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Editor : Professor Sukumar Sen

CONTENTS

Ourselves

Sanskrit Study in Ancient China and Japan by Mr. Yasuaki Nara

Integration in Linguistic Pattern in India by Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee

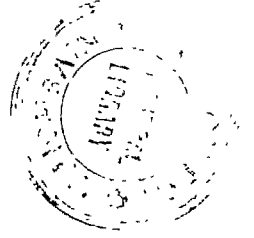
Syllable-expansion in Oriya by Professor Sukumar Sen

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OURSELVES

The Philological Society of Calcutta was founded in the year 1931, with Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee as President and Mr. Sukumar Sen as Secretary. During the first year (1931-'32) one extraordinary and eight ordinary meetings were held.

At the inaugural meeting (March 10, 1931) Mr. Sukumar Sen read a paper on Verb Substantive in Bengali.

Second meeting (April 21, '31) : Dr. Probodh Chandra Bagchi read a paper on Treatment of the Sibilant in the Apabhraṃśa.

Third meeting (August 11, '31) : Professor S. K. Chatterjee read a paper on Some Outstanding Tendencies in Phonetics.

Fourth meeting (August 26 '31) : Dr. P. C. Bagchi read a paper on Chronology of Siddhācāryas.

Fifth meeting (September 22, '31) : Dr. P. C. Bagchi read a paper on Bergaigne and Vedic Interpretation.

Sixth meeting (October 31, '31) : Mr. S. Sen read a paper on *Śrīkṛṣṇavijay* of Mālādhār Vasu.

Seventh meeting (January 21, '32) : Mr. S. Sen read a paper on the Compound Verb and the Prohibitive Particle in East Bengali.

Eighth meeting (March 2, '32) : Mr. Monomohan Ghosh read a paper on Nature and Origin of Mahārāṣṭrī Prakṛt.

An Extraordinary meeting was held at the President's residence at 8 p.m. on March 10, '32. Mr. Amulyadhan Mukherjee read a paper on New Treatment of Bengali Metre. The function concluded with a dinner given by the President.

The first annual general meeting was held on March 10, '32. The following members and guests were present :

Professor S. K. Chatterjee (President), Mr. Pramatha Chowdhury, Mr. Sailendra Nath Mitra, Mr. Mohit Kumar Ghosh, Dr. Hemchandra Roy, Mr. Ajit Kumar Ghosh, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Mr. Muhammad Enamul Huq., Mr. Gopal Halder, Dr. Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri, Dr. Panchanan Mitra, Mr. Amiya Kumar Sen, Mr. Pramatha Nath Roy, Mr. Kshitish Chandra Chatterjee, Mr. M. Ghosh, Mr. Amiya Nemaī Chandra, Mr. S. Sen (Secretary).

The Secretary presented his annual report. Mr. K. C. Chatterjee read a paper on Panini a Poet, Dr. P. C. Bagchi on Mysticism of Kabir and Mr. S. Sen on Some Notes on the Language of the Mahābhārata. The President made a communication about the traditional mythological stories or anecdotes and their antiquities.

The President placed the manuscript of his Bengali grammar for inspection by the members and guests present.

In the second year (1932-33) nine ordinary meetings were held.

First meeting (July 30, '32) : Dr. P. C. Bagchi read a paper on the Yoga Conception in the Vedic Literature.

Second meeting (July 27, '32) : Mr. S. Sen raised a discussion on Mr. Amulyadhan Mukherjee's paper on the Bengali Metre (Published in the *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā*)

Third meeting (September 3, '32) : Professor Surendra Nath Sen read a paper on Some Extract from Dom Antonio's Discourses.

Fourth meeting (December 14, '32) : Professor S. K. Chatterjee read a paper on Tansen as a Poet.

Fifth meeting (January 6, '33) : Professor Kshitish Prasad Chattopadhyay read a paper on the Chronology of the Andhra Dynasty. It was followed by discussions led by Professor Hemchandra Raychaudhuri.

Sixth meeting (February 14, '33) : Mr. M. Ghosh spoke on Relative Antiquity of Padapāṭha to the Saṃhitā Pāṭha. There was a discussion.

Seventh meeting (February 15, '33) : Mr. S. Sen spoke on Śrīkhaṇḍa School of Bengali Vaishnavism. There was a discussion.

Eighth meeting (February 23, '33) : Dr. P. C. Bagchi spoke on Mysticism of Caryā Songs. There was a discussion.

Ninth meeting (March 8, '33) : Professor S. K. Chatterjee communicated to the Society a paper on The Phonetics of Konkani Dialect by Dr. S. M. Katre.

The second annual general meeting was held in March 1933. The following members and guests were present :

Professor S. K. Chatterjee (President), Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, Mr. M. Ghosh, Mr. S. N. Mitra, Mr. Tripurari Chakrabarti, Mr. K. C. Chatterjee, Mr. D. M. Bhattacharya, Pandit Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya, Mr. Priya Ranjan Sen, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. P. Mitra, Mr. Manoranjan Gupta, Mr. M. K. Bhattacharya, Mr. H. K. Banerjee, Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya, Mr. S. Sen (Secretary).

The Secretary presented his annual report. Mr. K. C. Chatterjee read a paper on Some Technicalities of the Sanskrit Grammar, Mr. M. Ghosh on Śikṣā-tracts, Mr. S. Sen on Evolution of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa Legend and Professor S. K. Chatterjee on Polyglotism in Ancient India.

During the third year (1933-'34) only three ordinary meetings were held.

First meeting (August 23, '33) : Dr. P. C. Bagchi read a paper on Parāvṛtti in Yogācāra Philosophy.

Second meeting (March 15, '34) ; Mr. S. Sen spoke on the history of the Early Bengali Literature.

Third meeting (March 22, '34) : Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh spoke on The Indo-European Characteristics of Sanskrit.

The third annual general meeting was held at the residence of the President (Oct. 6, '34). The following members and guests were present :

Professor S. K. Chatterjee (President), Dr. Norman Brown (Guest-in-chief), Mr. R. P. Chandra, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. K. L. Ganguly, Brahmachari Govind, Mr. H. K. Dev, Mr. M. Ghosh, Mr. S. Sen (Secretary).

The Secretary read his annual report. The President spoke on the Romanisation of the Bengali Script. Mr. M. Ghosh introduced a discussion on Mahārāṣṭri Prakṛt.

During the fourth year (1934-35) four meetings were held.

First meeting (November 28, '34) : Mr. K. C. Chatterjee read a paper on Folk-etymology in Sanskrit.

Second meeting (January 16, '35) : Mr. S. Sen read a paper on The Indefinite Pronoun in Indo-Iranian.

Third meeting (February 13, '35) : Mr. Hamid Ullah read a paper on Nirāli Urdu.

Fourth meeting (February 26, '35) ; Mr. S. Sen read a paper on The Grammar of the Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan.

The fourth annual general meeting was held at the residence of the President (February 8, '36). The following members and guests were present :

Professor S. K. Chatterjee (President), Professor Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya (Guest-in-Chief), Pandit Ksitimohan Sen, Mr. M. Ghosh, Mr. S. Chakravarty, Mr. A. K. Mitra, Mr. S. C. Chaudhury, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Mr. A. K. Sen, Mr. S. K. Banerjee, Mr. Hamid Ullah, Mr. S. Sen (Secretary).

The Secretary before presenting his annual report for 1934-35 congratulated Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya and Professor S. K. Chatterjee, the one being appointed as Asutosh Professor and the other elected a fellow of the Asiatic Society. Professor Bhattacharya was congratulated on the bestowal of the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya. The Secretary presented his annual report and stated that owing to the absence of the President (deputed by the University to attend the Phonetic Conference in London, held in July 1935) the annual general meeting was delayed.

The President then addressed the meeting on the matter of amalgamating our projected Bulletin with the organ of the Linguistic Society of India. It was decided that before any step could be taken details may be ascertained from the Secretary of the Linguistic Society as regards the financial position of the Society.

Immediately after the annual general meeting was over an ordinary meeting was held.

During the year 1935-36 only five ordinary meetings were held.

First meeting (September '35) : Dr. B. K. Ghosh read a paper on Verbs in Sanskrit.

Second meeting (December 18, '35) : Mr. Hamid Ullah read a paper on Basic Hindustani.

Third meeting (January 16, '36) : Mr. S. Sen placed before the members the manuscript of his *Old Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenian Emperors*.

The fourth meeting (February 8, '36) was held immediately after the annual general meeting at the residence of the President. Mr. S. Sen read a paper on Etymology of Some Old Persian and Old Indo-Aryan Words.

Fifth meeting (September 10, '36) : Mr. S. Sen read a paper on Gopichandra Literature in Bengali. There was a discussion on the Hittite word *Akhaiwaba* introduced by Dr. B. K. Ghosh.

At the fifth annual general meeting (September 30, '36) the following members and guests were present :

Professor S. K. Chatterjee (President), Dr. B. S. Guha, Mr. M. Ghosh, Mr. Sambhu

Chandra Choudhuri, Mr. Ajit Kumar Mitra, Mr. Bhabani Prasad Raychaudhuri, Dr. Immanuel Olsvanger of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Guest-in-Chief), Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Mr. Surapati Chakravarty, Mr. Sudhir Kumar Mukherjee, Mr. Indira Prasad Panth, Mr. Aditya Kumar Chatterjee, Mr. S. Sen (Secretary).

Before transacting the business of the day the President moved the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted :

The Philological Society of Calcutta University places on record its sense of deep-sorrow at the death of Professor Antoine Meillet of the University of Paris, which is an irreparable loss to the science of Linguistics, particularly of the Indo-European languages.

The Philological Society offers its heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family of the Professor.

It was resolved further that copies of the resolutions be sent to the family of the late Professor and also to the Société de Linguistique of Paris.

The Secretary then read his report for the year 1935-36.

Dr. Olsvanger gave a very interesting discourse on the adoption of the Hebrew language by the Jewish people in Palestine.

There were five ordinary meetings during the year 1936-37.

First meeting (January '37) : Dr. B. K. Ghosh read a paper on Sanskrit Philology.

Second meeting (January '37) : Mr. S. Sen read a paper on Some Indo-Aryan Etymologies.

Third meeting (September 15, '37) : Dr. S. Sen (Secretary) read a paper on Indo-European alternance between short vowel plus nasal and long vowel without nasal and its extension in Eastern Middle Indo-Aryan.

Fourth meeting (November '37) : Dr. B. K. Ghosh read a paper on Genesis of Rigvedic Gods.

Fifth meeting (November '37) : Dr. S. Sen read a paper on Heteroclis and Stem-alternation in Indo-Aryan.

The sixth annual general meeting was held at 5-30 p.m. on January, 1938. The following members and guests were present :

Professor S. K. Chatterjee (President), Mm. Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya, Dr. U. K. Ghosal, Dr. B. S. Guha, Mr. K. C. Chatterjee, Mr. K. P. Goswami, Mr. Bhabani Prasad Raychaudhuri, Mr. Hettiarechi, Professor F. W. Thomas (Guest-in-chief), Professor H. C. Raychaudhuri, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Major. P. Bardhan, Dr. B. K. Ghosh, Mr. Sambhu Chandra Chaudhuri, Mr. Aditya Kumar Chatterjee, Dr. S. Sen (Secretary).

Secretary read the report for the year 1936-37. Then he read a note on the Mallasaruk Copperplate Inscription of Gopachandra and Vijayasena.

Professor V. Bhattacharya proposed new etymologies for some Sanskrit roots, e.g. *svad*, *svap* etc. There was a discussion.

There were three meetings during the year 1938-39.

The first meeting (November 10, '38) was specially called to pass the following condolence resolution :

The Philological Society feels a deep sense of loss and expresses its profound sorrow at the untimely demise of Mr. Sudhir Kumar Mukherjee, M.A., a research worker and a former student of the Department of Comparative Philology.

The second meeting (December 21, '38) : Dr. S. Sen read a brief résumé of the late Sudhir Kumar Mukherjee's paper on Bengali Surnames.

The third meeting (March 7, '39) : Professor Viswa Bandhu Shastri delivered an address on Vedic Studies in India and Abroad.

In April 1939, the office of the Linguistic Society of India was transferred to Calcutta and for some time the members of the Philological Society were occupied in running the Linguistic Society and no meeting of the Philological Society could be held for a pretty long time.

The next general meeting was held on August 29, 1945 for a reorganisation of the Society. The following members and guests were present :

Professor S. K. Chatterjee (President), Mr. Pranabesh Sinha Ray, Mr. Prafulla Kumar Bhattacharya, Mr. Emran Ali, Mr. Madhusudhan Mallik, Mr. Manoranjan De, Mr. Amitabha Mitra, Mr. Saraju Prasad Agarwal, Dr. S. Sen (Secretary).

The following office-bearers and other Executive Committee members were elected :

President : Professor S. K. Chatterjee

Secretary & Treasurer : Dr. S. Sen

Asst. Secretary : Mr. P. Sinha Ray

Other members of the Executive Committee :

Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Mr. A. Mitra, Mr. M. Dey, Dr. B. K. Ghosh, Mr. E. Ali, Mr. P. K. Bhattacharya and Mr. M. Mallik.

The next meeting was held in September 1946. Dr. B. K. Ghosh read a paper on the Aryan Problem. There was a discussion.

For the next few years there were no meetings of the Philological Society as the active members of the Society were fully occupied with the task of publication of *Indian Linguistics*.

Since 1956 the Society is meeting regularly and is expanding its activities. The present publication is the first tangible result of the renewed activity of the Philological Society of Calcutta.

Sanskrit Study in Ancient China and Japan

Yasuaki Nara, M. A.

Bipradas Palchaudhuri Fellow, University of Calcutta

The present article is based on the lecture delivered on June 29, 1959, at the monthly meeting of the Philological Society under the title "The history and present situation of Sanskrit study in Japan". This title comprised two different topics, that is, the Skt. study in ancient Japan and that of the present age, the latter however being by no means the continuation or the development of the former. In this revised article the Skt. study of our era which is based on the modern methodological research and therefore must be sharply divided from that of the older times is greatly omitted due to space inconvenience. Moreover the rough sketch of the Skt study in ancient China, from which the tradition in Japan was inherited, occupies so considerable a portion that the title was changed as shown above. Furthermore the "study" of Skt. in those days was done in a way which, being mostly confined to the study of only letters and scripts, was so peculiar and one-sided that one could doubt whether it might deserve to be called as *Wissenschaft*. Yet the author hopes that this description of outline of the Skt. study in ancient China and Japan may be something new and informative to readers who are not acquainted with the Chinese language.

The transmission of Skt. into China was done in quite early ages through Buddhism. Buddhism which was originated in India, began to penetrate into China via Central Asia since sometime about the first c. BC and in due course of history many original texts were brought there in the form of writing or orally either by Indian and Central Asian priests or by the Chinese who had been to India for learning Buddhism. Ultimately the intermixture of Buddhist culture became quite frequent, and along with it, translation of the texts into Chinese was commenced extensively during the period of the 2nd and the 3rd c. AD.

From the early beginning of the history of translation, a fair number of words of the original texts were not translated but transliterated through the Chinese characters. This is mostly the case in the names of persons, Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, demigods, demoniac beings, various kinds of animals and plants, jewels, hells, countries, mountains, rivers and some technical terms and so on. The phenomenon must have started in the first place with the proper names. At the same time lack of knowledge of foreign languages on the part of the translators also contributed to the growth of this tendency. The foreign translators who were not thoroughly acquainted with Chinese might have found their easy-going way in the transliteration and, reversely the Chinese translators who had not full knowledge of Indian languages must have done the same to the words which they had failed to get full understanding of. In both cases, more frequently in the latter, not only the proper names but also the common nouns, sometimes even verbs, were transliterated.

This tendency has, in due course, gradually increased and formalised, especially in the period of Tang dynasty (618-907 AD), when Hiouen-tsan (600-662 AD), after returning from his long sojourn in India with a lot of new MSS., advocated the so-called

new translation. By this time the translation system was quite completely organised under the sponsorship of the Emperors. ⁽¹⁾ He, as the leader of the translation-board, formulated some rules as to how such and such Chinese words should be chosen for such and such Indian words of the original texts. In one of them he taught that there were five kinds of groups of words which should not be translated but transliterated. They are: (1) Works like dhāraṇī (magic formula) because of their mystical and esoteric meanings. (2) Words containing manifold meanings, like 'bhagavat,' which has six different meanings (viz. lordship, prosperity, dignity, fame, happiness and nobility). (3) Words like 'jambu', because they do not exist in China at all. (4) Words which have been traditionally transliterated since the time of Kāśyapa Mātanga, who has been said to be the first translator of Buddhist texts in China, for instance, 'anuttarabodhi', (5) Words which produce profound and deep senses when they are left untranslated, for instance, pān-niak (Skt. prajñā, but transliterated probably from paññā) contains more profound and deeper meanings than 'tche-hwui' (Chinese word for prajñā, meaning wisdom) which can imply a very limited and narrow sense. ⁽²⁾

On such transliterated words some difficulties arose, first of which was the languages of those texts, and secondly the route through which Buddhism was imported

⁽¹⁾ Since the early times the translation in China was seldom done by one translator but was carried out on the collaboration of people. This tendency has in due course been gradually systematised and during the T'ang dynasty it was said to have been most completely organised. There were separate divisions as follows: (a) "the leader", i.e. who, knowing Skt. best, loudly recites the original texts; (b) "the one who examines the meaning", i.e. who, taking seat on the left side of the leader, gives the meaning of the original words (practically the advisor or consultant of the leader); (c) "the one who examines the sentence", i.e. who, taking seat on the right side of the leader, corrects the leader's recitation, if he reads wrong; (d) "the one who writes characters", i.e. who copies the sounds of the original text (uttered by the leader) through the Chinese characters; (e) "the one who gives Chinese", i.e. who gives the corresponding Chinese word for each transliterated word done by (d) above; (Therefore the enumeration of Chinese words thus acquired does not make any sense as Chinese.) (f) "the one who makes sentences", i.e. who, by changing the position of the words of the above mentioned unintelligible sentences, makes Chinese expression; (g) "the one who compares the translation", i.e. who compares the original text with the translation thus made and revises the sentences; (h) "the one who revises the translation", i.e. who, if necessary, supplies words to the difficult and unintelligible passages or cuts out the superfluous expression; (i) "the one who embellishes sentences", i.e. who embellishes the Chinese sentence finally.

⁽²⁾ For getting as accurate a transliteration as possible they created some signs or promises; taking one example, the sign 'ni-gan' (contraction of two characters) is employed to signify the contraction of two Chinese syllables. This is for the indication of the sound of a compound letter; e.g. 'po-lo' with this sign implies 'pra-' abandoning the vocalic sound of the initial character. Of other signs, see P. C. Bagchi, *Deux lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, tome II, pp. 387 ff.

into China. As is well known, the so-called Buddhist (Hybrid) Sanskrit is not a correct Paninian Skt. but show full of Prakritic traits. Sometimes the texts which were translated from Indian languages into Central Asian dialects were directly-utilised as the original texts for the Chinese translations (for instance., that of the *Saddharmapundarikasūtra* translated by Kumārajīva who belonged to Kucha. It was said that he translated it from Kuchean version). Furthermore the translators in China were of various origin : some came from Central India, some from North India, some from East India, and some from various parts of Central Asia. It was then not unlikely that their own phonetic habit regulated by their mother-tongues must have given rise to different pronunciations of a particular word when it was being recited in the place of translation. A more complicated situation is the unstability of the phonetic value of Chinese characters. Its sound value sometimes differs according to the times and places. Therefore, owing to those reasons it was quite natural that there have frequently appeared some different transliterations of the same and one word in translation. Taking few examples out of many, we have gandhar(r)a besides gandharva, sāhā besides svāhā, thūva besides stūpa etc. etc.

Sometimes the mistransliteration (or miscopy on the part of original texts) led to misinterpretation. For instance., 'aśmagarbha' (emerald) was in not a few Chinese-works commented as "the store-house of stone", while in others, more in number, as "the store-house of horse". The latter must have been acquired from an *aśvagarbha, of which the change of -śma- to- śva- might have occurred somewhere in the Middle Indo-Aryan or Central Asia (or scribal error ?). (3)

Thus along with the development of the translation and with the passing of time some words or phrases, translated or transliterated, began to be felt as becoming antiquated and uncertain. It is, therefore, a natural tendency, as we have seen in the Vedic literature, that special lexical works were found necessary to explain the words used in the former translations. This was especially the case when Hiouen-tsan advocated and practised the so-called *new-translation*, where he, rejecting some old renderings to be wrong, mostly due to the fact of their being non-Sanskritic words introduced many new translations based on the Skt. Mss. brought by himself from India.

Of the works of this sort some important ones are : *Fān-fan-yu*, which means "Skt. translated into Chinese", compiled by Pāo-chān at the end of the 5th c. AD. This is a sort of a dictionary of the transliterated words which appeared in former translations. The words are presented together with the Chinese translations. In 839 AD. Seņ-shing compiled *Tao-fān-tseu-wen* (Chinese-Skt.-characters), where more than one thousand characters (i.e. words) (4) were given with the equivalent Skt. in a particular

(3) This change has been only hypothetically observed : Aśokan (Dhauḷi, Jaugaḍa) tuphe (<*tuṣpe<*tuṣve<*tuṣme-yuṣme) ; cf. Mabāvastu II. 2. 17 tuphehi (but Edgerton reads tusphehi or tuspehi), vide. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar, § 20.53 ff. Also cf. bhīṣma<bhippha (Hemacandra), Pischel, Pkt. Gram. § 312.

(4) Note the characteristic of the Chinese language that each character by itself contains three functions, i.e. the form, the sound and the meaning.

Indian script called Siddham (see infra), but without transliteration in Chinese. At the same time *Fan-yu-tsa-ming* (Miscellaneous names of Skt. translated into Chinese) was compiled by Li-yen, and early at the end of the 7th c. I-tsing published *Fan-yu-ts'ien-tseu-wen* (One thousand characters (i. e. words) with Skt.). In both of these lexicons (published with elaborate study by P. C. Bagchi in his *Deux lexiques Sanskrit Chinois*, tome I, 1929, II, 1937, Paris), the Skt. words are shown in the transliterated Chinese as well as in the Siddham script.

Furthermore a group of works which are called *yiñ-gi* appeared since sometime during the 7th c. The name *yiñ-gi* which literally means sound-meaning, may well be rendered in Skt. as śabdārtha. Practically it is the collection of words, translated or transliterated, which have been felt to have become antiquated to the contemporary people and consequently necessary to annotate the meaning and, in case of transliterated words, the correct pronunciation as well. *Sin-hwā-yen-kiñ-yiñ-gi* which was compiled by Hwui-wān in 700 AD is the śabdārtha dictionary on the second translation of Mahāvaiṣṭya-gaṇḍavyūhasūtra (translated by Śikṣānanda in 695-9 AD). In 649 AD Htuen-yin compiled *Yi-tshie-kiñ-yiñ-gi* (śabdārtha dictionary of the whole canon) which has taken its materials from 449 translations of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. This was, with a few notes and criticisms, wholly adopted in Hwui-lin's work which bore the same title. This Hwui-lin's *yiñ-gi* is the most authentic śabdārtha dictionary which annotates the words occurring in 1300 former translations that cover the works of the Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma. Later on Ki-lin compiled the work which also bore the same title and character.

Now besides these lexical interests, the most frequently disputed problem in China was the phonological approach to the Indian script under the name of the Siddham study.

The word Siddham, in the beginning however, seemed not to have meant the Indian script but simply the vowels, from their character being "complete" by itself ('siddha', pt. pp. of the root 'sidh'). Gradually a particular type of Indian script which was most prevalent in China came to be called Siddham due most probably to confusion of the usage⁽⁵⁾. The discussion whether the word Siddham should be defined as Indian script in general or as merely the vowels, was a great problem to the Chinese scholars and many opinions were offered.

Virtually speaking the interest for the Skt. language itself started from introducing Skt. alphabet with the Indian script to the beginners. In the early stages of history of Buddhism in China, the Buddhist Saṅgha was of a small scale and the number of scholars was also limited. Being able, it is supposed, to understand the language well by which all the texts were written, they felt no need of a handbook for the language. However the need of such books as dealing with the language itself was ultimately felt to be imperative according to the spread of Buddhism and to the quick development of

(5) However, cf. the description in the travelling record of Al-Berūni, an Arabian traveller in the beginning of the 12th c. He said that Siddhāntamātṛkā sort of script was used in Kashmir and Vārānaśi and Nāgarī sort of script in Mālva. G. Bühler is of opinion that this is one of the variations of the Gupta script.

translation business, for the purpose of imparting some knowledge of Skt. to the Chinese disciples who could not have been to India. What happened afterward, however, was peculiar. Most scholars showed their academic interest only to the detailed study of the alphabet and the sound, which, as they themselves mentioned, was nothing but a part of the whole *vyākaraṇa*. Yet they always had a bias, as will be shown later on, towards the definition of the word Siddham, the discussion of phonetic values, the style of the script and so on. And this attitude has characterised the nature of the Skt. study in China and in Japan.

Now concerning the discussion on the alphabet and its phonetic value, peculiar was the fact that the number of vowels was not the same to all scholars. The most prevalent tradition, which was represented by *Si-thūn-tseu-ki* (The description of the Siddham script, written by Prajñābodhi and translated by Chi-kwan in the 8th c.), taught 16 vowels which were divided into ten normal vowels, viz. a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ai, o and au plus aḥ (visarga) and aṃ (anusvāra) and four "other" vowels, viz. ṛ, ṝ, (short and long) whereas some others insisted of 14 vowels in which the visarga and anusvāra were deducted from the above. More curious is the consonant which, though its order is just the same as in Skt., includes llaṃ and kṣa at the end of the alphabet. Of the latter, it was peculiarly explained that the kṣa was intentionally added showing the possibility of compounding letters, taking the first consonant ka, and the last but two consonant ṣa which corresponded to ka when the ten consonants after ya (including the llaṃ and kṣa) were arranged in two lines by five.

Phonetic value of each letter has been shown either by using a Chinese character or characters (as indicated above referring to P. C. Bagchi's work) or by technical terms. In China since its early times they have created some technical terms that expressed the phonetic value of the Chinese sounds and those were constantly applied to Skt. As the former, however, was for merely the convenience's sake and the latter, being of a quite different nature of the sounds, was not always the suitable way for this purpose, their effort could not be called successful.

In the study of Siddham, besides the afore-stated phonological interest, however it seems nonsensical from our standpoint, another subject was traditionally included, which is in a sense more interesting to us. Since sometime about the 2-3rd c. AD began to have appeared some texts which mentioned the enumeration of letters of an alphabet with a particular dogma as one of the arts that should be mastered by prince Siddhārtha and others.

This alphabet was called *tseu-men* (lit. "letter-gate or-entrance"), the original Skt. of which, I venture to say, seemed akṣarapraveśa. (6) This letter-entrance practically meant the entrance of Buddhist philosophy through specified dogmas added to letters. To each letter is given specified dogma so that the students can procure the real spirit of Buddhism. Such way of approach to the philosophical theory must have been

(6) Cf. Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā, edited by N. Dutt, p. 212; yad utākṣaranayasamatākṣaramukham akṣarapraveśaḥ. Katamo'kṣaranayasamatākṣaramukham akṣarapraveśaḥ a-kāro mukhaḥ sarvadharmāṇām ādyanutpannatvāt. etc.

employed by the Buddhists influenced by the case of om̐ in the Hindu religion. But at the same time it might have started to give the convenience of memorising letters. For the initial letter of word, teaching the specified dogma of the letter, is generally, though not always, the same as the letter of alphabet in question; e. g. tatra bodhisattvādhiṣṭhānena teṣāṃ dāraḥkāṇāṃ mātrikāṃ vācayataṃ.....ka-kāra karmavipākāvātāraśabda. etc. (Lalitavistara, Lefmann's edition, p.127 ff.)

In this alphabet we can find two sets. The first is called fifty-akṣarapraveśa which introduces fifty letters and occurs in (1) Vaipulyamahāvvyūhasūtra (the 2nd tr. of Lalitavistara, tr. by Divākara in 683 AD,) (2) Buddhapūrvacaryāsaṅgrahasūtra (tr. by Jñānagupta in 589 AD,) (3) Vajrasāsekharasūtra (tr. by Amoghavajra in 719 ? AD), (4) Mañjuśrīpariṣhasūtra (tr. by Saṃghapāla in 518 AD), (5) Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (tr. by Fa-hien in 417 AD), (6) The description of the Siddham script (see supra, tr. by Chi-kwaṅ in 719 AD) and (7) Lalitavistara, Lefmann's edition p. 127ff.

In this fifty akṣarapraveśa the arrangement of letters is mostly the same as that of Indian languages. But it is not right to think it as Skt. proper. Many evidences show that the original must have been somewhat Middle Indic. In the works of (1), (3) and (4) the word given to the letter "ai" is airyāpatha, Buddhistic Skt. form derived from Skt. iryāpatha. (1), (2) and (7) have no ṛ, ṝ (short and long). Jhāyati given to the letter jha in (5), ṭhāpanīya for ṭha in (1), (3), (7) and thāma for tha in (1), (3), (4), (7) are respectively MIA forms of Skt. kṣāyati, sthāpanīya and sthāman. In this alphabet the anusvāra and visarga are included and placed after the last vowel au in all works except (2).

The forty-two akṣarapraveśa, the other one of this sort, is treated in the following texts; (1) Mahāvaiṣṭhānagāṇḍavyūhasūtra (tr. by Budhabhadra, 418-420 AD), (2) The same as above (tr. by Śikṣānanda, 695-9 AD). (3) Mahāprajñāpāramitā-upadeśa (tr. by Kumārajīva in 402-5 AD). (4) Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra (tr. by Kumārajīva, in 384-417 AD), (5) Prajñāpāramitāsūtra with the first chapter on emitting light (tr. by Mokṣala, in 291 AD), (6) Prajñāpāramitāsūtra with the first chapter on the praise of light (tr. by Dharmarakṣa in 265-316 AD), (7) Samantaprabhāsasūtra (the first tr. of Lalitavistara, tr. by Dharmarakṣa in 369 AD), (8) Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā. ed. by N. Dutt, p. 212).

Different from the fifty-akṣarapraveśa the alphabet of the forty-two is pregnant with much obscurity. Letters are arranged as :

a, ra, pa, ca, na, la, da, ba, ḍa, sa, va, ta, ya, sta, ka, sa, ma, ga, stha, ja, śva, dha, śa, kha, kṣa, ta, jña, (rtha), ha, cha, sma, dha, sa, gha, ṭha, ṇa, pha, ska, ja, ca, ṭa, ḍha (from above (8) ; where rtha is omitted).

But few dislocations and omissions are found in some texts.

Almost all the words given to letters anticipate MIA forms but the phonetic value of some letters, contradictory in each texts, are quite uncertain. Thus this alphabet is too much mutilated to be identified with some particular language. However the fact that this occurs in not a few works including Buddhist Skt. texts which, though showing some inconsistencies, the same order of letters, and they are exclusively to be found in Buddhist works and nowhereelse, tells us beyond doubt that they were the alphabets which might have been commonly used among

Buddhists and accepted as the alphabets of languages in which their canonical works were composed. Further the fact that the works thus teaching forty-two letters are invariably the one translated by the priests of the Central Asian origin or the one of which the original Mss. were said to have been acquired in the same region, (7) whereas the other, i.e. the fifty, were without a single exception translated by Indian priests, suggests the forty-two akṣarapraveśa of being closely connected with Central Asian dialects.

Now Buddhism was brought to Japan from China officially in 552 AD and accepted as the national religion. Since then the tradition of Skt. study which consisted, in the most part, of the Siddham study was also introduced into Japan without much modification of its character and nature. Judging from the fact that no work on Siddham was done, the Siddham study seemed to have not been accepted smoothly in the first two hundred years in the history of Japanese Buddhism, although works on the Siddham and Skt. were reported to have been transmitted during this age. In 736 AD. the first Indian priest came and taught Buddhism and Skt. to the Japanese. His name was Bodhisena and he was respected by the people as the "bishop of brahman". At the same time many Japanese priests crossed the ocean proceeding to China to learn Buddhism. Ultimately the Buddhism was established firmly in the soil of Japan and not a few original Mss. and a vast number of Chinese translations were brought over. Nearly one century before Bodhisena the then Emperor had sent a delegate to the Emperor of Tsui dynasty (607 AD), and the leader of the party brought some original palm-leaf Mss. including Parajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra, which, having been kept up till now, was examined and proved to be one of the oldest palmleaf Mss. in the world by Max Müller (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, I, 1887)

After the opening of the Heian period (794 AD) the most eminent priest came into the world first was Kobo Daishi, the founder of the Shingon sect, who has got the fame as the first systematic researcher of the Siddham. He went to China in the beginning of the 9th c. for three years' stay and got the chance of being instructed by a Kashmiri priest Prajñā. According to the usual way he also brought many original Mss. and works done in China. He himself wrote some books on the Siddham. However more important than this was the fact that he was the man who really organized the Japanese alphabet based on the Skt. alphabet system. In ancient Japan there were eight vowels, of which three were mostly out of use by his time. He re-arranged the sounds of the Japanese language and established five vowels and 41 consonants. The former is a, i, u, e, o and the other, the consonants are also arranged on the basis of the order of Skt.

This period, named Heian, was the age when the aristocratic policy was on

(7) Kumārajīva of (3) and (4) above came from Kutcha and Dharmarakṣa of (6) and (7) was of Yue-chi origin. Both Mokṣala of (5) and Śikṣānanda of (2) are believed to have come from Khotan district. Although Buddhahadra who translated (1) was born in North India, the original Mss. of it was acquired from Khotan.

swing in the Japanese history. And along with the spread and inculcation of Buddhism into the people the Siddham study was being done extensively by the priests, and, on the other hand, the transliterated words and phrases, especially dhāraṇī, had become one of the most necessary educations of the common people. Being the aristocratic age and being, consequently, most eminent age in the field of literature and culture, the courtesans were inevitably requested to have sufficient knowledge of Chinese language and culture, and the knowledge of Dhāraṇī. On the other hand, the common people too, being sincere Buddhists, were supposed to know some dhāraṇīs and used to recite them on every occasion of ceremonies. One of the reflections of such fashion as this is found in a passage in *Makura-no-soshi*, famous and perhaps the oldest essay written by a lady ; wherein she wrote "in the morning we read the Jukyo (the sūtra of Taoism) and in the evening dhāraṇī" Really the dhāraṇī was an item of education and a common custom, being connected with religious practice. As mentioned before, the dhāraṇī is not the translation but the transliteration from the original language, and is written either in Chinese characters or in Siddham script, or sometimes in both. Thus being the transliteration it is by no means the meaningful sentence for the Chinese and especially for the Japanese. This fact called for a feeling of dissatisfaction. Besides this, the dhāraṇī was believed to have some esoteric and sacrosanct meanings and to increase, when copied or recited, merits of the people enough to get its return in either this world or the other. So the common people also were following the study of the Siddham. Such being the case, it was not unnatural that the priests were much more inclined to master it.

In 835 AD. the then Emperor promulgated to give a scholarship to three young students and one of them was to specialize in the Siddham. A little later, in 877 AD., a scholar named Annen published many works on the Siddham, one of which was known as *Siddham-zo* (that literally means Siddham-kośa). In this book he classified the rules of sandhi of Skt. A priest named Henmyo appeared a little later and endeavoured to compile two dictionaries, i. e. *Bon-kan-go-ho* (Use of the word of Skt. and Chinese) and *Bon-kan-so-tai-sho* (Extract comparison of Skt. and Chinese).

During this early stage, the Siddham study in Japan was nothing but the direct inheritance of that of China. Ultimately there appeared a tendency to write the Siddham script artistically and finally it became one of the arts, just like painting, although they still seemed to be considering it as one of the religious practices. This tradition, which has been kept in many schools, occupies a considerable part of Japanese Siddham study. At the same time some scholars endeavoured to compare the sound of the Indian alphabet with that of the Japanese. Previously in China they approached the sounds with the knowledge of Chinese phonology (or phonological-like attitude) and the same labour was started here with the background of Japanese sounds.

At the end of the 13th c. a Buddhist scholar Shimpan did the same in his *Siddham-hi-jū-ki* and *Rin-ryaku-zu-sho*. Some others, for example Yūkai, Chokaku and others, also followed this trend.

Coming down to the 17th c., when Japan was enjoying the last feudalistic stage, new

interest for Skt. grammar in general started. This has been reflected in the compilation of lexicons and in the revival of the orthodox style of the Siddham script, which by that time had been much deformed as a result of taking it as an art. At the beginning of 18th c. Jogan published *Bon-kan-tai-hon* (Skt.-Chinese-glossary) and Donjyaku compiled *Bon-bun-tai-rei* (Examples of Skt. sentences) and *Bon-go-zo-shu* (Miscellaneous collection of Skt.) Eko compiled in 1684 and still now useful glossary is *Ki-kitsu-eki-do-shu*.

Stimulated by this movement and as the final development, the voluminous work named *Bon-gaku-shin-ryō* (Principle of Skt. studies) was brought into light in 1759 by Jiun and his disciples. This book, consisting of one thousand volumes, was the collection of all sorts of Mss. and works in Skt. and Siddham and could well be said to be the peak in the history of Skt. study in Japan.

It is divided into seven sections. The first is the collection of all the original Mss. which existed in Japan. The palmleaf Mss. of Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra mentioned above was also edited here. The second is the commentary of those texts and the third is an outline of Skt. grammar. The fourth is the collection of works on Skt. and Siddham done by the predecessors. The fifth contains *Bon-go-ji-i* (Skt. dictionary) and *Bon-go-sho-yō* (Outline of Skt.) The sixth is the classification of words according to items with their explanations, and finally comes the supplementary as the last section.

The standard of the Skt. study in Japan was by their effort much raised from the preliminary study of letters and sounds upto the reading of sentences and editing the texts. Jiun was also trying to fix up the orthodox style of letters with the comparison of extant original Mss. After him, Keiko (Jiun's disciple) wrote the commentary of *Fan-yu-ts'ien-tseu-wen* (see supra), Skt. of the Bhadracārī etc. and Koryu published Collection of Skt. in tripitaka.

Now the tradition of the Siddham study continued upto the latter half of the 19th c. However, in 1869, the feudalistic age of Japan ended when she opened the whole of the territory to the world and started to claim herself as a modern country. Hence forward the study of Skt. has been done in the new light of modern scientific methods which was introduced from the West and the position of the traditional Skt. study in older times has been completely lost, because of its unscientific method and of its low standard.

[Concerning the Siddham, the author owes much to Prof. S. Takubo's work, "Hihan-Siddham-Jaku" (written in Japanese).]

Integration in Linguistic Pattern in India

Suniti Kumar Chatterji

The gradual reconstruction of the Primitive Indo-European language through a comparative study of the various ancient Indo-European languages has been one of the foremost intellectual achievements of mankind in the present age. In 1786 Sir William Jones had, as if by a sort of inspiration, suggested the possibility of a common source for languages like Sanskrit, Greek and Latin and the rest, which presented striking similarities. Bit by bit the structure of Primitive Indo-European as the ultimate source-language has been reconstructed, and the Indo-European *Ursprache* appeared to have come to life in front of our eyes, like the Princess in the Fairy Tale from her enchanted sleep. The story of this reconstruction reads like a romance, and herein is one of the most attractive features in the history of the linguistic science.

The Primitive Indo-European language has now been before us for some generations, and with more and more detailed and intensified studies, her features are being revealed to us with greater and greater distinctness and precision. But still there are many points which have remained obscure. The reading of the Hittite inscriptions and the establishment of the kinship between Hittite and the Indo-European speech-family has opened to us a new vista in the study of Indo-European, and with the postulation of the *Indo-Hittite*, we are now coming to re-discover what lies at the background of Indo-European. Indo-European has now been placed as a development of an earlier Indo-Hittite, and the postulation of Indo-Hittite is enabling us to understand certain obscurities of Indo-European.

This reconstruction is just one side of the medal. It represents the synthesis of science. On the other side, we have a closer acquaintance with the nature of the various ancient and modern Indo-European languages. These are not only streams which have branched off from the mother Indo-European, but they also show in their developments certain other traits which were absent in the mother-speech. Here we have the result of analysis in scientific investigation. Vedic and Homeric Greek, Latin and Gothic, Old Irish and Old Slav and the rest show basic agreements with each other in Phonetics or phonological development, in Morphology, in Syntax and in Vocabulary. All these agreements are inheritances, no doubt. But at the same time, they present certain noteworthy divergences, in all the above aspects of Grammar, as well as in Vocabulary. These divergences are in some cases developments, along independent lines, of some original traits. In some cases, there have been curtailments of original characteristics; in other cases again, there have been elaborations of these. In either way, we can say that in some instances there has been just a normal and natural working out of old linguistic habits and tendencies. Thus the Indo-European vowel system which has been formulated under Ablaut or Vowel-gradation has generally been retained in

most ancient Indo-European languages, howsoever this has been overlaid with new developments. In some cases, this Vowel-gradation has met with a natural death, and in other cases it has been submerged, so to say, by innovations, which in all probability were induced by contact with other languages.

This contact with other languages has been the second great force in the historic evolution of the ancient Indo-European languages. We can see the results of the working of these tendencies in innovations. But we are not always fully cognisant of the results of contacts with other languages in bringing out these changes. The theory of substrata has been quite logically postulated to explain a great many of these innovations. Where the original language, which influenced an ancient Indo-European speech either by mere contact or as a more basic substratum, is still extant and can be studied, what would be looked upon as a possibility becomes a probability and sometimes a certainty.

A language like Indo-European spread from its original homeland in different directions, and in each of these new areas where it established itself, it came in touch with other languages. The dry grass-lands in Eurasia to the south of the Ural Mountains is looked upon as the original home of the Indo-Europeans where the primitive Indo-European speech as a single language or dialect-group became characterised. Of course, there is the possibility of the language having not a unique and uniform character, but being just a group of closely related dialects with common characteristics, but also with some special ones for each of these dialects. Both these possibilities can equally be assumed. Be it as it may, we were warranted in assuming the existence of a Common Indo-European from our study of the various ancient Indo-European languages. This Indo-European language passed on to the west through the moister and marshy lands of Western Russia and Poland into the forest areas of Germany and Scandinavia, and to the lands of Western Europe like Italy and France which were largely brought under cultivation by their original inhabitants who ante-dated the Indo-Europeans. The effect of climate in modifying language may be there, but it is not so very vital. The new geographical and economical environment may bring in modifications in vocabulary and induce semantic change in the original speech-commodity of roots and words. But more vital are syntactical, phonetic and morphological changes. These can be rapidly introduced in the language when it is taken over by peoples of alien speech who are made to accept the new language, gradually abandoning their own. It does not matter if they do it willingly through cultural influence, or if they are induced by the force of political, economic and other reasons. Thus the widespread change in the system of consonants of Primitive Indo-European in the Germanic branch, and a similar alteration in Armenian and Tokharian, may be taken as a case in point where we have the influence of other peoples who were made to adopt the Indo-European language. So also, in later times, the mutation of the initial consonantal element in the declension of the Noun in the Celtic languages like Old Welsh and Old Irish, may be looked upon as the result of large groups of pre-Indo-European Iberian peoples adopting the Celtic form of Indo-European in Western Europe. Induced by phonetic change,

the morphological structure also alters. The establishment of an analytical structure for a language is frequently the result of widespread phonetic decay. We can see a conspicuous example in the evolution of Chinese. Phonological study of the various Chinese languages (which are mis-called *dialects*), as having evolved ultimately from a Basic or Source Speech, viz., Archaic Chinese of the Shang and Chou periods, has revealed how through phonetic decay a single language which was originally an inflected one with an elaborate system of Vowel Ablaut and also Consonantal Mutation, finally became Old Chinese of about 500 A. D.—as a language which had become isolating in structure, deprived of all proper inflexions, and with a fixed syntax taking up the work of morphological inflexions, as the epoch-making researches of Bernhard Karlgren have shown.

So, too, in the case of Indo-European. Leaving aside the question of the history of Indo-European outside India, where normal development, together with the action of substrata, modified Primitive Indo-European into the historic ancient Indo-European languages, if we take the case of India, we can see how there has been a revolutionary change in the spirit of Indo-European: a change which has affected its Phonetics, its Morphology, its Syntax, and also its Vocabulary.

The Indo-European language was brought into India probably during the late centuries of the second millennium B.C.—it was a process which took centuries to be completed from after 1500 B.C. Already the Primitive Indo-Europeans, coming, evidently, through the Caucasus Mountains into Northern Mesopotamia, were influenced by the highly advanced local peoples—by the Hittites who partly represent a kindred stock with a speech connected with the same Indo-European family, and by a number of other non-Indo-European peoples of whom the most important were the mixed Semitic-speakers of Assyria and Babylon. Their Primitive Indo-European language became modified into Indo-Iranian or Aryan (in the narrower sense) in Mesopotamia, later on to bifurcate into Iranian and Indo-Aryan, after they had pushed further to the east as far as Northern India. After they came to India, we have specimens of their language in the speech of the Rig-Veda. Here the main atmosphere of the speech is very largely Indo-European, showing, as it does, remarkable points of agreement with ancient Greek, with Gothic and other ancient languages of the same family. But just as Gothic and Latin and Greek as well as Celtic and Slav had their special developments, so the Aryan speech, passing through Iran, on the soil of India, started its career of independent development. Herein of course there was natural progress along the old lines of usage as well as tendency. But what appears to have been specially effective in India was the inevitable movement towards an Integration in Pattern with the pre-Aryan languages of India which were going strong.

The Aryan language was brought to India by the semi-nomad Aryan people who were moving about in their *gramas* or clans, whose leaders were typified by Indra and were *Purandaras* or 'destroyers of cities'. In India there were settled populations of pre-Aryans, the Nishādas or Austro-Asiatics who had built up the village agricultural civilisation of ancient India, and the Dravidians who had raised the structure of great city-civilisations in the country; and there were also the Kirātas or Mongoloids, who were equally agriculturists like the Nishādas. These peoples, living in the Panjab and in the

Ganges Valley, appear to have been conquered by the Aryans, who for some time ruled over them as *Conquistadores*, or as a *Herrenvolk*. Later on, after the first shock of hostile contact, linguistic and racial miscegenation was inevitable. The absence of a common language among a multi-lingual settled population in North India consisting of Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Sino-Tibetan (Mongoloid) speakers, and possibly also speakers of other languages (which are now lost), gave to the Aryan language as the language of a vigorous and powerful race of conquerors its great chance. The Aryan speech could fill up a vacuum and supply among all these pre-Aryan speakers the need for a common speech which evidently was lacking. Whatever might be the reason, among the pre-Aryan peoples, Dāsas and Dasyus and Śūdras and Nishādas and Kirātas, Śābaras and Pulindas and others, the Aryan language came to be accepted. In this acceptance, the scope of Aryan speech extended over vast geographical areas. But the speech was modified in the process of acceptance by these pre-Aryan peoples. A mixed race came into being through racial inter-mixture; and, as the late Prof. F. W. Thomas said, out of the miscegenation of these various kinds of people on the soil of India, the *Indian Man* (as distinguished from his forbears, the Aryan Man, the Dravidian Man, the Kirāta Man and the Nishāda Man) came into being towards the end of the Vedic period. *Anuloma*, and *Pratiloma* marriages (which the pure Aryans who were anxious to preserve their racial integrity did not like), became in spite of everything very common, and we have *the Hindu People* of history as a result.

A Linguistic Integration, bringing about the convergence of language types, which were to start with, totally different, in Phonetics, in Morphology, in Syntax and in Vocabulary, to a single type within the bounds of India, was the inevitable result. Linguistic development has gone parallel to cultural and racial development. A widespread mixture of races and cultures on the soil of India resulted in a great tolerance, and in the gradual evolution of a common culture pattern. The Aryan bases of the speech, as it was already current as a characterised thing among its original or native speakers, was seriously assailed by the spirit of Dravidian and Austric (Kol) and Nishāda (Sino-Tibetan), and there was an integration, the pace of which became quicker as the centuries passed, of the Aryan speech-pattern to the pre-Aryan speech-pattern, particularly the Dravidian and to some extent the Austric or Kol, and to a still lesser extent the Sino-Tibetan (except in certain areas where the Mongoloid peoples were preponderating). There are now in India a score of important "Major Languages" besides a number of minor ones, and these represent genetically four distinct speech-families—the Austric, the Sino-Tibetan, the Dravidian and the Indo-European: and this last was certainly the latest to arrive in India. The spread of the Aryans in North India and their assimilation among the pre-Aryan peoples involved not only the adoption of the Indo-Aryan language by the other groups, but also brought about a tremendous influence from the non-Aryan languages on the Aryan, which in this way suffered from inroads into its nature or character from the non-Aryan languages. We note that this modification of the Aryan speech by the non-Aryan ones was going on from very ancient times, and one might say from the age of the formation of the Vedic speech itself.

The change ultimately became so very great that one might say that the Vedic, as representing the oldest form of the Aryan speech in India, in its Spirit, its Syntax, its Morphology and its Vocabulary, is something like an alien *vis-à-vis* later Sanskrit and Prakrit and Modern Indo-Aryan; although the bulk of the roots and most of the more important basic inflexions are continued in Modern Indo-Aryan. As the figure has been used—the waters of the Primitive Indo-European, not pure any longer but mingled with those of Dravidian and Austric and Sino-Tibetan, are flowing through the dried up channel of the pre-Aryan speeches, following their structures and thought-patterns.

The result of these mutual inter-actions and influences, which on the whole made the Aryan forego its original character in many vital matters, and which brought about profound changes in the Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic speeches also, has been the creation of a *Common Indian Type of Speech*, which embraces the Aryan, Dravidian, Austric as well as Sino-Tibetan languages. Here we have a remarkable *Integration in Linguistic Pattern*, which has bound up in one bundle so to say speeches of totally different origin, and even made them conform with each other, the Aryan particularly with the Dravidian. In a similar way, there has developed a *Common Indian Type of Man*, with a *Common Pan-Indian Type of Culture*.

Some of the characteristics of this common linguistic type, which can be called the *Integrated Indian Type*, are as follows :

1. Phonetic

(i) In phonetics, we have the gradual establishment of a system of vocalisation in which quantity was no longer of genetic or semantic importance—at any rate, vowel-quantity became variable with the speech-rhythm. This was noted from Middle Indo-Aryan onwards, and in later Prakrit and Apabhramsa verse, very great liberties can be taken with vowel-quantity, long vowels being made short and short vowels long to suit the rhythm of the line. Of course, in some of the Dravidian languages we note vowel-quantity as still current, but we may ask whether this vowel-quantity is not something of a secondary character, like the imposition of Greek quantity on Latin verse.

(ii) Further, in the phonetics of this common type we note the existence of the cacuminal or cerebral sounds. These were not present in Primitive Indo-European or in Indo-Iranian, but they developed on the soil of India. Although we can see that in recent centuries the Scandinavian languages of Norway and Sweden have developed these cacuminals ($r+t$ or $r+d$ becoming cerebrals), the presence of these cerebral sounds in Dravidian and Austric, and the gradual prominence which these sounds acquired in the Aryan speech, suggest an integration towards the non-Aryan speech-families. In the Sino-Tibetan family there is no special place for cerebrals, and there is only one alveolar set of sounds in place of the Common Indian dentals and cerebrals : and Aryan languages like Assamese and Nepali have come under the influence of Sino-Tibetan in this matter. Also in the dental modification of the palatal affricates (c and j being

pronounced as *ts* or *s* and *dz* or *z*) in Assamese, in East Bengali, in Nepali and other Himalayan speeches, we may note the influence of Sino-Tibetan.

2. Morphological

Here we have a number of very remarkable changes in the structure of Indo-European as a result of integration with Dravidian and Austric as well as Sino-Tibetan.

(i) In the first instance, there is the gradual dropping of Prepositions. Prepositions were in a way still going strong in the Old Indo-Aryan or Vedic speech. In Classical Sanskrit, their proper prepositional use virtually became extinct, and they became pre-verbals, *upasargas*, which were attached to verb-roots to modify them; and no longer these *upasargas*, which were originally just Prepositions, governed Nouns in the different cases, as in the other ancient Indo-European languages. These *upasargas* did not have any separate existence in Sanskrit, except when they came to be joined like prefixes to verb-roots: and then they disappeared in Modern Indo-Aryan.

The place of these Prepositions, which came before the Noun to govern it in various cases, was gradually taken over by Post-positions in Modern Indo-Aryan. Already from Middle Indo-Aryan we see this tendency and process, and gradually certain independent words, which came after the Noun as modifiers, to show case-relations, became, through phonetic decay, like inflexions, and they came after the Noun or Pronoun. In some cases, when they were tagged on to the preceding Nouns or Pronouns, they became suffixed inflexions, as much as in Dravidian and Austric; and in other cases, in more recent times, whole words, which were nominal or verbal, came to be used as Post-positional Affixes to clarify case-relations. Here we have a most tremendous deviation from the original Indo-European habit of speech, which has virtually been of the nature of a complete surrender of a special characteristics of Indo-European, to allow its descendent in India, the Aryan speech, to integrate itself with the linguistic pattern presented by the Dravidian and Austric as well as by Sino-Tibetan.

(ii) In the Declension of the Noun, there are certain points of approximation in the development of the Aryan speech to that presented by Dravidian and Austric: the matter need not be detailed here.

(iii) In Indo-European, the Comparative and Superlative forms of the Adjective were indicated by means of affixes, like *-īyas* and *-īstha* and *-tara* and *-tama* as in Sanskrit. Sanskrit kept up these affixes, no doubt as inheritances from the Vedic. But gradually in the Aryan speech from Middle Indo-Aryan onwards, these inflexional method of indicating the Superlative and Comparative were dropped, and we have a different way which now obtains in the Modern Indo-Aryan languages. The Comparative and Superlative Forms of the Adjective do not now show any change by the addition of inflexions, but the system in New Indo-Aryan is now phrasal. Herein we have another great point of Integration for Indo-Aryan.

(iv) There was a basic change in the structure of the Verb in the sentence. In Indo-European, the inflected forms of the Verb for the different tenses and moods were

something very noticeable. But following Dravidian, the structure of the Verb become nominal and adjectival rather than remaining purely verbal. Tenses like the present, past and future came to be formed from Middle Indo-Aryan onwards on the basis of certain participle forms, as in Dravidian. This is noticeable in the widespread simplification of the Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic) Verbal Conjugation in Middle Indo-Aryan, and still more in New Indo-Aryan. In New Indo-Aryan, as a matter of fact, except for the old simple present indicative, which has generally survived (although with a certain modal change, as in Hindi), the past and future tenses are made from bases which were participial in origin. Here also we see an approximation of Aryan to Dravidian.

(v) There has developed an extensive use of a Verb meaning 'to do' with a Noun or an Adjective to form Derivative Verbs. This is a form of the Denominative Verb made with the help of another root, and not by means of inflexion. This is exceedingly characteristic of all Indian speech, whether Aryan or Dravidian or Kol. A great many old roots have become obsolete, and Nouns and Adjectives with an auxiliary Verb meaning 'to do' have come to close the breach.

(vi) Compound Verb Constructions are a very remarkable feature now of both Aryan and Dravidian. This was something which was absolutely unknown in the oldest form of Indo-Aryan, and we see the beginnings of this usage in Pali and other Middle Indo-Aryan. When the Prepositions, which had become Pre-verbal Prefixes modifying the meanings of the roots, gradually lost their significance and their use, a new device had to be found out to indicate the modification in meaning of a root, or to show some special form of action denoted by the root. Two verbs are used side by side, in which the first verb giving the root-idea is modified by a second one, which acts like a modifying prefix or adverb. This is another characteristic of the Common Indian Pattern of Language, embracing both Aryan and Dravidian.

3. Syntactical

The approximation of the Aryan to Dravidian and Austric pattern in Syntax is also most remarkable. The usual order of words in these three groups of languages is the same. The place of different parts of speech in the sentence is so similar that simply by putting down the equivalents, a Bengali sentence could be rendered into idiomatic or syntactically correct Tamil, or a Tamil sentence into similar good Marathi. This Common Pattern of Syntax would indicate that there is a common habit of thinking, and this is the result of some basic racial and cultural integrations.

4. In Vocabulary

Sanskrit and Prakrit as well as the Bhashas on the New Indo-Aryan Speeches have abandoned a very large percentage of common Vedic words, and either have taken up in their place new words created with the help of Aryan roots and terminations, or have adopted words from Dravidian (and also to some extent from Austric). Several hundreds

of common words in Sanskrit would be quite easily found to be derived from Dravidian. A Vedic sentence normally looks rather different in its vocabulary even when compared with Classical Sanskrit. But Classical Sanskrit easily passes on to Prakrit, and then to the modern Aryan languages of Indian.

(i) There are certain devices which are unique and which show the same pattern. For instance, there is the use of *Echo Words* in all Indo-Aryan languages, which can be equated exactly by what we see in the various Dravidian languages. A Noun or Verb or some other word is partially modified in its initial syllable either by substituting a new consonant or by a new consonant as well as a new vowel, and in this way this mutilated *Echo-Word*, as it has been called, is created, and it is tagged on to the original word, and these two by combination give an idea of a group of things or actions associated with that indicated by the basic word.

(ii) The Modern Indian languages show, whether they are Dravidian or Aryan or Austric, a very common use of *Onomatopoeic Words*, used either singly or re-duplicated, to indicate various things. Sometimes these Onomatopoeic Words, particularly when they are re-duplicated, express an intensity or plurality or lightness of the idea. The sounds conveyed by these Onomatopoeic Words are frequently used to indicate other sensations, which are felt or observed by other sense-organs rather than by the ear. Such onomatopoeics have been very well studied for Bengali by Rabindranath Tagore and by Ramendra Sundar Trivedi and others. They form quite a characteristic thing in the general pattern of Modern Indian Languages, no matter whatever the family of these languages. They are just coming into prominence in Middle Indo-Aryan. And as Sanskrit is rather conservative, seeking to follow the Vedic as much as possible, we do not find many of these onomatopoeics in Sanskrit. Their occurrence is exceedingly rare in the oldest Aryan i.e. the Vedic. In the matter of the Onomatopoeic Words, we have something very characteristic of the Modern Indian languages, and these furnish a Common Pattern to all of them. It is an inheritance or imposition or adaptation in Indo-Aryan from the pre-Aryan speeches.

The above points would show the lines along which Indo-Aryan has been modified in India, and an Integration into a Common Linguistic Type has in this way taken place. It was along similar lines that in pre-historic times the Indo-European speech in its various ramifications became characterised in the various branches, retaining of course a good deal of their original genetic characteristics, but showing also new developements. These developments, as we can see, are both natural as well as the result of language-contact, leading to assimilation and integration into the pattern of the languages which are absorbed.

Syllable-expansion in Oriya

Sukumar Sen

The general tendency in Indo-Aryan has been shortening in the number of syllables. The beginning of this process appeared at the Vedic stage of OIA where we have some notable instances of the loss of an interior semivowel, followed by contraction of the vowels that came in contact. Thus : **gāvam* > **gām* > *gām* ; *śrayiṣṭham* > **śraiṣṭham* > *śreṣṭham* ; etc.

This process became almost universal in early Middle Indo-Aryan. Thus *avalokayati* (six syllables) > Pali *oloketi* (four syllables). At the second stage of MIA intervocalic non-aspirate plosives were generally lost, and at the third stage the two vowels thus coming in contact became contracted or diphthongized. This reduced the number of syllables further. Thus *avalokayati* > *olokei* ; *ājñāpayati* (five syllable) > *ānei* (two syllables, *ei* being a diphthong).

At the second stage of MIA intervocalic aspirated plosives became gradually reduced to *h* which weakened at the third stage and then was lost in New Indo-Aryan. Thus : *kathayati* > *kahei* > *kahai* (two syllable) > *kay* (one syllable).

In the development of most of the NIA languages (such as Bengali and Hindi, specially in the former) bimoristic habit of utterance has resulted in the loss of interior vowels, and this has contributed to extensive loss of syllables in a long word. Thus : *śuṣkapatra* > *sukkhapatta* (Pali) > *sukkhaatta* (Prakrit) > *sūkhata* (NIA) > *suk(h)ta* (Bengali).

There were other isolated phenomena such as Aphaesis, which also contributed to syllable reduction, e.g. *api* > *pi* (Pali), *vi* (Prakrit).

There was also an opposite tendency in MIA. In semitatsama treatment conjunct consonants were not assimilated but were split up by anaptyxis. This increased the number of syllables. Thus *darśana* > *darisana* (MIA). But this treatment was not normal, but a learned device or, as in modern NIA, result of mispronunciation. The words extended by anaptyxis also underwent the normal process of syllable reduction. Thus *ādarśika* > **ādarasika* (Pali) > **āarasia* (Prakrit) > *ārasī* (Middle Bengali) > *ārsī* (Modern Bengali).

Addition of pleonastic affixes at the third stage of MIA or the first stage of NIA increased the number of syllables. But then it is a morphological phenomenon and not phonological.

Some examples are given below to show the extent of syllable reduction from OIA to NIA (Bengali).

(i) Reduction by half

avidhavā "not-widow" > *eo* [4 : 2]

vahitrapālaka "ship captain" > *buitāl* (late Middle Bengali) [6 : 3]

* *kṣudratātaputra* "son of father's younger brother" > *khurūtā* (Middle Bengali) [6 : 3]

āgamanagamanaka "coming and going" > *ānāgonā* [8 : 4]

(ii) Reduction by more than half

ardhatrīya "two and a half" > *ār(h)ā* [5 : 2]

kāsthapādūkā "wooden sandal" > *kharām* [5 : 2]

bhāṇḍikāśālikā "cooking-pot room" > *hāṇḍāl* (Middle Bengali) > *hesel* [5 : 2]

(iii) Reduction by twothirds

navati "ninety" > *nai* [3 : 1]

nakhaharaṇika "nailcutter" > *narun̄* (Middle Bengali) *narun* [6 : 2]

pitr̄ṣvasāpati "husband of father's sister" > *piśā* [6 : 2]

(iv) Reduction by threefourths

avaśyāya "dew, frost" > *oś* [4 : 1]

bhāvayati "causes to think" > *bhāy* [4 : 1]

(v) Less than half reduction in the number of syllables are quite common, e.g.

kṛtyagr̄haka "office room" > *kāchāri* [5 : 3]

devavāsika "temple-dweller" > *devāsi* [5 : 3]

granthādhiḥṛta "librarian" > *gāthāit* [5 : 3]

The opposite phenomenon appears only in a very few instances where the extension can be easily explained as result of ignorance or contamination.

In Oriya however syllable extension is rather regular in words containing the cluster nasal plus sibilant. This we may explain either as elongation of the nasal or as operation of anaptyxis. Thus: *baṇḍā* (*bāṇḍā*) "bamboo" > *vaṇḍā*; *baṇḍā* (*baṇḍāsi*) "bamboo flute" > *vaṇḍāsi*, *vaṇḍāsikā*; *pāṇḍā* "ash, dust" > *pāṇḍā*; *māṇḍā* (*māṇḍā*) "meat, flesh" > *māṇḍā*; etc.

Extension appears also in connection with sonants and diphthongs (semivowels) in semitatsama words. Thus: *nurupa* (- > *nrupa*) "king" > *nṛpa*; *śayala* "hill, rock" > *śaila*; etc.¹

snāhāna "bath, bathing" seems to have resulted from contamination between *snāna* (tatsama) and *nāha* (tadbhava).

1. I am indebted to Sri Siddheswar Hota, M.A., for some of the Oriya examples cited above

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CONTENTS

On Sanskrit Words for the Four Quarters by Dwtjendra Nath Basu	25
Evidence of Indian Loan Words in Arabic by Chinmay Dutt	27
A Note on "anāha" in Rīgveda by Satyaswarup Mishra	29
Sanskrit "ārḍra" and its Cognates in Prakrit by Satya Ranjan Banerjee	30
Syntax of the Voice in Hindi by Dayanand Srivastav	32
Phonemic Analysis of the Consonant Clusters in Standard Colloquial Bengali by Bhakti Prasad Mallik	37
Perso-Arabic Elements in Placenames of Bengal by Krishnapada Goswami	47
Some Hybrid Synonymous Compounds in Bengali by Bhabataran Datta	50
On Bhakta, Bhakti, Bhagavant and Bhagini by Sukumar Sen	51

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CONTENTS

A Note on "anāha" in Rīgveda by Satya Swarup Mishra	29
Evidence of Indian Loan Words in Arabic by Chinmay Dutt	27
Integration in Linguistic Pattern in India by Suniti Kumar Chatterji	18
On Bhakta, Bhakti, Bhagavant and Bhagini by Sukumar Sen	51
On Sanskrit Words for the Four Quarters by Dwijendra Nath Basu	25
Ourselves	1
Perso-Arabic Elements in Place names of Bengal by Krishnapada Goswami	47
Phonemic Analysis of the Consonant Clusters in Standard Colloquial Bengali by Bhakti Prasad Mallik	37
Sanskrit "ārdra" and its Cognates in Prakrit by Satya Ranjan Banerjee	30
Sanskrit Study in Ancient China and Japan by Yasuaki Nara	6
Some Hybrid Synonymous Compounds in Bengali by Bhavataran Datta	50
Syllable-expansion in Oriya by Sukumar Sen	23
Syntax of the Voice in Hindi by Dayanand Srivastav	32

On Sanskrit Words for the Four Quarters

Dwijendra Nath Basu

Each of the words denoting the four "quarters of the sky" or "direction" (*diś*) in Sanskrit has at least another set of meanings. Thus, *pūrva*, *purā* or *prāñc* means 'the east' as well as 'the front' and 'before', *paścima* and *pratyañc*—'the west' as well as 'the back' and 'behind', *uttara* and *udāñc* 'the north' as well as 'the higher place', *dakṣiṇa* 'the south' as well as the 'right' and 'dexterous'.

The cognate words in the Iranian and other IE languages, however, have not the sense of direction. Thus OIA *pūrva* has the OP and Av. cognates *paruva* and *paurva* respectively; the Greek cognate may be *proios*. But all those words have the sense of 'before' or 'prior' only, both in the temporal and in the locational sense.

The word *prāñc* in Vedic has obtained a developed meaning (*prāñcam kṛ*—'to advance' > 'stretch out' > 'to provide' > 'to be willing'). The word *prācya* is first found in *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* in the sense of 'the easterner'.

The word *paścima* is an adjective formed from *paśca* which is found in the Veda in the sense of 'after', 'behind', 'at the back' and 'westward'. *Paśca* has the cognate *pasca* in AV, *pasā* in OP, *post* in Latin and *opisso* in Greek etc., all meaning 'afterwards'. The word *pratyañc* meant 'turned towards', 'directed towards', 'coming from behind', 'turning the back upon or taking the opposite direction', 'subsequent' or 'following'.

The word *uttara* is the comparative of *ud*, implying superiority of place, station or power and *uttara* is opposed to *adhara*. The word *ud* means 'up' and thence 'to come out of' (e.g. *ud utsaṁ śatadhāram*). *Uttara* in Vedic also meant 'the north', *uttarāsad* meaning 'seated northward or on the left'; the word *udāñcī* also meant 'the northern country'.

The word *dakṣiṇa* in Vedic is used for 'on the right hand', or 'southern'. It is a derivative of *dakṣ* 'to be competent' etc.; In Vedic the word for 'south' is often not *dakṣiṇa* but *adhara* the opposite of *uttara* and in Vedic *dakṣiṇatas-kapardāḥ vasiṣṭhās* (vii 33.1) *dakṣiṇa* means 'right hand side'. The word *dakṣiṇāpatha* is first found in *Baudhāyana Gr̥hyasūtra* to mean the southern country but not the Deccan. The cognates of *dakṣiṇa* in Av. is *daśina*, in Lith. *desinas*, in Goth. *taihswa*, in Welsh *deheu* < *deksovo*, in Albanian *djathte* in the sense of 'right'. In Gk, the cognate *deksios*, *dexiteros* means 'right (hand)' and 'lucky'; Latin *dexter*, *dextrum*; *dextrum* means 'right' and 'dexterous'.

The respective synonyms for the four quarters in English and some other languages may be noted in this connection. Eng. 'east' refers to 'the quarter of the sunrise', not 'the quarter in front' as in Sanskrit. It comes from ME. *est* < AS. *east* < **aus-to*; **aus* giving the Latin form *aurora*, Gk. *eos*, *eoso*, *auos*, Sanskrit *usas*. With 'east' can be compared not only the words of all other languages of the Germanic group, but also *est* (Italian and French) *este* (Spanish and Portuguese) of the Romance group.

Paścima in English is 'west', in Old Frisian '*west*', Old High German '*westan*', Icelandic: *vestr* also, French *ouest*. Spanish and Portuguese *oeste*, Italian *ouest* and on the other hand Lat. *vesper* and Greek *hespera*. The original IE base might be **wes* (+*tr/pr*).

Uttara in English is 'north' which has a doubtful origin. It is connected with ON *northr* on the one hand and Oscan—Umbrian *nertru* meaning 'from the left' and Gk. *nerteros* 'nether' on the other.

Dakṣiṇa in English is 'south' which has a doubtful origin. The Germanic base is **sunth* which might be connected with "sun" as observed by Skeat. Brugmann however suggests a connection of the latter portion of **sunth* to Gk. *notos* meaning 'the south wind', which however seems to be far fetched. The loss of *n* before *th* on the other hand is very regular in AS. It is thus the direction of the more sunny places.

From the other words in other languages also, we may find that the names of directions came to them from some conceptions quite different from that of the Aryans in India. While naming the directions, therefore, we may conclude, the Aryans in India had the east in front of them, the west at their back, the south on the right side and the north on the left.

In Tamil among the Dravidian languages, similarly 'the east' is *kīle* which besides have the sense of 'under, below, beneath'. 'The west' is *mer* which besides has the sense of 'over, above, upon'. 'The south' is *ten* which besides has the sense of 'beauty, harmony in music, blackness and coconut tree.' The north is *vata* which has also the sense of 'Sanskrit book, Sanskrit language and the Sanskrit pandits'. Thus the Tamil language had at its beginning, if we can conclude like this, the conception of its world bound on the north by the Aryan country of Sanskrit pandits who spoke Sanskrit, on the east by the sea which is low, on the south by the black beautiful coconut forests, and on the west by the high hills and mountains.

Evidence of Indian Loan Words in Arabic

Chinmay Dutt

Arabic is the richest of the living Semitic languages. The copiousness of its vocabulary makes it one of the outstanding languages of the world.

For full thirty centuries India stood out as the very heart of the Old World moulding and dominating its thought and life and maintained her position as one of the foremost maritime countries. It had trading settlements in Arabia, Socotra (Skt. *dvīpa sukhatārā* Ar. *al-usqutra*) and all the principal cities of Arabia, Persia and all over the coast of Africa and she cultivated trade relations not only with the countries of Asia, but also with the whole of the then known world. Through ages India thus occupied a unique position in the commercial world as the main supplier of world's luxuries. To Arabia, India was indebted for the supply of frankincense, almond, myrrh, pearl, date, wine etc., On the other hand India provided Middle East and Graeco-Roman world with pepper, betel, ivory, cinnamon, cassia, ginger, beryl, fine muslin, perfumes, unguent, aromatics, elephant, sandalwood, beams for rafters, horn, logs of sasamina, ebony and precious stones like ruby, onyx, lapis-lazuli, jasper, chalcedony. etc.

It was through the ports that influence of Indian words were brought to bear upon the Arabic language long before the moslem conquest of the land. The following is a list of Indian words borrowed into Arabic.

- Skt. *candan* (sandal) Ar. *ṣandal* cf. Gk. *santalon*
- Skt. *tāmbūla* (betel-leaf) Ar. *tambūl*
- Skt. *muṣka* (musk) Ar. *misk/mushk*
- Skt. *karpūra* (camphor) Ar. *kāfūr*, cf. Phl. *kāpūr*
- Skt. *kanakpahala* (cloves) Ar. *qaranfal*
- Skt. *pippali* (pepper) Ar. *filfil*
- Skt. *pūgaphala* (betel-nut plum) Ar. *fufal*
- Skt. *śṛṅgavera* (ginger) Ar. *zanjībal* = dry ginger
- Skt. *elā* (lesser cardamoms), Ar. *hail/hīl*
- Skt. *jātiphala* (nutmeg), Ar. *jāifal*
- Skt. *triphalā* (a kind of electuary), Ar. *iṣṛifal*
- Skt. *vibhītaka* (belleric myrobalan), Ar. *balilāḥ*
- Skt. *harītaki* (myrobalan), Ar. *halīlaj* cf. Phl. *halilak*
- Skt. *tejpatra* (cassia), Ar. *sāzajhindī*
- Skt. *kārpāsa* (cotton) Ar. *qarfas*
- Skt. *paṭṭa* (jute) Ar. *fūṭa* (striped cloth)
- Skt. *nīla* (indigo), Ar. *nīlaj*
- Skt. *mocaka* (plantain flower), Ar. *mūz*
- Skt. *nārikela* (coconut), Ar. *nārjīl* (*al-jawz-al-Hindī*), cf. phl. *gūch-i-Hīnduk* i.e. Indian walnut.

- Skt. *āmra* (mango), Ar. *āmbaj*
 Skt. (late) *nimbuka* (lemon), Ar. *līmūn*
 Skt. *viṣa* (poison), Ar. *bīsh*
 Skt. *khaṇḍa* (sugar-candy) Per. Ar. *qand*, reg. Ar. *nabāt*.
 Skt. *śarkarā* (sugar), Ar. *sukkar*, Per. *shakkar*
 Skt. *palāṇna* (a sweet bice-dish), Ar. *falūdaj*, cf. Phl. *pāludah*
 Skt. *nīlotpala* (blue lotus), Ar. *nīlofar*, cf. Phl. *nīlopal*
 Skt. *tavarāja* (white sugar), Ar. *tabarzad/ṭabarzad*=the best sort of transparent sugar cf. Phl. *tawarzat*
 Skt. *caturanga* (chess), Ar. *shiṭranj*, cf. Phl. *shatrang*
 Skt. *ṭaṭṭa* (a large basin, bowl), Ar. *ṭasht/ṭast/ṭassun* ; cf. Phl. *tasht*
 Skt. *vīṇā* (the Indian jute), Ar. *vīn*, cf. Phl. *vīn*
 Skt. *vanāśikā* (reed-flute) Ar. *wanj*, cf. Phl. *vanjak*
 Skt. *mahiṣa* (a buffalo), Ar. *jāmūs*, cf. Phl. *gāv-mesh*
 Skt. *kapi* (an ape, a baboon), Ar. *kabi*.
 Skt. *śymara* (a sable), Ar. *samūr*
 Skt. *śākhā* (branch of a tree), Ar. *Sāj*<Per. *sāg*=the teak-tree, this wood is the most valuable of all known timbers.
 Tamil *tokei* (a peacock) cf. cog. Ar. forms : *ṭughān*=a royal falcon ; *ṭūṭī*=a parrot ; *ṭāir*=a bird ; *ṭā'us*=a peacock

In some cases the word 'hindī' was added to the words which already existed in Arabic, e.g. *'ūd-hindī* (lignum-aloes) ; *quṣṭ-hindī* (the costus, a shrub whose root is used medicinally) ; *tamr hindī* (tamarind) etc.

Arab navigation to the Indian coast induced half a dozen words of Indian origin into Arabic travels and geographical treatises, e.g. the word *bārijah* (pl. *bawārij*) meaning pirates, is the Arabicised form of the Indian word 'berā' ; and the word *dawnij* (pl. *dawānīj*) meaning 'small boat' owes its origin to the Indian word 'doṅgi' or 'diṅgi'.

A Note on “anāha” in Rigveda.

Satyaswarup Mishra

Anāha occurs only once in RV. (VIII 48. 5) : *sam anāha parvasu*. The word does not occur in Sanskrit dictionaries nor in Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar*. Whitney in his *Roots* places this word under √*an̄h* and considers it to be of doubtful origin.

A critical study of the *mantra* shows that this word is connected with the root √*nah* < IE. **nedh*. Sāyaṇa also explains the word accordingly. The single occurrence of this word in RV. does not give us any chance of comparative study. But by the available methods of analysis it is difficult to connect the word with √*nah*. One conjecture is presented here, considering the word to be a perfect form of √*nah*. I suggest that the 'a' of *a-nāha* comes from **n̄*-. Thus the IE. form will be **nodhe* * in place of the regular **nenodhe* *. Here anomaly lies in the absence of the reduplicating syllable. But there are parallels. We may compare the forms *uvāha*, *uvāca* (beside *vavāca*), *uvāsa* (from √*vas* 'shine' ; cf. *vavāse* √*vas* 'wear' *vāvasur* from √*vas* 'desire'), *uvāma*, *iyāja*. In all these instances the reduplicating vowel is absent and the reduplicated consonant consequently appears as a sonant (in case of n) or vowel (in case of v and y).

* O is long here.

Sanskrit “ārdra” and Its Cognates in Prakrit

Satya Ranjan Banerjee

The evolution of the Sanskrit word *ārdra* (“wet, moist”) in Prakrit is *adda*, *udda*, *odda* and *alla*, *ulla*, *olla*. Of these words *adda*¹ occurs as a noun many times in the Jaina canonical texts, while the word *ulla*² (*ullei*) occurs as a verb many times more than the rest. Other forms³ are mostly grammatical whose occurrences are not even frequent. In the Jaina canonical literature, we have *addaga-kumāra*⁴, son of *Ādraka*, King of *Ādraka-pura*⁴, and *addaijja*⁵ (—Skt. *ārdrakṛtya*) which deals with the discussions between *Ādrakumāra* and *Gosāla* in the sixth chapter of the Second *Śrutaskandha* of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*. Thus far is the reference of the usages of the Skt. word *ārdra* in Jaina Prakrit.

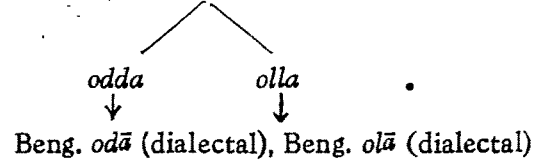
Now, regarding the formation of these Prakrit words from the Sanskrit *ārdra*, let us discuss at the very outset the views of the Prakrit Grammarians.

Hemachandra (12th cent. A. D.), belonging to the Western School, says in his Prakrit grammar⁶ that the initial vowel *ā* of the Skt. word *ārdra* is changed into *u* or *o* in Prakrit and thus we have *ullam* and *ollam*. Hemachandra is not explicit regarding the changes of *rdra* > *lla*. It is only after him we find aphorisms for such consonantal changes in the treatises of Trivikrama (14th cent. A. D.), Siṃharāja (14th cent. A. D.), Lakṣmīdhara (16th cent. A. D.) and Appayadīkṣita (1553-1626 A. D.). There we find two aphorisms⁷ for this word—one for the consonantal changes and the other for the vowel. Among the grammarians of the Eastern school, Vararuci and Kramadīśvara are silent on this point, although their commentators are kind enough to illustrate these forms in a different context⁸; but Rāmaśarmā Tarkavāgiṣa⁹ (17th cent. A. D.) and Mārkaṇḍeya Kavīndra (17th cent. A. D.) hold that from the Skt. *ārdra* we should have *ollam* and *ullam*.

Now, from this it is clear that the Prakrit Grammarians derive these Prakrit forms directly from the Skt. *ārdra*. In fact, for the formation of these Prakrit forms, there is no difficulty with the double consonants (cf. *kṣudra* > *khulla*; *bhadra* > *bhalla*), but the vowel offers a difficulty; *ā* does not normally become *o* in Prakrit. I suggest that in

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1. Bhaga. 20.2; Panna. 17; Ogha. ni. 34; Rāya. 50; Ova. 22; etc.
 2. Hc. 1.82. Pāiyal. 185. Āyār. 2.1.6.5., 2.1.7.9. etc.
 3. Udda : Āyāra. 2.5.1., Bhaga. 15,1; Sūya. 2.2.6. etc. *odda*, *olla*, *alla* : not found in the canonical texts.
 4. Sūya, 2.6.192.
 5. Sūya. 2.6.55, Sama. 23; Aṇujo. 131.
 6. The Sūtra is—“Udodvārdre” 1.82.
 7. These are—“Vārdra udot” (Tri. 1.2.27.). and “Lo vārdre” (Tri. 1.4.54.).
 8. Cf. Vasantarāja’s comm. under Vara. 1. 6.
 9. Pkt. Kālpataru, 2.2.25.

this transformation of $\bar{a} > o$, there is contamination between two words. Prakrit *adda* (< $\bar{a}rdra$) and *olla* or *odda* (< $*audra : odra$); i.e. *udra* : $*audra$



Prakrit *udda* < Skt. *udra* (Vedic), is derived from the root \sqrt{ud} (< \sqrt{und}) with *ra* suffix. This root can be compared with the Latin *undū* ('wet') and *unda* (a 'wave'); cf. Skt. *udan* ('water') and Goth. *wat*o* ('water'). On the basis of the vedic compounds *anudra*¹⁰ ('waterless') and *udrin*¹¹ ('abounding in water'), Pischel suggests that the Prakrit word *udda* is derived from $*udra$ meaning 'water'. This word occurs generally in the sense of otter (a water animal), but it is used to mean water in the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā XXIV. 37.¹² *udra* shows the weak grade of $*wodor : *woder$ which is attested in Hittite *watar* (: *watan* -), Gk. *hud*or*, English *water*. Cf. Late Sanskrit *vardala* ("rains, rainy day"), Bengali *bādal*.

10. RV. X. 115.6.

11. RV. 2.24.4 ; 8.7.10 ; 9.74.7 ; 10.101. 5-6 ; Tai. 4.2.5.5 ; Kāth. 38.14 ; Ni. 10.13.

12. Also. Kāṇva. 26.8.2 ; Tai 5.5.20.1 ; 5.5.21.1 ; Mai 3.14.18 ; Kāth 47.10-11 ; Jai. Brāh. 150.

* O is long here.

Syntax of the Voice in Hindi

Dayanand Srivastav

1. The voices are : (a) the active, (b) the passive, (c) the impersonal. The active needs no illustration. The passive has the following forms : (a) the inflected passive, (b) the compound or periphrastic passive.

2. The inflected passive is a dying idiom and is restricted to some fossilized forms only. The -i(y)e passive is the most common idiom and is restricted to a few verbs only. Strictly speaking, the -i(y)e passive presents a case of the reflexive potential passive. In form it is second person honorific singular passive imperative used in the reflexive sense as a substitute for the first person active singular. This inflected passive is also attested in Gujarati, where it appears as third person singular present passive form, which is used in the reflexive sense as a substitute for first person plural active, and in all other cases substitutes the potential passive in -ā.e.g. ā m ē u t ā r i ē, ā m ē c ā l i ē. The -ie inflected passive in Hindi exhibits a close similarity with the -ie passive in Bengali, e.g. bole cāle na pāiē parāra ramaṇī - another's wife is not won by talk and gallantry. ODBL page 195 ; and also page 910.

cf. OWR. -ijai > -iyai > -i(y)e. vide. OWR. § 136, 123. Also cf. -kijai Mu p. Ādic. kijjai < Skt. kriyate; dijai Mu. p. 488. < Ap. dijjai < diyate; lijai Mu. Kal. 18 Ādi. 11. Pr. 3. < Ap. lijjai < skt. liyate. OWR. page 128. The following are some of the examples :—tāki vārtā kahāṃ taṃ likhiye—how should his vārtā be written. (i.e. how can I write).—(likhyate). CV. bhāṭṭa jīki vidā kabakariyai aura kahā kariyai - when and how (i.e. in what manner) Bhāṭṭajī is to be given farewell—C V. samastavidyādhara deva samāna tinakā kahā laga varṇana kariye— all the 'Vidyādhars' are like gods, how should they be described (i.e. how should I describe them). PP. 761. ab calkar pāṇḍavom ko dekhiye—now having gone there the 'Pāṇḍavas' should be seen. PS.L.-140. bolā dukh us se kahiye jo dukh ko dūr kare— (he) spoke, misery should be told to him who can remove it. BP. 14. 106. puṇya kiye svarga jāiye—good deeds having done, the heaven is obtained. RC/Mss. badh kiye hatyā pāiye—killing having done, sin is obtained. (i.e. sin of killing). NRTUB/MSS.

The inflected passive in -ai and -e are also related to OWR. -ījai > -iyai > -īai > -ai, -e. Examples—hama ko burī najara dīsai—evil sight is seen to me. PP. kāmī ko sadadharna na dīsai - 'saddharma' is not visible to a 'kāmī' RC/MSS. The passive with -ai (i.e. dīsai) is a regular feature in *Sandesharāsaka*. See. *Sandesharāsaka Singh Jain Granthamālā*: *Granthānka* 22. 71. 38. The inflected passive in -e represents the further phonetic development of -ai e.g. ara bāṇani kara hate aneka dṛṣṭi pade—and several (warriors) were seen smitten with arrows. PP. 853.

In a few examples the passive with -i is attested e.g. *yāha bhagavadī-yanako mana me na lāvāni*—this should not be brought in mind with reference to 'Bhagavadiyas' (i.e. Bhagavadiya should not bring this in mind). CV. 57. The -i is a regular development from -ijj. Thus. -ijj > -ij > -iy > -i (Vide Notes on the Grammar of OWR. § 136. 123).

3. The following idiom of the inflected passive deserves some special attention. It presents a very interesting example of Sanskritism. The tatsama third person passive singular verb has been used for the first person singular — *aba śrī ācāryaji mahāprabhūna ke sevaka padmanābha dāsa ki veṭi tulasā tinaki vārtā likhyate* — now Tulasā, the daughter of Padmanābh Das (who is) the servant of Śrī Ācārya Ji Mahāprabhūn, whose vārtā is being written (i.e. I write). CV. 43. *aba śrī ācāryaji mahāprabhūna ke bhakta pūranamalla chatrī tinaki vārtā likhyate*—now Pūranamall, the devotee of Śrī Ācārya Ji, whose 'vārtā' is being written. CV. 118. The following are very interesting idioms where the 'tatsama' passive verb is compounded with the verb substantive *hai*. *aba śrī ācāryaji mahāprabhūna ke sevaka sāsā vahū dou chatrāni sāsā kau nāma gaurajā vahū kau nāma somarāi, sīhananda ki vāsī tinaki vārtā likhyate haiṃ*—now the servant (s) of Śrī Ācāry Ji Mahāprabhūna, the mother-in-law, (and) the daughter-in-law, the name of the mother-in-law (being) Gaurajā (and) the name of the daughter-in-law (being) Somarāi, their 'vārtā' is being written. CV. 200. *aba śrī ācāryaji mahāprabhūna ke sevaka nārāyana dāsa hute tinaki vārtā likhyate haiṃ* —now Nārāyana dās (who) was the servant of Ācārya Ji Mahāprabhūna, his 'vārtā' is being written. CV. 231.

4. The honorific imperative or the precative form originates from -ijja cf. 'The modern Hindi respectful imperative or precative forms like *kījiye* 'please do'; has in all likelihood been influenced by the passive, if they are not of passive origin;' ODBL; and see also Hoernle—*Gaudian Grammar*. 480, 481, 482. But the respectable imperative is really passive imperative in sense and indicative-optative in form. e.g. *merā ratha śīghra hī calāiye* — (please) drive my chariot immediately. PP. 710. *mujhe kahīṃ rahane ko ṭhaur batāiye* — (please) tell me some place to live in. PS. 13.

5. The passive with *cāhiye* has both the inflected as well as the periphrastic forms (impersonal construction). This is a regular idiom and is connected with the MIA. *cāhia(d) i OIA. *ca(g)hyate. Vide. ODBL. 659. 911. Examples—(a) The inflected passive :- *tumako jitanodravya cāhiye titanoleu-* take as much money as is required by you. CV. 36. *kahyau hai grhastakau so cāhiye ki vairī kau vairī hū pāhune āvetāu sevā jog hai* - it is said that it behoves a householder that even if the most bitter enemy arrives, he is worthy of (his i.e. householder's) service. Rāj. cf. Bengali. *kī cāi deva cāi* etc. (b) The periphrastic passive with *cāhiye* is attested with *nomina actionis* e.g. *so moko diyau cāhiye* - therefore it is should be given to

me. CV. 76. *sabana ko karano cāhiye* - (it) should be done by all. CV. *yaha tau liya u cāhiye* - it should be taken. CV. 51.

6. The periphrastic passive is not the chief feature of Hindi only, but of the other NIA. The periphrastic or the compound passive in Hindi has the following forms :—

(a) The *-jā* passive. This passive consists of the present or the past participle and the verbal forms of the $\sqrt{jā}$.

This passive is a historical idiom in Hindi. The periphrastic passive with *nomina actionis* with the $\sqrt{yā}$ —is a special feature of late Apabhraṃśa e.g. *hiya u ṇa dharaṇa u jāi*—the heart cannot be restrained (Sandeśarā-saka: page 29). *mai kahaṇa u ṇa jāi*—(it) cannot be told by me (Ibid. page 31). *kima koila kalarau sahaṇa ṇa jāi*—how can the cry of cuckoo be tolerated (Ibid. page 88). *aha śo sāmāṇṇu bhāṇa huṃ ṇa jāi*—now he cannot be called ordinary. (Mahāpurāṇa II). Quoted from HSMIA. § 175. 121. The periphrastic passive with *-jā* is potential passive, and as suggested by Dr. Chatterjee, it seems to point at *-ijj*, origin of the auxiliary. cf. 'The potential sense which one can attach to the passive in *-jā*.....seems to point at the *-ijj* a origin of the former. The old potential or the optative had *-ijja* in PKT. and the confusion between the passive and the optative already noted might just be continued in the newly risen analytical form'. ODBL. 663. 923-24. The following are the examples :—*tina kau svarūpa alaūkika dṛṣṭi se jano jāya*—his features are known by 'alaūkik' dṛṣṭi. CV. 10. *mai devani-ke samūha kara na dekhā jā m*—may I not be seen by the gods. PP. 606. *is ki gati kuch jāni nahim jāti*—his secrets are not known. PS. 9. 20. *vidhātā ki gati kuch jāni nahim jāti*—the secrets of god are not known. 18. 140. etc.

The following are the idioms of non-optative-potential periphrastic passive with *-jā*. *jinaki umara kamathī sova to māre gaye*—those who were minors, were killed. GBB/MSS. *śastro se vidārā gayā hai bakhata ra jā kā*—whose armour is broken by weapons. PP. 208. *hari gayī hai bhāryā jisaki*—whose wife is kidnapped. PP. 373. *kārtik badī dvādasi ko to keśi au bhaumāsūr...māre gaye*—Keśi and Bhaumāsūr were killed on the twelfth day of 'Kārtik badi'. PS. 39. 55. *jo darakhta acchā phal nahī lātā kāṭā jātā aur āg me dālā jātā hai*—every tree that giveth forth not good fruit is hewn down and is cast into the fire. NT. 7.19.25,

(b) The periphrastic passive with the \sqrt{h} o.

In this idiom the grammatical subject is either suppressed or expressed in the dative. The construction is impersonal. e.g. *taba mādhava dūbe ne rāja dūbe so kahya u, jo aba yākau kahano hoyā so kaho*—then Mādhav Dūbe said to Rāja Dūbe what is to be told to him that (you) say. CV. 170. *aba ājñā hoyā tau in sabana kau daravāje tori ke mārom*—if I am permitted, having opened the door, I would strike them. CV. 184. *yaha stri ratna mujha ko na prāpta hoyā merā rājya niṣphala*—if this woman is not obtained to me my reign is of no use. PP. 207. The passive use of the subjunctive:

with $\sqrt{h o}$ is illustrated in the following—*h a m ā r i s u r a t k a r a t i d u k h p ā t e h o m g e*—having remembered me, they might be getting intense grief, PS. XLVIII.

(c) The periphrastic passive with $\sqrt{p a \dot{d}}$ is restricted to a few verbs only, and generally it indicates accidene. The passive with *p a \dot{d}* is attested in the NIA and has also been noticed by Dr. Chatterji. cf. 'The construction apparently an old one is essentially idiomatic and strictly speaking 'Compound Verb' of Modern Indo-Aryan. The use of *p a \dot{d}* is restricted to a few verbs only, and as Beames has fully noticed it, it indicates accidene as well as finality more than any thing else. The Dravidian employment of a root *p a \dot{d}* - to form the passive has been noticed by Beames but it would seem that it is a matter of coincidence. 'OBDL. 665. 925. e.g. *i t a n e m e m k u c h a m a r ā i y ā m d e k h p a \dot{d} i m* - meanwhile some mango-groves were seen. RKK. 4. *j a y g h o s s u n p a \dot{d} ā* - the applause of victory was heard. RC/MSS.

(d) The passive with $\sqrt{c u k}$ (conveying the completive sense) is illustrated in the following - *j a b a s n ā n a h o y a c u k ā t a b a m a h ā p a v i t r a v a s t r a ā b h ũ ṣ a n a p a h i r e p a d m a p r a b h u k e c a i t y ā l a y a j ā y a b a n d a n ā k a r i* - when the bath was completed, then (he) having put on the most sacred garments and ornaments, and (he) having gone to the 'caityālaya' of 'Padma Prabhu', offered worship. PP. 744.

(e) The potential passive with 's a k a n ā' is attested in the following: - *y a h t o h a m s e n a h o s a k e g ā* - this cannot be performed by me. RKK. 20. The inceptive passive with *l a g a n ā* is attested in 'u s n a g a r i m e m c o r i h o n e l a g i' - thefts were begun to be committed in that city. BP. 13.99. The periphrastic passive with the $\sqrt{c a l}$ (to go) expresses the idea of continuance e.g. *p i c h e p a d m a r ā v a l a k e j o b ā l a p a n e k i a v a s t h ā h u t i s o b ā t a c a l i*. CV. 130.

7. There are instances where apparently the form is active, second person imperative, but the sense is passive, the subject being left unexpressed. e.g. *b a s y a h ā m k i y a h i m r a h a n e d o* - but let the (tale) be suspended here. RKK. 15.

8. A few idioms of the causative in-*ā* are also attested. The causative affix-*ā*, *ā v ā - p ā - y a* (Vide. ODBL. 920). Dr. Chatterji suggests another derivation also. He derives it from the -*ā y a* - denominative of OIA. cf. 'The-*ā* passive is thus an extension of the denominative -*ā y a* of OIA. The NIA intransitives in -*ā* are similar to OIA denominative in-*ā y a* which certainly are based on nouns. cf. W. Hindi. *h a r i 's u m i r a n a k a r i b h a g a t a p r a g a ṣ ā y* - a saint is made manifest (Prakaṣa) by thinking on God. (N ā n a k s u k h a m ā n i). NIA. has preserved the denominative way of forming the potential passive' (ODBL. page 929) e.g. *p u r ā n ā h u ā c ā p t o \dot{d} k a r v ṛ t h ā s ū r k a h ā t ā c a l a t ā h a i*. RC/MSS.

9. The passive with the auxiliary *ā n ā* is attested in the following:—*h ā r a k e y o g a s e d ā s a b a d a n a p i t ā k o n a j a r a ā y e*—by the virtue of 'h ā r' ten faces were visible to father. PP. The passive with *k a r a n ā* is attested in the following—*r ā s ā b a c a b e k a r e*—Rāsā (Prithavirāj Rāso) was being recited. (*v ā c i t a v y a k r i y a t e*). CCHVM/MSS. *s a u t h ā l m o t i y o m k e n i c h ā v a r h u ā k i y e*. RKK.

10. In the following idioms the passive verb does not refer to any definite

subject (subject of the active voice). The idioms may rightly be termed as impersonal passive of the transitive verbs, e.g. *pratha rāja rāsā ke bhītara dōsau bohottara samye bānbe dhataka kahye hai*—in Prithi rāj Rāsau two hundred seventy Samayo and ninety two 'dhatak' are described. CCHVM/MSS. *ye nava gūṇa vara ke kahē hai*—these nine virtues are said for a groom. PP. 851. *jis mem candrāvati ki kathā kahī hai*—in this the 'Kathā' of Candrāvati is described. NKP. 2.

11. The passive of the intransitive is impersonal. e.g. *tab muni se rahā gayā*—NKP. 12. *aur kisī ḍaul narahā gayā*, RKK. 9.

12. The idiom of the *kartṛ-vācya* is illustrated below—*siṅha nād bāje*—the 'siṅha nād' sounded RC/MSS.

Abbreviations :—

- ODBL—Origin and Development of Bengali Language.
 OWR—Grammar of Old And Western Rājasthāni.
 PP—Padma Purāṇa.
 BP—Baitāl Pacī.
 PS—Prem Sāgar.
 NRTUB—Nṛsiṃha Tāpani Upaniṣada Bhāṣā.
 RC/MSS—Rāma carita/Manuscript.
 CV—Caurāsī Vaiṣṇavan ki Vārtā.
 GBB—Gorā Bādal ki Bāt.
 HSMIA—Historical Syntax of Middle-Indo-Aryan.
 Rāj—Rājanīti.
 NT—New Testament.
 RKK—Rāni Ketaki ki Kahānī
 NKP—Nāsiketopākhyān.
 CCHVM—Cand Chand Varnana ki Mahīmā.

Phonemic Analysis of the Consonant Clusters in Standard Colloquial Bengali

Bhakti Prasad Mallik

In this analysis, we are concerned only with the spoken form, i.e. the Language as it is actually spoken in Calcutta and its neighbourhood area which is considered as the standard form of speech. The analysis is partly based on my own idiolect as myself being a speaker of the standard dialect.

In Bengali, clusters can be traced in monosyllabic as well as in polysyllabic words. They are however more frequent in disyllabic and trisyllabic words in the colloquial form of speech. The peculiarity of our speech is this, that, the clusters never occur in the final position of a word, they are most frequent in the medial position and less frequent in the initial position. In Bengali, consonant clusters can be segmented by internal juncture as pointed out by Dr. S. K. Chatterji, such as,

dhər-mo	religion
bhək-to	devotee
tan-ḍəb ¹	frantic

In case of C C C juncture is always after the first phoneme, e.g.,

tən-trə	name of a Hindu religious cult
ak-kroś	grudge

But this phenomenon does not operate when the sequence of C C / C C C are placed initially ; as in,

pran	life
stri	wife

All the clusters are not equally important from the point of view of their usage, some have frequent usage, others have moderate usage and some others have a very limited usage. Some of the clusters are used very regularly in the written forms and some in the spoken and some others in both. Out of about 10,000 phonemes, we find the percentage of consonant clusters is about 3.37.

Consonant geminations having a very wide frequency and are very popular too, may be due to their easy articulations ; words with geminated clusters form some of our linguistic slangs :

locca	licentious
poṭṭi	bluff
aḍḍa	rendezvous
dhappa	bluff
əkka	finished
ṭekka (-mara/-dea)	—override

Sometimes intensive sense is also expressed by gemination :

kotoṭuku	small
kottoṭuku	very small

1. ḍ stands between ɔ and o i.e. a low form of -o-

ækebare	wholly
ækkebare	finally
choṭo	little
choṭṭo	very little

Change of meaning takes place by gemination as observed by Dr. S. K. Chatterji,

aṭa	flour	mala	garland, shell (of a cocoanut)
aṭṭa	eight pieces	malla	rower

/r/ as the second member of a C C geminates the preceding consonant when used in the medial position of a word and forms C C C :

oḡgro	front
bojjro	thunder

The following classes of sounds, so far as my analysis goes do not form any geminated clusters, such as, aspirates, velar nasal, rolled and flapped r and ṛ and dental s. A very limited number of clusters are formed with the aspirates as the initial members. In the standard speech, aspirates are fully preserved initially; medially they are generally weakened or elided and finally more weakened or elided. As for, in khæla aspiration is fully preserved, but in lek^ha / leka aspiration is weakened or lost and in lek^h' / lek it is more weakened, where as in śonkha, aspiration is preserved fully, but in final position weakening is constant and regular. Then we can easily identify that kh and k^h' as allophones and in medial position it is simply a variation. Of the consonant phonemes only ḍh and h (voiced) do not form any clusters as the initial members and devoiced -h- does not form any cluster in any position. These two aspirate phonemes (h-voiced & h-devoiced) when preceded by other plosive sounds form aspirate phonemes only but no clusters. In / n, m, r / we find the largest number of clusters.

In standard colloquial there are over 270 consonant clusters.

In the initial position of a word :

C C : 25 ; C C C : 1

In the medial position of a word :

C C : 235 ; C C C : 8 ; C C C C : 1

/r or l/ is found as the only final element in initial C C and /r/ in the same position in medial and initial C C C and also in medial C C C C.

Clusters with /r, l/ as the second members are formed preceded by the phonemes k, kh, g, gh, t, d, p, b, bh, n and m. In ṭr and ḍr we find only a few words borrowed from English.

kr in the medial position is not always retained, an anaptyctic vowel is inserted and this vowel is identical with the following vowels :

bikkiri	: bikkri	sale
akkara	: akkra	costly
akkoroś	: akkroś	grudge

Reduction of phoneme in a cluster is also found :

nritto :	netto	dance
brīṣṭi :	biṣṭi	rain
sriṣṭi :	ṣiṣṭi	creation

In three element ntr, ndr, we find anaptyctic behaviour in standard colloquial speech, e. g.,

cōndrō ; cōndor	moon
† indra ; indira	wife of the chief God in Hindu mythology (specially when used as proper names).
mōntrō ; montor	incantation

/h/ as the following member forming clusters are very rare in our speech and words like r(h) idōé¹, cōntōrhītō, brommho, bonnhi etc., are generally used in pedantic pronunciation. Only in ahha (an exclamatory word) -hh- is found.

Retention of /s/ often depends on individual aberration. Thus the clusters formed with /s/ as the initial member may often be palatalised and specially in the medial position of a word /s/ is not always retained as :

slok ; mōśla	stanza ; spices
srom ; aśśrom	labour ; hermitage
stri ; miṣṭri, mistri	wife ; skilled labourer
sphoṭik ; oṣṣphuṭ	crystal ; obscure
sthan ; oṣṣthir, oṣṣthir	place ; fickle

In case of educated women's speech, /s/ is often consciously palatalised. In Tagore song it has been noticed that female singers generally articulate /s/ as /ś/ whereas, in case of a male singer this feature is not marked at all.

With all consonant series, excepting only a few like gh, bh, ḍh and ḍ verbal forms of regular use are formed with the stem plus ch, t, b, r and l element :

anc ^h i ; anto ; anbo ; anlo ; anre	('m getting ; 'e or they would get ; I'll get ; 'e or they got ; requesting a youngster to get something)
bolc ^h i ; bolbo ; bolto ; bollo ; bōlre	('m telling ; I'll say ; 'e or they would say ; 'e or they said ; requesting a youngster to say)

Clusters are formed with suffix /ni/ in the feminine forms :

kamarni	blacksmith (she),
kaetni	female member of a specific Hindu caste
ḍomni	female member of a specific Hindu lower caste

Verbal adjectives with /nt/ :

ḍubōnto	drowning
ghumōnto	sleeping

Verbal nouns are formed with / n / as the second element in the cluster :

kanna	crying
ranna	cooking
ḍhakni	lid
chākni [†]	strainer

-
1. é is semi-vowel bere. † hypothetical.
2. - used as nasal sign.

Following are the different cluster series :

C C occuring word medially

k	: kk	: ṭhokkor	collision
	: kkh	: akk ^h uṭe	rapacious
	: kc	: sākcunni	apparition (she)
	: kch	: ḍakc ^h e	calling
	: kṭ	: ekṭi	one, single
	: kt	: śokto	stiff
	: kb	: ṭhokbaj	cheat
	: kn	: ḍhakni	lid
	: km	: tokma	badge
	: kr	: * prōkriśṭṭ	best
	: kl	: cakla	slice
	: kṛ	: kōkṛa	curled
	: kś	: nokśa	sketch
kh	: khch	: mak ^h c ^h e	smearing
	: kht	: lik ^h to	used to write
	: khb	: mak ^h bar	for toileting
	: khn	: pak ^h na	wing
	: khr	: ak ^h roṭ	almond
	: khl	: dek ^h lo	saw
	: khṛ	: ak ^h ṛa	gymnasium
g	: gg	: maggi	dear (in price)
	: gch	: bhagc ^h e	avoiding
	: gj	: kagji	a species of lemon
	: gd	: bagdi	a low caste Hindu
	: gdh	: mugdhṭ	charmed
	: gb	: bagbitōṇḍa	wrangle
	: gn	: rugnṭ	sickly
	: gm	: bagmi	orator
	: gr	: ograno	to vomit,

* pedantic word.

	gl	:	aglano		to watch
	gr	:	jbogra		quarrel
	gs	:	lagsoi		suitable
gh	ghn	:	big ^h nö		hindrance
	ghl	:	meg ^h la		cloudy
n	nk	:	önko		sum
	nh	:	sonkha		numerals
	ng	:	hangama		riot
	nh	:	*songhö		association
	nch	:	bhan ^h e		breaking
	nj	:	sonjom		control
	nt	:	an ^h ta		hook
	nqh	:	dhænd ^h hæne		devoid of beauty
	nt	:	bhan ^h to		would break
	nb	:	bhan ^h be		will break
	nn	:	*di ^h nag		zonal Lord
	nm	:	*di ^h nmöndöl		horizon
	nr	:	tænra		a species of fish
	nl	:	bhan ^h lo		broke
	nr	:	uccin ^h re		cricket, a kind of worm
	ns	:	man ^h so		meat
c	ck	:	ackan		long coat
	cc	:	uccaron		pronunciation
	cch	:	jacc ^h e		going
	cb	:	nacbe		will dance
	cm	:	acmon		rinsing of hands and mouth
	cr	:	khucro		petty
	cl	:	ācla		edge of the garment
	cr	:	ācra ^h no		to comb
ch	chp	:	gachpala		foliage
	chb	:	moc ^h bar		for soaking
	chn	:	joc ^h na		moon-lit night (lunar period)
	chr	:	toc ^h rup		wastage
	chl	:	pic ^h la		slippery
	chr	:	achra ^h no		to lash
j	jk	:	ajke/ge		to-day
	jj	:	rojgar		income
	jj	:	lojja		shyness
	jjh	:	sojj ^h o		patience
	jb	:	mojbut		lasting
	jn	:	bajna		musical instrument

	jr	:	bajra	:	a kind of cereal
	jl	:	ājla	:	handful
jh :	jbch	:	juj ^h c ^h e / juj ^h e	:	struggling
	jht	:	buj ^h to	:	would understand
	jhd	:	boj ^h dar	:	prudent
	jbb	:	buj ^h be	:	will understand
	jbl	:	buj ^h lo	:	understood
t :	tk	:	taṭka	:	fresh
	tgh	:	atghaṭ	:	ins & outs
	tt	:	aṭṭa	:	eight
	tth	:	kaṭṭhokra	:	wood-pecker
	tt	:	ghaṭṭi	:	deficit
	tṭ	:	baṭṭar	:	cheat
	tṭb	:	bāṭṭbar	:	for distribution
	tṭn	:	caṭṭni	:	sauce
	tṭr	:	paeṭra	:	portmanteau
	tṭl	:	keṭṭli	:	kettle
ṭh :	ṭbg	:	kaṭṭ ^h gora	:	witness box
	ṭbr	:	kaṭṭ ^h ra	:	wooden articles
	ṭhl	:	uṭṭ ^h lo	:	rose up
ḍ :	ḍḍ	:	aḍḍa	:	rendezvous
t :	tk	:	patko	:	well, reservoir
	tkb	:	utkhat	:	uprooted
	tt	:	motto	:	absorbed
	tth	:	mitthe	:	false
	tṭ	:	utpat	:	disturbance
	tṭh	:	*utphullo	:	merry
	tṭb	:	patbar	:	for spreading
	tṭn	:	rotno	:	jem
	tṭr	:	alkatra	:	tar
	tṭl	:	patla	:	thin
	tṭś	:	kutśa	:	libel
th :	thn :	:	gāt ^h ni	:	construction
	thl	:	ot ^h lano	:	boil over
d :	dk	:	bidkuṭe / khuṭe	:	ugly
	dkb	:	bōdkhot	:	uncouth
	dg	:	udgar	:	vomitting
	dgh	:	*udghaṭ	:	stumbling
	dj	:	udjog	:	zeal
	dd	:	boddi	:	physician

	ddh	:	uddhar	deliverance	
	db	:	todbir	pursuing	
	dbh	:	ɔdbhut	queer	
	dn	:	bedna	pain	
	dl	:	badla	rainy	
dh	:	dhb	:	rād ^h bar	for cooking
ɸ	:	pk	:	ʈɔpkano	to jump over
		pc	:	kɔpcano	to prattle
		pch	:	khapchara	disproportionate
		pjh	:	jhupjhap	random dropping of light weight articles
		pʈ	:	cæpʈa	flat
		pt	:	kāpto	would shiver
		pdh	:	dhupdhap	random dropping
		pp	:	prappo	share
		pb	:	mapbar	for measuring
		pn	:	śapno	dream
		pr	:	phōpra	hollow
		pl	:	kāplo	trembled
		pɽ	:	paɽɽi	petal
		ɽś	:	topśe	a species of fish
ph	:	phr	:	jaɸ ^h ri	fencing
b	:	bch	:	abcha	faint
		bj	:	kɔbjja	hinge
		bt	:	bhabto	would think
		bd	:	abdar	fond request
		bdh	:	stɔbdhɔ	calm
		bb	:	kabbo	verse
		bbh	:	śobbho	cultured
		bn	:	jabna	fodder
		br	:	babri	long and curled hair
		bl	:	tɔbla	drum, a musical instrument
		bɽ	:	dhæbɽa	crude
n	:	nk	:	kɔnkɔn	ache
		rc	:	kincit	little
		nch	:	anc ^h e	bringing
		nj	:	jonjal	refuse
		njh	:	jhɔnjhaɽ	botheration
		nʈ	:	bɔnʈɔn	distribution
		nʈh	:	kɔnʈha	collar-bone
		nɖ	:	gunɖa	ruffian
		nt	:	anto	would bring

	nth	:	*p̄ontha	way, means
	nd	:	andaj	estimate, guessing
	ndh	:	ɔ̄ndho	blind
	np	:	ɔ̄npiʃe	rash, dashing
	nb	:	anbar	for bringing
	nn	:	bonno	wild
	nm	:	anmona	inattentive
	nr	:	ʃonre	vocative call to youngsters
	nl	:	anlo	brought
	nʃ	:	khunʃuri	quarreling
m	mk	:	ʃomkalo	gorgeous
	mc	:	k̄oromca	olive
	mch	:	gamc ^h a	towel
	mʃ	:	ghomʃa	veil
	mʃ	:	namta	multiplication table
	md	:	amdani	import
	mp	:	l̄ompot̄	debauch
	m̄ph	:	l̄ompho	oil lamp
	mb	:	ʃomb̄öl	asset
	mbh	:	ʃomb̄h̄ob	probable
	mn	:	emni	for nothing
	m̄m	:	ʃammo	equity
	mr	:	tomra	you
	ml	:	amla	officer, myrobalan
	mʃ	:	camʃa	leather
	mʃ	:	amʃi	wiry, emaciated
r	rk	:	t̄orko	argument
	rk̄h	:	karkhana	work-shop
	rg	:	ʃorgo	heaven
	rḡh	:	*dirgho	long
	rc	:	morce	rust
	rch	:	morc ^h e	dying
	rj	:	d̄orja	door
	rt	:	parto	could do
	rth	:	ʃarthok	fruitful
	rd	:	p̄orda	screen
	rdh	:	mardhor	assault
	rp	:	marpiʃ	hooliganism
	rph	:	marph̄ot	through
	rb	:	d̄or̄bar	court
	rbh	:	durbhaga	unfortunate
	rn	:	jh̄orna	fountain

	rm	: gormi	sultry
	rl	: korlem	did (I)
	rś	: porśu	yesterday
	rh	: marhaṭṭa	marathi
l	lk	: palki	palanquin
	lg	: alga	loose
	lc	: kalciṭe	black spot
	lch	: bolc ^h e	saying
	lj	: kolje	liver
	lṭ	: ulṭo	reverse
	lt	: bolto	would say
	ld	: holde	yellow
	lp	: olpo	little
	lb	: colbo	will go (I)
	lbh	: *malbhumi	plateau
	ln	: khaelna	toy
	lm	: golmal	noise
	ll	: kollæn	welfare
	lś	: jolśa	musical conference
ɾ	ɾk	: khirki	back door
	ɾg	: khor̥go	sword
	ɾch	: gor̥c ^h e	is building
	ɾj	: jor̥boɾ̥jor̥	cumbrous
	ɾt	: jhor̥ti	residue
	ɾp	: tor̥pano	talk high
	ɾph	: dhor̥phor̥	flutter
	ɾb	: por̥be	will fall
	ɾn	: or̥na	wrapper
	ɾm	: khor̥mor̥e	crispy
	ɾl	: por̥lo	fell off
	ɾś	: parapor̥śi	neighbour
ś	śk	: mośkora	joke
	śc	: poścat	back
	śch	: aśc ^h e	coming
	śṭ	: keśṭo	Lord Krishna (Hindu God)
	śṭh	: *onusṭhan	performance
	śɔ	: diśpaś	boundary
	śph	: biśphora	malignant boil
	śb	: aśbar	for coming
	śn	: biśnu	Hindu God of preservation
	śm	: cośma	speck

ṣr	:	muṣṛe (pṛa)	droop down
śś	:	iśśor	God

C C C occurring word medially :

k	:	ktr	:	* boktrita	oratory
g	:	gbhr	:	* digbhrom	loss of direction
ñ	:	ñgr	:	* śoṅgram	fight
n	:	ntr	:	jontro	instrument
		ndr	:	candro	moon
m	:	mpr	:	śomprodan	offering
		mbhr	:	śombhrom	prestige
ś	:	śpr	:	ośpriśśo	untouchable

C C occurring word initially

k	:	kr	:	kroś	Bengali measurement equals two miles
		kl	:	klanti	fatigue
kh	:	khr	:	khriśto	Jesus Christ
g	:	gr	:	gram	village
		gl	:	glani	exhaustion
gh	:	ghr	:	ghrina	hatred
ṭ	:	ṭr	:	ṭren	train
ḍ	:	ḍr	:	ḍren	drain
t	:	tr	:	truṭi	short coming
d	:	dr	:	drobbo	thing
dh	:	dhr	:	dhrubo	fixed
p	:	pr	:	pran	life
		pl	:	* plabon	flood
b	:	br	:	briśti	rain
bh	:	bhr	:	bhrom	error
n	:	nr	:	* nritto	dance
m	:	mr	:	* mrito	dead
		ml	:	mleccho	untouchable
s	:	skh	:	*skholon	degeneration
		st	:	*stombho	tomb
		sth	:	sthir	calm
		sp	:	spordha	audacity
		sph	:	*sphoṭik	crystal
		sn	:	snan	bath
		sr	:	srabon	Fourth month of the Bengali Year
		sl	:	slok	verse

C C C occurring word initially

s	:	str	:	stri	wife
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C C C C occurring word medially

ñ	:	ñśkr	:	*śoñśkriti	culture
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Perso-Arabic Elements in Placenames of Bengal

Krishnapada Goswami

Many Perso-Arabic words are found in the placenames of Bengal. Muhammadan rule over the greater part of Bengal was responsible for this. The following is a classified list of such words from Bengali placenames.

(A) Occurring initially :

ārāji : Ar. 'arz 'country'; 'arzī 'terrestrial, earthly'; cf Ar. arṣa 'tract, region' arāzi 'cultivated land'.

Arejibaikhir (Fari)	Arāji Nājirkhāli (Mal)
Arāji sirail (Raj)	Ārāji Sākoā (Jal)
ālam : Ar. a'lam, 'ālim 'learned,' a'lam 'scholar, chief'.	
Ālampur (Bur)	Alamdāngā (Nad)
Ālambājār (24 P)	Ālamnagar (Ran)

Ali : Ar. 'high, name of the son-in-law and fourth successor of Mohammad' (Arabic, personal name) also means 'great'

Ālipur (24P) ; Āligram (Bir)

kājir : < Ar. Qāzī 'a Muhammadan judge'

Kajir Car (Bar) Kājirbājār (Syl)

Kājirhāt (Noa) Kājirkhil (Noa)

kismat : Qismat 'fate or fortune or share'

Kismat nenaiye (Dac) Kismat nimdi (Bar) Kismat seotā (Bar)

khāna : Per. Xānah 'place' :

Khānākul (Hug) Khānāmurā (Mid)

khās : khāṣ 'special, particular land in one's possession'

Khās Pāikāin (Mym) Khās biārā (Mym)

khord : Persian Xurd "small" :

Khordsāiye (Mym) Khard nakijāni (Mym.) Khard siṅgā (24P)

jāmāl : Ar. jamāl, 'elegance, beauty, grace'.

Jāmālpur (Mym). Jāmaldiā (Dac) Jāmālhāṭi (24P)

ḍihi : Per. diḥ 'land, village, country'.

Dihi Palsā (Mid) Dihigumāi (Mid)

darī : Per. dara, darra = 'passage, a valley'.

Dari nagua (Mym) Dari haruki (Bur)

Dari nasaba (Dac) Darisom (Dac)

darun : Per. darūn, 'inside'

Darun bairati (Mym) Darun Kānihārī (Mym)

pāik : Per. paik, 'footman, messenger'.

pāik pārā (24P) Pāik pāhārī (Raj)

pīl : Per. pīl 'elephant'

Pilkhānā (Mur) Pilsimā (Mur) Pilkunja (Bog)

bāje : Ar. ba'z some, few.

Bāje-Phullapārā (Jes) ; Bājetirindā (Raj) Bāje-gāji (Mur)

Bāje-bujung (Bir) Baje-Sibpur (How)

hājra : Per. hazār, hazāra "name of a tribe of Afghans", hāzrā 'surname.'

Hājrabari (Mym) ; Hājrasar (Far) huda : Arabic ḥadd/ḥad 'limit'

Hudā-suraṭ (Jes) Hudā-Cāprā (Nod.)

Dāmurhudā (Noa)

(B) Occurring finally :

(i) Per. ābād "a city, habitation." Names with ābād are found all over India.

Doulatābād, Firozābād (Hug)

Nijāmābād (Mym)

Rosnābād (Mym)

Bārikābād (Dec) (bārik, Per. barik, surname of the Mahammadan) :

Elahabad (Mal, Din) ilah-abad

Nāsirābād (Ban.)

Āminābād (Mur) (Ar. āmīn "surveyer").

(ii) kita : Ar. qat 'a piece of land given in feudal tenure'

Kāmār Kitā (Bur)

Malkitā (Bur)

(iii) kuci : Per. Kucha land, a market place, square.

Toyal Kuci (Mym)

Kuṛ-Kuci (Raj)

Phul-kuci (Far)

Mon-Kuci (Ban)

Bel-Kuci (Pab, Bog)

(iv) ganj : Per. "treasury, stores, market place, granary".

Marel-ganj (Kbu) (Marel is the name of an Englishman);

Ājimganj, Jātrāganj, Manurganj (Mur)

Napharganj (24P) (naphar Ar., nafar = servant)

Imāmganj (Nad, Chi) (Ar. imam, "religious guide")

Ijzatganj (No. Chi) (Ijzat Ar. izzat, prestige)

Nurullāganj (Far) (Nurulla is an Ar. proper name)

Pharāsganj (Noa) (Ar. farās)

(v) dān : Per. dān "vessel"

Dumdān (Mid) ;

Girdān (Mym) : Per. "gird, side, circle"

Chapdānī (Hug)

(vi) pul ; Per. pūl 'bridge'

Bāspul (24P)

Palāspuli (Bur) ;

Kākpul (24P)

Nāṭāpūl (Nad,)

(vii) bāg, bāgī : Per. bāgh "garden",

Khojārbāg (Dac)

Catrabāg (Jes)

Nārāibāg (Dac)

(Farhābāg (Mur)

Goolbāgī (Jes) ;

- (viii) bahar, baharā : Ar. bahr 'fleet, sea, ocean, great river.'
 Dhek-baharā (Mid) : Ād-baharā (Mid.)
 Arjun-bahar (Khu)
- (ix) bahāl bāhāl ; Persian bahāl "status quo",
 Māl-bāhāl (Bur) ; Monohar-bāhāl (Bur)
- (x) bājār : Per. bazār "market"
 Rekābibājār (Far.) Phiringi bājār (Far.)
 Maḡ-bājār (Chi) Ilāmbājār (Bir)
- (xi) mahal : Ar. maḡl "the division of an estate, quarter, mansion"
 Gorā-mahal (mid).
 Nācan-mahal (Bar) Kani-mahal (Mid.)
 Bhāumahal (Bar) ;
- (xii) sahar : Per. shahr 'town'
 Baushar (24P) Devishar (Khu)
- (xiii) hāolā : Arabic ḡawīlī "abode palace capital of province"
 Sukdeber hāolā (Bar). Sekher hāolā (Bar)
- (xiv) had : Ar. ḡad/ḡadd "boundary limit"
 Bānguri-ḡad (Mym), ; Ānuhād (Mym)
 Panuhādi (Mym).
- (xv) hudā : Ar. ḡadd "limit"
 Coḡar hudā (Jes.) ; Khaer-huda (Nad)
 Taherhuda (Jes.) Damarhuda (Noa)
- (xvi) cak : Per. Cawk "market".
 Mollar cak, Cak dighi (Bur)

[Abbreviatens.

Ban (kura), Bar (isal), Bir (bhum), Bur (dwan), Bog (ra),
 Chi (ttagong), Dac (ca), Din (ajpur), Far (idpur), How (rah), Hug (hly)
 Jal (paiguri), Jes (sore), Mal (da), Mid (napore), Mur (shidabad), Mym (nensing),
 Nad (ia), Noa (khali), Pab (na). Raj (shahi), Ran (gpur), Syl (het),
 24 P (argenas), Ar (abic), Per (sian).

Some Hybrid Synonymous Compounds in Bengali

Bhabataran Dutta

Ar(abic). Ben(gali). Hin(di). I(ndo-) A(ryan). O(ld)I(ndo-)A(ryan). Per(sian). Tur(kish).

Ben. *ādar ābdār* "favour and indulgence" :

ādar < OIA *ādara* = *samādara* "regard, enthusiastic reception etc". *ābdār* possibly comes from Per. *arajdasht* "supplication, prayer" ; cf. *semitatsama āddās* 'application, prayer.'

Ben. *ānāce kānāce* "in nooks and corners." :

ānāce is probably an echo-word, or it may be connected with *nāc (h)* < OIA *rathyā kānāc* may be from Tur. *kanātā* "the space below the eaves and overhung by the thatch."

Ben. *kulī kābārī*, literally "coolies and destitutes" but implying day-labourers doing rough work : *kulī* < Tur. Per. *kulī* "labourer, servant."

kābārī < OIA. *kārpāṭika* "beggar".

Ben. *ṭhāṭṭā tāmasā* "jest and fun" :

ṭhāṭṭā < Hin. *ṭhaṭṭhā* "a jest, a taunt." *tāmasā* < Ar. *tamāsā* "fun, a joke, a jest."

Ben. *tattva tāllās* "polite enquiry, friendly visit" : *tattva* < OIA. true knowledge etc." *tāllās* < Ar. *tālās* "search, news"

Ben. *dāngā hāngāmā* "riot, skirmish, mobdisturbance". *dāngā* (Hin. *dāngā*) "riot" may have come from **daṅg* < Per. *jang* "battle, fight." *hāngāmā* < per. *hāngāmā* "fight, riot."

Ben. *dān khayrāt* "charity small and large" : *dān* < OIA. *dāna* "gift." *khayrāt* < Ar. *khayrāt* "offering."

Ben. *niyam kānun* "rules, procedure." : *niyam* < OIA. *niyama* "restraint, regulation" *kānun* < Ar. *qānūn* "procedure, law."

Ben. *pākū pokta* "strong, durable" : *pākū* < OIA. *pakva* "ripe, mature" *pokta* < Per. *pukht* "strong, ripe".

Ben. *biye sādī* 'marriage' : *biye* < OIA. *vivāha* 'marriage'. *sādī* < Per. *śādi* 'marriage'.

Ben. *bujhākkel* 'understanding, comprehension' : *bujh* < Prakrit *bujjha* < OIA. *budh-ya-* 'to understand.' *ākkel* < Ar. *ākl* 'understanding'.

Ben. *lajjā śaram* "bashfulness, modesty, shyness" : *lajjā* < OIA *lajjā* 'shyness, shame.' *śaram* < Per. *śarm* 'bashfulness, shame.'

Ben. *lok laskar* 'attendants and retinue' : *lok* < OIA. *loka* "world, people." *laskar* < Per. *laškar* 'soldier, army, commander.'

Ben. *sākṣī sābud* 'witness, evidence etc.' : *sākṣī* < OIA. *sākṣin-* 'eye-witness' *sābud* < Ar. *subūt* 'evidence etc.'

On Bhakta, Bhakti, Bhagavant and Bhagini

Sukumar Sen

The three words *bhakta-*, *bhakti-* and *bhaga-* (which is the base of the secondary formations *bhagavant-* and *bhaginī-*) are derivatives of the IE root **bhag* (OIA *bhaj-*, with the palatal consonant generalized). The meaning of the IE root was "to apportion, to allot (as share); to be given a share in or with; to partake of." The original meaning is preserved to a large extent in Vedic whereas in Classical Sanskrit the root has developed two distinct meanings: (1) "to divide", and (2) "to attach oneself as a devotee to, to worship."

Bhakta in Sanskrit (and as a *tatsama* borrowing in NIA) means "a devotee, specially of a god." This meaning is a development from the original sense, and this developed meaning has given to the root its extended meaning ("to worship") in Cl. Sanskrit. The original sense of *bhakta* (passive past participle of **bhag*) was "given as share, allotted, apportioned". Cf. Avestan *baxta-* "destined, (ill) fated."

In an early feudal set up *bhakta* would normally acquire the sense of "ration or meal given as share" and then "meal" (as in *Manusamhitā* and *Mahābhārata*; cf. Monier-Williams' *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*). Rice being the staple food in India *bhakta* gradually came to mean "rice as meal, i. e. cooked or boiled rice" (as in *Uttararāmacarita*; *op. cit.*). This is the only meaning of the word as inherited in NIA (i. e., *bhāt* "boiled rice"). In Bengali there is also an allied *tadbhava* form *bhātā* (<*bhaktaka-*) meaning "subsistence allowance", (originally meaning "allotted food, ration").

The meaning "belonging to the party of, or dear to, or liked by (as in *arjunabhakta-*, *vāsudevabhakta-*)", and finally "devotee of" resulted from the use in such compounds as *bhagabhakta*⁻¹ (literally, "allotted a portion by (the god of) fortune.")

Bhakti is an action noun meaning, originally, "allotment, distribution, apportionment." In Cl. Sanskrit it means "division, demarcation" and also "devotion". The latter meaning has come through the semantic change undergone by *bhakta-*. There is a third meaning of *bhakti* in Cl. Sanskrit; viz., "distinctive drawing or painting on the body of an elephant". Its use is attested in *Meghadūta*;

revāṃ drakṣasy upalaviṣame vindhyapāde viśṛṅgām

bhakticchodair iva viracitām bhūtim aṅge gajasya.

"You shall find (the river) Revā dissolved (into a tangle of streams) at the foot of the Vindhya uneven with boulders, like (streaks of) ashes (or grey dust) drawn as *bhakti* lines on the body of an elephant."

But what does *bhakti* actually mean here? The commentators (on *Meghadūta* as well as on the *Kośas*) offer no explanation and they take it as a technical term meaning "decorative painting on the body of a tame elephant." Apparently *bhakti* here cannot mean "(lines of) division" as it is followed by *cheda* which means the same thing. I consider that *bhakticcheda* here means "lines and drawings (as marks of allegiance to or property of a feudal lord or king)". In warfare where elephants were employed it was very necessary that the animals belonging to one party should bear a distinctive mark so

that in a *melee* they could be differentiated from the animals of the other party. It may be mentioned here that a *bhakti* mark on the forehead of a Vaishnav or Śaiva devotee, even now, is really the insignia of his allegiance to a particular deity.

The derivative meaning of *bhāga-* (IE *bhago-*) was "distribution or distributor (of share), dispenser, lord"¹ In Indo-Iranian *bhaga-* came to mean "dispensing god". This meaning is preserved in RV where it is an attribute of the beneficial gods including Savitr, Pūṣan and the sons of Aditi. In Old Iranian *baga* came to mean "god"². Old Bulgarian *bogu* "god" is considered as a borrowing from Iranian. The meaning of "share, fortune" however obtains in some inherited words in Old Bulgarian such as *ubogu* "poor" (Sanskrit *abhaga-*), *bogatu* "rich".⁴

In Cl. Sanskrit dictionaries the meaning that is assigned to *bhaga-* is obtained by isolation from the semantic contents of *bhagavant-*. *Bhagavant-* ("possessor of fortune") occurs in RV as an attributive or a synonym of a beneficial god. Thus :

sūyavasād bhagavatī hi bhūyā
atho vayam bhagavantaḥ syāma.

"May we be possessed of fortune on account of good fodder, and then we shall become lucky." 1.164.48 ab.

bhaga eva bhagavām astu devās
teno vayam bhagavantaḥ syāma.

"O gods, may Bhaga be possessed of fortune indeed so that we may become fortunate." 7.41.5 ab.

In Sanskrit *bhaginī* (feminine from **bhagin-*, the same as *bhagavant-*) originally meant "lucky or fortunate lady". To the Vedic Aryans a daughter was never the pet but a son was. In matriarchal society the position of the daughter and the sister is high. The change of meaning from "fortunate lady" (or "lady of the house") to "sister" would first appear in that community where the status of a woman was not lower than that of a man and where perhaps the sister was the intermediary through which inheritance passed on ; that is to say, where a sister's son (*bhāgineya-*) was the natural heir. The meaning of "sister" might as well have been obtained from *bhāgineya-* (meaning "son of a fortunate lady") which is attested in AV. In a community where inheritance passed to the sister's son the fortunate lady (*bhaginī*) would mean only the sister. The word became so popular that it replaced the old word *svasṛ* in IA vocabulary. Except in two compound words denoting relationship (e. g., *pitṛṣvasṛ* and *mātṛṣvasṛ*) *svasṛ* hardly occurs in Middle and New Indo-Aryan.

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1. RV 1. 24. 5
 2. It is interesting to compare the derivation of the English word *lord*. It comes from O E *hlaford*, ("lord, patron, master") which comes from older *hlafweard* (literally, "loaf guardian").
 3. Cf. Old Persian *baga vazrka* "the great God"
 4. See Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Woerterbuch*, p. 107.
 5. But *bhāgineya-* ("sister's son") occurs in AV.