or taste for fancy articles* (šauq); সিন্দুক, সিন্দুক [ʃind(h)uk] *chest, box* (sindūq); etc.

[q] > Persian [q] > [g] in Bengali: তাগাদা beside তাকাদা [tagada, takada] *demand for payment* (taqāḏah); তাগুৎ beside তাকত [tagut, takət] *strength* (tāqat); নগদ [nəgəd] *cash money* (naqd); নাগারা, নাগরা, নাকারা [nəg(ə)rə, nəkərə] *kettledrum* (naqqārah); তাগাবী beside তাকাবী [tagabi, takabi] *money advanced to farmers* (taqāwI); MB. সগোল্লাদ beside সকলাত [ʃəgollad, ʃəkəlat] *scarlet cloth, costly stuff* (saqalāt).

[q] is found as [kh] in a few words: সখ = সক [ʃək(h), ʃək] < « šauq », see above; আহাম্মুক beside আহাম্মুক [aɦammukh, -muk] *fool* (aɦmaq); স্কামুনিয়া [ʃukhmunia] *scammony (a drug)* (suqmūnyā).

In the word তাউৎ [taut], as a variant (rather rare) of তাগুৎ, তাকৎ [tagut, takət] *strength* (tāqat), we have loss of intervocal [q].

329. Persian unvoiced velar stop [k]. There is no trace in Bengali of the Modern Persian aspiration of this unvoiced stop to [kh].

Initial: কম [kə:m] *less, small amount* (kam): কেতাব [ketab] *book* (kitāb); কলমা [kəlmə] *the Mohammadan creed* (kalmah); কাফের [kəpher] *infidel* (kāfir); কাগজ [kəgəʃ] *paper* (kāgəʃ); কারিগর [karigor] *artisan, artist* (kāriḡar); কামান [kəman] *bow* > *gnu* (kamān); কিনারা [kinərə] *edge* (kinārah); কোপ্তা [koptə] *meat balls in stew* (kōftah); etc., etc.

Medial: আকবর [akbər] *Akbar*; উকীল [ukil] *pleader (wakil)*; তকরার [təkrar] *argument (takrār)*; রেকাব [rekab] *stirrup (rikāb)*; চাপকান [capkan] *tunic (capkan)*; চাকর [cakər] *servant (cākar)*; সরকার [ʃərkar] *government, administration (sarkār)*; হরকৎ [fərkat] *commotion, damage (harkat)*; etc.

Final: থাক [kha:k] *earth (xāk)*; তদারক [tədərək] *supervision (tadāruk)*; তোষক [toʃək] *mattress (tōšak)*; চাবুক [cabuk] *whip (cābuk)*; নেমক [nemək] *salt (namak)*; সানক [ʃənək] *plate (saḥnak)*; etc.

[k] is softened to [g] in † খোদহাগিমী [khod-hāgimi] *arrogance (xwud-hākimi)*, তাগিদ [tāgid] *pressure, reminder (tākīd)*, and নগীজ, নগীচ [nogiʃi, nogiʃ] *neighbourhood, nearness (nazdīk)*.

In খোশা [kxoʃa] *beardless man* we have [kh] for [k], from Arabic « kusah » *scant-bearded*.

### 330. Persian [g] remains in Bengali.

Initial: গরম [gərəm] *warm (garm)*; গর্দা [gərda] *dust (gardah)*; †গোড়া [goḍa] *witness (guwāh)*; গোলাপ [golap] *rose (gulāb = gul)*; গোনা [gonā] *sin (gunāh)*; গুমান [gumān] *pride (gumān)*; গোর [go:r] *grave (gōr)*; গোস্ত [gostā] *flesh-meat (gōšt)*; etc.

Medial: কাহুনগো [kahungo] *district officer, keeper of records (qānūn-gō)*; খরগোস [kharǧoʃ] *hare (xar-gōš)*; জিগির [ʃiʒir] *encouragement (jigr)*; দরগা [dargā] *shrine of a saint (dargāh)*; লাগাম [lagām] *rein (lagām)*; পরগণা [pərgānā] *part of district* (« parganah »: Persianised Skt. word = « pragaṇa »); etc.

Final: Persian words with final « -g » are very few in Bengali. বুজরুক beside বুজরুগ [buʒruk, -rug] *impostor, miracle-worker* (< buzurg *great*) shows hardening of « g » to [k]. There are a few words ending in « ng » [ŋg], which either preserve the final [g] by adding a vowel at the end, e.g., জঙ্গ as in জঙ্গ-নামা [ʃiŋgā-nāma] *the history of the fight (at Kerbela)* (jang-nāmah), or reduce the [ŋg] to [ŋ]: e.g., সারেং, সারং [ʃareŋ, -rəŋ] *master of small steamer (sar-hang)*.

A few cases of hardening of [g] to [k] are found: e.g., বুজরুক [buʒruk] for « buzurg », as above; খানকী [khanki] *woman of ill-fame (xānah-gī belonging to the house > a mistress)*; জিকির [ʃikir] beside জিগির [ʃiʒir] < « jigr » above.



331. Persian [x], representing both native [x] and Arabic [x], normally becomes খ [kh] in Bengali, which intervocally, finally and pre-consonantly is deaspirated to [k] as a normal thing, the aspiration remaining only initially.

Examples : initial : খবর, খপর [khəbər, khəpər] *news* (xabr); খারাপ [kharap] *bad* (xarāb); খয়রাত [khərat] *charity* (xairāt); খাঁ [khā:] *a title* (xān); খুন [khu:n] *murder* (xūn *blood*); খোদা [khodɑ] *God* (xudā); খাতির [khatir] *respect* (xātir); খত [khət] *letter, writing* (xatt); খাজ(ত)না [khaʒi(ɑ)nɑ] *tax* (xazānah); খোস, খুনী [kho:ʃ, khunī] *glad, happy, beautiful* (also nouns) (xūs, xūʃi); খালাস [khalɑʃ] *empty, freed, finished*, (xalās); etc.

Medially : নাখোদা [nakhoda] *captain of ship* (nā[w]-xudā); বকেয়া [bək(h)ea] *back stitch, stitched and darned* > *bad* (baxyah); বকসিস [bək(h)ʃiʃ] *largesse* (baxšiš); আখনী [ak(h)ni] *broth of meat* (yaxni); আখের [akher] *final* (āxir); মজরা [məʒkəra] *jest, joke* (masxarah); etc.

Final : সেখ, শেখ, সেক [ʃe:k(h)] *Shaikh* (šaix); সিক, সিখ [ʃi:k(h)] *iron spit* (to roast meat) (sɪx); লক [lə:k] *thread to fly kites* (nax); নিরিখ, নিরিক [nirik(h)] *scales, weighing* (nirx); etc.

Persian < -xt > becomes [kt]; আক্তা [akta] *castrated* (axtah); এক্তিয়ার, এক্তার [ekt(i)ar] *authority* (ixtiyār); বক্তিয়ার [boktiar] *a name, Bakhtiyār*; কমবক্ত [kəmbəktə] *luckless person* (kam-baxt); তক্তা [təktɑ] *plank* (taxtah); পোক্ত [pəktə] *seasoned, cooked* (puxt); মোক্তার [məktar] *pleader* (muxtār); সক্ত, শক্ত [ʃəktə] *hard, stiff* (saxt); শনাক্ত, সনাক্ত [ʃənəktə] *identification* (šināxt); etc.

332. Persian [xw]: the character of this sound has been described at p. 562. The labial element is preserved in a few words: e.g., আখুঞ্জি [akhunʒi] *teacher* > *a surname* (āxwand-ji); খোদ [kho:d] *self* (xud < xwad, xwūd); খোদা [khodɑ] *God* (xudā); খোন্দকার, খোনকার, খনকার, খকার [khond(ə)kar, khonkar, khənkār, khəpkār] *reader, teacher* > *a surname* (xwand-kār); খুঞ্চিপোষ [khunʒipəʃ] *tray-cover of cloth* (xwānech-pōš); খোয়ার [khoar] *contemptible, base* (also noun) (xwār); †খোয়াবগা [khoəbɡɑ] *sleeping chamber* (xwāb-gāh); খোয়াব [khoəb] *sleep* > *dream* (xwāb); etc.

[w] is dropped : also e.g., খাজা [khaʒiɑ] *a title of respect* (xwājah), also খোজা [khoʒiɑ]; খয়ের খাঁ [khəer khā] *loyal, well-wisher* (xair-xwāh); তনখা,

তংখা [təŋkha, tɔŋkha] *salary* (tanxwāh); দরখাস্ত [dərkhəstə] *application* (dar-xwāst); খাস্তা [khəstə] *desired, wished for, rare, difficult to get* (xwāstah); খামখা, খামকা [khamok(h)ə] *perforce, without reason or deliberation* (xwāh-ma-xwāh); বরখাস্ত [bərkhəstə] *dismissal* (bar-xwāst); খেয়াস [kheəʃ] *desire* (xwāhiš).

333. Persian [ɣ], representing the native sound, as well as Arabic [ɣ]. This spirant seems to have been pronounced without much friction, so that the Indian equivalent became গ [g], and not ঘ [gʱ] which would have paralleled ষ [kh] for [x].

Initial: গজল [gəʃʒəl] *a kind of verse, a melody* (guzal); গাজী [gaʃʒi] *a warrior for Islām > a name* (gāzi); গোসা [goʃʒə] *anger, sulks* (gussah); গৈবী [goibi] *secret* (gaibi); গরীব [gəri:b] *poor* (garib); গোলাম [golam] *servant, slave* (gulām); গালিচা [gəliʃʒə] *carpet* (gālīchah); etc.

Medial: চোগা [ʃəʒə] *a loose robe* (cəʒah); তগল্লব [təʒəlləb] *cheating, embezzlement* (tagallub); দারোগা [dərəʒə] *a police officer* (dārəʒah); বগল [bəʒəl] *armpit, side* (bagal); বাগান [bəʒən] *garden* (bāʒwān); বাগিচা [bəʒiʃʒə] (*pleasure*) *garden* (bāʒ-cah); পয়গম্বর [pəʒəʒəmʒər] *prophet* (paigambar).

Final: চেরাগ [ʃerəʒ] *lamp* (cirāʒ); বাগ [ba:ʒ] *garden* (bāʒ); দেমাগ, also দেমাক [deməʒ > demək] *pride* (dimāʒ); মোরগ [morəʒ] *cock* (murg); etc.

There are a few cases of hardening of [ɣ] > [g] to [k]: নাবালক [nəbələk] *minor in age* (nābāliq; cf. বালক < bālākʃ > *boy*); বোঁচকা [bɔ̃ʃʒkə] *bundle* (Turkī buʒcah); তকমা [təkʒmə] *badge, crest* (Turkī tamʒah); স্বরাক [ʃurək] *plan, trick* (surāʒ); দেমাক [demək] *above*; দেগ, ডেগ [de:ʒ, də:ʒ] *caldron, big pot* but ডেকচী [dəkʃi] *small pot to cook* (dəʒ, dəʒ-ci), also (dəʒ); etc.

### [III] The Palato-alveolar Affricates, [tʃ, dʒ].

334. Persian چ [tʃ], transliterated < c >, remains practically unaltered to Bengali চ [tʃ]. In East Bengali, this is regularly altered to [tʃ].

Examples: Initial: চাকর [tʃəkər] *servant* (cākar); চোস্ত [tʃɔstə] *quick, fine, smooth* (cūst); চৌবাক্স [tʃəubəʃʒə] *cistern* (caubaccah); চরবী [tʃərbi] *fat*,



*grease* (carbī); চাবুক [čʰabuk] *whip* (eābuk); চেহারা [čʰeɦara] *figure, portrait* (cihrah); etc., etc.

Medial: আচকান [ačʰkon] *tunic* (aekan); বাজাঞ্চি [khačʰaŋči] *treasurer, accountant* (xazān-ci); কাঁচী [kãčʰi] *scissors* (qainci); etc.

Final: কূচ [ku:čʰ] *march (of troops)* (kūe); খরচ [kʰorɔčʰ] *expense* (xare); পৌচ [pãčʰ] *twist* (pēc); শিরপৌচ [širpēc] *gem on turban* (sarpēc); etc.

In ছিলিম [čʰhilim] *earthen cup for tobacco and fire in the hookah* (cilam) we have aspiration of [tʰ] in Bengali.

335. Persian [d̪ʒ], representing the native Iranian affricate and the Arabic palatal stop, is retained as জ [tʃ] in Bengali. This [tʃ] regularly becomes [dz, z] in East Bengal.

Initial: জমা [tʃɔma] *collection* (jam°); জান [tʃa:n] *life* (jān); জামা [tʃama] *coat, shirt* (jāmah); জায়গীর [tʃægir] *fief* (jāegir); জবাব [tʃobab] *reply* (jawāb); জেলা [tʃella] *brightness* (jillā); জলুশ [tʃoluʃ] *splendour, brightness* (jalūs); জোয়ান [tʃioan] *young, strong* (jawān); জাল [tʃa:l] *forgery* (ja°l); জোব্বা [tʃobba] *a loose robe* (jubbah); যিহুদী [tʃiɦudi] *Jew* (Persian jahūdi < Ar. yahūd: cf. also Bengali ইহুদী [iɦudi]); জেব [tʃe:b] *pocket* (jēb, jaib); etc.

Medial: হাজাম [ɦačʰam] *barber* (ɦajjām); তাজ্জুব [tačʰtʃub] *wonder* (ta°ajjub); দাজ্জাল [dačʰtʃal] *vicious* (dajjāl Satan); আঞ্জাম [ančʰam] *arrangement* (anjām); খঞ্জর [kʰɔnčʰɔr] *dagger* (xanjar); জিঞ্জির [tʃinčʰir] *chain* (zinjir); ওজুহাত [očʰuɦat] *excuses* (wajūhāt); এজমাল [ečʰmal] *joint possession* (ijmāl); etc.

Final: খারিজ [kʰaričʰ] *separated* (xārij); তাজ [ta:čʰ] *crown* (tāj); মেজাজ [mečʰtʃtʃ] *temperament, pride* (mizāj); বুরুজ [buručʰ] *bastion, turret* (burj); etc.

In সতরঞ্চি [sɔt(ɔ)rončʰi], beside সতরঞ্জি [sɔt(ɔ)rončʰi] *cotton rug* (sātranji), we have optional hardening of < j > to < c >.

ঝোব্বাঝুবি [tʃiobbačʰiubbi] *loose robes, robes and trappings* possibly shows aspiration of জোব্বা [tʃobba] = < jubbah > *loose robe*.

[IV] The Persian Dental Stops [t, d], and Dental Fricative [θ].

336. Persian < t > represents, in addition to the native sound, Arabic

[t, t̪] (as well as Arabic [th] in a final position: see p. 566). In Bengali it remains as the interdental ত [t̪].

Initial: তক্তা [təkt̪ɑ] *plank* (taxtah); তবক [təbək] *stratum* (ṭabaq); তবলা [təbla] *drum* (ṭablah); তরজমা [tərʒ̪ɔma] *translation* (tarjamah); তোতা [tota] *parrot* (tūtā); তালাক, তালাক [tal(l)aq] *divorce* (ṭalāq); তুর্ক, তুরক [tur(u)k] *Turk, Mohammedan* (turk); তীর [ti:r] *arrow* (tīr); তারিখ [tarik̪h] *date (time)* (tārix); etc.

Medial: আতর [at̪ər] *otto* (ʔitr); আতশবাজী [at̪əʃbaʒ̪i] *fire-works* (ātaš-bāzī); আলবাত [albat] *certainly* (albattah); এতলা [ettala] *summons* (iṭalāʔ); শরতান [ʃ̪ət̪an] *devil* (šaitān); কোপ্তা [kopt̪ɑ] *meat-balls in gravy* (koftah); গ্রেপ্তার, গেরেপ্তার [g(e)rept̪ar] *arrest* (giriftār); কেতাব [ketab] *book* (kitāb), etc.

Final: মৌৎ [mout̪] *death* (maut); দৌলৎ [doulət̪] *riches* (daulat); ওকালৎ [ok̪ələt̪] *pleading* (wakālat); তাকৎ [takət̪] *strength* (tāqat); দস্তখত [d̪əst̪ək̪hət̪] *signature* (dast-xat̪t̪); সনাক্ত [ʃ̪ənakt̪] *identification* (šināxt̪); বরাৎ [borət̪] *commission, business* (barāʔat); বিলাত [bilat̪] *Europe* (wilāyat); মারফৎ [mar̪fət̪] *intermediacy* (maʔrfat̪); মুফৎ [mup̪hət̪] *free of cost* (mufat̪); হাজৎ [haʒ̪ət̪] *jail, custody* (hājat̪); শর্ত [ʃ̪ərt̪] *condition* (šart̪); etc.

Final < t > is optionally softened to [d] in a few words, e.g., বাবদ [babəd̪] *heads, grounds* (bābat̪); বয়েদ [boəd̪] *verse* (bait̪); মজবুদ [moʒ̪ʒ̪ibud̪] *strong, enduring* (mazbūt̪); গলদ [g̪ələd̪] *fault, mistake* (gal̪t̪); জব [ʒ̪əbd̪o] *punished* (zab̪t̪ < ḏab̪t̪); সাবুদ [ʃ̪abud̪] *witnesses* (\*šabūt̪ < ṭubūt̪); etc.

### 337. Persian < d > occurs as দ [d] in Bengali.

Initial: দফা [d̪əpha] *one time* (dafʔah); দরকার [d̪ərk̪ar] *necessity* (darkār); দরিয়া [d̪oria] *river* (daryā); দাগ [da:g̪] *mark, stain* (dāg̪); দোকান [d̪ok̪an] *shop* (dōk̪ān, duk̪ān); দেমাগ, দেমাক [demag̪, -ak̪] *brain* > *pride* (dimāg̪); দীন [di:n] *religion* (dīn); দরাজ [d̪ərəʒ̪i] *long* (darāz̪); দারু [d̪aru] *wine* (dārū); দূরবীন [d̪urbin] *telescope* (dūr-bin); etc.

Medial: খোদা [k̪hoda] *God* (xudā); আদব [ad̪əb] *polished manners* (ādab); উর্দু [ur̪du] *the Urdū speech* (urdū); তামাদী [tamadi] *barred by limitation* (tamādī); কালন্দর [kalond̪ər] *mendicant* (qalandar); ইশাদী [iʃ̪adi] *witness* (iṣhādī); বদল [b̪əd̪əl] *exchange* (badal); বরদাস্ত [b̪ərd̪ast̪] *tolerate* (bar-dāst̪); বন্দুক [b̪onduk̪] *rifle* (bandūq̪); ময়দা [m̪əɖa] *flour* (maidah); etc.



Final: ঈদ, ইদ [i:d] *the 'Īd festivals* (ʿid); হদ্দ [fiɔddɔ] *limit* (ḥadd); জেদ, জিদ [ʒiɛ:d, ʒi:i:d] *importunacy* (ẓidd < ḏidd); বারুদ [barud] *gun-powder* (bārūd); বুনিনাদ, বোনাদ [buniad > boned] *foundation, plinth* (bunyād); ফরিয়াদ [phoriad] *petition, appeal* (faryād); বাদ [bɑ:d] *subtraction* (baʿd); ফর্দ [phɔrdɔ] *list* (fard); কয়েদ [kœd] *imprisonment* (qaid); রসাদ [roʃid] *receipt* (rasīd); রাসদ [roʃɔd] *rations, food-stuff* (rasd); নগদ [nɔgɔd] *cash, ready money* (naqd); লাজবর্দ [lɑʒʒibɔrdɔ] *lapis lazuli* (lājaward); সুদ [ʃu:d] *interest on money* (sūd); রদৌ [roddi] *worthless (as of goods)* (raddi); etc.

In সিদ্ধুক [ʃindfuk], beside সিন্দুক [ʃinduk] *chest, box* (sindūq), we have aspiration of < d >.

Final < d > is unvoiced in a few cases: তাইৎ [tɔit] *aid, voucher* (tāʿid); ফস্ত [phɔstɔ] *bleeding by cutting a vein* (fasd); † মদৎ [mɔdɔt] *help* (madad); † মসৌৎ [moʃit] beside মসৌদ [moʃid] *mosque* (masjid); etc.

< d > is cerebralised in ডিহি [ḏifi] *a tract* (dih), ডেগ, ডেকটী [ḏe:g, ḏekṭi] *metal cooking pots* (dēg, dēg-cl, dēg).

< d > is dropped in some words: ওস্তাগর [ostɔgɔr] *master craftsman* > *a tailor* (ustād-gar); নগীচ [nɔgiɔʃ] *nearness* (nazdik); খোনকার beside খোন্দকার [khonkɔr < khond(ɔ)kɔr] *teacher* > *a title* (xwand-kār); রেবনচিনি [rebɔnɔʃini] *China rhubarb* (ravand-cīni). It is assimilated in বজ্জাত [boʒʒɔt] *vicious* (bad-ẓāt < -ḏāt).

An intrusive [d] is found in তুন্দুর [tundur] *oven to bake loaves* (tanūr, tannūr).

338. Early Persian < ḏ > either became < z >, or was restored to < d > in later Classical Persian and Modern Persian (see p. 562). It has had a two-fold treatment in the Indian languages, either as a [ʒi] (for the < z > value), or as a dental stop (for the < d, ḏ > value).

Examples: < kāgāḏ > *paper* gave an Old Nepal form < kāyagada >, Hindi, Marāṭhi < kāgad >, Assamese < kākāt >, Bengali কাগতী [kɔgɔti] *a paper-making caste*, beside Bengali কাগজ [kɔgɔʒi]; < xiḏmat > *service* is found as খেজমত [kheʒimɔt] in Late Middle Bengali, besides খেদমৎ, খিদমৎ [khidmɔt, khedmɔt]: cf. Anglo-Indian < kitmutgar > *servant, table servant* = < xiḏmat-gār >; < guḏār, guḏastan > *to pass time* gives Bengali গুজরানো [guʒirano], beside Marāṭhi < gudarṇē >; < ziyāḏatī > *excess* through a

stage « \*ziyāzāti » is the source of জাতি [ʃiʒɔsti], also found in other Indian languages, Aryan and Dravidian; « qawāʿid > qawāʿiḏ » *rules, processes* is the source of কাওরাজ [kəʊʒiʒ] *military drill*. In Late Middle Bengali, we have names of places like সদ্যদাবাজ [ʃædɔbɔʒiʒ], সিলিমাভাজ [ʃilimɔbɔʒiʒ], ফতেয়াভাজ [phɔteɔbɔʒiʒ] etc., beside forms in -দ [-d], for « sayyad-ābāḏ, salīm-ābāḏ, fath-ābāḏ ». The Arabic word « taqāḏah » seems to have become « taqāḏah » in Persian, whence we have তাগাদা [tagada] *demand for payment* in Bengali: « ḏ > ʒ » would have given \*তাগাজা [\*tagaʒiʒa]; similarly the name « Faḏl » occurs as ফদ্দল [phɔddɔl] in MB., now = ফজল [phɔʒiʒɔl], and « Khidr » as খিদির [khidir].

[V] The Persian Labial Stops [p, b], and Denti-labial Spirant [f].

339. Persian « p » remains in Bengali.

Initial: পীর [pi:r] *a saint* (pīr); পিলখানা [pilkhənɔ] *elephant stables* (pil-xānah); পোলাও [polɔɔ] *rice and meat with butter* (palāw); পশম [pɔʃm] *wool* (pašm); MB. পাতিশা(হ) [patiʃa(ɦɔ)] *emperor* (pāti-sāh) (the NB. বাদশা [badʃa] is from the Hindōstāni modification of the Persian word); পরওয়ানা [pəʊɔnɔ], beside পরনা [pəʊnɔ] *mandate, order* (parwānah); পনীর [ponir] *cheese* (panīr); পয়গম্বর [pəɛgɔmbɔr] *prophet* (paigambar); পিঁয়াজ [piɔʒiʒ] *onion* (piyāz); etc.

Medial: †ওয়াপস [ɔapɔʃ] *returning* (wāpas); সোপর্দ [ʃɔpɔrɔddɔ] *committal, handing over* (supurd); নাসপাতি [naʃpati] *pear* (nāspāti); শিরপেচ [ʃirpɛʃ] *gem on turban* (sar-pɛc); etc.

Final: তোপ [to:p] *cannon* (tōp).

340. Persian « b » remains.

Initial: বান্দা [banda] *slave* (bandah); বস্তা [bɔsta] *packet* (bastah); বহর [bɔɦɔr] *sea > width* (baɦr); বাকী [baki] *remainder* (bāqī); বাগিচা [bagiʃɔ] *garden* (bāɟɛah); বাহাদুর [bɔɦɔdɔr] *brave* (bahādur); বেরাদর [berɔdɔr] *brother, caste-fellow* (barādar); বরাবর [bɔrɔbɔr] *in front, straight up to* (bar-ā-bar); বেলোয়ারী [belɔɔri] *glass, crystal* (billaurī); etc.

Medial: বুলবুল [bulbul] *nightingale*; খোবানী [khobani] *apricot* (xōbānī); বরবাদ [bɔrbad] *wasted, ruined* (barbād); জোব্বা [ʒiʒɔbbɔ] *a loose robe*



(jubbah); জবান [ʃʒobān] *speech, word* (zabān); কাবাব [kabāb] *roast meat* (kabāb); আবর [ʔbru] *honour* (āb-rū); আকবর [akbār] *Akbar*; কবর [kəbār] *grave* (qabr); জ্ব [ʃʒobd̪] *punishment* (zab̪t̪ < d̪ab̪t̪); etc.

Final: আজব [aʃʒob] *strange*; বাব [ba:b] *door* > *head of expenditure* (bāb); আসবাব [aʃʒob] *furniture* (asbāb); নবাব [nəbāb] *Nabob* (nawāb); জবাব [ʃʒobāb] *reply* (jawāb); জনাব [ʃʒonāb] *your honour!* (janāb); হিসাব [hiʃʒāb] *accounts* (hisāb); কেতাব [ketāb] *book* (kitāb); etc.

Final and medial < b > in some cases becomes [p]: খারাপ [kħərap] *bad* (xarāb); খপর beside খবর [kħəpər, kħəbər] *news* (xabr); গাপ [ga:p] *beside গায়েব* [ga:eb] *secret* (gaib); গোলাপ [golap] *rose* (gulāb); শরাপ [ʃərap] *wine* (šarāb); মেরাপ [mərap] *temporary roofing of mats* (mihrāb); তলপ beside তলব [tələp, tələb] *wages, summons* (tālab); cf. also রপ্ত [rəpt̪] *habit, familiarity* (rab̪t̪).

Final < b > is found as [m] in a few words: e.g., MB. গালিম [galim] *conqueror, enemy* (gālib); বিমোজ্জিম [bimoʃʒim] *by reason of* (bi-maujib).

< b > is assimilated in নসীপুর [nos̪ipur] *name of a place* (Nasībpur); and it is probably dropped in the personal name নসীরাম [nos̪iram] (= nasib-rām?).

In স্বরূপ [ʃurup] *soup* (šōrbā), we have vocalisation of < b >.

341. Persian < f >. Initially, medially and finally, it became ফ [ph] in Bengali: but initially, [ph] often changes to a spirant [f] or [ɸ]; medially, it generally remains [ph], but occasionally it is deaspirated, and [f, ɸ] modification of intervocal [ph] is also quite common.

Examples Initial: ফরাক, ফারাক [phərak, pha-] *distance, space intervening* (farq); ফকির [phokir] *mendicant* (faqīr); ফানুস [phanuʃ] *paper lantern, glass dome of lamp* (fānūs); ফানা [phəlanə] *so-and-so* (fulān); ফিরোজ [phiroʒa] *light blue colour* (firōzah); ফোয়ারা [phoara] *artificial fountain* (fawwārah); ফৌজ [phouʒ] *army* (fauj); ফসল [phəʃəl] *crops* (fasl); ফরিদাদ [phoriad] *petition* (faryād); ফর্মান [phərman] *mandate, order* (farmān); ফিরিঙ্গি [phiriŋgi] *Portuguese, Eurasian* (firangi); etc.

Medial: আপিন, আপিং, আপিম, আফিম [ap(b)in, -im, -in] *opium* (af̪iūm); কৈফিয়ত [koiphit̪] *excuses* (kaiḡiyat); কাকের [kəpher] *infidel* (kāfir); আপসোস, আফ- [ap(h)ʃoʃ] *regrets* (afsōs); খলীফা [kholip(h)a] *the*

*Caliph* (xalifah); তুফান [tuphan] *storm at sea* (tufān); তুরপুন [turpun] *awl* (turfān); তোফা [topha] *fine, excellent* (tuḥfah); খাপা, খাপা [kha(p)pa] *angry* (xafā); লেফাফা [lephapha] *envelope* (lifāfah); মৌনফা [monɔpha] *gain* (munafa°); বরফৌ, বরপী [borp(h)i] *cream ice, sweetmeat of sugar and cream* (barfi); রিফু, রিপু [rip(h)u] *sewing* (rafū); কুলুপ [kulup] *padlock* (qufl); সুপারিশ [ʃupariʃ] *recommendation* (sifāriʃ); MB. তপাস [tɔpaʃ] *search, enquire* (tafāḥḥus); etc.

« f » becomes [pt]: গেরেপ্তার, গ্রেপ্তার [g(e)reptar] *arrest* (giriftār); দপ্তর [dɔptɔr] *book* (daftar); রপ্তানী [rɔptani] *export* (raftani); বাপ্তা [bɔpta] *woven stuff, a kind of silk stuff* (bāftah); তাপ্তা [tapta] *a fine silk or woollen stuff* (tāftah); বাজেয়াপ্ত [baʃʒeaptɔ] *confiscated* (bāz-yāft); দরিয়াপ্ত [doriaptɔ] *enquiry* (daryāft); হপ্তা [ʃɔpta] *week* (haftah); etc.

Final « f » > [ph] is commonly found in NB. as [p], and at times as [b]: e.g., তরফ, তরপ [tɔrɔp(h)] *side* (tarf); ওয়াকফ, -প [oakɔp(h)] *religious trust* (waqf); খেলাপ [khelɔp] *contrary* (xilāf); গেলাপ, গেলাব, গেলেব [gelap, gelab, geleb] *covering, sheath* (gilāf); তকলিফ, তকলিব [toklip(h), toklib] *trouble, suffering* (taklif); বরফ [bɔrɔp(h)] *ice, snow* (barf); বেকুব [bekub < \*beukuph] *foolish, idiot* (bē-wuqf); মোকুব [mokub] *settled, fixed* (mauqūf); সাফ, সাপ [ʃa:p(h)] *clean, pure* (sāf); সরেপ, সরেক, স্রেফ [ʃerep(h), sre:p(h)] *only, merely* (sirf); হলফ, হলপ [ʃɔlɔp(h)] *oath* (ḥalf); হরফ, হরপ [ʃɔrɔp(h)] *letter of the alphabet* (ḥarf); সজ্জাব [ʃɔnʃʒab] *border, fringe* (sanjāf, sajāf); etc.

In the NB. word তাবাস as in তত্ত-তাবাস [tɔttɔtabaʃ] *enquiries with presents of sweets, fruits, etc.* = MB. তপাস [tɔpaʃ] *search*, we have change of « f » to [b] (tafāḥḥus): see p. 213, foot-note.

In the word সত্তরী as in সত্তরী আম [ʃɔb(ʃi)ɔri a:m] *pear, guava*, lit., *mango that has travelled*, we have change of « f » intervocal to [b(ʃi)] in Eastern Bengali (safarī).

Persian « v »: see *infra*, under the Semi-vowel [w].

[VI] The Nasals: Velar [ŋ], Alveolar [n], Labial [m].

342. The sound of [ŋ] occurs in Persian only before « k, g » and « q », and it is written ځ « n ». [ŋ] as a rule is preserved in Bengali. ځ



« ng » = [ŋg] of Persian is ordinarily reduced to [ŋ], and before another consonant, in a few words, this [ŋ] is altered to [n]. Examples: আঙ্গুর [aŋur] *grapes* (angūr); ফিরিঙ্গি [phiriŋgi] *Portuguese, Eurasian* (firangī); ইংরেজ [iŋreʒi] *English* (ingrēz, angrēz); আওরঙ্গজেব, ঔরঙ্গজেব etc. [aorɔŋʒib, ourɔŋʒib] beside আওরঙ্গিব [aorɔŋʒib] *Aurangzēb*; জঙ্গনামা [ʒiŋŋ-nama, ʒiŋŋɔnama] *the Jang-nāmā, a poem on the Kerbela battle*; etc.

343. Persian « n » ordinarily remains in Bengali, but there are cases where it nasalises the contiguous vowel and is itself no longer existent as a separate sound.

Initial: নোকর [nokɔr] *servant* (naukar); নামাজ [nɔmɔʒi] *prayers* (namāz); নরম [nɔrɔm] *soft* (narm); নসীব [noʃib] *luck* (nasīb); নোক্তা [nokta] *a dot* (nuqṭah); নাতোয়ান [natoan] *weak, feeble* (nātawān); নাজির [naʒir] *overseer* (nāzir); নিশান [niʃan] *banner* (nišān); etc.

Medial: খঞ্জর [khɔŋʒɔr] *dagger* (xanjar); তুন্দুর [tundur] *oven* (tannūr); পাঞ্জা [paŋʒa] *hand with five fingers, grip, mark with the hand* (panjāh); সনাক্ত [ʃɔnaktɔ] *identification* (šināxt); মোনফা [monɔpha] *gain* (munafa<sup>১</sup>); দুনিয়া [dunia] *world* (dunyā); etc.

Final: ইমান [iman] *faith* (Imān); কানুন [kanun] *laws, customs* (qānūn); কামান [kaman] *bow > gun* (kamān); খুন [khu:n] *blood > murder* (xūn); দেওয়ান [deɔan] *manager* (dīwān); etc.

Persian « n » also becomes [l] in a few words (see pp. 545, 546 *supra*): লক [lo:k] *thread, twine* (nax); লোকসান [lokʃan] *loss* (nuqsān); আবলুস [abluf] *ebony* (abnūs).

344. Nasalisation of Vowels from « n ». In Arabic, the « tanwin », or « n » affix of indefiniteness which was added to nouns, probably early became a nasalisation (although the full « -n » is still preserved in Central Arabian dialects): i.e. « -un, -an -iu » became « \*-ū, -ā, -ī »; but this is not preserved in Persia or India, as the short final vowels of Arabic were dropped. Nasalised vowels are unknown to Persian and Turki. In India, in the Hindōstānī area, long vowels of Persian (Perso-Arabic and Turki) when followed by « n » are optionally pronounced as nasalised, i.e., either as « -ān, -īn, -ūn », or as -ā̄, -ī̄, -ū̄ ». This « nūn-i-gunnah », or *nasalising*

n, as a rule is not found in Bengali, but there are a number of words in Bengali which are based on a Hindōstānī « gunnah » pronunciation: e.g., মির্রা, মির্রা, মের্রা [miā, meā] a title of respect > a common term in addressing a Mohammedan (miyān); খাঁ [khā:] a title (xān); জাহাপনা < জাহাপনা [ʃʃiāhapanā < ʃʃiāhā-] refuge of the world (jahān-panāh); জমী [ʃʃomi < \*ʃʃomi] land (zamīn); মিহি [mifi = \*mifi < \*mifi] fine (mahīn); খানসামা [khanʃama < -ʃamā] butler (xān-sāmā); আবরোয়া [abrōa] running water > a fine muslin (āb-i-rawān); শিরী [ʃiri < ʃiri] Shīrīn, the beloved of Farhād (širīn); কাঁচী [kāʃi] scissors (qainci); etc. The group « -wān » of Persian became [wā, oā], written ঙ in Late MB.: e.g., the Musalmānī Bengali spellings নোশেরঙা [noʃerwā, -wā] = the Persian King Nōš-erwān; রঙানা [rōwānā -wā] departed (rawānah).

A pre-consonantal « n » after a short vowel also nasalises the vowel: e.g., চাদা [ʃāda] subscription (candah); হিঁদু, হেঁদু [hiṅdu, hēṅdu] Hindu (hīndū, hēndū); গোলকঁদ, গুলকঁদ [golkōḍ, gul-] candied roses (gul-qand).

Spontaneous nasalisation is also found in a few words: হাঁসিয়া [hāʃia] hem, border, edging (hāsyah); হুঁস [hū:ʃ] senses (hōs); হুঁসিয়ার [hū:ʃiar] clever (hōsyār); হুঁকা, হুঁকো [hūka, hūko] hookah (huqqah); গৌতা, গৌতা [gō:t, gō(t)ta] plunging (as of a paper kite in the sky) (gaut, gautah); পেঁচ [pē:ʃ] twist, wrench (pēc); বৌচকা [bōʃka] baggage (buqcah); কৌতকা [kōtkā] big stick, cudgel (qutqah); পেঁয়াজ, পঁয়াজ [pēaʃ, pē:ʃ] onion (piyāz); ফেসাদ [phiʃad] danger, difficulty (fasād); পঁজা [pāʃa] brick-kiln (pazāwah); গৌয়ারা [gōyāra] the taziyahs in the Muharram festival (gahwārah cradle), also গৌমরা [gomra]; cf. also সনদ [ʃonōḍ] beside সনদ [ʃonōḍ] letters-patent (sanad); মহলদ [mōʃhlonōḍ] embroidered rug (\*machnand < masnad); and সজাব [ʃonʃab] border (sajāf, sanjāf).

345. Persian « m » remains. [m] before [b] is written ʔ « n » in many words in Perso-Arabic.

Initial: মজা [mōʃa] fun (mazā); মগজ [mōgʃa] brains (magz); মরদা [mōda] fine flour (maidah); মিনার [minār] minaret (minār); মির্রা a title (miyān); মহল [mōʃal] quarter, wing of house (maḥal); মালেক [malek] proprietor, king (mālik); etc.



Medial: ইমাম [imam] *religious guide* (imām); গুম্বাজ [gumbəʒi] *tower* (gumbaz, gunbaḍ); কামান [kaman] *bow > gun* (kamān); তামাসা [tamaʃa] *fun, joke* (tamāšah); তামাদী [tamadi] *barred by limitation* (tamādī); পয়মাল [pəemal] *destroyed, crushed* (pai-māl); রুমাল [rumal] *handkerchief* (rū-māl); মকদ্দমা [mokəddəma] *lawsuit* (muqaddamah); etc.

Final: সেলাম আলেকম [ʃelam alekom] *the Mohammedan salutation, 'Peace be with you'* (salām ʿalaikum); হকীম [fiokim] *physician* (hakīm); হারাম [fiarəm] *forbidden* (harām); কায়েম [kæem] *established, fixed* (qāʾim); জুলুম [ʒiulum] *oppression* (zulm); মোকাম [mokam] *abode* (muqām); etc.

When it occurs with [h], [m] is doubled: আহম্মদ [aɦiməd] *the name Ahmed* (ahmad); আহাম্মুক [aɦimuk] *fool* (ahmaq).

In খাপ [kha:p] *sheath* (= xām?), we have a possible case of change of [m] to [p].

Nasalisation through [m]: খোঁয়ারী [khōari], also খোঁয়াড়ী [khōari] *lassitude after hard drinking* (xumārī).

### [VII] The Liquids, [r, l].

#### 346. Persian [r] remains.

Initial: রবাব [rəbab] *a stringed instrument* (rabāb); রফা [rəpha] *settlement* (rafʿ); রমজান [rəmʒiʒan] *the Ramadan festival* (ramazān < ramadān); রাস [ra:ʃ] *reins* (rās: ? MIA. \*rašsi < OIA. raśmi); রিপু, রিফু [rip(h)u] *sewing, darning* (rafū); রুজু [ruʒiʒu] *placing a complaint* (rujūʿ); রোজ [ro:ʒi] *day, daily wages* (rōz); রেশম [reʃəm] *silk* (rēšam); etc.

Medial: ইরান, -ণ [iran] *Persia* (irān); একরার [ekrar] *acknowledgment* (iqrār); ফেরার [pherar] *absconding* (firār); পারসী, ফারসী [p(h)arʃi] *Persian* (pārsī, fārsī); চরকা, চরখা [ʃərka(h)a] *spinning wheel* (carxah); নরম [nərəm] *soft* (narm); শরম, সরম [ʃərəm] *shame* (šarm); বর্গী [borgi] *Maratha raider* (bārgīr); etc.

Final: আনার [anar] *pomegranate* (anār); খাতির [khatir] *respect* (xātīr); তকরার [tokrar] *discussion, wrangle* (takrār); তৈয়ার, ত'য়ের [toiar, toer] *ready, prepared* (taiyār); তীর [ti:r] *arrow* (tir); পীর [pi:r] *saint* (pīr *old person*); etc., etc.

In a few words, Persian < r > occurs as [l] : e.g., নিশাদল [niʃadəl] *sal-ammoniac* (naušādūr); মলম [mələm] *ointment* (marḥam); দেয়াল [deal] *wall* (dīwār); জালা [ʃʒala] *huge earthen jar to hold water etc.* (jarrah); মাহুল as in †মাহুল-চোর [maʃul ʧor] *notorious thief* (mašhur); †কসলং [kəʃlət] *beside* কসরং [kəʃrət] *physical exercise* (kasrat); etc.

Persian < r > also occurs as ʒ [r] in some words : e.g., তাগাড় [tagaʒ] *mason's lime-pit* (tagār); তোড়া [toʒa] *plume, errest, nosegay* (turrah); খসড়া [kəʃʒra] *rough draft of a document* (xasrah); মোড়চে, মোরচে < মরিচা [moʒʧe, moʒʧe < \*məriʧa] *rust* (mōreah, mūreah); কড়ার beside করার [kəʒar, kəʒar] *agreement* (qarār); খোঁয়াড়ী beside খোঁয়ারী [kəʒari, kəʒari] *morning effects of hard drinking* (xumārī); etc.

There is dropping of the < r > in a number of words, in a preconsonantal and final position (see p. 541) : e.g., সর্দার beside সর্দার [ʃəddar, ʃəddar] *chief, head* (sar-dār); মদ [mədələ] *man, strong man* (mard); কাদানী, কারদানী [kaddani, kardani] *practicability, power, skill* (kardani); শিরনী, শিরনী [ʃinni, ʃirni] *sweets, milk etc. offered to a saint* (širni); সেরেস্তা [ʃeresta] *office* (sar-rištah); মোহরম [moʃərəm] *the Muharram festival* (muḥarram); মুহুরী [muʃuri] *clerk* (muḥarrir); মোকরর [mokrər] *permanent* (muqarrar); etc.

An intrusive [r] also is found : মোকর্দমা beside মকদমা [møkərdəma, məkəddəma] *lawsuit* (muqaddamah); মরসুম beside মৌসুম [moʃʃum, mouʃʃum] *season* (mausim) : see p. 542.

### 347. Persian < l > remains in Bengali.

Initial : লস্কর [ləʃkər] *troops* (laškar); লাগাম [lagam] *bridle* (lagām); লায়েক [ləek] *worthy, fit* (ləʔiq); লাল [la:] *ruby, red* (ləʔl); লাস [la:ʃ] *corpse* (lās); লবেজান [ləbeʃʒan] *hardpressed, at the last gasp* (Hindōstāni lab-pai jān *life at the lip*, Pers. lab + jān); লহমা [ləʃioma] *a twinkle, a moment* (lamḥah); etc.

Medial : আল্লা [alla] *Good* (allāh); ইল্লৎ [illət] *dirt, impurity* (ʔillat); ইসলাম, এসলাম [islam, eslam] *the Mohammedan religion* (islām); দালাল [dalal] *broker, middle-man* (dallāl); নালিশ [nəliʃ] *complaint* (nāliš); তালাস, তলাস [taləʃ, təlləʃ] *search* (talās); ফিলহাল [philʃial] *at the present day, now* (fi-l-hāl); কল্লা [kəlla] *boasting, quarrelling* (kalah); কলমা [kəlma] *the*



*Mohammedan creed* (kalimah); কুলে [kulle] *in its sum total, in all, all told* (kull-, kullihī); etc.

Final: আমল [amol] *rule, tenure* (ʿamal); কবুল [kobul] *admitted, agreed* (qabūl); দিল, দেল [di:l, de:l] *heart* (dil); হালাল [fi:lal] *lawful* (ḥalāl); হাল [fi:l] *condition* (ḥāl); আসল [ɑʃol] *original, pure* (asl); খেয়াল [kheal] *whim* (xiyāl); গজল [gɑʃol] *a song, a melody* (gʿazal); etc., etc.

[l] and [n] are interchangeable in Bengali (see pp. 545-546): e.g., নাগাৎ, নাগাদ beside লাগাৎ, লাগারেৎ [nagat, nagad, naga(e)t] *to the end of, inclusively, approximately* (li-gāyat > laḡāyat); নদর beside লদর [nɑʃkɑr, lɑʃkɑr] *troops > a surname* (laškar); নঙ্গর beside লঙ্গর [nɑŋ(g)ɑr, lɑŋ(g)ɑr] *anchor* (langar); etc.

[VIII] The Sibilants: Palatal [ʃ, ʒ], Dental [s, z].

348. Persian [s, ʃ] fell together in Bengali, in which they normally become [ʃ], written শ, ষ, স < ś, ṣ, s >. In numerous instances, [ʃh, ʃʃ] were arrived at by the Bengali [ʃ] (see p. 551). In the nexus < st >, however, the dental sibilant remained, and Persian < št > [ʃt] was changed to [st] in Bengali (see p. 546). Persian [s] represents not only the native Iranian sound but also Arabic [s, θ, ṣ].

Some Mohammedan writers seek to bring in the Persian dental [s] sound, and following the East Bengal pronunciation, they write it ছ < ch = s >: e.g., ওছমান for ওসমান = < ʿuṣmān >, ছোবে ছাদেক = সোবে সাদেক = < subḥ-i-sādiq > (see p. 580), etc. This is against the spirit of Bengali phonetics, especially when naturalised words and names with স [ʃ] are interfered with.

Initial: সনদ [ʃɑnɑd] *deed* (sanad); সন [ʃɑ:n] *year* (san); সরাই [ʃɑrai] (sarāi); সাবেক [ʃɑbek] *old* (sābiq); সেপাই [ʃepai] *soldier* (sipāhi); সাজ [ʃɑʃɑ] *punishment* (sazā); সুরকী [ʃurki] *brick-dust* (surx red); সালিস [ʃɑliʃ] *third party > arbitrator* (sālīs < θālīθ); সদর [ʃɑdɑr] *head-quarters, metropolis* (sadr); সব্বর [ʃɑbur] *waiting* (sabr patience); সানক [ʃɑnɑk] *plate* (saḥnak); সেই [ʃoi] *signature* (saḥih); শাহা [ʃɑ(ʃɑ)] *king* (šāh); শরম, সরম [ʃɑrɑm] *shame* (šarm); সাবাস [ʃɑbɑʃ] *bravo!* (šābāš); সরবৎ [ʃɑrbɑt] *sherbet* (šarbat); শহর [ʃɑʃɑr] *city* (šahr); etc. etc.

Initially we have [çh] for the Persian sibilant in a few words: ছবি [çhobi] *portrait, picture* (šabih : cf. Sanskrit *chavi* *beauty*); ছানি beside মানি [çhani, fani] *second (hearing, revision)* (šāni < θāni); ছয়লাব [çhoḷlab] *inundation* (sail-āb); শিরকা, ছিরকা [ʃirka, çhirka] *vinegar* (sirkah); etc. In স্রেক [sre:p(h)], beside সেরেক [ʃerep(h)] *only* (sirf), we have change to a dental sibilant before [r].

Medial: খানসামা [khanfama] *butler* (xān-i-sāmān); মুসলমান [muʃolman] *Mohammedan* (musalmān); তমঃপ্রক [tamoʃʃuk] *bond* (tamassuk); মাদ্রাসা [madraʃa] *Arabic and Persian school* (madrāsah); আসমান [aʃman] *sky* (asmān); মোরুশী [mouruʃi] *hereditary (tenure)* (maurūši < mawrūθ-); আসল [aʃol] *true, pure* (asl); কশাই [koʃai] *butcher* (qasāʔi); ফুরসৎ [phurʃot] *leisure* (fursat); রসদ [roʃod] *rations* (rasad); খাসী [khaʃi] *castrated goat* (xassī); ইশাদী [iʃadi] *witness* (iʃhādī); মশাল [moʃal] *torch* (mašaʔl); পশম [poʃom] *wool* (pašm); হামেশা [hameʃa] *always* (hamēšah); পেশা [peʃa] *business, trade* (pešah); আশরাফী [aʃrop(h)i] *a gold coin* (ašrafi); etc.

[çh] for [ʃ] in the interior of a word is also found: e.g., আকছার [akçhar, ʃaksar] *frequently* (akšar < akθar); মোছলমান, মোচরমান, মুচুরমান [moçholman, moçormān, mucʃurman] *a Mohammedan* (musalmān), beside forms with the palatal and dental sibilants; মিছিল [miçhil] *procession* (mi-l < miθl); অছি [oçhi] *testator* (wasī); অছিলা [oçhila] *excuse* (wasilah); কেচ্ছা [keççha] *story, scandal* (qissah); তছরুপ [toçhrup, tosruf] *embezzlement* (tasarruf); মছলন্দ [moçhlonɔ] *embroidered velvet rug, 'musnud'* (masnad).

Persian « st » remains [st] in Bengali: ওস্তাদ [ostad] *master* (ustād); কিস্তী [kisti] *instalment* (qistī); দস্তখৎ [dostokhot] *signature* (dast-xaʃt); ওয়াস্তা [oasta] *intermediacy, connexion* (wāstah); ইস্তফা [istapha] *resignation* (istaʔfā); দোস্ত [dost(o)] *friend* (dōst); বস্তা [bosta] *packet* (bastah); হেস্তুনেস্ত [hestonesto] *final solution* (hast-nīst); etc.

Persian « št » become [st] in Bengali: গোস্ত [gosto] *meat* (gōšt); কিস্তী [kisti] *boat* (kištī); বরদাস্ত [bordasto] *endurance* (bar-dāst); কুস্তী [kusti] *wrestling* (kuštī); etc.

Final sibilant: আবনূশ [abluʃ] *ebony* (abnūs); লাস [la:ʃ] *body* (lās); হদীস [hodiʃ] *tradition, cue* (hādīs < hādīθ); ওয়ারিস [oarīʃ] *heir* (wāriš < wāriθ);



খাস [kha:ʃ] *private* (xās); খালাস [khalɑʃ] *free* (xalās); কিশমিশ [kiʃmiʃ] *raisins* (kišmiš); খরগোশ [kħɔrgoʃ] *hare* (xar-gōš); বখশিশ [bok(h)ʃiʃ] *largesse, tip* (baxšiš); বালাপোষ [balapoʃ] *quilted shawl* (bālāpōš); etc.

[çh, ç] for final sibilant: নাকচ [nɑkœç] *cancelling* (nāqis); তছনছ [tœç(h)nœç(h)] *broken and scattered* (taħs-naħs); MB. তরকচ, -কোচ [tœrkœç, -kœç] *quiver for arrows* (tarkaš), beside the form with the sibilant. In Musalmānī Bengali, Persian [s] is written ছ, and generally pronounced [s], following the East Bengali habit; and Persian [ʃ] is written শ, ষ, স. The difference in the original sounds in Persian loan-words is thus sought to be maintained, through the influence of the Maulavis, but common West Bengali and Standard Bengali ignore it. The ছ orthography is partly responsible for introducing the [çh] rather than [ʃ] pronunciation in a few words in the Standard Colloquial, in which the [s] value of ছ is unknown.

349. Persian [z] representing both the native sound, and Iranian [ð], as well as Arabic [z, ð, z (=ðʷ), ð (=ðī)] becomes জ [ʃi] in Bengali. In East Bengali, this [ʃi], as well as [ʃi] from Persian ج [dʒ], becomes [dz, z].

Initial: জখম [ʃiɔkhɔm] *wound* (zaxm); জবান [ʃiɔban] *speech, word* (zabān); জমী [ʃiɔmi] *land* (zamīn); জরী [ʃiɔri] *gold lace* (zarī); জের [ʃiɔ:r] *prolongation, continuation* (zēr); জুলপী [ʃiɔlpi] *side-lock* (zulf); জেরা [ʃiɔɾɑ] *a little* (zārā < ðarāʔ); জিম্মা [ʃiɔimma] *custody* (zimmah < ðimmah); জিলা [ʃiɔila] *district* (zilā < ðilāʔ); জুলুম [ʃiɔulum] *oppression* (zulm); জরুরী [ʃiɔruri] *urgent* (zarūrī < ðarūr); জোর [ʃiɔ:r] *force* (zōr); etc.

Medial: ইজ্জৎ [iʃiɔt] *honour* (ʔizzat); ওজন [oʃiɔu] *weight* (wazn); শাজাদা [ʃaʃiɔada] *prince* (šāh-zādah); উজীর [uʃiɔir] *minister* (wazīr); খাজানা [kħaʃiɔ(ɑ)nɑ] *taxes* (xazānah); মেজাজ [meʃiɔʃi] *spirit, temper* (mizāj); ওজর [oʃiɔr] *excuse* (ʔuʔr < ʔuʔr); কাজী [kaʃiɔi] *judge* (qāzī < qāđī); মেরজাব [merʃiɔb] *plectrum* (mizrāb < midrāb); নজর [nɑʃiɔr] *sight* (nazr); হাজির [ħaʃiɔir] *present* (hāzīr < hāđir); etc.

Final: আন্দাজ [ɑndɑʃi] *approximation* (andāz thrower); বাজ [bɑ:ʃi] *falcon* (bāz) জাহাজ [ʃiɔʃaʃi] *ship* (jahāz); রোজ [ro:ʃi] *day > daily wages* (rōz); মগজ [mɑgɑʃi] *brains* (maqz); কর্জ [kœrʃiɔ] *debt* (qarʒ < qard);

কাগজ [kagaʒ] *paper* (kāgaʒ < kāgað); সয়দাবাজ [ʃædabaʒ] *a town* (saiyad-abāð, -bāz); etc.

There is hardening of final জ [ʒ] < [z] to চ [ç] in a few words: কবচ beside কবজ [kəbɔç], < kəbɔʒ] *bond, receipt* (qabʒ < qabð); কাগচ beside কাগজ [kagaç], -০ʒ] *paper* (kāgaʒ, -að); and cf. কচ [kəç] below.

350. Persian ʒ = « ʒ » [ʒ]. It is a comparatively rare sound in Persian itself. The normal Indian equivalent would be [z] > [ʒ, -dʒ]. In the word কচ [kəç] for কজ [kəʒ] *a small irregular piece attached to a regular plot* we probably have a Persian word in « ʒ »: « kaʒ » (also « kaj ») *crooked, curved, irregular*.

#### [IX] The Semi-vowels « y » and « w ».

351. Persian « y » was probably both a spirant [j] and a semi-vowel [ɹ, j]. Both the values are absent in Bengali.

Initially, Persian « y- » becomes ই [i] (see p. 533): e.g., ইয়াদ [iad] *remembrance* (yād); ইয়ার [iar] *friend, boon-companion* (yār); ইউনানী [iunani] *Greek > Arabic (system of medicine)* (yūnān); ইহুদী [ihudi] *Jew* (yahūdī); ইউসুফ, ইয়ুপ [i(u)ʃup(h)] *a name* (yūsuf); ইয়াকুব [iakub] *a name* (yaʿqūb); etc. In আখনী [akhni] *soup, broth* (yaxnī) we have dropping of « y- »; and « ya- » is assimilated to [e] in এজিদ [eʒid] *a name* (yazīd).

Interior « -yā- » becomes এ, য় [e] in Bengali, which generally forms a diphthong with a preceding vowel or is assimilated or dropped: e.g., আয়েন্দা [aenda] *coming* (āyandah, āʾindah); কেফায়ত [kephaçət, kephaet] *benefit* (kifāyat); সৈয়দ [ʃoiəd, ʃo(i)ed] *a Saiyad* (saiyad); দোয়ম [doçəm, doem] *second* (dōyam); সেয়ম [ʃeəm] *third* (siyam); বিলাৎ [bilat] *Europe* (wilāyat); পায়া [paçə] *leg (of furniture)* (pāyah); নেহায়েৎ [nehaçet, nehaet] *excessively* (nihāyat); বায়া [baçə] *seller* (\*bāyā, \*bāyəç < bāyīç); etc.

In the group ইয়া « -iyā- », the « y » > [ø] is a mere glide, which is dropped in quick speech [iə > ia, ea, əa, ə, əç] (see pp. 412, 417): মিয়াদ, মেয়াদ, মাদ [miəd, meəd, mə:d] *term, term of imprisonment* (miyād); জেয়াদ জায়দা [ʒiəda, ʒiə(e)da] *much* (ziyādah); জালিয়াৎ [ʒialiat] *forgery* (jaʿāliyat); তৈয়ার. তয়ের [toiər, toer] *ready* (taiyār); পেয়লা, পায়লা [peələ,



pæ(e)la] *cup* (piyālah); তেয়াং [teat] *caution* (iḥtiyāt), etc.; cf. also এক্তিয়ার, এক্তার [ektiar, ektear, ektær, ektar] *authority* (ixtiyār).

◀ -yā-, yāh ▶ after a consonant becomes [iā, ea] : বখেয়া [bøk(h)ea] *back-stitch* (baxyah); তাকিয়া [takiā] *bolster* (takyah); দুনিয়া [duniā] *world* (dunyā); দরিয়া [doriā] *river* (daryā); বুনিয়াদ [buniad], also বোনাদ [boned] *foundation* (bunyād); ফরিয়াদ [phoriad] *petition* (faryād); হাঁসিয়া [hāšia] *border of shawl* (hāšyah); etc.

Final ◀ -y ▶ at the end of a syllable remains as [e], and occasionally as [i] : e.g., জায় [jāe], also জাই [jāi] *place* (jāy); রায় [rāe] *judgment* (rāy); পরমাল, পারমাল [pæmal, pæma] *destroyed, crushed* (pāy-māl); etc.

◀ y- ▶ became [j] in যিহুদী [jifiudi] beside ইহুদী [ifudi] *Jew* (◀ yahūdī ▶, also ◀ jahūdī ▶ in Persian), and in রাজদাদ [rojādād] *statement* (rō-y-dād = rū-i-dād).

352. Persian ◀ w ▶ was probably both a semi-vowel [w, ũ] and a spirant [v, v̄]. Both these articulations are represented in Bengali, the former by vowels, and the latter by ব [b] (and in recent times by ভ = [bʱi, v, v̄]).

Initial ◀ w- ▶ :

Persian ◀ wā-, wū- ▶ > Bengali [o, o] : ওকালত [okalat] *advocacy* (wakālat); ওকত, ওক [oktə, oktə] *time* (waqt); অছি [oʃhi, oʃhi, oʃi] *heir* (wasī); অছিল [oʃhila, oʃhila] *excuse* (wasīlah); ওজুহাত [oʃʃuhat] *reasons* (wajūhāt); ওজন [oʃʃon] *weight* (wazn); অলী, ওলী [oli, oli] *a name* (walī); অজেদ [oʃʃed] *a name* (wazēd); অকু ওকু [oku, oku] *place of occurrence* (waqū° < wūqū°); অজু, ওজু [oʃʃu, oʃʃu] *ablutions* (wazū < wūḏū); etc.

Persian ◀ wā-, wū- ▶ > Bengali [u] : উকীল [ukil] *pleader* (wakil); উজীর [uʃʃir] *minister* (wazir); উলী [uli] beside অলী, ওলী [oli, oli] *a name* (walī); উমূল, উশূল [uʃul] *realisation, recovery (of money)* (wusūl);

Persian ◀ wā- ▶ > Bengali [oa] : this is recent : ওয়াকফ [oakəph] *religious property* (waqf); ওয়াহাবী [oahabi] *a sect* (wahrābī);  
• ওয়াদা [oadā] *a stated period* (waḏah). Persian ◀ wā- ▶ is also found as [bā] in বগৱরা [bagəra] *et cetera* (wagairah) etc.

Persian « wi- » = [vi-, vi] became [bi]: বিলাৎ [bilat] *Europe* (wilāyat); বিদায় [bidāe] *farewell* (widā<sup>9</sup>);

Persian « wā- » > Bengali [oa]: ওয়াকিফ, -ব [oakiph, -b] *knowing* (wāqif); ওয়াপস [oapɔʃ] *returning* (wāpas); ওয়াশীল [oaʃil] *collections and balances* (wāsil); ওয়াজিব [oaʃtib] *necessary, proper* (wājib); ওয়াস্তা [oasta] *intermediary, reason, sake* (wāstah), etc.

In Musalmānī Bengali, following the MB. tradition, [oa] is written ও as well as ওয়.

Interior « -w- »: it is found as the [ɔ̃] glide, or as [u]; or following the spirant pronunciation it is changed to [b], mainly before [i, e]: e.g., আওয়াজ [aoaʃ] *sound* (awāz); আবোয়াব [abɔɔb] *heads of expenditure* (abwāb); কাওয়াজ [kaoaʃ] *manœuvre, drill* (qawā'id); দেওয়ান, দেওয়ান [de(o)an] *minister* (dīwān); সেওয়ান, সওয়ান [ʃeɔ̃ae, ʃ(o)ae] *without, in addition* (sīwāy); দাওয়াই [daɔ̃ai] *medicine* (dawā<sup>9</sup>); এওয় [eoʃ] < eɔ̃ʃ [eɔ̃ʃ] *exchange* (ʔiwāz < ʔiwāʃ); মেওয় [meoʃ] *fruits, dried fruits* (mēwāh); হাওয় [fiəoa] *air* (hawā); হালওয়াই, also হালুই [fiəloai, fiəlui] *sweet-meat maker* (hālwāi); হালুয় [fiəluʃ] *a sweet-meat* (hālwā); তওয়াক্কা > তোয়াক্কা [toɔ̃akka, toakka] *care, recking* (tawāqu<sup>9</sup>); সওয়াল [ʃɔ̃oal] *question* (sawāl, suwāl); etc. জবাব [ʃɔ̃ɔbab], pronounced also [ʃɔ̃ɔɔbab] *reply* (jawāb); তজবীজ [tɔ̃ʃɔ̃biʃ] *enquiry* (tajwīz); দরবেশ [dərbeʃ] *a Dervish* (darwēš); নবাব [nɔ̃bab] *a Nabob* (nawwāb); নবিশ [nɔ̃biʃ] *writer* (navīs); বাবুরচী < বাবরচী [bɔ̃bureʃi < bɔ̃bɔ̃reʃi] *cook* (bāvareʃ); হাবেলী [fiəbeli], also হাউলী, হাবলী [fiəuli, fiəbli] *mansion* (havēli); মৌলবী [moulobi] *a Mohammedan scholar* (maulavī); মুলতবী [multobi] *adjourned, postponed* (multavī); মুসাবিদা [muʃɔ̃bidə] *draft* (musavvadāh); রিশবৎ [riʃbɔ̃t] *bribe* (rišvat); ইসবী [iʃbi], beside ইয়ুই [iʃui] *Christian* (ʔisavī); আলিবর্দী [alibordi] *a name* (ʔalīvardī); পেশবাজ beside পেশোয়াজ [peʃbɔ̃ʃ, peʃoʃ] *a dancing girl's gown* (pešvāz, -bāz); তাগাবী [tagabi] *money advanced to farmers* (taqāvi); তহবীল, ভবীল [toʃnobil, tobil] *treasury* (taḥvīl); গরীবনেওয়াজ, -নেবাজ [goribne(o)ʃ, -nebaʃ] *kind to the poor* (garīb-navāz); etc.

« w » occurs as ভ [bfi, v, v] in some words, in the recent pronunciation and spelling, frequently through the English transliteration with « v »: e.g., মৌলভী « māulābhi » [moulovi, -vi] *Maulavī*; হাভেলী « hābhēli »



[fiaveli] a mansion; গজনভী < gâjñābhī > [gɔʃʒiɳɔvi, -vi] a surname = of *Ghazna* (gaznavī); তাকাভী < tākābhī > [takavi, -vi] *teccavi grant*; জেন্দাভেস্তা < jēndābhēstā >, a recent word = *Zend-Avesta* (zand-avastah); etc.

Interior < -w- > is assimilated or dropped (cf. p. 349): e.g., বাগান [bagan], Late MB. বাগোয়ান [bagoan] *garden* (bāgwān); নাতান, beside নাতোয়ান [natan, natoan] *weak* (nātwān); তফাৎ [tɔfət] *distance* (\*tafāwāt, tafāwut); উমেদার, earlier উমেদওয়ার [umedar < \*umedōḥar < umedōḥar] *applicant, client* (ummēdwār); দেওয়াল beside দেওয়াল [deal, deḥal] *wall* (dīwāl), also দেল, ডাল [de:l, de:l, də:l]; রক beside রওয়াক, রোয়াক [rɔ:k < rōḥak, roak] *ledge, platform of masonry* (rawāq), see p. 403; পরান, পরনা beside পরওয়ানা [pɔrana, pɔrɔna, pɔrḥana] *writ from king or authority* (parwānah); জহরৎ [ʃʒiḥɔrət < \*ʃʒiḥḥɔrət] *jewellery* (jawāhirāt); মক্কেল [mɔkkel] *client (in a law-suit)* (muwaqqil); বেকুব [bekub < \*beukuph] *fool, idiot* (bē-wuqf); etc.

< -w- > becomes nasalised [w̃ > m] through the proximity of < n > in a few words; see *supra*, p. 608; cf. also হামাদিস্তা, হামানদিস্তা [fiama(n) dista] *mortar and pestle* (hāwan-dastah); and গোয়ারা, গোমরা [gōara, gomra] *the empty biers carried in the Muḥarram procession* (gahwārah *cradle*) shows spontaneous nasalisation of < w >: so also in পঁজা [pāʃʒa] *brick-kiln* (\*pājā < \*pājāwā < pajāwah).

Final < -w > remains as [o]: তালো [talao] *tank* (talāw, talāb); পোলাও [polao] *pillau* (pulāw, pilāw); †দেও [deo] *a giant* (in Musalmānī Bengali) (dēw).

#### [X] Consonant Changes of a General Character.

353. Vocalisation of < -y- > and < -w- >, and hardening and softening of stops and affricates, have been touched upon before.

#### Metathesis.

Examples are: ফরতা [phɔeta] *prayers* (\*fāhitā < fātihah); পলিতে < পলিতা [polte < polita] *wick* (fatilah); কৈজৎ [phoiʃʒɔt] *quarrelling, wrangling* (\*fāhizat < fāḥīhat); তকমা [tɔkma] *badge, crest* (Turkī tamga); দহরম মহরম [dɔḥɔrɔm mɔḥɔrɔm] *intermixture, familiarity* (dar-ham bar-ham); লহমা

[ləfəma] *short space of time, instant* (lamḥah); বৌচকা [bōč̣ka] *bundle* (Turki bugeah); বুজুরুক [buʒ̣ruk] *charlatan* (buzurg); নগীচ [nogic̣i] *neighbourhood* (\*nag̣diz < nazdik); মুচলকা [muč̣laka] *bond* (mukalcah); মক [məḳʃ] *copying* (masq); বন্ধকীম্ *vulgar* for বন্ধশ [boŋkiʃ < bok(h)ʃiʃ] *present* (baxšiš); etc., etc.

#### Elision (by Assimilation generally).

Elision of « y, w » has been noted before.

মজুর [moʒ̣ūr] *daily labourer* (\*mädzūr < müzdur); মসজিদ, মসজিদ [moʒ̣id, -it] *mosque* (masjid); খোনকার, খন্কার [khonkar, khəŋkar] *a Mohammedan surname* (xwand-kār); আখুঞ্জী [akhunʒ̣i] *teacher* (āxʷandji); রেবনচিনি [rebənč̣ini] *China rhubarb* (ravand-i-č̣ini); পিলসুজ [pilʃ̣uʒ̣i] *brass lamp on stand* (fatil-sōz); নসীপুর [noʒ̣ipur] *a place-name* (nasib-pur); নসীরাম [noʒ̣iram] *a personal name* (nasib-rām); etc.

Double consonants are occasionally simplified (always so when final): হক [ho:k] *true* (haqq); জেদ, জিদ [ʒ̣i:d, ʒ̣i:d] *importunacy* (zidd < didd); মোকরর [mokrər] *confirmed* (muqarrar); মুহরী [muʒ̣uri] *clerk* (muḥarrir); আলবাৎ [albat] *certainly* (albattab); তমসুক [təmoʒ̣uk] *bond* (tamassuk); সেরেস্তা [ʒ̣eresta] *court office* (sar-rištah); মোতফরকা [motphorka] *miscellaneous* (mutafarriq); দালাল [dalal] *broker* (dallāl); খাতা [khata] *notebook* (xatt-hā); তছরুপ [toč̣hrup] *embezzlement* (tasarruf); etc.

In MB. জাস [ʒ̣aʒ̣u] *spy* (jāsūs) there is loss of final « s »; and of « r » in বরগী [borgi] *Maratha raider* (bārgir), মুহরী [muʒ̣uri] *clerk* (muḥarrir).

Loss of pre-consonantal « r » has been noted before (p. 610).

#### Insertion of Consonants.

Euphonic insertion of consonants is found in a few words: e.g., of [d] in তুন্দুর [tundur] *oven* (tannūr, tanūr); of [r] in মরসুম [morʃ̣um] *season* (mausim), মকর্দমা [məḳərdəma] *law-suit* (muqaddamah); of [fi] in নহবৎ [noʒ̣əbət] *Indian musical band* (naubat); and probably of [p] in চোরাগোপ্তা for \*চোরাগোপ্তা [č̣oragopta < gotta] *crouching like a thief* (« gōtah » *plunge*: influence of Skt. « gupta »).



In printing, we often find দ্দ, জ্জ, ঞ্ণ for দ, জ, ঞ <-rdd-, -rjj-, -rmm-> for <-dd-, -jj-, -mm-> etc. : e.g., হর্দ *hârdâ* > for হদ [hâddô] *limit* (hadd), তাজ্জব *târjjâb* > for তাজব [tajjôb] *strange* (ta<sup>o</sup>ajjub), সাজ্জাদ *sârjjâd* > for সাজাদ [sâjjâd] *a name* (sajjâd); হাশ্শাম *hârmâm* > for হাশাম [hâmmâm] *bath* (hâmmâm), কেচ্ছা *kêrchâ* > for কেছা [keççha, kessâ] *story, scandal* (qissab). This is generally met with in Musalmâni Bengali printing. It is due to the fact that Bengali type sets were first prepared on the model of Sanskrit as written in Bengal, so that Prakritic groups of double consonants generally do not occur in ordinary founts, and printers were obliged to be content with what was available,—apart from the tendency to regard the intrusive [r] as a learned characteristic (see p. 542).

Spontaneous doubling of consonants is not rare: আক্কেল [akkel] *wisdom, sense* (°aq1); আহম্মদ [aɦm̄m̄d] beside the recent আমেদ [amed] *a name* (aɦmad); আহম্মুক [aɦm̄m̄k] *fool* (aɦmaq); খাপ্পা [khappa] *angry* (xafâ); এত্তেলা [ettela] *summons* (it̄alâ°); সোপরদ [šop̄or̄ddô] *handing over, placing before* (supurd); তাল্লাক [tallak] *divorce* (talâq); কেলা [kella] *fort* (qil°ah); কিম্মৎ [kimm̄t] *price* (qimat); ত(ত)লাশ [tallaš, t̄ollaš] *search* (talâš); হাল্লাক [ɦallak] *fatigued* (halâk); মেহন্নৎ [meh̄nn̄t] *labour* (mihnat); বেমক্কা [bem̄kka] *untimely* (bê-mauq°ah); মাতব্বর [mat̄obb̄or] *elder, chief* (mu°tabar); বিমোজ্জিম [bimoj̄j̄im] *in accordance with* (bimaujib); etc.

Spontaneous nasalisation, presupposing the insertion of an < n >, has been discussed before, p. 608.

## CHAPTER VII

### PHONOLOGY OF THE FOREIGN ELEMENT : PORTUGUESE

354. An account of Portuguese activities in Bengal has been summarised by J. J. A. Campos (in his 'History of the Portuguese in Bengal,' Calcutta, 1919). The Portuguese first came to the province in 1517, and they exerted a very great influence down to 1668, when Shāyista Khān destroyed their power at Chittagong. Before that the capture of Hugli by the Moghals in 1632 had put a stop to Portuguese aggrandisement in West Bengal. After the decline of their power and prestige as traders, pirates and conquerors, and controllers of the sea-board of Bengal, the Portuguese were content to remain in a humbler rôle and to make room for their rivals the Dutch, the English and the French; but Portuguese missionary activity continued, and Portuguese influence in Bengal was in a flourishing state down to the end of the 18th century. The Portuguese element in Bengali came in during the period extending from the latter part of 16th down to middle of the 18th century, or even later, when there were settled communities of Portuguese, or Portuguese speakers, at Hugli, at Chittagong, at Dacca, and at other places in the Delta. Already in the 'Caṇḍī-kāvya' of Mukunda-rāma (c.1580) we find the word হরমাদ < hārmādā > or হারামাদ < hārāmādā > *Portuguese pirate* = Portuguese < armada >. The phonetic characteristics of the Portuguese loan-words show that they were borrowed during the Late MB. period. The extent of the Portuguese element in Bengali has been noted before (p. 214). It is quite likely that there were a good many Portuguese words in Bengali of the 17th and 18th centuries which are now lost, or are found as class-dialect words, specially pertaining to religion, among Bengali Christians whose ancestors were converted by the Portuguese and among Luso-Indians who have become Bengalised. Portuguese words (unlike a number of Persian and English words) came into Bengali through contact



between Portuguese and Bengali speakers, and not through the literary influence of Portuguese on Bengali. The words were therefore not transliterated, following some system. Dialectal phonetics also undoubtedly presented some slight variations in the Bengali forms. Folk etymology also played its part. The forms in the Standard Colloquial are taken into consideration, as these are the recognised ones. The general closeness of the Bengali loan-words to the original Portuguese forms, however, is striking.

Accounts of Modern Portuguese pronunciation are to be found in the paper by Henry Sweet (1883, in the 'Collected Papers,' Oxford, 1913, pp. 465-498); in Aniceto dos Reis Gonçalves Vianna's 'Portugais, Phonétique et Phonologie, Morphologie, Textes' (Leipzig, 1903, in Teubner's 'Skizzen Lebender Sprachen'), and in Louise Ey's 'Portuguese Conversation-Grammar' (Heidelberg, 1912). The basis of the Bengali loan-words was, however, 17th century Portuguese in the main, which certainly differed a great deal in its pronunciation from Modern Portuguese, as is the case with most languages. I have not seen any account of the early pronunciation of Portuguese. The phonology of the Portuguese loan-words in Bengali (and in other languages), however, will certainly throw some side-light on the phonetics of the former language as it was over 250 years ago. The phonetics and phonology of Modern Portuguese is one of the most complicated among European languages. The vowel system is not very rich, but the possession of some central vowels [v, ə, ɪ] as subsidiary forms of other vowels, and of some breathed vowels and diphthongs makes the phonology rather intricate. There are some peculiar consonants, *e.g.*, breathed nasals and liquids; voiced stops occur as fricatives intervocally; the original [s] sound is pronounced as [ʃ] and as [ʒ]; [m, n] nasalise vowels and are dropped under certain circumstances, etc.; all of these bring in the complexity of the consonant phonology as well.

A number of the Portuguese words in Bengali are not native Portuguese (Latin), being themselves loan-words from different languages, but so far as Bengali is concerned, they are Portuguese, and nothing else.

## THE VOWELS.

355. In Modern Portuguese unaccented « a » is pronounced as [ɐ], something like the English [ə] in *above* [əbʌv]. This was probably also the pronunciation in Early Modern Portuguese of the 17th century.<sup>1</sup> The unaccented « a » as a rule is retained in Bengali as আ [a]: e.g., আনারস [anarɔʃ] *pineapple* (ananás); আলপিন<sup>\*</sup> [alpin] *pin* (alfinete); আলকাত্রা [alkatra] *tar* (alcatrão); কেদারা [kedara] *chair* (cadeira); গ্রিঞ্জা, গির্জা [griŋdʒa, girŋdʒa] *church* (igreja); জান(ত)লা, জানেলা [dʒan(a)la, dʒanela] *window* (janélla); তোয়ালিয়া > তোয়ালে [toalia > toale] *towel* (toálha); কাফি [kaphi] *coffee* (café); সাগু, সাব্ [ʃagu, ʃabu] *sago* (sagú); etc. But in a number of cases, it is dropped in Bengali, both initially and finally: e.g., কাবার [kabar] *to end (as a month)* (acabár); নোনা [nona] *custard apple* (anóna); সৈকো [ʃɛko] *arsenic* ([\*əsɛpɛko] < arsénico); কাজ as in কাজঘর [kaʃdʒghɔr] *button-hole* (cása [de botão]); মেজ [me:dʒ] *table* (mésa); কামিজ [kami:dʒ] *shirt* (camísa); ইস্পাত [iʃpat] *steel* (espáda); তিজেল [ti:dʒel] *a shallow earthen pot to boil rice* (tigéla); পিস্তল [pistɔl] *pistol* (pistóla); ফিগ্ৰু < \*ফিগুর [phigru < \*phigur] *a lean figure* (figúra); বোতল [botɔl] *bottle* (botélba). In disyllabic words, initial or final « a » remains: আতা [ata] *custard apple* (ata); আরা [aɛa] *nurse* (áia); টোকা [tɔka] *a hat, an umbrella hat of bamboo* (tóuca); তেরেস্তা [terɛnta] *thirty (in a card game)* (trinta); পিপা > পিপে [pipa > pipe] *cask* (pipa); ফর্মী [phɔrma] *form in printing* (forma), বরা [bɔɛa] *buoy* (bóia); বরগা [bɔr(ɔ)ga] *rafter* (vérga); বেহালা, বেয়লা [be(h)ala] *violin* (vióla); বোমা [boma] *bomb* (bómba); মার্কী [marka] *mark, stamp* (márcia); সারা [ʃaɛa] *petticoat* (sáia); সালসা [ʃalʃa] *sauce, sarsaparilla* (sálsa); etc.

Stressed « á », pronounced as a central [a], or as [a] before the velarised [ɣ] and before [u], remains in Bengali as আ [a]: e.g., আলমারী [almari] *almirah* (almário); কানাস্তারা, কানেস্তারা, ক্যানেস্তারা, ক্যানেস্তা [kanastara, kanestara, kænestara, kænestra] *canister* (« canástra » *large basket*): there has been influence both in form and meaning of the English

<sup>1</sup> In the Portuguese words given within brackets, stress on the vowel is indicated, although stress is not represented in the ordinary orthography.



*canister*); কাফরি [kaphri] *negro* (cáfre); কাতান [katan] *sword* (catána); চাবি [çabi] *key* (cháve); গরাদিয়া > গরাদে, গরাদি [goradia > gorade, -di] *bars of a window* (gráde); পরাত [pərat] *a large plate* (práto); তামাক, তমাক, তামাকু [tamak, tōmak, tamaku] *tobacco* (tabáco); বাল্টি, বাল্দি [balti, -di] *bucket* (bálde); MB. হরমাদ [fiormad] beside a variant spelling হারামদ [fiaramod] *Portuguese pirate-ship* (armáda); etc.

Portuguese « a, á » are also represented by অ [o], through folk etymology in most cases: e.g., আনারস [anarɔʃ] *pineapple* (ananás): ওলন্দাজ [olondaʒ] *Dutch* (Hollandez); তমাক beside তামাক [tōmak, tamak] *tobacco* (tabáco); MB. হারামদ [fiaramod] *pirate fleet* a variant of হরমাদ [fiormad] (armáda); তোলা < তল্যা, \*তৈলা, \*তল্যা [tolo < tōlɔ, \*toila, \*toila, \*tōlɔ] *a large earthen pot* (« tálha »: through influence of তলা [tōla] *base, bottom*).

In কোরেস্তা [korenta] *forty, a term in card-game* (quarénta), we have « a » as [o] through the influence of the « u » (Modern Portuguese pronunciation [kwɐ'rɛntɐ]). In জোলাপ [ʒolap] *purgative* (jalápa) we have influence of the Perso-Bengali গোলাপ [golap] *rose* (gulāb).

Change of « a » to [e, æ] is noticed in a few words: e.g., কেদারা [kedara] *chair* (cadéira); বেসালি [beʃali, bæʃali] *vessel, pail* (« vasilha », through Umlaut: « \*bāsilyā » > \*bāisilyā > \*besāliā »); পেঁপে [pɛpe] *papaya fruit* (papaia). As in বেসালি < « vasilha », « lha » = palatal « l » + « a » [ʃa], becomes « \*lyā » > \*liā » in Bengali in তোয়ালিয়া > তোয়ালে [toalia > toale] *towel* (toalha).

« a » is found as [i] in ইস্ত্রি, ইস্তিরি [istri, istiri] *ironing clothes* (estirár), through Vowel Harmony; and in ঝাঁকালি [ʃākali] *bag with two mouths* (saccóla), there is probably the influence of the final vowel of থলী, থৈলী [tholi, thoili] *bag*.

Loss of « a »: through absence of stress: কামরা < \*কামারা [kamra < kamara] *chamber* (cámara). In লবাদা, লবেদা [lobada, lobeda] *a loose gown*, we have probably a case of assimilation of « loba » *loose gown* + « abada » *tucked edging*.

356: The nasal diphthong « ão », in a final position, was probably pronounced [ãu] in Early Modern Portuguese. This regularly became

[ãu, ão], and then [ãð, ãm, am, aŋ] in Bengali. See pp. 521-522. *E.g.*, বোতাম [botam] *button* (botão); শুদাম > শুদোম by Vowel Harmony [gudam, -dom] *godown, warehouse* (gudão); সাবাং [ʃabaŋ], also সাবান [ʃaban] *soap* (« sabão »: the « n » form is due to the influence of the Perso-Arabic « sãbũn »); পাউ, পাও in combination with রুটা [pãu-, pão-ruʈi] *European bread* (pão); নৌলাম < \*লৌলাম [nilam < \*lilam] *sale* (leilão); বয়াম, বইয়াম, বৈয়াম [boðam, boiam] *earthen-ware or stone-ware vessel* (boião). In ক্রিস্তান earlier ক্রিস্তাওঁ [kristan, kristão] *Christian* (e[h]ristão), and in কাপ্তান beside কাপ্তেন [kãptan, kãpten] *captain* (capitão), there is influence of the English *Christian, captain*, with the [n]: cf. ক্রিস্তান, খ্রীষ্টান, খৃষ্টান [kriʃʈãn, khriʃʈãn], ক্যাপ্টেন [kãpten] etc. The nasalisation is dropped in আলকাতরা [alkatra] *pitch, tar* for [\*alkatram] (alcatrão).

357. The Portuguese « e ». When strong, it probably had in the 17th century, as now, the values of [e, ɛ]. When weak or unstressed, it was probably both short [ɪ] and [ə] as now.

Final unstressed « e », or unstressed « e » in a final syllable, is normally represented by [i] in Bengali: the 17th century Portuguese pronunciation was probably a short [ɪ]. Before « s » + consonant, it occurs also as [i] in Bengali, following the Portuguese pronunciation. *E.g.*, কপি for কোপি, কোবি [kopi, kobi] *cabbage* (côuve); কাফরি [kãfri] *negro* (cãfre); চাবি [çãbi] *key* (chãve); পাদ্রি [padri] *Christian priest* (pãdre); বালতি, বালদি [balti, baldi] *bucket* (bãlde); বিন্তি [binti] *twenty, a term in card-game* (vĩnte); সুরতি [ʃurti] *lottery* (sôrte); বের্দি [berdi] *green colour* (vêrde); কালাপতি [kalãpati] *to correct, tinker, calker* (calafãte); গরাদি [gãradi] *bar* (gãrade); পিরিচ [piriç] *saucer* (pires); ইস্পাত [iʃpat] *steel* (espãda); ইস্ত্রী [istri] *ironing* (estirãr). In an initial syllable, unstressed « e » remains [e]: *e.g.*, পেরু [peru] *turkey fowl* (perú): in যীশু [ʃi:ʃu] *Jesus* (Jesus), there is probably the influence of the English [dʒi:zəs]: we have also a rare বেগু [ʃi:ʃeʃu], based on the Aramaic.

Stressed « e », pronounced [e, ɛ], is retained in Bengali as এ [e]: কোরেন্তা [korentã] *term in card game* (quarãnta); তিজেল [tiʃjel] *a vessel* (tigéla); প্রেক, পেরেক [p(e)rek] *nail* (prégo); মেজ [me:ʃi] *table* (mésa): বের্দি [berdi] *green colour* (vêrde); রেস্তু [restã, -o] *balance, capital* (résto);



সেঁকো [ʃɛko] *arsenic* (arsénico). Open [ɛ], as in « pera » *pear* becomes [ea, æ, æɔ̃] in Bengali: পেয়ারা, প্যারা, প্যাররা [peara, pæra, pæ̃ra] *guava*.

In গিরজা, গীর্জা, গ্রিঞ্জা [girʒa, griʒa] *church* (igréja), we have [i] for « é », through influence of the assimilated « i »: see also p. 357. In কাফি [kaphi] *coffee* (café), final stressed « é » is changed to [i].

In বোতল [botol] *bottle* (botéla), it seems there is influence of the English word [bɒtəl].

Loss of « e »: আলপিন [alpin < \*alpint?] *pin* (alfinite); গামলা [gamla] *large earthen or metal basin* (gamélla); জানলা [ʒanla] beside জানেলা, জানালা [ʒanela, ʒanala] *window* (janélla).

The group « ei », in Modern Portuguese = [ɛi] when stressed, [ɛi] when unstressed, is differently represented in Bengali: e.g., \*লিলাম > নীলাম, নিলাম [\*lilam > nilam] *sale* (leilão); কেদারা [kedara] *chair* (cadeira); প্রেমারা, প্রমারা [premara, promara] *a card game* (primeiro); বোম্বাটেরা > বোম্বটে [bombaṭera > bombeṭe] *pirate* (bombardeiro).

358. Portuguese « i », stressed or unstressed, remains as [i] in Bengali: e.g., আলপিন [alpin] *pin* (alfinite); কামিজ [kamiʒ] *shirt* (camisa); ক্রিস্তান [kristan] *Christian* (cristão); ফিতা [phita] *tape* (fita); পিপা [pipa] *barrel* (pipa); পিরিচ [piriç] *saucer* (pires); ফিগুরা [phigru] *lean of figure* (figura); কিরিচ, কিরিস [kiriç, kirij] *Malayan dagger, bayonet* (cris); আলমারি [almari] *almirah* (armario); বিন্তি [binti] *a term in card game* (vinte); মেরিনো [merino] *a kind of woollen stuff* (merino); তিজেল [tiʒel] *an earthen pot* (tigella); বিস্কুট [biʃkuṭ] *biscuit* (biscoito).

Intervocal « i » becomes the [ɔ̃] glide, rarely [i], in Bengali: e.g., বয়াম, বইয়াম, বৈয়াম [boɔ̃am, boiam] *large earthen-ware or stone-ware vessel* (boião); আয়া [aɔ̃a] *nurse* (aia); বয়া [boɔ̃a] *buoy* (bóia); সয়া [ʃaɔ̃a] *skirt, gown* (saia); পেঁপে < \*পাঁপাইয়া, \*পাঁপিয়া [pɛ̃pe < \*pā̃paia, \*pā̃pia] *papaya fruit* (papaia).

In প্রেমারা, প্রমারা [premara, promara] *a card game* (primeiro), and তেরেন্তা [terenta] *a term in card game* (trinta), the group « ri » behaves like « r̥ » in Bengali words (see ante, p. 357). In বেহালা, বেয়লা, also †ব্যাললা [beala > beɔ̃la, bæ̃la] *violin* (viola), there is change of « i » to [e].

In †সাঁতরা, সাঁতারা [ʃātra, ʃāntara] *orange*, cf. সাঁতরাগাছি [ʃātragaçhi] *Orange-tree*, village near Calcutta, from Portuguese « Cintra », we have change of the group « in » to [an, ā].

Loss of « i »: আলপিন [alpin] *pin* (alfinite); কাপ্তেন [kaptən] *captain* (capitão), through English influence; and সৈকো [ʃēko] *arsenic* (arsenico), where « ni » probably became « ñ » and then a mere nasalisation of the vowel.

**359.** Unstressed « o » was pronounced as [u] in Early Modern Portuguese, as now. In Bengali « o » occurs as [u] and as [o]: e.g., তামাকু [tamaku] beside তামাক, তমাক [tamak, tōmak] *tobacco* (tabáco); মাস্তুল < \*মাস্ত্রু [mastul < \*mastru] *mast* (mástro); in a number of 'Christian' words like এনক্রুদু [entrudu] *carnival, shrove-tide* (entrudo), ইশপিরিতু সান্তু [iʃpiritu ʃantu] *Holy Ghost* (espírito santo), ইনসেন্সু [inʃənʃu] *incense* (incenso), মাহু [manu] *brother* (mano), তেরসু [terʃu] *rosary* (terço), etc.; বোতাম [botam] *button* (botão); বোতল [botol] *bottle* (betélha); তোয়ালে [toale] *towel* (toálha); বোমবেটে [bombeṭe] *pirate* (bombardéiro); মেরিনো [merino] *a kind of woollen stuff* (« merino »: may be through the English); রেস্তু, রেস্তুো [restō, -to] *remainder, capital* (resto), probably through a stage \*রেস্তু [restu]; সৈকো [ʃēko] may be from a form \*সৈকুয়া [ʃēkuwa] *arsenic* (arsenico). Unstressed « o » occurs as [a] in খানা [khana] *ditch* (cano), and in প্রমারা, প্রেমারা [promara, premara] *a card game* (primeiro).

There is loss of final unstressed « o » in আলমারী [almari] *almirah* (armário); আলকাতরা [alkatra < \*alkatrāu] *tar* (alcatrão); কাতান [katan] *sword* (catano, catana); পরাত [pərat] *large salver* (prato); পেরেক, প্রেক [perek, pre:k] *nail* (prego); †মার্তল, মার্তোল [martol, -tol] *hammer* (martello), বিস্কুট [biʃkuṭ] *biscuit* (biscoito), due partly to a facetious analysis বিষ্-কুট « biʃ-kūṭ » *poison-mass*, biscuits as foreign food prepared by Christians being prohibited to orthodox Hindus.

Stressed « ó », pronounced [o, ɔ], occurs in Bengali as [o, ɔ] as well: বয়া [bočə] *buoy* (bóia); নোনাল [nonɔ] *custard apple* (anóna); বোমা [boma] *bomb* (bómba); ফর্মা [phorma] *form* (fórma). In স্তুতি [ʃurti] *lottery* (sórte), the [o] is changed to [u] by vowel harmony (see p. 397). « ó » occurs



as [a] in সাঁকালী [ʃákali] *two-mouthed bag* (saccóla), and in বেয়াল [beala] *violin* (vióla).

« oi », pronounced [oi], occurs as [u] in বিস্কুট [biʃkuṭ] *biscuit* (biscoito). « ou », pronounced [o, ou] in Modern Portuguese, was probably [o] in the 17th century: In কপি for \*কোপি, \*কোবি [kopi < kobi] *cabbage* (cóuve) and ঢোকা [tɔka] *a large bamboo hat* (touca), this group is found as [o].

360. Portuguese « u », stressed and unstressed, remains as [u] in Bengali, e.g., সাগু [ʃagu] *sago* (sagú); পেরু [peru] *turkey bird* (perú); কাজু [kaʃu] *Brazil nut* (cajú); গুদাম [gudam] *godown, ware-house* (gudão); যীশু [ʃiɪuʃu] *Jesus* (Jesus); ক্রুশ, কুরুশ [kru:ʃ, kuruʃ] *cross* (crúz); ফিগু [phigru] *lean figure* (figura); কাকাতুয়া [kakatua] *a white talking parrot, cockatoo* (cacatú); হুঁদিল [phūdil] *funnel* (funil). The word কোণা, কোঁয়া [koŋa, kōa] *bent double with age*, probably from Portuguese « cúnha » *wedge*, shows change of [u] to [o] through Vowel Harmony.

361. In groups like « cr, tr, pr » there has been an intrusive vowel: মিস্তিরি [mistiri] beside মিস্ত্রী [mistri] *craftsman, artisan* (mestre); পরাত [pərat] *plate* (prato); ফরাসীস [phəraʃiʃ] *French* (Francez); কিরিচ [kiriç] *dagger, bayonet* (cris); গরাদিয়া [gəradia] *bar* (grade); etc. « r » with a consonant has been treated as « r » in Bengali (see p. 356): e.g., « igreja » *church* > গীর্জা, গুঁজা, গিরিজা [girʃiɔ, griʃiɔ, giriʃiɔ]; « verga, virga » *rod, pole, lintel* > বরগা, বর্গা [bərəga, bərga] *rafter*.

A final [a] has been added to some words: কাকাতুয়া [kakatua] *parrot* (cacatú); গরাদিয়া [gəradia] *bars* (grade); and probably also \*সৈকুয়া > সৈকো [\*ʃékua > ʃéko] *arsenic* (arsenico).

#### CONSONANTS.

362. Portuguese « b » remains as [b] in most cases: বয় [boəa] *boy* (bóia); বোতাম [botam] *button* (botão); বালতি [balti] *pail* (baldé); কাবার [kabar] *finish, last day of month* (acabar). « mb » occurs as [m] in বোমা [boma], *bomb* (bomba). Intervocal « b » becomes [m] in তামাক etc. [tamak] *tobacco* (tabáco): the intervocal stop in Portuguese itself has the open pronunciation of « b » = [v].

**363.** Portuguese « c » before « a, o, u », and before consonants = [k] in Bengali: e.g., কাজু [kaʃʒu] *Brazil nut* (cajú); কপি [kopi] *cabbage* (couve); ক্রুশ [kru:ʃ] *cross* (cruz); কাবার [kabar] *finish, last day of month* (acabar); কাকাতুরা [kakatua] *cockatoo* (cacatú); টোকা [tɔka] *large bamboo hat used as umbrella* (touca). In খানা [kɔna] *ditch* (cána), we have a case of « ca » = [kha], through influence of native word like খাত « khât » *fosse* < √খন « khân » *to dig*, etc.

Portuguese « ce, ci » pronounced [se, si]: ঙাঁতরা [ʃãtra] *orange* (Cintra): see p. 626, *supra*.

**364.** Portuguese « ch » is now [ʃ], as in French; but in earlier times it was a palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ], as in Old French and in Spanish (Castilian). In North Portugal (Tras-os-Montes), the affricate sound is still found (F. Diez, *Grammar of the Romanic Languages*, French trans., Vol. I, Paris, 1874, p. 358). In the 17th and early 18th centuries the value of « ch » in all likelihood was [tʃ]: for (East) Bengali চ « c » = [ç, ts], is represented by Padre Assumpçam by « ch », and by « s », and Portuguese « ch » normally became চ = [ç = tʃ] and not শ, ষ, স = [ʃ] in Bengali; besides, [tʃ] of other languages is written « ch » by the early Portuguese authors. Examples in Bengali: চা [çã:] *tea* (chá); চাবি [çabi] *key* (chave); আচার [açar] *pickles, conserves* (achár).

**365.** Portuguese « d » is generally rendered by the dental দ [d] in Bengali: গরাদে [gorãde] *bars* (grade); কেদারা [kedara] *chair* (cadeira); পাদ্রি [padri] *Christian priest* (padre); বের্দি [berdi] *green colour* (verde); etc. In some words it is cerebralised in Bengali, in the group « nd »: ওলন্ডা [olɔndã] *a kind of pea* (Hollanda), but cf. ওলন্দাজ [olɔndaʃ] *Dutch*, (Hollandês), which may equally be from the French; বাণ্ডেল, ব্যাণ্ডেল [baɳdel bæɳdel] *place-name near Hugli town* (Bandel < Pers. bandar *port*); and লন্ড্রা [lɔndra], an early Bengali name for London (Londra). There is unvoicing of « d » in বালতি beside বালদি [balti, baldi] *bucket* (balde), and in ইস্পাত [iʃpat] *steel* (espada *sword*).

An intrusive [d] occurs in ফুঁদিল < \*ফুন্দিলা [phũdil < \*phundil] *funnel* (funil).



366. Portuguese < f > occurs as ফ < ph >, which is pronounced as [ph, F, f]: ফিতা, ফিতে, †ফিতে [phita, phite, phîte] *tape* (fita); ফুঁদিল [phūdil] *funnel* (funil); †ফেস্তা [phesta] *feast, holiday* (festa); কাফরি [kaphri] *negro* (cafre); কাফি beside কাপি [kap(h)i] *coffee* (café). It also occurs as [p] in আলপিন [alpin] *pin* (alfinite), and কালাপাতি [kalapati] *tinker* (calafate *caulker*). In the Dacca dialectal ('Portuguese Christian') word কংসার, কঙ্সার [kɔŋ(k)ʃar] *to confess* (confessar), we have change of < nf > to [ŋ(k)].

367. Portuguese < g > before < a, o, u > and before consonants = গ [g] in Bengali: গামলা [gamla] *large basin* (gamella); গুদাম [gudam] *warehouse* (gudão)\*; বরগা [bɔr(ɔ)ga] *rafter* (verga); গিরজা [girʃʒa] *church* (igréja); etc. In পেরেক [perək] *nail* (prego) there is hardening of [g]. Loss of intervocal < g >, pronounced as an open consonant in Portuguese, has given rise to the form সাবু [ʃabu < \*ʃawu] beside সাগু [ʃagu] *sago* (sagu); and < figura > *figure* has given in addition to ফিগ্রু [phigru], ফিকরু [phikru] as well as ফিব্রু [phibru] *lean and thin*.

In Modern Portuguese, < g > before < e, i > is pronounced [ʒ], as in French. Probably the old pronunciation was [dʒ]: তিজেল [tiʒel] *a large earthen vessel* (tigella).

368. The letter < h > was not pronounced in Early Modern Portuguese, as now: ওলণ্ডা [olɔŋɔ] *a kind of pea* (Hollanda).

There is prothetic [fi] in MB. হরমাদ, হারামাদ [ʃormad, ʃaramad] *pirate fleet* (armáda), and euphonic intervocal [fi] in বেহালা [beʃala] *violin* (viola).

369. < j > is [ʒ] in Modern Portuguese, but formerly in all likelihood it was [dʒ]. In Bengali it occurs as জ [ʃʒi]: জানেলা [ʃʒanela] *window* (janella); যীশু [ʃʒiʃu] *Jesus* (Jesus); কাজু [kaʃʒu] *Brazil nut* (caju).

370. Portuguese < l > ordinarily remains: e.g., আলকাতরা [alkatra] *tar* (alcatrão); জানেলা [ʃʒanela] *window* (janella); সালসা [ʃalʃa] *sarsaparilla* (salsa); ফুঁদিল [phūdil] *funnel* (funil); etc. In নিলাম [nilam] *sale* (leilão), initial < l > is changed to [n], and in ইংরেজি [iŋreʃʒi] *English* (Inglês), we have [rʃ] for < l >.

The group < lh > has the value of a palatal [ʎ] in Modern Portuguese, but its earlier value seems to have been [ʎi]: in Bengali, the basis of

change was a [l] sound, which was later modified: e.g., তলুয়া, \*উলা, \*তল্যা > তোলা [tɔluɑ, tɔlɑ, > tolo] a large pot (talha); তোয়ালে < তোয়ালিয়া [toale < toalia] towel (toalha); বেসালি [beʃali, bæʃali] pail (vasilha); and বোতল [botɔl] bottle (botélha) seems to have been influenced by the English word = [bɒtl̩].

371. « m » remains: মার্ক [markɑ] mark (marca); ফরমা [phɔrmɑ] form (forma); কামরা [kamrɑ] chamber (camara); গামলা [gamla] large basin (gamella); মাস্তুল [mastul] mast (mastro); etc.

372. « n » remains: নোনা [nonɑ] custard apple (anonɑ); বিন্তি [binti] term in card game (vinte); জানেলা [ʃɔnelɑ] window (janella). Folk etymology has changed it to [r] in আনারস [ɑnrɑʃ] pine-apple (ananas), and it nasalises the vowel in †দাঁতরা [ʃɑtra] orange (Cintra a town), and in সৈকো [ʃɛko] arsenic (arsenico).

There is spontaneous nasalisation in পেপে [pɔpe] papaya fruit (papaia).

« nh » has the value of [ɲ] in Portuguese. In the word কোঙা, কৌয়া [koŋɑ, kɔɑ] bent (with age), probably = Portuguese « cunha » wedge, we have a case of « nh » = [ɲ, ~] in Bengali.

373. Portuguese « p » is retained: পিপা [pipɑ] barrel (pipa); পাউ [pɑu] as in পাউরুটি « pɑu-ruʃi » European bread, loaf (pão); পেয়ারা [peɑrɑ] guava (pera); পিস্তল [pistɔl] pistol (pistola); etc.

374. In কোরেস্তা [korentɑ] a term in card game Portuguese « qua » occurs as [ko].

375. Portuguese « r » is generally retained: রেস্তা [restɔ] remainder, capital (in card game) (resto); পাদ্রি [padri] priest (padre); পেরু [peru] turkey fowl (peru); ক্রুশ [kru:ʃ] cross (eruz); কাবার [kabar] finish, last day of month (acabar); etc. It is changed to [l] in মাস্তুল [mastul] mast (mastro) and in আলমারি [ɑlmari] almirah (armário): and it seems to have been dropped finally in ইস্ত্রী [istri] ironing (estirar).

376. Modern Portuguese « s » has four sounds, namely [s, z, ʃ, ʒ], all of which seem to have obtained in the 17th century. The [s, ʃ] pronunciation appears in Bengali as শ, স [ʃ] (occasionally as চ [ʃ] in a final position), and the voiced ones, [z, ʒ], as জ [ʒ]. Examples: সাবান, সাবা:



[ʃaban, -aŋ] *soap* (sabão); সায় [ʃaça] *skirt, petticoat* (saia); সূর্জি [ʃurti] *lottery* (sorte); সালসা [ʃalʃa] *sarsaparilla* (salsa); আনারস [anaɾaʃ] *pine-apple* (ananas); মেজ [me:ʒ] *table* (mesa); কামিজ [komiʒ] *skirt* (camisa); ইস্পাত [iʃpat] *steel* (espada); কাজ in কাজ-বর [kaʒ-ghor] *button-hole* (casa); ইংরেজ [iŋreʒ] *English* (Ingles); পিরিচ [piriç] *saucer* (pires); কিরিস, ক্রিস, কিরিচ [kiriʃ, kiriʃ, kiricʃ] *bayonet, dagger* (erís); etc. In «st», the dental [s] is retained: পিস্তল [pistal] *pistol* (pistola); মিস্ত্রী [mistri] *craftsman* (mistri).

377. Portuguese «t» is retained as ত [t] in most cases: তামাক [tamak] *tobacco* (tabaco); তোয়ালিয়া [toalia] *towel* (toalha); তিজেল [tiʒel] *earthen pot* (tigella); বিস্তি [binti] *term in card game* (vinte); মাস্তল [maʃtul] *mast* (maestro); ফিতা [phita] *tape* (fita); etc. It is cerebralised in টোকা [toka] *umbrella-hat* (touca), in সপেটা [ʃapeɾa] *a plant* (zapóta, sapóta), and in বিস্কুট [biʃkut] *biscuit* (biscoito). Loss of «t» occurs in আলপিন [alpin] *pin* (alfinite).

378. Portuguese «v» is regularly represented by ব [b].

The denti-labial spirant [v] was absent in Middle Bengali, and the bilabial spirant [ɸ] seems equally to have been non-existent. The spirant pronunciations of ভ [bʱ], = [v, ɸ], are very recent, and do not seem to have been developed before the 19th century (cf. pp. 135, 443; also *infra*, under «v» in English loan-words). ভ «bh» became [v, ɸ] first in the towns, among educated classes, and in the country-side in West Bengal the use of [bʱ] for the foreign [v], following the Modern Bengali transliteration, is not absent. If the spirant pronunciation of ভ had been developed in Bengali of the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries we would have found that letter, rather than ব [b], for the Portuguese [v]. বিস্তি [binti] *twenty, term in card game* (vinte); বেসালি [beʃali] *pail* (vasilha); চাবি [çabi] *key* (chave); \*কোবি > কপি [\*kobi > kopi] *cabbage* (couve); বের্দি [berdi] *green colour* (verde); বরগা [bɔr(ɔ)ga] *rafter* (verga).

379. Portuguese «x» has as its characteristic value the sound of [ʃ], although other sounds are known [ks, kf, z, s]. (See p. 547.) It is not found in any Portuguese loan-word in Bengali, unless it were «crux» as a variant of «cruz».

380. « z » is found in ক্রুশ [kru:ʃ] *cross* (cruz), ফরাসীস [phɔrɑʃ] *French* (Francêz): final « z » was pronounced as [ʃ] as now in Early Modern Portuguese. In সপেটা [ʃɔpetɑ] a *plant*, *sapota*, we have [ʃ] for « z » (« zapota », also spelt « sapota »), and « ananes » > আনারস [ɑnɑrɑʃ] *pineapple* is also spelt « ananz ».

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## CHAPTER VIII

### PHONOLOGY OF THE FOREIGN ELEMENT: ENGLISH

381. The English first came to Bengal in 1651, more than a hundred years after the Portuguese had obtained a footing in the province. Calcutta was founded in 1689. The English thus came in touch with the people of Bengal in the middle of the 17th century, but it was not until the middle of the 18th that there was much scope for the English speech to influence Bengali. Among other reasons, one was that Portuguese influences ruled supreme, although Portuguese power was on the decline. The names of the English and of other European nations in 18th century Bengali are from French, or from Portuguese (Inrēj, Phārāsī[s], Olāndāj, Dinēmār, Alēmān : see p. 215). A Portuguese jargon was for a long time the language of intercourse between European traders of various nationalities and their Indian agents. Barring one or two words like কোম্পানী < kōmpānī > *company*, it does not seem likely that any English words came into Bengali before the year of Plassey (1757). When the English assumed the reins of government in 1765, a number of English terms of administration at once came into Bengali, like গবর্নর জেনারেল < gābārnārāṣ jāndārāṣ > *governor general*, কৌশলী < kōśulī > *counsel*, কালেক্টর < kālēktārāṣ > *collector*, লর্ড < lārṣ > *lord*, তেরেজুরী < tērejūrī > *treasury*, পোলিস or পুলিশ < pōliš, puliš > *police*, etc. From the third quarter of the 18th century, there has been a steady accession of English words into Bengali, and through an intimate knowledge of the English language and English culture among the educated classes—and 'educated' is now almost synonymous with 'educated in English'—an unending stream of English words is now being admitted into Bengali; and the process was never more active than at the present moment: so that it is well-nigh impossible now to estimate the English element in Bengali, alike in its extent and in its phonology. Contact with English is now arresting further Bengalisation of English loan-words, as English-knowing people,

whose number is now on the increase, will not ordinarily pronounce these words in the ignorant way, and some would even use an approximately proper English form rather than a naturalised one like ডাক্তার < ḍāktār > *doctor*, হাসপাতাল < hāspātālā > *hospital*, অফিস < āpisā > *office*, ডবল < dābālā > *double*, etc.

In the present connexion, notice can only be taken of the naturalised words, which have completely accommodated themselves to Bengali phonetics, and are used and understood by most Bengali speakers. In introducing the English words into Bengali a rather archaic pronunciation of the language, based to a great extent on the spelling, is followed as the basis of the English forms. A hundred years of English schooling in Bengal has established a current Bengali pronunciation of English,<sup>1</sup> and some five generations of Bengali schoolmasters have been teaching an English pronunciation, of a sort, which obtains wherever English is used by Bengalis—in the law-courts, in the schools and colleges and the University, on the political platform, in government offices and in European firms, in literary and scientific societies—and which, though not unintelligible to even an unaccustomed English ear, is not, and cannot be English. The same thing has happened in Madras, and is happening everywhere in India. Extreme types of Indian provincial pronunciation of English, *e.g.*, East Bengali pronunciation and Tamil pronunciation, are at times mutually difficult to follow.

The current Bengali pronunciation of English has at its basis Standard Southern English of about a century ago, modified to a great extent by the Scottish pronunciation, and by the spelling and the pronouncing dictionary, all of which have helped to give it rather an archaic character. The vowels [e:, o:] of 18th century English and present-day Scots English, have been diphthongised to [eɪ, oʊ] in Standard Southern English, as in the words *cane*, *cone* [khe:n, kho:n = kbern, kboun], but they retain their

<sup>1</sup> The only scientific system of transcription of English sounds by Bengali letters, to teach a correct English pronunciation to Bengali children, is that of Śyāpā Charaṇ Gāṅguli, in his 'Bengali-English Word-book,' New Edition, Calcutta, 1901, the introduction to which little work is valuable for Bengali phonetics as well.



monophthong character in Bengali, although occasionally [ei] also is found. Southern English drops the sound of [r] at the end of a syllable and before a consonant within a word, but it is retained everywhere in Bengali except that it is occasionally assimilated with a following [t, d]. Finer distinctions in the vowel sounds are avoided, and, naturally enough, Bengali approximations are used for all English sounds not found in Bengali.

Below is given a transcription (in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association) of the Story of the North Wind and the Sun in the Bengali pronunciation as followed in West Bengal by people who have no opportunity of coming in contact with native English speakers, or who do not care to acquire the correct pronunciation from such native speakers of English even though they meet and talk with them frequently :

[di nɔ:θ uɪnɔ̃ ænɔ̃ di sən ɔ:ə dɪspɪu:ɪŋ ʃu:ɪç] ɔ:z di stɔ:ŋgɑ:, ʃi:u e tɾævɫɑ: (tɾæbɫɑ:lɑ:) ke:m ælɔ:ŋ ræpɫ in e ɔ:ɑ:m klo:k. de: eɡri:ɔ̃ dæɫ di ɔ:ɑ:n ʃi: fɑ:stɫ (pɾɑ:stɫ, fɑ:stɫ, pɑ:stɫ) meɫ di tɾævɫɑ: tɛk ɔ:f: (əp) ʃi:z klo:k ʃu:ɔ̃ bi kən'sɪdɑ:ɔ̃ stɔ:ŋgɑ: dæn di ɑ:dɑ:. den di nɔ:θ uɪnɔ̃ blu: uɪθ ɔ:l ʃi:z mɑ:ɪtɫ, bɑ:tɫ di mɔ:r ʃi: blu:, di mɔ:r klo:zli ɔ̃ɔ̃ di tɾævɫɑ: fɔ:lɔ̃ (pɾɔ:lɔ̃, fɔ:lɔ̃, pɾɔ:lɔ̃) ʃi:z klo:k ærɑ:uɔ̃ ʃi:m; ænɔ̃ æɫ lɑ:stɫ di nɔ:θ uɪnɔ̃ ge:v (ge:bɪ) ɑ:p di æ'tem(p)ɫ. den di sən ʃɔ:n ɑ:uɫ ɔ:ɑ:mli, ænɔ̃ im(m)ɪʃɪeɫli di tɾævɫɑ: tɛk ɔ:f: (əp) ʃi:z klo:k; ænɔ̃ sɔ: di nɔ:θ uɪnɔ̃ ɔ:z ɔ:blɑ:ɪʃɔ̃ tɔ: kɔ:nfɛs (kɔ:nfɛs) dæɫ di sən ɔ:z stɔ:ŋgɑ: ɔ:f (əp) di tɔ:ɪ]¹.

The general line of change of the English sounds in Bengali is indicated below; and this is followed by a select list, with phonological notes, of naturalised English loan-words in the language.

#### THE VOWELS.

**382.** Quantity of vowels is entirely in accordance with Bengali habits. (See 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' §§54 ff.) Thus, in all

¹ For phonetic transcriptions of the above story in the ordinary South English, Northern English, Scots English and American English pronunciations, see 'The Principles of the International Phonetic Association,' London, 1912.

monosyllables the vowel is always long : e.g., জজ [ʃʃɔ:ʃʃ] *judge* (dʒʌdʒ); ফুট [phu:t] *foot* (fʊt); উল [u:l] *wool* (wʊl); পীট [pi:t] *pit in a theatre* (pɪt); etc. No difference is made between *full* and *fool*, *bell* and *bail* in Bengali.

The stress is according to the habits of Bengali.

The vowel sounds of English, as in Standard South English, are the following : [ɪ, i:, ɛ, æ, a:, ɒ (=short ɔ), ɔ:, ʊ, u:, ʌ, ə, ɜ: (=long ɜ:)], with the diphthongs [eɪ, oʊ, aɪ, aʊ, ɔɪ, iə, ɛə, ɔə, uə]. [e, o, a, ə] are also found. (See Daniel Jones, 'An English Pronouncing Dictionary,' London, 1922; 'The Pronunciation of English,' Cambridge, 1914; 'An Outline of English Phonetics,' Leipzig and Berlin, 1922; Lilius E. Armstrong, 'An English Phonetic Reader,' London, 1923; R. J. Lloyd, 'Northern English,' Leipzig and Berlin, 1908; William Grant, 'The Pronunciation of English in Scotland,' Cambridge, 1914).

383. [ɪ, i:] both occur as ই ঐ [i:, i] = a rather low vowel in Bengali; [ɛ] becomes এ [e:, e]; [æ] remains as ঞ [æ:, æ], written এ, এা, ঞা, ঞা, the Bengali sound being rather lower than the English one; [ɑ:] is found as অ [ɑ:, ɑ], slightly more advanced than the English sound.

384. The treatment of English [ɒ, ɔ:] requires a note.

At the present day, [ɒ], the so-called short [ɔ] sound (as in *lot* [lɒt]), and long [ɔ:] (as in *law* [lɔ:]), are both rendered by অ [ɔ, ɔ:] in Bengali: e.g., কলেজ [koleʃʃ] *college* [kʰɔlɪdʒ], ল [lɔ:] *law* [lɔ:], etc. This is now the nearest Bengali equivalent of the English sounds. But in the late 18th and early and mid 19th century transcriptions of English words and names in Bengali, we find the use of অ [ɑ:, ɑ], for the English vowel now pronounced [ɒ, ɔ:], and not অ [ɔ:, ɔ], as we would expect. অ = [ɔ] is also found, but অ [ɑ] is more common; and this অ [ɑ] tradition in spelling, as an equivalent of the New English [ɒ, ɔ:] sounds, is carried down to the end of the 19th century. Early naturalised loan-words from English all show অ [ɑ] and not অ [ɔ]: e.g., আগর [agɑr], beside অগর [ɔgɑr] which is recent < *auger*; কার্নিস [karniʃ] < *cornice*; কার [ka:r] < *cord*; হাল [ɦa:l] *hall*; কাক [ka:k] *cork*; আপিস [apiʃ] *office*; আর্দালী [ardali] *orderly*; ডাক্তার [daktar] *doctor*; লাট <



\*লাড [la:t̪ < \*la:d̪] *lord*; পাগিশ [paliʃ] *polish*; কাপি [kapi] *copy*; বাক্স [bakʃ] *box*; etc., etc.; and also quite a number of English names in early 19th century Bengali, e.g., জান [ʃi:a:n] *John*; তামস [taməʃ] *Thomas*; জর্জ [ʃi:a:rʃi] *George*; লর্ড মার্ণিংটন [larɔ̃ marniŋ(ɡ)ʃan] *Lord Mornington*; etc. The use of আ [a] in Bengali was due to the fact that the pronunciation of *o*, *au*, *aw* etc. in English of a hundred years ago was to a great extent open: it was quite distinct from the present-day [ɒ, ɔ:], and acoustically was rather like [a, a:] both short and long, possibly with but little rounding of lips. This old [a]-like pronunciation of *o*, *au*, *aw* is still found in American English. (Cf. Otto Jespersen, 'A Modern English Grammar,' Part I, Heidelberg, 1909, under [ɔ:], pp. 313, 316: Kenrick in 1773 identifies the vowel sound in *soft*, *oft*, *cloth*, *call*, *haul*, *caul*, *George* with that in French *âme*, *pas*; and Pegge, 1803, says that "daater, saace, saacer, saacy" = *daughter*, *sauce*, *saucer*, *saucy*, savour rather of an affected refinement than vulgarity. There were fluctuations between [ɒ, ɔ:] and [a, a:] in the 18th century. See also under the treatment of [a] in Jespersen). It is also to be noted that in the 18th century and early and mid 19th century transcriptions of Indian names and words into English, the Indian sound of [a, a:] was almost invariably rendered by *o*, *au*, *aw*: which is strong corroborative evidence for (at least acoustically) an [a] pronunciation in English itself: e.g., *Awlley Cawn* = ʿAlī Khān; *Collychurn Doss* = Kālī-cārāṅḍ Dās; *Punjaub* = Panjāb; *Daw(n)*, *Law*, *Shaw*, *Paul* = the Bengali surnames দাঁ < Dā >, লা or লাহা < Lā(hā) >, সা or সাহা < Sā(hā) >, পাল < Pāl >; *Loll* = < Lāl >; *Jaun* = < Jān >; *Juggernaut* = জগন্নাথ < Jagannāth >; *Meer Cosseem* = Mir Qāsim >; *Cossipore* = কশীপুর < Kāśipur >; *pawnee* = পানী < pānī > *water*; *shraub* = < śarāb > *wine*; *dolly* = ডালী < ḍālī > *basket (of fruits or flowers, as a present)*; *dhol* = দাল < dāl > *pulses*; *shawl* = < śāl >; etc., etc. Early Bengali forms with আ [a] of English loan-words are thus based on a more open pronunciation which obtained in English itself. At the present day, when the [ɒ, ɔ:] pronunciation has been definitely established in English, many early 19th century Bengali borrowings from English are being revised according to this later pronunciation. Thus although we retain ডাক্তার [ḍaktar] *doctor*,

আফিস [apɪʃ] *office*, পালিশ [paliʃ] *polish*, কার্ণিশ [karniʃ] *cornice*, বাক্স [bakʃɔ] *box*, লর্ড [la:t] *lord*, we do not ordinarily say as before, কালেক্টর [kalektər] *collector*, কপি [kapi] *copy*, কলেজ [koleʃ] *college*, etc., which are regarded as old-fashioned, but [kolektər, kopi, koleʃ].<sup>1</sup>

The slight difference in quality between the sounds of the short [ɒ] as in *not* [nɒt] and the long [ɔ:] as in *law* [lɔ:] is not taken in to account in Bengali.

385. [u, u:] are rendered by [u:, u], written উ, and occasionally উ.

The English sound of [ʌ] as in *dull, sun, son*, is now changed to আ [a] in Bengali, but its older transformation in Bengali was অ [ɔ]: e.g., গবর্নমেন্ট < gābārnāmēnt̪ > *government*, ডবল < d̪ābāl > *double*, হরিকেন < hārikēn > *hurricane (lantern)*, নম্বর < nāmbār > *number*, হন্দর < hāndār > *hundredweight*, টন < ṭān > *ton*, টব < ṭāb > *tub*, ডজন < d̪āʃṭiān > *dozen*, etc., etc., and in names like বর্টন < Bārṭān > *Burton*, গলিবর < Gālibār > *Gulliver*, etc. Most of the naturalised words introduced into the language early in the 19th century retain the [ɔ] sound in Bengali.

The [ɔ] sound for Modern English [ʌ] is based on an earlier value of the short < ŭ, ʊ >, of English, which is still found in dialectal English, as for example, in Ireland. Present-day English [ʌ] rather approaches [a]: possibly in the late 18th and early 19th, it approached the back sound of [ɔ] to a great extent. In Modern Bengali transcriptions, the equivalent of [ʌ] is আ [a], and the use of অ [ɔ], in pronunciation as well as in writing in Bengali, is now regarded as old-fashioned.

386. [ə], the so-called neutral vowel, is not found in Bengali, and the other strong vowels (of which it is the weakening in English) are used for it: e.g., এপ্রিল [epril] *April*, beside আব্রিল [abril] in late 18th cen., and আপ্রিল [april] in early 19th cen. transcriptions; এমেরিকা, আমেরিকা [æmerika, amerika] *America*; লেপ্টেন্যান্ট [leptēnant̪] *lieutenant*; হোমিওপ্যাথী

<sup>1</sup> In Hindōstānī and other Indian languages, আ [a:] is normally used for the English sound of [ɒ=ɔ, ɔ:], and now অী 'au' pronounced [ao, au, ɔo, ɔ:] is also employed. Excepting the diphthong 'au,' Hindōstānī does not, or till very recent times did not, possess a sound approximating the English [ɔ], and hence the employment of [a:].



[fiomiopathi] *homœopathy*; ইংলণ্ড, -লান্ড, -ল্যাণ্ড [iŋlənd, -lənd, -lænd] *England*; চায়না [tʃaɪna] *China*. When this [ə] occurs with [r], which is not pronounced in Modern Southern English, it is now found as আর [ar]: in the earlier transcription, however, it became অর [ər]: e.g., earlier গবর্নর [gəbɔrnɔr], beside গভ(ত)র্নর [gəvɔrnɔr, -vɔr-] *governor*: লিবার [livɔr] *liver* beside old-fashioned †নিবর [nivɔr] = *infantile liver*; রিভলবার [rivɔlbar] *revolver*; নম্বর [nɔmbɔr, nɔmbor] *number*, an old borrowing; etc. The use of *ar* for *er* is not unknown in the orthography and pronunciation of English itself. The commonest equivalent of [ə] in Bengali would be আ [a]. Initial [ə] is found to be dropped in a few cases: e.g., টুর্নী [tʃurni], also টর্নী [tʃorni] *attorney*; গিরিমেন্টে [girimɛntɔ] *agreement*. [ɜ:], the so-called long form of [ə], as in *birth, shirt, her* [bɜ:θ, ʃɜ:t, hɜ:], occurs only in connexion with [r], and it is generally rendered by আর [ar]: e.g., শার্ট [ʃart] *shirt*, সার্জ [ʃarʃ] *serge*, সার্জেন্ট [ʃarʃɛnt] *sergeant (in police)*, also *surgeon*, etc. The word কর্নেল [kɔrnɛl] *colonel* [kʰɜ:nɛl] is probably influenced by the spelling in *o*.

387. [eɪ] of Modern Southern English is ordinarily denoted by এ [e], following earlier English and present-day Scotch pronunciation of [e]. It is only rarely that the Southern English diphthong value is followed: e.g., ফেল [phe:l], rarely ফেইল [pheil] *fail*; মেল ট্রেন [me:l tre:n] *mail train*; জেল [ʃje:l] *jail*; etc.

[aɪ] is regularly denoted by আই [ai]: টাইম, টাইন [taim, tain] *time*; টাইপ [tʃaip] *type*; ফাইন [phaɪn] *fine*; হাইকোর্ট, -কোর্ট [haiko(r)t] *High Court*; বাইসম(ট)ম্যান [baɪsmɛn, -man] *vice-man, mechanic*; বাইসিকল [baɪsikil] *bicycle*, etc. The first element of this diphthong was probably of a higher quality than now, but that was not taken into consideration in Bengali.

[aʊ] = English *ou, ow*, etc. The equivalent of this group now is আউ [au], e.g., হাউস [haʊʃ] *house*, টাউন [tʃaʊn] *town*, আউট [aʊt] *out*, কাউন্সিল [kaʊnʃil] *council*, ফাউল [phaʊl] *fowl, foul*, etc. In the earlier borrowings in Bengali, on the other hand, we find ও [ou]: e.g., হৌস [fiouʃ] (*commercial*) *house*, ওউট [aʊt] *out*, কৌন্সলি [kʌʊʃuli] *counsel*, টৌন হাল [tʃoun ha:l] for present-day টাউন হল [tʃaʊn ho:l] *Town Hall*, etc. Here, too, as in the case of early Bengali আ [a] for English *aw, au, o*, the [ou], or rather [əʊ],

pronunciation obtained in English itself a hundred years ago. (Cf. O. Jespersen, *op. cit.*, pp. 235, 236.) We would expect to find [au] in Bengali in the late 18th and early 19th centuries for *ou*, *ow*, if the first element in the diphthong were a low-back or low-central sound, and not a mid-back-wide-round one.

The South English diphthong [ou] was at one time simply a long [o:], which is the value preserved in Scotland. Bengali renders it by [o:, o], *e.g.*, বোট [bo:t] *boat*, রোড, রোডসেস [ro:d, ro:dʃeʃ] *road, road-cess*, কোট [ko:t] *coat*, etc.; and occasionally by [ɔ], following Bengali phonetic harmony: *e.g.*, ফটো (-গেরাপ) [phɔtɔ(gerap)] *photo(-graph)* = [fɔtɔu, fɔtɔ-gra:f], মটর [mɔtɔr] *motor* (moutə).

[ɔɪ] and [oɪ] are represented by অর [ɔɪ]: বয় [boɪ] *boy* [boɪ, boɪ], রয়টার [roɪtɔr] *Reuter* (rɔɪtə). For [iə], we have [iɑ]: ইণ্ডিয়া [inɟia] *India*, রাশিয়া [rɔʃiɑ] *Russia*; and the [r] is preserved when [iə] occurs in connexion with that consonant: *e.g.*, বিয়ার [biɑr] *beer*, 'চিয়ার' [tʃiɑr] *cheer*; ইয়ারিং beside ইয়ার-রিং [iɑ(r)-riŋ] *earring*. [uə] would similarly be উও, উয়ো [uo], উওর, উয়োর [uor] or উয়র [uɔr]: বুওর, বুয়োর, বুয়র [buor, buor] *Boor, Boer*; 'পুওর' [puor] *poor*. The diphthong [ɔə], also pronounced [ɔ:], is from earlier [ɔr], written *ore*, *oor*, and it is rendered by ওর [o:r] in Bengali: স্টোর [stɔ:r] *store* [stɔə, stɔ:].

[ɛə] of South English is based on the group [ɛ] + [r], and the group [sr, ɛ:r] brings in a glide [ə] — [ɛər, ɛə]. In earlier transcriptions, this group became [ær]: *e.g.*, হার [fiæ:r] *Hare*, a name; চার [tʃiær] *chair*; ক্যার [kæ:r] *care*; শ্যার [ʃiæ:r] *share* etc. In recent renderings, we have এয়া [ea]: চেয়ার, শেয়ার, হেয়ার [tʃiær, ʃiær, fiær], etc.

388. Regular loss of vowels is rare: see under [ə], *supra*.

There is addition of vowels [a] in the interior of words, by anaptyxis—*e.g.*, গেলাস [gelaʃ] *glass*; টেরেন [tɛren] *train*; টেলিগেরাফ [teligerap(h)] *tele-graph*; তেরেজুরী [tereʃtʃuri] *treasury* (an obsolete form); তোরাং [torɔŋ] *trunk*, পেলেগ [peleg] *plague*; বুরুষ [buruʃ] *brush*; সিলেট, সেলেট [ʃilet, ʃelet] *slate*, ইনস্পেক্টার [inɛʃpektar] *inspector*, etc., etc.; [b] at the head of words beginning with < s > + stop: *e.g.*, আস্তাবল [astabɔl] *stable*; ইস্কুল [iʃkul] *school*; এষ্টাম্প [eʃtæmpɔ] *stamp*; ইস্তিশন [iʃtʃiʃɔn], also ইস্টেশান [iʃtʃeʃan] *station*;



ইস্পিরিং, ইস্পিঃ [iʃp(i)riŋ] *spring*, etc.; and [c] at the end of words ending in two consonants, where both are retained, without one of the consonants being dropped or assimilated, or where there is no intrusive vowel in between : e.g., বেঞ্চি [benʃi] *bench*; কেটলি [ketli] *kettle*; ডেস্ক, ডেস [dekʃ, deʃk] *desk*; বাক্স, বাক্স [bakʃ, baʃk] *box*; গিল্টি [gilʃi] *gilt*; লিস্টি [liʃti] *list*; লম্প or ল্যাম্প [ləmp, læmp] *lamp*, etc. Cases of dropping or assimilation of one consonant—রিপোর্ট [ripot] *report*; ক্যাব [ka:r] *cord*; লর্ড [la:t] *lord*; ল্যান্থন [ləntʃən] *lanthorn, lantern*; ওয়ারিন [oarin] *warrant*; হন্ডর [həndər < \*həndərd] *hundredweight*; পিচ-, পিজবোর্ড, -বোর্ড [piʃ-, piʃbɔd, -bɔd] *paste-board*, etc.; and cases of intrusive vowel in a final consonant nexus, e.g., বাইসিক্ল [baifikil] *bicycle*; ফর্ম [fərm] *form*; টার্ম [tərm] *term*, etc.

The above are the normal modifications of the English vowels in Bengali. There are cases of irregularity due to folk-etymology, to the influence of Sanskrit, and at times to a humorous attempt at punning to which foreign words with even a very slight resemblance to native ones lend themselves (although these latter may be wide apart in significance); but such cases cannot be taken into account generally.

Occasionally, especially on the printed page, there is an attempt to give continental (Italian) values to the vowels in European and other names, personal or geographical : e.g., আসিয়া [aʃia] rather than এশিয়া [eʃia] for *Asia*, বুলগারিয়া [bulgaria] *Bulgaria*, প্লাতো(ন) [plato(n)] *Plato* [pleitov], etc. This is rather exceptional, and it is the English forms which generally obtain in the spoken language, as most speakers having occasion to use foreign names are familiar with English.

#### THE CONSONANTS.

##### 389. The Stops and Nasals, and Affricates.

The slight aspiration of unvoiced initial stops of English, [k<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, p<sup>h</sup>], is dropped in Bengali. In খ্রীষ্ট, খ্রীষ্টান (খৃষ্ট, খৃষ্টান) [khriʃt, khriʃtʌn] *Christ, Christian*, the aspiration is due to the original Greek : cf. ক্রিস্টান, ক্রিস্টান [krisʃtʌn], from the English.

The voiced [g, b] remain. English alveolar [t (t<sup>h</sup>), d] are regularly changed to the cerebral ট, ড [t̪, d̪] in Bengali. But it is curious to note

that in the earlier adaptations of English words and names the dentals ত, দ [t, d] are frequently employed for the English sounds. This was partly due to the fact that transcription in Early Modern Bengali books and printed documents was done by, or under the inspiration of English scholars and orientalist, who equated the so-called English dentals with the Bengali dentals. Examples are, among obsolete forms, অক্টোবর [ɔktobɔr] *October*, দিসম্বর [diʃɔmbɔr] *December*, তামস [tamoʃ] *Thomas*, কালেক্টর [kalektɔr] *collector*, লেপ্তেনেন্ট [leptenentɔ] *lieutenant*, etc., and among living words, ডাক্তার [ɔdaktar] *doctor*, হাঁসপাতাল [ɦaɦʃpatal] *hospital*, গারদ [garɔd] *guard* = *lock-up*, তেরেজুরী [tereʃʃuri] *treasury*, তারপিন [tarpin] *turpentine*, তারপলিন, তেরপল [tarpolin, terpɔl] *tarpauline*, etc.

English [ŋ, n, m] are retained. Final [ŋ] sometimes, and in a few words final [m], become [n] in folk-Bengali (this is independent of the same change which is observable in spoken English of the uneducated classes) : e.g., এষ্টাকিন [eʃtʃakin] *stockings*, একটিনি [ɔktʃini] *working as a substitute* < *acting* + « 1 » , টাইন [tʃain] *time* (cf. আপিং, আপিন, আপিন [apin, apin, apim] *opium*, from Perso-Arabic « *afyūm* »).

The affricates *ch, j* [tʃ, dʒ] regularly become চ, জ [tʃ, dʒ] in Bengali : চিমনি [tʃimni] *chimney*, জজ [dʒ:dʒ] *judge*. In East Bengali, these as usual become [ts, dz].

**390. The Liquids.** The equivalent of the English 'clear' and 'dark' / [l, ɫ] is the ল [l] of Bengali, the velarised 'dark' [ɫ] being ignored. The *r* sound of South English is a fricative, [ɹ], and in Scots English it is a trilled sound. It becomes the ordinary trilled or flapped র [r] in Bengali. [r] is commonly dropped before [t, d] = English alveolar [t, d] : e.g., লর্ড [la:t] *lord*, বোর্ড [bo:d] *board*; also after consonants. Its retention in Bengali is due to a great extent to a spelling pronunciation of English.

**391. The Fricatives.** The English *h* is an unvoiced sound, [h], and it is altered to the voiced হ [ɦ] in Bengali : e.g., হাইকোর্ট [ɦaikɔt] *High Court*. [s] and [ʃ] of English fall together in Bengali as শ, স [ʃ] ; [st] normally becomes ষ্ট [ʃt], but the pronunciation [st] is also heard, and occasionally we meet with the spelling স্ট in an attempt to be more faithful to the English original (cf. the recent Devanāgarī ligature ष्ट = « st »).



[z] and [ʒ] become জ [ʒ] in naturalised words, e.g., জেব্রা [ʒebra] *zebra*, জুলু [ʒulu] *Zulu*, মেজার-গেলাস [meʒar gelaʃ] *measure glass*, etc., but the [z] sound is often heard. This [ʒ] becomes [dz, z], as usual, in East Bengali.

The equivalent of the unvoiced spirant *th* [θ], as in *thin* [θɪn], is the aspirate থ [th], e.g., থিয়েটার [thiɛtar] *theatre*. The voiced dental spirant [ð], as in *then* [ðɛn], regularly becomes the dental stop দ [d]. We would expect consistency in this matter by meeting with ধ [dʱ] for [ð], which is the regular Marāṭhī and Gujarātī substitute for the English sound: but as in the case of থ [th] and গ [g], unvoiced aspirate and voiced stop, for the spirants [x, ɣ] of Persian (see *supra*, pp. 572, 599, 600), the voiced spirant becomes a mere stop. Hindōstānī agrees with Bengali in employing [th] for [θ] and [d] for [ð].

The unvoiced denti-labial spirant [f] is written ফ < ph > in Bengali, with its three-fold pronunciation of [ph, ɸ, f]. Intervocally and finally, the sound tends to become a mere stop [p]: e.g., আপিস [apiʃ] *office*, হাফ [ha:p] *half*.

The treatment in Bengali of the voiced denti-labial spirant [v] of English shows how recent the spirant pronunciation of ভ < bh > is in the language. (See *supra*, pp. 442, 443). During the first half of the 19th century, English [v] is ordinarily represented by ব [b]: whereas at the present day it is invariably ভ = [bh, v, v]. In the Portuguese loan-words in Bengali, we have only ব [b] (see p. 631); and in the Roman-Bengali of Padre Assumpçam, in the early part of the 18th century, we have < ph > for ফ, and < bh > for ভ, never < f, v >. So long as the modern spirant value of ভ < bh > did not develop, the stop ব < b > was used for the foreign denti-labial or bilabial spirant as its nearest equivalent in Bengali (cf. also p. 616, for treatment of Persian < w, v > in Bengali). We have typical early 19th century English loan-words and names like the following: বিসুবিরস < bisubiyās > *Vesuvius*; বার্ণিশ < bārniś > *varnish*; গবর্নর, গবরনর < gābārnār, gābārnār > *governor*; বাইকৌণ্ট < bāikaunṭ > *viscount*; বর্জিল < bārjil > *Virgil*; নবেম্বর < nābēmbār > *November*, etc., etc. It seems that the spirant pronunciation of < bh > became established (at least among certain

speakers of the Standard Colloquial) during the middle of the 19th century : in the *Hutōm Pēñcār Naksā* (1862), ভ is used in transcribing some English words, e.g., ড্রাইভিং < ḍrāibhiñ > *driving*, ইন্সালভেন্ট < insālbhent > *insolvent*, সিভিলিজেশন < sibhilijesān > *civilisation*, স্কেভেঞ্জর < skēbhēñjār > *scavenger*, ভলুমিনস < bhālāmnās > *voluminous*, etc., but ব also is used. We see that ব < b > for [v] is almost the rule in the first quarter or first third of the 19th century, but from the second half ভ < bh > is seen to be coming into prominence : but the ব < b > tradition holds its ground well on towards the end of the 19th century : thus spellings like ক্লাইব < Klāib > *Clive*, বর্ণকুলার < bārnākulār > *vernacular*, বাইসর(ট)র < bāisrāy, -rāy > *vicaroy*, বাঁবর < bābār > *beaver (the animal)*, কল্বিন < Kālbīn > *Colvin*, বিক্টোরিয়া < Bikṭōriyā > *Victoria*, ডবটন < Ḍābṭān > *Doveton*, ট্রিভিলিয়ান < Ṭribiliyān > *Trevelyan*, বালটিন ডুবাল < Bālāṭṭin-Dubāl > *Valentin Duval*, বাল্টেয়ার < Bāḷṭēyār > *Voltaire*, বিনসেন্ট < Binsēṅṭ > etc., are found, among hundreds of similar names and words, in Bengali literature and periodicals of the second half of the 19th century.

The spirant pronunciation, however, seems to be spreading now. Beames remarked in his *Bengali Grammar* (Oxford, 1891) : 'it takes a Bengali boy many years' training before he can pronounce the English *v*, and many never attain to it ..... Some Bengali writers have conceived the erroneous idea that the European *v* corresponds to their ভ *bh*, thus they transliterate সভা *sōbhā* 'an assembly' as *shova*, which is absurd' (p. 9). But there cannot be any doubt that the transliteration < *shova* > indicates a spirant pronunciation, [ʃova, ʃova] : the spirant in extremely quick articulation loses its friction and so disappears. Thus, the word শোভা < *sōbhā* >, pronounced [ʃova, ʃova], results in [ʃoa], and even [ʃo:], in Calcutta, as in শোভাবাজার > শ'বাজার [ʃobhābājār > ʃo(v)abājār > ʃo:bājār] name of a quarter in Calcutta town (see p. 403—[wa:, oa] becomes [o:] in Bengali). Present day transcriptions like < Avilash, Amitava, Biva, Prova, Shulov, Durlov, Vishma, Vramar > and even < Vāḍralogue > *gentry* and < Mohavarot > for < Abhilāsh, Amitābha, Bibhā (Vibhā), Prabhā Sulabhḥ, Durlabhḥ, Bhīṣma, Bhramarḥ, Bhadra-lōkḥ, Mahābhāratḥ >, etc. have a real basis on the pronunciation.



392. The Semivowels *y*, *w* = [j, w] of English.

The palatal semivowel is always dropped before [i], e.g., ডাইং ক্লিনিং [daiŋ kliniŋ] *Dyeing and Cleaning*, in Calcutta shop signs; and it becomes a full vowel, [i], before the other vowels. Intervocally and at the end of a syllable, it is changed to য় [ɔ̃].

[w] is dropped before [u, o]. Before [i], it becomes [u]; and before the other vowels, it is lowered to [ɔ̃], written ওয় « oÿ ». E.g., উড-, উটপেন্সিল [ud-, ut-penʃil] *wood pencil*; উল [u:l] *wool*; the word *woman* is ordinarily pronounced ওমান [omaen]; উইল [ui:l] *will*; রেলওয়ে [relo] *railway*; ওয়ার্ডসওয়ার্থ [o:wɔ:θ] *Wordsworth*. For an attempt to represent the [w] (as well as the [v]) sound of English by the letter ব « b », see pp. 534, 535.

The usual consonant changes—voicing, unvoicing, elision, metathesis etc., are present in the English loan-words.

## TYPICAL NATURALISED ENGLISH WORDS.

393. Below are given some common English words naturalised in Bengali. The phonological alteration in most cases is plain, but in some instances they are complicated, through folk-etymology. Extreme folk-forms are often very widely removed from the original.

অয়েল-ক্লথ, -কেলত [ɔ̃l-k(e)lɔt(h)] *oil-cloth*; আউট [aʊt], earlier ওট [out] *out*; আপিস, আফিস [ap(h)iʃ] *office*; আপেল [apel] *apple*; আর্দালী [ardali] *orderly (noun)*; আস্তাবল [astabɔl] *stable*, cf. Perso-Arab. « istabal », from Greek from Latin; ইনকম-, ইকাম-টেক্স [inkɔm-, iŋkam-tekʃɔ] *income-tax*; ইঞ্চি [inʃi] *inch*; ইনসপেক্টার, -টর [inɛʃpektɔr, -tɔr] *inspector*; ইস্টাম্প [iʃtæmpɔ] *stamp*; ইস্টিশ(ত)ন [iʃtɪʃɔn, -ʃɔn] *station*; ইস্টিমার [iʃtɪmar] *steamer*; ইস্কুল [iʃkul] *school*; ইস্টট, ইস্টিরিট, ইস্ট্রিট [iʃtɪt, iʃt(i)rit] *street*; ইস্টিল পেন [iʃtɪl-pen] *steel-pen*; ইস্পিং, ইস্পিরিং [iʃp(i)riŋ] *spring (coil)*; ইগল [igɔl] *eagle*; উইল [uil] *will*; উড-, উটপেন্সিল [ud-, utpenʃil] *wood pencil*; এগ্জিবিশন, এগ্জিবিশন, একজিবিশন [egʃtɪbɪʃɔn, ekʃi-, ekʃi-] *exhibition*; এগ্জামিন [egʃtɪamin] *examine = examination*; একটিনি [ektɪni, æktɪni] *acting + the nominal affix -ই, -ঈ*; এয়ারিং, ইয়ারিং, ইয়াররিং [eariŋ, iarɪŋ, iarriŋ] *earring*; এনট্রান্স, এনট্রেন্স [entɔnʃɔ, entɛnʃɔ, entrens] *entrance = matriculation*

*examination*; এষ্টাকিন [eʃtakin] *stockings*; ওয়ারিন, -রেন [oarin, -ren] *warrant (legal)*; ওয়েটিং রুম [oetij rum] *waiting room*;

কর্ণেল [kɔrnɛl] *colonel*; কপি, older কাপি [kɔpi, kapi] *copy*; কাক as in কাক-ইক্কু [kak-iʃk(u)ru] *cork-screw*; কার [ka:r] *cord*; কম্ফাট, কম্ফট [kɔmphaʃ, -phɔʃ] *comforter, scarf for the neck*; কারনিস [karniʃ] *cornice*; কারেন্সি, older করেন্সি [karenʃi, kɔrenʃi] *currency*; কলেক্টর [kɔlekʃər] *collector*; কুইনাইন [kuinain] *quinine*; কুইলপেন [kuil pen] *quill pen*; কেলাস [kelaʃ] *class*; কোট [ko:t] *coat*; কোর্ট, কোর্ট [ko:t, kort] *court*; কোচমান, কচুমান [koʃman, koʃman] *coachman*, showing vocalisation of the [m]; কেদার, ক্যাদার, কাঙ্গারু [keʃaru, kə-, ka-] *kangaroo*, fallen in line with native words like গোরু [goru] *cattle*, সাঁজারু [ʃãʃaru] *porcupine*, etc.; কেয়ার, older ক্যার [kear, kɛ:r] *care*; কেয়াসিন [keʃin] *kerosine oil*; কোম্পানী [kompani] *Company, the East India Company > the English government*; কৌশলি [kɔʃuli] *counsel, advocate*, with native -ই, -ঐ < -i, -ī > affix; খাঁটি [khãʃi] *country = country-liquor (?)*, showing aspiration of the guttural; গঞ্জি, গেঞ্জি [gonʃi, genʃi] *guernsey, undervest*; গাউন, earlier গোন [gaun, gown] *gown*; গারদ [garɔd] *guard, lock-up*; গার্জেন [garʃen] *guardian*; গার্টার, গার্টার [ga(r)ʃar] *garter*; গিরিমেন্ট [girimentɔ] *agreement*, with apheresis of *a-*; চেয়ার, older চ্যার [ʃeʃar, ʃe:r] *chair*; চুরুট [ʃurut] *cheroot*, from the Tamil < šuruʃtu >; জাঁদরেল [ʃãdrel] *general > big, huge*; চেরেট [ʃereʃ] *chariot, large coach*; জিমনাস্টিক [ʃimnaʃtik], also জিবনাস্টিক [ʃibnaʃtik] *gymnastics*;

টুর্নী, টর্নী [ʃurni, ʃorni < \*əʃorni, æʃorni] *attorney*, with apheresis of *a-*, and change of [ɔ] to [u] (see p. 398): টমটম [ʃɔmʃɔm] *tandem*, a folk alteration; টহরম [ʃɔhɔrɔm] *term* with intrusive [ʃɔ] through analogy of Perso-Arabic forms like মহরম [mɔhɔrɔm], শোহরৎ [ʃɔhɔrɔʃ], etc.; টালি [ʃali] (i) *tile* [ < ʃail], by metathesis, (ii) *trawley (of an electric tram)*; টিকিট, টিকিস [ʃikiʃ, ʃikiʃ], also টিকট [ʃikɔʃ] *ticket*; টিপিন [ʃipin] *tiffin*; টিংচার, টিঞ্চার [ʃinj(k)ʃar, ʃinʃar] *tincture*; টেক্স, ট্যাঙ্ক [ʃekʃ, ʃækʃ] *tax*; টুল [ʃu:l] *stool*; টেবিল [ʃebil] *table*; টেলিফোন [ʃeliphɔ] *telephone*, nasalisation brought in by the influence of ফু [phū:] *blowing*; ডজন [ʃɔʃɔn] *dozen*; ডবল [ʃɔbɔl] *double*; ডাইমন, ডায়মন [ʃaɪmɔn, ʃaɪmɔn] *diamond pattern on jewellery*, with final consonant group simplified; ডাক্তার [ʃaktar]



also ডাক্তর [daktər] *doctor*; ডম্বল, also a recent ডাম্বল [dɔmbɔl, dɔmbel] *dumb-bells (for exercise)*; ডেপুটী, ডিপুটী [dɛpuʈi, d̪iʈi] *deputy = d-puty magistrate*; ডেস্ক, ডেস্ক [dɛʃkɔ, d̪ɛkʃɔ] *desk*, showing metathesis;

তারপলিন [tarpɔlin] *tarpauline*, also ত্রেপল, ত্রিপল, তেরপল [trepɔl, tripɔl, terpɔl]; তারপিন [tarpin] beside টারপিন [t̪arpin] *turpentine*; তোরাঙ্গ, তোড়ং [torɔŋgɔ, torɔŋ, torɔŋ] *trunk, box*; থিয়েটার [thiɛt̪ar] *theatre*; দেবদ্র [dɛrɔʃt̪i] from [\*draːz] *drawer, chest of drawers*; নভেম্বর [nɔbɦembar], older নবেম্বর [nɔbɦembar] *November*; নম্বর [nɔm̪bɔr] *number*; নীট [niːt̪] *nett*, the [iː] for [ɛ] is exceptional; নুটিশ [nuʈiʃ] *notice*, cf. পুলিশ below: a vulgar লুটিশ [luʈiʃ] with [l] for [n] is also found;

পণ [pɔːn] from [\*pɔnd̪] *pound (in the paper trade)*; পলস্ত(ত)রা [pɔlɔstɔrɔ, -tara] *plaster*; পান্সী [panʃi] *pinnace*: connection with পানী < pāni > *water* suggested by folk-etymology?; পালিস [paliʃ] *polish*; পিজবোড, পিজবোট, পিচবোড, পিচবোট [piʃt̪bɔʃ, piʃt̪bɔʃ, piʃt̪-bɔʃ, piʃt̪bɔʃ] *paste-board*, based on a form like [\*peʃbɔrd̪ < pɦeʃ(t)bɔːdː st > s > ʃ > ʃ̪, ʃ̪i]; পুট [puːt̪] *pit (in tailor's measure)*; পুটিং, পুডিং [puʈiŋ, puʈiŋ] *putty (in repairing glass)* (influenced by *pudding* ?); পুলিশ [puliʃ] *police*, exceptional case of Vowel Harmony changing [o] to [u]; so পুন্টিশ [puʈiʃ] *poultice*; পেণ্টলেন [pɛnt̪ulɛn] *pantaloon(s)*; ফটোগেরাপ [phɔʈɔgerap] *photograph*; ফিট [phiːt̪] *feet, fit*; ফিটন, beside ফেটন, ফেটিং [phiʈɔn, pɦeʈin, pɦeʈiŋ] *large carriage, phaeton*; ফ্লুট, ফুলুট [phluːt̪, phuluʈ] *flute*; ফেল, also occasionally ফেইল [pɦeːl, pɦeɪl] *fail*; ফ্যাশান [phæːʃan] *fashion*; পাপর [pāpɔr] *pauper (legal term)*: cf. the common Bengali পাপড়, পাপর < pāpārʃ, pā̃rārʃ > *thin round wafers of spiced gram or pulse paste (parpaṭa)*; বগলস [bɔglɔʃ] *buckles*; বগী [bogi] *buggy*; বডি [bɔʈi] *bodice*, with exceptional loss of final [s]; বর্জাইস [bɔrʃt̪aiʃ] *bourgeois (type)*; বাক্স, by metathesis বাক [bakʃɔ, baʃkɔ] *box*; বার্নিশ [barniʃ] *varnish*; বাইসমান [baiʃman] *vice-man, mechanic*; বাবর [bibɔr] *beaver*; ব্রুশ [buruʃ] *brush*; বুলু [bulu] *blue (dye)*; বেঞ্চি [benʃi] *bench*; বেলেস্তারা [belestara] *blister (medical)*, cf. পলস্তারা [pɔlɔstara] above; ব্যাটবল [bæt̪ɔmbɔl] *bat and ball* (see p. 532); ভিজিট [bɦiʃt̪iʈ] *visit, doctor's fee*; মটন [mɔʈɔn] *mutton*; মারগীজ beside মরগিজ [margiʃt̪i, mɔrɡiʃt̪i] *mortgage*; মেজিষ্টার, ম্যাজিষ্টার [mæʃt̪iʃt̪ɔr, ma-] *magistrate*; ম্যাজেন্টা(র), ম্যাজেণ্ডার [mæʃt̪ɛnt̪ɔ(r), mæʃt̪ɛnd̪ɔr] *magenta (red)*, with intrusive final [r]; মানোরার [manɔar]

*man o'war, battleship*; মারকিন [markin] *American*, with loss of initial [ə] [əmsrɪkən]; মাস্টার, মাস্টার, মাস্টার [maʃtər, məʃtər, maʃtər] *master, teacher*; মিউনিসিপালিটি [miʊnɪsɪpəl(ɪ)ti] *municipality* (see p. 216); মেম, ম্যাম [me:m, mæ:m] *European lady* < ma'am, madam; মটর [mətər] *motor* [moutə], influenced by the native word মটর [mətər] *pea*; মামলেট [mamleʃ] *omelette*, with prothetic [m];

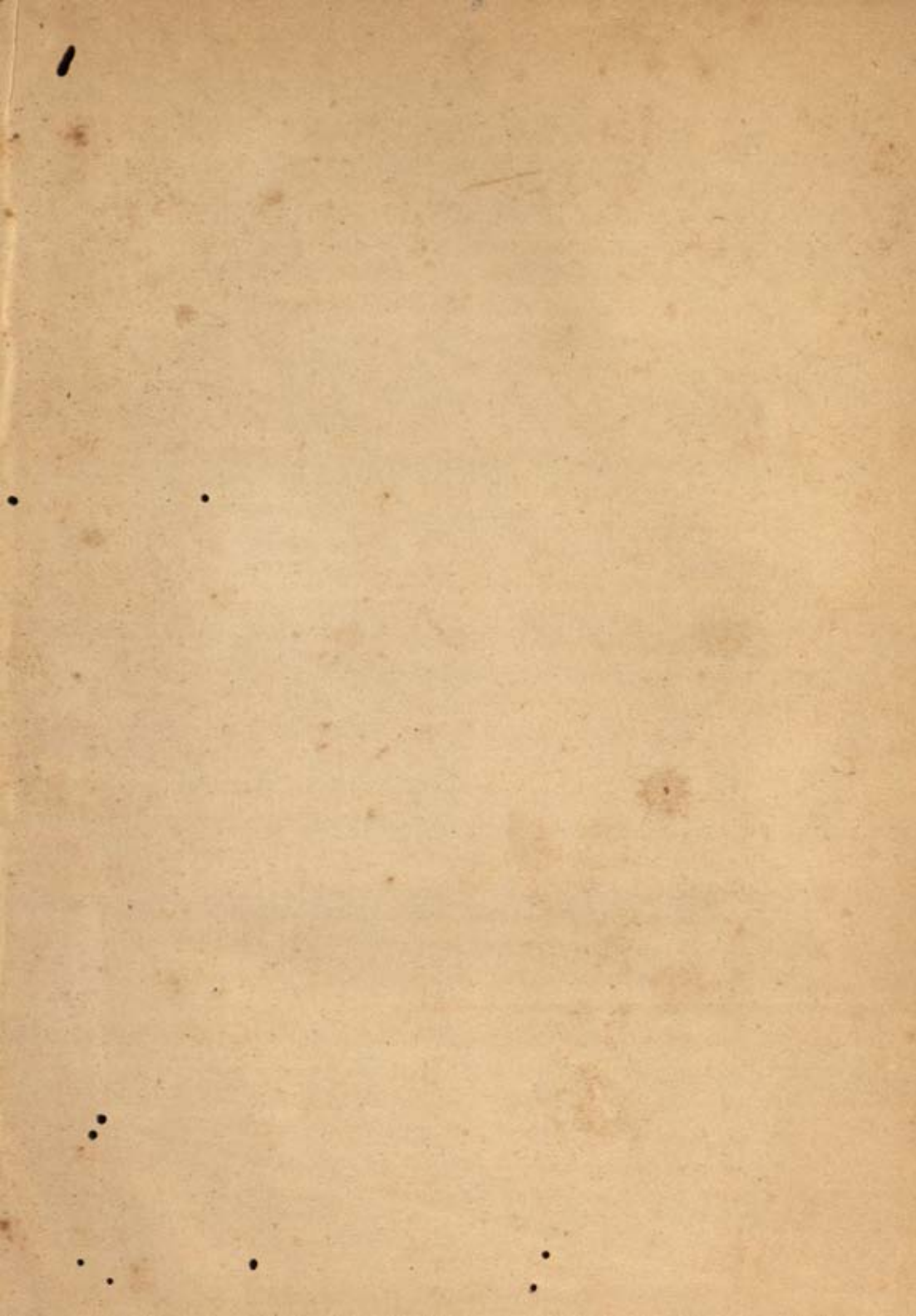
রাসকেল [raʃkel] *rascal*; রিপট, রিবিট [ripɪt, ribɪt] *rivet*; রিপোর্ট, রিপোর্ট [ripɔt, riport] *report*; রিভলবার [ribɪəlbar, -vɔl-] *revolver*; রিসিভার, beside রিসিভার, রিবিবর [riʃɪbɪər, riʃɪbər] *receiver (of property)*; রেজিস্টারী [reʃɪʃtɪəri] *register, registered*; রৌন্ড [rɔ:d] *round, as of a policeman*: change of [n] to nasalisation of vowel; রাবিশ [rabiʃ] *rubbish*;

লজ্জুস, রজ্জুস [ləʃʃɔnʃɪʃ, rəʃʃɔnʃɪʃ] *lozenges (sweets)*, influence of native root চুষ < eus > *suck*, and peculiar change of [l] to [r] in the alternative form; লণ্ঠন [ləntʃən] *lantern, lanthorn*; লম্প, ল্যাম্প [ləmpə, læmpə] *lamp*; লাট [la:t] *lot (of goods)*; লোর্ড [lɔ:t] *lord, governor of province*; লিবার [libər] (*infantile*) *liver*, also নিবর [nibər]; লোট for নোট [lo:t < no:t] *note (money)*, showing vulgar change of [n] to [l]; so লুটিশ [lutɪʃ] *notice*; ল্যাংবোট [læŋ bo:t] *long boat (attached to a steamer) = satellite*.

সমন [ʃɔmən] *summons (law)*, influenced by শমন < śamān > *God of death*; শাশী [ʃaʃi] *window sash*, also a form with intrusive [r], শাশী, সার্সী [ʃarʃi]; সীল, শীল [ʃi:l] *seal*; শিলেট, শেলেট [ʃɪleʃ, ʃeʃleʃ] *slate*; সপিনা, সফিনা [ʃɔp(h)ɪnə] *sub-poena*, with exceptional aspiration; সব, সাব [ʃɔb, ʃɔb] *sub*, in words like সবজ্জ [ʃɔbʃʃɔʃ] *sub-judge*, সব ডেপুটি [ʃɔbdepuʃi] *sub-deputy* etc.; সিগারেট, through initial stress সিগ্ৰেট [ʃɪgareʃ, ʃɪgret] *cigarette*; সেমিজ [ʃemiʃ] *chemise*; সোডা [ʃɔdə], beside a vulgar সোটা [ʃɔʃta] *soda*.

হন্দর [hɔndər] *hundred-weight* (see p. 641); হাপ [hɑ:p] *half*; হাপসাইড [hɑpʃaɪd] *off-side*, in game of foot-fall, with prothetic [h]; হিব্রু [hɪbru] *Hebrew*; হার্মোনিয়াম(ম) [hɑrmonia(m)] *harmonium*, with vulgar dropping of final [m]; হইল [huil] *fishing wheel*; হেট, হ্যাট [hæ:t] *hat*; etc., etc.





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