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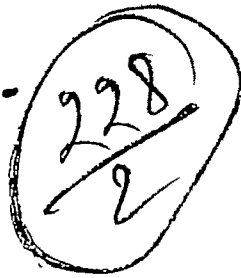
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## GURUPŪJĀÑJALI

To Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji



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## CONTENTS

Etymology of Narayana and Ramayana <i>by</i> Sukumar Sen	1
On Some Irregular Uses of the Cases in Buddhist (Hybrid) Sanskrit <i>by</i> yasuaki Nara	5
Maleya <i>by</i> K. Kunjunni Raja	12
Contai Dialect of South Western Bengali <i>by</i> Sudhir Kumar Karan	15
Kherwari Parallelisms in Bengali <i>by</i> Pranbesh Sinha Ray	24
Study of Some Interesting Linguistic Forms in Saraha's Dohakosa <i>by</i> Tsuoshi Nara	63
Allative Verb-Compound in Standard Colloquial Bengali <i>by</i> Dwijendra Nath Basu	74
Onomatopoeics in Modern Bengali <i>by</i> Bhabataran Datta	86
Perso-Arabic Vocables in the Works of "Raigunakar" <i>by</i> Chinmoy Dutt	105
Sibilants and Glottal Fricative 'h' in North-East Bengal Dialects <i>by</i> Krishna Pada Goswami	109
Etymological Notes on Some of the Words of Bihari Satsai <i>by</i> U. N. Tiwari	110
Development of the Numeral Noun 'One' in Telugu <i>by</i> K. Mahadev Sastri	111
A Note on the Language of Prthvimalla's Kanaka-Patra and of Pratapmalla's Ranipokhari Inscription from Nepal <i>by</i> Dayanand Srivastava	116
The Characteristics of Prakrit in the Visnudharmottara Purana <i>by</i> Satya Ranjan Banerjee	124
Reciprocal Bahuvrihi Compounds in Bharatchandra <i>by</i> Bhakti Prasad Mallik	131
Nasals and Nasalisation in Jaisi's Padmavata <i>by</i> Ramesh Mathur	135

# Etymology of Narayana and Ramayana

Sukumar Sen

## 1. Nārāyaṇa

The word *Nārāyaṇa* is accepted as a patronymic or a secondary derivative from *nara* (with vṛiddhi according to Panini 4.1.99) or from *nāra* which is attested in a variant in *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and which has its feminine counterpart in *nārī*. *Nārāyaṇa* is a name or an attributive of Viṣṇu (or of any of his avatars) and is also a proper name. Its use as a proper name is posterior to its occurrence as a name or attributive of Viṣṇu. No plausible derivation of the word has been offered. The traditional derivation explains it not as a patronymic but as a compound of *nāra* and *ayana*, meaning 'one whose bed (that is, after the end of a cycle of creation) is water.' But there are at least two serious objections to this derivation. First, a compound would not justify the cerebralization of *r* in *ayana*, and second, *nāra* meaning water is unattested.

*Nārāyaṇa* does not occur in any Vedic text, and the word, undoubtedly old, does not seem to have been popular in early Sanskrit. Its occurrence in *Mahābhārata* indicates its use in the popular *gāthā* literature. The recital of *Mahābhārata* started with the following *śloka* which is really an instruction to the reciter.

*nārāyaṇaṃ namaskṛtya naraṃ caiva narottamam  
devīṃ sarasvatīṃ caiva<sup>1</sup> tato jayam udārayet.*

The traditional usual of the first line is as follows.

'Having (first) paid homage to *Nārāyaṇa* and to *Nara* (the man), and to *Narottama* (the Best of Man).....'

There is no plausible explanation for *nārāyaṇa*, *nara* and *narottama*. It is said that *narottama* means 'Kṛṣṇa' (or Viṣṇu), and *Nara* and *Nārāyaṇa* are the names of two sages. But how the two sages are connected with either the story or the recital

of the epic is not known. The best way seems to take *nārāyaṇam* as adjective of *naram* and to translate the verse as follows.

'Having paid homage to the valiant (*nārāyaṇam*) man (*naram*)<sup>3</sup> and to the best among men<sup>3</sup> and to Sarasvati, the goddess, then the (recital of the) narrative of victory (*jayam* = *jayagāthām*)<sup>4</sup> should be started.'

In support of this interpretation of *nārāyaṇa* as 'valiant' I offer parallel use as well as etymological evidence.

There is mention of the *nārāyaṇa* warriors (*nārāyaṇāḥ*, *nārāyaṇī senā*) in MBh. The name has no connection with either Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa. In ancient Indian mythology Viṣṇu is nowhere mentioned as maintaining an army of his own, and Kṛṣṇa too kept no private army. These warriors were no doubt Yādava fighters. They were called *nārāyaṇa* ('valiant and desperate person') in as much as they were *samśaptakas* (i. e. who were sworn to do or die in action).

In the *Saptaśatī* (*Caṇḍī*) section of *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna* the supreme goddess *Śakti* ('Power') is invoked as *Nārāyaṇī*<sup>5</sup>. She is the spouse of Śiva and has no direct connection with Viṣṇu. The correct interpretation would be 'valiant woman,' 'irresistible goddess'.

I take *nārāyaṇa* as a primary derivative from the denominative root *nārāy* 'be valiant' (compare RV *kavīy-* 'be wise', *rjūy-* 'be straight', *prtanāy-* 'fight' etc.). As an action noun *nārāyaṇa* means 'valiant deed' (cf. RV *naryapāmsi*) and as an agent noun it means 'acting valiantly'. Cf. Latin *neriōsus* 'strong, resisting', *Nerō*, *Neriēnsis* (the name of a goddess associated with Mars); Sabinian (proper name) *Nerō*; Gk. *eu-ēnōr* (Skt. \**vasvānār(a)-*) 'rich in vital force'; Skt. *narya-*,

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1 *vyāsam* v. l. 2 *Nārāyaṇa* Nara = Arjuna. 3 *Nārōttama* - Kṛṣṇa. Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa are the two protagonists of the *Bhagavadgītā* which forms the essence of *Mahābhārata*. 4 This correct interpretation of *jaya* is due to Sylvain Lévi. 5 Cf. the refrain: *nārāyaṇi namo'stu te*.

Av. *nairya-* 'valiant'; Skt. *sūnara-*, Av. *hunara-*, Old Pers. *humnara* 'full of vital force'; Skt. (Vedic) *nṛtu-* 'hero'; etc. <sup>6</sup>

## 2. Rāmāyaṇa-

The word *Rāmāyaṇa* is a primary derivative as the cerebralised *ṇ* indicates. According to the traditional and accepted interpretation it is an Upapada compound, but whatever may be the sense of such a compound (e.g. *rāmaḥ ayyate (-prāpyate) asmāt*); its application to the epic of Vālmīki is difficult. But if we take it as an action noun from the denominative verb *rāmāy-* where the basic word *rāma-* may be either a proper name (the eldest son of Daśaratha) or a common noun meaning 'rest, peace' (cf. Skt. root *ram-*, Av. noun *rāman-* 'rest, repose, peace') or 'charming, beautiful' (cf. Skt. fem. *rāmā-*)<sup>7</sup>. The denominative verb *rāmāy-* would mean 'act as Rāma; act for peace, act nicely' etc. Rāma's acts were all peace-making, and *Rāmāyaṇa* therefore means 'the story of a peace-maker'. The battles and wars he fought with individual demons and with the host of Rāvaṇa were done for the sake of justice because peace rests on the foundation of justice. It is quite likely that the name Rāma originally meant 'man of peace', and not primarily the name of Daśaratha's son. No doubt Vālmīki took it as a proper name, but at least in one version of the story, in the Jaina tradition, Rāma is known by another name, Padma or Padmakumāra (Prakrit Pauma). With both the name and the appellation of the eldest son of Daśaratha, the name (or appellation) of his wife is not unfitting. In one sense *Sītā* (meaning 'furrow') stands for agricultural prosperity which certainly depends on peace. In another sense *Sītā*, standing for *Sitā*, means 'white (lily)'; and then it is a fit companion of *Padma* ('lotus'). In a verse in the *Kaushika-sūtra* of *Atharvaveda* (edited by M. Bloomfield) the two imports of *Sītā* are available.

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<sup>6</sup> See J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Woerterbuch* p. 765. <sup>7</sup> For IE cognates see Pokorny, *op. cit.*, p. 864.

*kumudvatī puṣkariṇī sītā sarvāṅgaśobhinī*

*kr̥ṣiḥ sahasraprakārā pratyaṣṭā br̥ṣr iyaṃ mayi. 14-1-7*

The name of Rāma's chief antagonist in *Rāmāyaṇa* also was probably an appellation and not a proper name. In some versions of the Rāma story he is mentioned only by another appellation, Daśagrīva. In Hittite there is a root *lahha-* ('campaign, war'), a cognate of which is Gk. *lāos*, *leos* 'army, people'<sup>8</sup>. There is no linguistic difficulty in the etymological connection between Gk. *laos* and Skt. *rāvaṇa*.

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8 See E. H. Sturtevant, *The Indo-Hittite Laryngeals* p. 35 :

# On some irregular uses of the cases in Buddhist (Hybrid) Sanskrit

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No need to mention about the sporadic occurrences of irregular uses of the cases in Buddhist (Hybrid) Sanskrit, in which a certain syntactic function is not being expressed by an usual and expected case but one which, though not always unknown in Skt., is at least unusual in the regular classical language. Certainly this phenomenon of BHS is by no means unnatural because of its being one of the Middle Indo-Aryan dialects and hence it follows mostly, though often shows the peculiar syntax and style of its own, the linguistic changes and developments of the latter. For instance we find the confusion of the morphological forms and syntactic functions, the lack of the sense of the Kāraka in its strictness on the part of writers or scribes, (and hence) simplifying confusion of the way of expressions and so on. These in fact lead us often to feel it hardly possible to make differences between e.g. "this ablative form is used as an instrumental" and "this instrumental construction is replaced by an ablative."

In BHS however there are some other factors which have occasionally caused the hopeless syntactic confusions,—so hopeless and curious that even either of the above expressions is improbable to be applied to. First of all the sanskritization, which seems in due course of it to have given rise to many opportunities for inviting psychological confusions such as contamination and analogy. Secondly their quite loose the attitude in composing and (probably more frequently) copying texts. Taking few examples :

(1) So Kanakavarṇaparvatam sambuddham kramavareṣu nipatitvā (Mv. 1.114.14, vs.)<sup>1</sup> "He fell at the best feet of

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(1) Abbreviation is the same as in F. Edgerton's Grammer. see infra.

the Buddha Kanakavarṇaparvata". The usual way of expression should expect *kanakavarṇaparvatasya sambuddhasya kra°* (Gen., not Acc.) just as *bhagavataḥ pādayor nipatitvā* (SP. 215.3,4 etc.). But then can we here take this Acc. as "used for the genitive?" It is not probable at all. It seems to me more convincing to say that this construction must have been contaminated with *So Kanakavarṇaparvataṃ sambuddhaṃ pranipatitvā* \* (having bowed to the Buddha K.) and *K°-tasya sambuddhasya kra° nipatitva*.

There is another instance of similarity.

(2) *pādātaḥ patito'smi jināya*. (RP.4.6. vs.) "I have thrown myself at the feet of the jina". This also is to be understood as a contaminated construction of "jināya as Dat. concern" and "jinasya pādātaḥ".

Again another instance :

(3) *lābhī ca bhagavān prabhūtānāṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojanīyaṃ āsvādanīyākālpikānāṃ cīvarapiṇḍapātraśayanaglānapratyayabha-  
iśajyapariśkāranāṃ* (LV 2.21ff.). Unless we amend this reading to (*lābhī ca prabhūtānāṃ*) *khādaniyānāṃ bhojanīyānāṃ* or to compound them according to the stock expression of BHS., *khādaniyabhojanīyāsvāda°*, this remains as a dubious and peculiar instance in which the objective genitive and the accusative with *lābhī* are juxtaposed. Here also I am sure that this accusative cannot possibly be taken as a substitute for the genitive but it resulted from the looseness (of, most probably, scribes). But all the Mss. agree in having this reading.

In this language the irregular uses of this type is not at all rare, rather frequent, and we even feel that this looseness might be taken as one of the characteristics of BHS.

Concerning the syntactic irregularities of the cases of BHS not a few scholars, especially S. Sen and F. Edgerton,

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(2) The verb *prani-√pat* is normally construed with Acc., rarely Dat. or Loc. But note : *Sudhanasya śreṣṭhidārakasya sarvaśarīreṇa praṇipatya*" (Gv. 73.15) This Gen. seems for original Dat.

<sup>3</sup> have noted some of them under various headings, e.g. Inst. for Loc., Gen. for Dat. etc., to which a more number of instances could be added. In the followings instances which belong to the headings treated by them are mostly omitted and few other types of the irregularity (including the one like illustrated above) are shown. They are however not at all the comprehensive collection with consistent principles but a mere line up of very few examples. Hence this article itself is of but a nature of an additional note to the description of Sen, Edgerton and others.

### Acc. for Abl.

The accusative used for the ablative is noted by Edgerton with reference to an adverb *prabhṛti* (BHSG. 7.24). In MIA instances where a spacial accusative carries the local sense of the ablative or the locative is not unknown. <sup>4</sup> In BHS we have :

(4) *sa ca tam sārtham aṭavīm avakrāmayet.* (SP. 187.4 ff.) "He may take the caravan out of the orest." Cf. *pavṛyākandaram viniggayā* (Vasudevahindī 146.26). "Coming out of rocky mountain".

(5) *ito brahmalokaṃ upādāya yāvad trayatrimśad bhavanam.* (LV 61.16) "From the brahmaloka upto the abode of 32 devas." Here the ablative *ito* and the accusative *brahmalokaṃ* appear together, which too must be a contamination between *ito brahmalokāt* and *brahmalokaṃ upādāya*.

(6) *parasya pūjārtham iherśyā jātā.* (RP. 18.9 vs.) According to the context *pūjārtham* should be translated as "because of homage (paid to another, the jealousy occurred)". Here the

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(3) Sukumar Sen : An Outline Syntax of Buddhist Skt., 1928.

—do— : Historical Syntax of Middle Indo-Aryan, 1953.

F. Edgerton : Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammer, 1953.

(4) Cf. S. Sen : Historical Syntax of MIA, § 12.

adverbial idiom artham at the end of a compound implies not the usual sense of the purpose but the cause, hence for <sup>1</sup>arthāt.

**Acc. for Gen.** see (1) and (3) supra.

**Inst. for Acc.**

- (7) tad divyaṃ cakraratnaṃ...ṛddhau viḥāyasā pūrveṇa vrajati (LV. 14.21) "the divine wheel goes to the East".
- (8) rājā...ṛddhayā viḥāyasā dakṣiṇena vrajati (LV. 15.13) "the king...goes to the South."

In the parallel passages of these we read dakṣiṇām diśam vrajati. This instrumental seems to me not to have taken up the function of accusative of goal but might have been confused with the locative construed with the verb √vraj. The locative with √vraj is by no means strange and infrequent in this language (e.g. tiryakṣu vrajanti. SP. 94.5 vs. etc.), and the confusion between Inst. and Loc. is quite common.

The same may be applied to the following example.

(9) tāmralohaṃ...oṣṭhaṃ dahāti oṣṭhaṃ dahitvā jihvāṃ dahāti...antraṃ dahāti antraṃ dahitvā antraṅgaṃ ādāya adhobhāgena gacchati (Mv. 1.8.8). "This molten metal burns their lips...and goes down to their lower parts of the body". Also cf. the equivalent verse. tāmralohaṃ...ṭam eṣāṃ antraṃ ādāya adhobhāgena gacchati. (Mv. 1.12.8 vs.)

**Inst. for Dat.**

In MIA the causal instrumental very often borders the final dative and hence the instrumental sometimes denotes purpose<sup>5</sup>. Examples in BHS are :

(10) sarvehi bhūtehi nivāpaśaṅgam bhagavatā haritaśāḍvalaṃ nirmītam. (Mv. 1.271.8-9 vs.) "The Exalted one makes the green fields bear plenty of crops for all creatures."

(11) yo mamaṃ kuśalasaṃcayo so mahā bhavatu sarva-prāṇiḥi (Mv. 1.48.8 vs.). "May my store of merit be great for all living creatures."

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(5) Cf. Sen, Historical Syntax of MIA, § 29 ff

(12) *gacchantāṃ bhavantau, svakāryeṇāhaṃ dvādaśagulmaṃ pravekṣyāmi.* (Suv. 212.2). "You go, I will examine twelve bushes for my own duty".

In the next occurs the dative and the instrumental together, both denoting purpose.

(13) *sarvasattvānāṃ aparimānāduḥkhaskandhavyupasaṃāya pratyupasthitāḥ, yaduta dāridraduḥkhaskandhavyupasaṃārthena pratyupasthitāḥ, narakagatiyyupacchedanārthena pratyupasthitāḥ* (Gv. 97.25 ff.). "He appeared to bring the end of immense mass of pains of all creatures, that is, with the intention of ceasing the pains of poorness, of destroying the way to the hell".

#### Inst. for Gen.

(14) *yasyāśravaṇe narakādimaḥāprapātadābhādiduḥkhaṃ anubhūtam abhud bhavadbhiḥ/tivram punaḥ punar anantam aśāntacittaiḥ tācchrotum ādaram udārataram bhajadhvam//* (Śiks. 1.1-2 vs.) "To hear it (sic. the Dharma), without hearing which have occurred to you, whose mind was not tranquil, the immense pains of consuming fire in the terrible flames<sup>6</sup> of hell, agony awful, unending, bestow your most respectful care." The instrumental *bhavadbhiḥ...aśāntacittaiḥ* is difficult unless it is understood in the sense of the genitive, which goes with *abhūd*.

#### Gen. for Nom.

Next comes the genitive which is curiously used as the subject of the sentence. Once the genitive occurs together with the nominative. The genitive standing for the nominative is noted by T. Burrow and S. Sen in Niya Prakrit<sup>7</sup> but nowhere else in MIA.

(6) Read *mahāpratāpa* for *mahāprapāta* according to W. H. D. Rouse and Chinese version.

(7) T. Burrow: *The Language of Kharoṣṭhi Documents*. 1937, § 120 ff.

S. Sen: *Hist. Syntax of MIA*. § 66

(15) jināna teṣāṃ samanāmakānāṃ Samantaprabhānāṃ puruṣottamānāṃ/paripūrṇapañcaśatanāyakānāṃ ete bhaviṣyanti paramparāya// (SP. 208. 10-11, vs.). "There shall appear a complete number of 500 jinas, supreme amongst men who shall bear the same name with the jina Samantaprabha, and follow one another in regular succession." The true meaning of the verse is not difficult to catch with the help of the parallel prose passage : atah pañca mahāśrāvakaśatāni sarvāṇy anantaram anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambhotsyante, sarvāṇy eva Samantaprabhāsanāmadheyāni bhaviṣyanti (SP. 207.1 ff.) If all the genitive forms in the pāda a-c be the nominative, this may be the typical example of the so-called prolepsis.

(16) cyutvā manuṣyeṣu avīci teṣāṃ pratiṣṭha bhoti paripūrṇakalpān (SP. 94. 3 vs.). "All having disappeared from amongst men <sup>8</sup> they shall dwell in the hell named avīci during the whole kalpas". There is no alternative reading, but should we read here te sampratiṣṭha for teṣāṃ pra°?.

(17) pāpamitrāṇy ayuktāni na sevītavyāni lābhārthikānāṃ (RP. 58. 10-11). "You must understand that bad friends, who do not exert themselves and want gain, must not be frequented". This translation is contextually the only one possible and supported by Tibetan and Chinese versions.

### Gen. for Acc.

Verbs that are construed with the genitive is nothing strange even in Skt. In MIA the number of the verbs are increasing along with the absorption by the genitive of the function of the dative and the ablative.<sup>9</sup> Some verbs of this type in BHS are already mentioned by scholars.<sup>10</sup>

In the following are collected few more verbs, with which is construed the accusative in a pure sense of the object, though sometimes the sense of "Beziehung" can slightly be observed.

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- (8) NB. manuṣyeṣu, Loc for Abl. ; cf. BHS 7.82.  
 (9) S. Sen : Historical Syntax of MIA, § 73.74.76,  
 (10) *Op. cit.* § 33-4.  
 F. Edgerton : BHS 7.65 H.

(18) *tasmin kālasmi bhikṣūṇāṃ vinaye* (SP. 254.13 vs.). "At that time he disciplined the bhikṣus".

(19) *sarveṣāṃ teṣāṃ anekeṣāṃ sattvasahasrāṇāṃ nānāroga-sprṣṭānāṃ nānāvvyādhi-paripīḍitānāṃ evaṃ āśvāsayāmāsa* (Suv. 181.3ff.). "Thus he consoled these many thousands of people who have suffered from various diseases."

(20) *sarvaviśayavāsināṃ sattvānāṃ sukhāpayitukāmo bhavet* (Suv. 94.16). "He may be the one who wishes to make the people of any class happy."

**Loc. for Acc.**

(21) *prathamāyāṃ bhūmau upādāya kevarūpena kāyakarmaṇa samanvāgāto bhavanti* (Mv. 1.128.2). "With what quantity of act of body, do they (i. e. bodhisattvas) become endowed from the first bhūmi?" All other parallel passages are read *prathamāyāṃ bhūmim upādāya* etc.

(22) *no namati guru-ārya janeṣu* (RP. 20.4 vs.). "He does not revere teachers and honourable men."

# Māleya

Dr. K. Kunjunnī Raja

The term *māleya* is of rare occurrence in Sanskrit literature. It can be derived according to the grām̄matical rules from the word *mālā* by the addition of the suffix *ḍhak*. Monier-Williams gives the following entry under this term :

"*māleya*, m. a garland maker, florist A ; (patr. fr. *māli*) M. of a Rākshasa, R ; (*ā*) f. great cardamons, L."

Śabdakalpadruma has the following entry : *mālā ḍhak t̄ap sthūlailā itī ratnamālā. sthūlailāśabdair asyā viśeṣo jñeyah.*

Vācaspati says : *mālāyām sādhuḥ. ḍhak. mālāracananipunah. sthūlailāyām strī.*

Apte's Dictionary gives the meaning "garland maker, florist".

In Kerala, however, both Sanskrit writers and Malayalam writers use the term *māleya* very frequently in the sense of 'sandalwood' or 'coming from Malaya mountain'. This meaning is not recognized in any of the well-known lexicons or Sanskrit Dictionaries. A few of the Kerala usages may be given below :-

(a) *tataḥ kadācit.....subhagambhāvukamāleyajalatālavṛntavṛnde priyambhāvukasahlavhāre samunmiḍati gharmakāle*" Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (c. 1600 A. D.), *Bhārataprabandha, Khāṇḍavadāha*. Published in Malayalam script, in *Prabandhōvali*, Cherp, Trichur.

(b) *kāle kadācid atha kāmijanānukūle māleyamārutavilolita-  
mālatīke  
līlārasena vicaran vipine vinoda-lolām samvraṇasuto ramaṇīm  
abhāṇīt*

*Kalyāṇasaugandhika* (a Kathākali work)

(c) The Malayalam commentary on *Amarakoṣa* by T. C. Paramesvaran Mūssad, gives two references to the use of the term :

i. *māleyalepam atilaṅghya vinirgatena jalena gharmapṛṣatām  
niculīkṛtāṅgau*

ii. *māleyāramadevīsucaritagūṣasamvarṇanātyantaramyām.*

P. 503, edition from National Book Stall, Kottayam.

(d) *uttungām kvacid anytaḥ kṛśatamām anyatra gādhetarām  
cittakarṣaṇāḥrīkhālam iva vanīm udbibhratīm ekataḥ  
māleyojjvalagātrikācītasumāsāṅgām imām urvarām  
paśyotthāya vimānarād āyam upary utkarṣatīvāmbare  
Prākṛtasamvidhāna by Śambhu Śarmā The  
Mangalodayam Press, Trichur, 1923, p. 4f.*

(e) *māleyānām candanānām ; ujjvalānām gairikāṇām  
dhātuvīśeṣāṅgām  
cītanām vyāptānām sumanasām cāsāṅgaḥ sambandho  
yasyām sā*

Commentary on the above by K. M. Kuṭṭikīṣṇa

Mārār.

(f) *Kēśe śeṣām śivāyāḥ surabhilabhuvanām puṣpamālām  
dadhānā*

*phāle māleyapaṅkam vipulakatitāṣe vāsasī somaśobhe  
bhūṣās cāpādaoṣṭam kanakamaṇikṛtāḥ śiñjitākṛṣṭahaṃsā  
lajjābhāvānumeyādḥhikatanuvāsanācchādanāyāti mugdhā*

Verse 39, *Vītarājavijaya* by Koccuppi Rāja of  
Koṭilīṅapura. The Mangalodayam Press, Trichur,  
p. 62f.

Some hypercritics in Kerala itself find fault with such usages ; but this term has been used for centuries. The great grammarian Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa of Melpputtur, whose usage of the term has been noted earlier (a), has pointed out in his monumental grammatical work *Prakriyāsarvasva* (*Taddhita* section, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series), that the word *māleya* in the sense of 'coming from the Malaya mountain' is found in general use. Under the Sūtra '*tata āgataḥ* (IV. 3. 74), he says :

*Mathurāyā āgato māthuraḥ. pralayasyāṇi 'Kekayamitrāyu'  
—(VII. 3. 2) iti yāder iyāḥ. śaradaḥ pralayān nāśād  
āgatam prāleyam himam, tasya hemantajātīvāt. māleyam  
iti ca dr̥śyate.*

Here it is clear from the context that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is suggesting that the term *māleya* in the sense of 'coming from

the Malaya mountain) (*tata āgatah*) may be due to the analogy of *prāleya*, and that it is to be derived from *malaya* with the suffix *an*, along with the change of *yāder iyah* (as in the case of *prāleya*). Pāṇini's Sūtra *Kekayāmitrayu*—is not an *Ākrtigaṇa*; but Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa finds the analogy of *prāleya* as the only way to explain the usage of *māleya*. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa says that the word is used in that sense; we do not know what passages he had in mind. In Malayalam literature however, we find the use of this term in this sense in the *Kṛṣṇagāthā* belonging to the fifteenth century A. D.

*māleyaocār*

Gundert has noted this usage in his Malayalam Dictionary and has given the meaning as 'sandalwood'.

The normal term in Sanskrit for things 'coming from the Malaya mountain is *mālaya*, derived from 'malaya' with the addition of *an*. The word is used in that sense in *Nalodaya*, 2. 37 :

*tanuśchatottamālayā tayā bhuvottamālayā  
aharī sītamālayānilavadhutamālayā*

(*mālayo 'nilo malayagirisambhavo vāyuh*. The commentary called *Subodhi*, Calcutta edition, 1870)

Under the term *mālaya* St. Petersburg *Wörterbuch* gives : 1) adj. vom Girge Malaja kommend;—*anila* Nalod. 2. 37. 2) Sandalholz Trik. 2. 6. 39, Har 103. (2) a Karavanserai Sah. D. 47. 16

It is clear that in Kerala the term *māleya* is used instead of the normal term *mālaya*. It may be noted here that one of the peculiarities of Kerala pronunciation of Sanskrit is that the short *a* is pronounced like a short *e* in medial position when followed by unaspirated voiced stops or semivowels except *v*. Thus *laya* is pronounced as *leya* (the *e* being short). This tendency may be responsible for the change of *malaya* to *māleya*. The analogy of *prāleya* might have influenced this change. Even in modern Malayalam the term *māleya* is frequently used for sandalwood.

# Contai Dialect of South Western Bengali

Sudhir Kumar Karan

## 1. Area of S. W. B. (K) :

This Kāthi (i. e. Contai) sub-dialect of S. W. B. is so named as it includes the greater portion of Kāthi sub-division. Some southern parts of Sadar (Midnapur) sub-division also come under this sub-dialect area.

The Kāthi sub-division has six Police Stations : Kāthi, Khejuri, Bhagabānpur, Paṭāspur, Rāmnagar and Egrā. These Police Stations all, however, do not come under the linguistic area of S. W. B. (K) and if we draw a map of this linguistic area it will exclude some portions of Paṭāspur, almost the whole of Rāmnagar and the major portions of Khejuri (which may be treated as another sub-dialect area of S. W. B.). We should also exclude the major portion of Rāmnagar P.S. and the southern parts of Egrā P.S. and this should be taken as the dialect area of Oṛiyā of the north which is strongly influenced by Bengali.

Some portions of Keshiāry (Keśiāri) Police Station, almost half of the Nārāṅgarh (Nārāyaṅgarh) Police Station and the northern half of Dātan Police Stations of Sadar (south) sub-division also come under S. W. B. (K), although the speech of this area shows strong influence of the neighbouring sub-dialect of Gopiballabhpur sub-group in the west and of the central or Pinglā sub-group in the north.

## 2. Name of the Unions with the figure of population : (1).

(a) Kāthi P.S. consists of twenty Unions having a total population of 1,90,850. This figure includes the population of Kāthi town also numbering 12,738.

(b) Khejuri P.S. consists of nine Unions and hardly one Union, namely Khejuri may come under the linguistic sub-group of Kāthi, although being situated on the other bank of the

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(1) The figures are obtained from a Govt. publication  
(মেদিনীপুর)।

the Rasulpur river it has some influence of the sub-dialect of Bhagabānpur also. The population of Khejuri Union is 7,986.

(c) Egrā P.S. consists of fifteen Unions. The entire police station practically comes under the S. W. B. (K), though the southern part of the P. S. have largely an Oṛiyā speaking population. The majority of the population of the following Unions are Māhiṣya by caste and they are speakers of S.W.B. (K). These Unions are :

Name	Population
1. Baridā	1,760
2. Egrā	8,440
3. Erendā	6,726
4. Bāthuāri	7,796
5. Tājpur	8,714
6. Bālighāi	8,007
14. Jubdā	5,299
15. Bāsudebpur	12,769

(d) Paṭāspur P.S. consists of fourteen Unions out of which roughly six Unions may come under the linguistic group of S.W.B(K). The name of these Unions with the figure of the population are :

1. Gokulpur	6,550
2. Naipur	5,439
3. Khār	5,536
4. Pācet	5,894
5. Paṭāspur	4,715
6. Gopālpur	6,094

(e) Nārāyaṅgarh P.S. consists of sixteen Unions out of which the following six Unions may be grouped under the S.W.B(K). These are :

1. Bāgurai (8)	4,067
2. Beldā (9)	8,004
3. Sujānagar (11)	4,890
4. Tutrānā (12)	4,917
5. Bākhrābād (13)	5,567
6. Pāruldā (15)	5,317

(f) Keśiāri P.S. consists of nine Unions, out of which the following six Unions may be grouped under the S.W.B.(K).

These are :

1. Khājra (2)	...	4,280
2. Sātrāpur (3)	...	4,308
3. Kusumpur (4)	...	3,284
4. Keśiāri (7)	...	6,192
5. Baṇor	...	3,580
6. Āmdā	...	4,756

(g) Out of fifteen Unions of Dātan P. S. four southern Unions; namely, Āgua (7), Cak Ismāilpur (8), Āikola (9) and Janakpur (10) may be left out, as the people of this area are generally Oṛiyā speakers and the people of the remaining eleven Unions are South West Bengali (K) speakers.

The name of these Unions are :

1. Ālikāsa	...	5,885
2. Tarārrui	...	5,461
3. Dātan	...	9,787
4. Mohanpur (Manoharpur)	...	5,274
5. Tāḷdā	...	5,145
6. Sālikoṭā	...	6,600
11. Turkagarh	...	9,314
12. Sabrā	...	5,399
13. Sāuṛi	...	5,271
14. Puruldā	...	5,885
15. Hariipur	...	7,350

### 3. Place and people :

It has been already said that these areas are mostly inhabited by a polyglot people and we find S. W. Bengali speakers living side by side with some Oṛiyā speakers (although this Oṛiyā is much influenced by Bengali and sometimes to such an extent that it appears as a distinct dialect). The places like Dātan and Keśiāri are old and historical places, and Dātan, being on the main road to Orissa, is notable for its probable association with the old administrative division of Dantabhukti (or Daṇḍabhukti) and also for its association with Chaitanaya's pilgrimage,

The people living in Kāthi and Egrā Police Stations generally belong to the Māhiṣya caste and these people are the genuine S. W. B. speakers no doubt. Only the Brahmins and some other people from Orissa, who had migrated long ago, have preserved their own language Oṛiyā, which I have said is much influenced by Bengali both in phonology and in morphology. But as a whole the verbal system in that language has preserved its Oṛiyā character ; on the otherhand S. W. B. (K) has its own verbal system independent not only of Oṛiyā but of S. B. as well.

In the northwestern portion of the S. W. B. (K) area, the Māhiṣya people are not so numerous and it is inhabited by some of speakers aboriginal language also. On the Subarparekhā there are some people of Sadgop caste (in the P. S. Dātan) who are also native speakers of S. W. B. The south-western Bengali of this part though coming under the category of S. W. B. (K), bears the print of the S. W. B. (G).

It should be mentioned that Oṛiyā speaking minorities live side by side with the S. W. B. speakers and the Oṛiyā speaking people generally speak S. W. B. outside home and that a large number of people who had migrated long ago from Oṛissā abandoned their original language and adopted S. W. B. as their mother tongue.

#### 4. Grierson's view :

According to Grierson, "The language of the Contai sub-division of the Midnapur district is certainly Oṛiyā but it is strongly corrupted by the Bengali spoken to the north across the river Haldi. It is not that a new dialect has been formed partaking of some of the characteristics of each, and intermediate between each language. On the contrary the language of the sub-division is a curious mixture of fairly pure Bengali and fairly pure Oṛiyā, the speakers using words of each language apparently at haphazard, and mixing them up into a kind of bilingual sentence. The basis of the language is Oṛiyā, that is to say the majority of words and grammatical forms belong to it, while the rest are Bēngali." (1).

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(1) Vide L. S. I. Vol. V. Part. II page 420

Again, regarding the language of Dātan he says : "Besides the sub-division of Contai, Oṛiyā is also spoken in the south of Midnapur district i. e. in the southern half of the thana Nārāyaṅgaṛh and thānā Dātan." (2)

Again he says :

"On the other hand the Oṛiyā of north Balasore shows signs of being Bengalised and as we cross the boundary between that district and Midnapur we find at length almost a new dialect. It is not however a true dialect. It is a mechanical mixture of corrupt Bengali and of corrupt Oṛiyā. A man will begin a sentence in Oṛiyā, drop into Bengali in its middle and go back to Oṛiyā at its end. The vocabulary freely borrows from Bengali and in northwest Midnapur even from the Sāntālī which is spoken by the aboriginals who live there among their Oṛiyā-speaking neighbours. All this time, however, the language is Oṛiyā in its essence. It has put on strange clothes like Peter in the "Tell of a tub" but the heart that beats under the strangely embroidered waistcoat is the same. Nevertheless a person speaking the Midnapur Oṛiyā is often unintelligible to a man from Puri and vice versa." (3)

These observations were made not on personal investigation but on the basis of some notes supplied by Monomohan Chakravarty. (4)

Any way Grierson has admitted that the dialect (called by him Midnapur Oṛiyā) may be called a new dialect which

(2) Ibid.

(3) Vide : L.S.I. Vol. V: Part. II page 369.

(4) ".....Babu Monomohan Chakravorty has given me the following additional notes on the Midnapur pronunciation :-

"I think the speech of Contai thana is, in its skeleton, Oṛiyā but is otherwise so modified by the adjoining Bengali as to be called a Bengalised dialect of Oṛiyā. The speech of Nārāyaṅgaṛh and Dātan thanas closely approaches the dialect of north Balasore .."

Vide : L.S.I. Vol. V. Pt. II. p. 27

is quite unintelligible to the genuine Oṛiyā speaking people. But the fact is that Grierson is wrong in accepting the language of the entire Contai Sub-division and that of Dātan and Nārāngarh (south) as "Midnapur Oṛiyā". It has been previously mentioned that there are certain areas along the borders of District Baleswar of Orissa where the "Midnapur Oṛiyā" is prevalent and the "Midnapur Oṛiyā" is more or less the same as the language of Baleswar. The investigations made by me, have shown that there is a little difference between the South-western Bengali (of Grierson) and the language of Contai Sub-division. In the verbal system of the Contai dialèct there is the ending 'lā' for the third singular of the simple past tense, e.g., (se) dilā, gelā etc (for dila, gela : দিল, গেল etc. of South-western Bengali) ; otherwise it is the same. The vocabulary of the Kāthi sub-division is also the same throughout south-western Midnapur, and the most of the vocables are to be found in the border regions of western Bengal and in northern and eastern Bengal also and they may come more or less under the jurisdiction of an isoglossical line. Some vocables from Oṛiyā are probably there. But owing to the conservative phonology it is not generally possible to assign a word to its parent stock (i.e. Oṛiyā or Bengali).

On the whole it cannot be denied that the S.W.B. (K) is an independent dialect having a close relation with S. W. Bengali proper and it can not be called merely a "mechanical mixture of corrupt Bengali".

The specimen of "mixed Oṛiyā and Bengali" (1) of Contai given by Grierson (L.S.L. Vol. V. Part II page 421) is however not the general dialect of Contai as a whole. It is spoken only in Mohanpur P. S. area and in some parts of Ramnagar and Dātan. The Oṛiyā speaking Brahmins speak that dialect at home (although they have developed a peculiar kind of Oṛiyā) but the general mass of the S.W.B. (K) speaking area speak a dialect akin to S.W.B. as a whole where the present progresive tense forms like kareṭe, ( করেটে ), karaṭa ( করটে ),

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(1) i. e. S. W. B (P).

karuṭu ( কৰুটু ) etc. are used as against Oṛiyā karuchi ( কৰুছি ), karuacha ( কৰুঅছ ) or karucha, karuachu ( কৰুঅছ ) or karuchu respectively. In the example given by Grierson, we notice inflections like 'ku' ( কু ), 'ra' ( as in মুলুক-ৰ ), 're' ( রে ) etc. that are not found in S. W. B. (K); the verbs like nelā ( নেলা ), delā ( দেলা ) etc. are always nilā ( নিলা ) and dilā ( দিলা ); paṛilā is always paṛlā ( পড়লা ) and thilā ( থিলা ) is thāilā ( থাইলা ); dabār ( দবার ) is always dibār and so on and in pronunciation there is no word in S. W. B. (K) which is pronounced with a final 'a' which is characteristics of the Oṛiyā language. The text of the 'Prodigal Son' is however given below to illustrate S. W. B. (K).

### The story of the Prodigal Son.

ekjhaṇ loker (or jhaṅker) duṭā po thāilā tār menkār bhitre je choṭo, se tār bāpke kailā, bābā, āmār bhāge biṣay-āṣayer jā bhāg paṛbe, tā āmāke dao (or di dao). saujanya se tār biṣay āṣay tārmenkār bhitre bhāg kardilā. dinākate bāde, kaṭiā (sāna, choṭo) jā pāilā sab eksāge līki dhur deṣke cālī gelā (gāilā). ār sauṭhi badmāsi kariki sab uṭi dilā. jatablā tār pūji pāṭā sab ṣeṣ hi gelā, tatblā (tatbeṭā, tatbā) deṣe khub ākāl hilā. saujanya tār peṭ calā bi bhār hi uṭhlā. takhaṇ se sau deṣer jhaṇe loker kote jāi ki juṣla. se tāke, lijer bile ghusur carī : te pāṭhī : dilā. tatbā se ghusurer khābār khāi ki peṭ patlā karte pānne bi bāci jāitā (or bāctā). kintu tāu bi ko : tāke dilāni. pare

- (2) jhaṅkar dui po thilā; tākarmankar madhye sāna po tākar ḥapaku kahilā, bāpabiṣayer je hissā āme pāibā, tā āmku diā (should be 'diā'). se tāira tākar nankar madhye biṣay hissā kari delā. alpa dinar bāde sānapo sabu ekṭhāi kari kiri dūra deṣaku cālī galā; ār seṭhi se beṣi kharac kari kiri tākar biṣay uṛei delā. se sabu kharach kari dabār par sei muluk-ra bhāri durbhikṣa paṛilā tākar kaṣṭa heite lāgilā. tete beṭe se jāi kiri sei deṣar jhaṇe deṣbāsir ṣaran nelā. se loka tāku nijar bilare ghusuri careibāku pāṭhāi delā.

236863

jakhṇ tār hūs hilā, takhaṇ se mane mane kailā, āmār bāper kata majur āche, amnu tamnu kari khāyṭe, ār āmi eṭhi peṭer (jwālāy) jālāy mariṭi. āmi jābā ; jāi ki bāper kote kaibā, bābāgo, āmi tumār kote ār bhagbāner kote pāp karchi (kocchi), āmi tumār po nāmer jogga (jaggo) nay, āmāke tumi jhaṇe majurer mata rākha. tārpar se uṭhi ki tār bāper kotke cālielā. dhrūnu tār bāp tāke dekhte pāilā ; dekhi ki tār dayā hilā. se dauṛi jāi ki tār par galā jaṛi dharlā (dhallā). tatbeḷāpo tār bāpke kailā, bābāgo, āmi tumār kote ār bhagbāner kote pāp karchi, āmi tumār po namer jogya nay. tār bāp tatbā tār majurmenke ḍāki ki kailā, sabbu cāinu bhālā kāpaṛ āṇi ki ekē pīdhei de. hāte mudi parei de ār jutā maṛi : de, ār āy āmārmane khiā-dīā, hāus-āmod karbā. keni nā āmār po mari jaithlā (pronounced mōritla) akhaṇ ābār bāci uṭhche, eke hāri : ki pher ghuri : pāichi. er par tārmene āmod-āllād karte lāgi gelā.

sau samay tār baṛa po, je bile thāilā, bilnu gharer kotke āilā ; ghare lāc gān hayṭe suṇlā. tatbeḷā se jhaṇe majurke ḍāki ki pacril, egā ki hayṭe re ? majur ṭā kaitlā tumār bhāi ghuri āsse, tāke bhālāy bhālāy ghuri ki pāiche bali, tumār bāp khāoṇā-dāoṇā karāyṭe. au kathā jamnu suṇla tamnu se ār ghare ḍhuklā ni. dibāke tār bāp bhār ke āsi tāke bhuli : te lāglā takhaṇ se uttar dila, dekhā (ḍḥkha) bābā, āmi ata bachar dhari ki tumār kāj karma kariṭi, kuna din tumār be-bādhya haini, tabu tumi āmāke gaṭe bi chaḷi-chānā kunadin dao ni je āmi āmār sāgi-manke li ki hās-kurcan karbā kintu tumār je po rāṛbāji kari ki tumār biṣay-āsāy uṛi ; dilā, sau ghuri āste tār jine khāoṇ-dāoṇ karāoṭa. takhaṇ tār bāp kailā, bāpre tui barābar āmār kote āchu, āmār jā āche, se sab to tor kintu tor au bhāi mari jāitlā, akhaṇ pher bāci uṭhche. eke hāri : thli, pher ghuri : pāichi (or pāici). sau jine āmārmankār khuṣi haoā ār āmod āllād karā ucit.

(The language of Keśīāṛy and Dātan come under the Kāthi group of S. W. Bengali, and has certain influence of S. W. B. (G) and S. W. B. (P). Thus mui (মুই), mor (মোর), moke (মোকে) etc. are used along with āmi (আমি), āmār (আমার), āmāke and generally 'ne' is affixed to the pronouns to denote plural number

for 'mane' or 'mene' ( মনে, মেনে ) of Kāthi. Otherwise, there is not much difference between the eastern and north-western variety of the S.W.B.(K.)

5. **A brief note on the dialect :**

This dialect of S. W. B. has developed certain characteristics of its own, otherwise it is closely connected with S.W.B (B). Its peculiar characteristics are :

1. There is only one verbal form for singular and the plural as against two separate forms found in S.W.B. (G).
2. In simple future tense, the verbal form in the first person is root+ bā (<ibā). i.e. (ami) karbā, khābā, habā etc. which is also a special characteristic of S.W.B. (G).
3. The post-positional 'kari' is preserved in the contracted form 'ki'.
4. The verbal form in the simple past in the 1st person is root+li (<ili); thus kalli, geli against kannu, genu of Gopiballabhpur.
5. The old affix 'lā' in the simple past (3rd person) is preserved; e.g. dilā ( দিলা ), nilā ( নিলা ), kallā ( কল্লা ) etc.
6. The verbal form in the simple present in the 1st person is root+i : (kari, khāi, jāi etc.) against karō, khāō, jāō etc. of Gopiballabhpur.
7. It has preserved cerebral ṅ and ḷ and the aspirates like ṛh, mh etc.

# Kherwari Parallelisms in Bengali

Pranabesh Sinha Ray

[ The ultimate object of this study is to discover the lexical vestiges of non-Aryan impact or impositions on Indo-Aryan (Bengali), and the following pages are devoted to Kol or Munda (Kherwari) parallels to Bengali words, which is an outcome of a comparative perusal of portions of either vocabularies. Imagination, that soul of science, which is inspired vision to poets and other mortals of higher plane, was happily not lacking in us but this almost instinctive spirit never failed to function conjointly and hand in hand with that acquired linguistic sense or intuition, born out of philological grounding and training which is so hard to define but which all honest students of the science are aware of. Anyway, the materials are presented here with all due diffidence attendant on and proper to a subject of a nature as this. ]

Bengali as a New Indo-Aryan language has inherited from Old Indo-Aryan (via Middle Indo-Aryan) Desi vocables, and besides has appropriated, at first-hand, many more on its own account. Our concern is with the borrowed (likely or otherwise) elements from Kol or Munda speeches of the Austro-Asiatic branch of the Austric family, though incidentally we shall have to touch upon the other aspect or variety of Indian non-Aryan loan-words viz., the Dravidian with which our discussion is in some respect connected.

It is admitted on all hands that at the time of the rather belated advent of the Aryan speaking bands into Bengal, the country had been the home of various tribes of Kol speakers, the largest proportion of whom has, perhaps, contributed to the building up the Bengali society, and as an indication whereof the descendants of the more freedom-loving sections of them who, conscious of and faithful to tribal traditions, refused to come under the aegis of Aryan domination, are still to be found on

the outskirts of Bengal and elsewhere around the adjoining parts of it. A dying race, we are afraid, (but still of old caring very little or even disdaining the tutelage of foreign missionaries) continuing to live a life unforgetful of their old ways in the footsteps of the forbears.

One can very well conceive the state of bilingualism that prevailed at the outset, and over a considerable period afterwards in which the land vacillated between the speech of the conqueror and that of the conquered. When finally, the genius of the former proving superior, triumphed in survival the Aryan thus adding to its list of another "Digvijaya" (cultural conquest.) In adopting the Aryan tongue, however, the people naturally enough, retained their commoner and more familiar words and expressions about everything pertaining to their cradle-land : its flora, fauna, institutions, toponomy, ways and practices ; in a word the *Desi milieu* which, as a matter of course, the Aryan dictionary was not expected to contain. Even in cases where the new alien language did possess its own word for an indigenous thing the people did not discard but made use of their homemade word from the mother tongue, to familiarise the more difficult Aryan term and the former have, in many cases, been retained side by side with the latter. Sometimes both of the categories have consorted in a sort of loose union or formation engendering what Professor S. K. Chatterji who noticed them as such for the first time, terms "translation-compounds."

The mass of the people cannot forget the mother-tongue inside of a generation or for the matter of that even far afterwards and the ingrained phonetic habits cannot but persist. The speech habits of the people of the soil played a great part in the shaping of the phonology, morphology and even the syntax of the Indo-Aryan which was evolving out of the more or less fusion of Aryan and Non-Aryan. The native surroundings superimposed giving our present day Indian substrata in legacy. The Aryan world of ideas was none the less being profoundly influenced by that of the Non-Aryan. However, one particular aspect of this miscegenation (which as a and on the whole, has given us what is stamped specifically Indian) viz., Kol

resemblances in Bengali is our immediate purpose with suggestions leading up to the indebtedness of Bengali to Kol in this respect.

For convenience of treatment and investigation alphabetically arranged Bengali words with no apparent or plausible I.A. etymologies have been compared with similar-looking and in all probability cognate Santali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia vocables, and likened to Hindi words wherever possible. Dialectal, colloquial, rustic varieties of Bengali are per excellence the repositories of such remnants and our women's speech (thanks to the universal conservatism of the sex) has preserved full many of them either intact or in a slightly altered form.

The Kols had very little to offer in the matter of learned words of higher culture and mainly their common homely words of familiar objects and scenes etc. as we noted above, have formed the background of that part of our vernacular vocabulary which gives our everyday vulgar or better popular words at once so pithy and happy in their use and expression. Some such words are pseudo-Aryan in appearance. Coming as they did stealthily and surreptitiously creeping in, unawares but automatically into the disdainful domain of Aryan pedigree words, they had been purposely tampered with and so moulded and given their present shape to hide their foreign look and ring. A little training and application, however, suffice to expose their origin. Apropos of the training, we may note in passing, that unless a systematic study of the Kol *sprachgut* and its grammatical intricacies go hand in hand with this line of investigation, no definite and permanent results would be forthcoming. The present inadequacy of materials in the still rather imperfectly explored Kol speeches and the lack of a good comparative dictionary in the same is a regrettable handicap and desideratum. Nevertheless, with a strong determination of progressing slowly and gradually in the study of the chief Kol speeches and carrying speeches and carrying on along side the patient investigation into the indebtedness of Bengali to Kol, we hope to contribute our mite in the solution of this one of the most interesting and often baffling problems of our language.

Before coming to our examples of comparisons we must confess that a considerable portion of the list is but a tentative record of the indebtedness of Bengali to Kol inasmuch as the rather external phonetic resemblance together with the coincidence of the semantic import has made us include, on venture, words which have a chance of being expurgated in the light of further intensive study and comparison with other Kol speeches. This we do propose to undertake in future, with this preliminary essay as the basis.

Consequently, our attempt, save in many definite points and cases, is something of a collection of rudimentary materials and facts to work profitably and conveniently upon. As a matter of fact, this primary effort is the stepping-stone to the goal or ideal which can but be slowly and diligently attained with a thorough-going research. The ways and means have been indicated by eminent French philologues like J. Bloch, S. Levi, into which we have been initiated by our teachers—Dr. S. K. Chatterji, P. C. Bagchi, Dr. S. Sen and others. It is only with a discipline in and an insight into the nature of the grammatical apparatus or structure of Kol supplemented by a conscientious and scientific-cum-comparative study of the likely borrowed elements in NIA (and our present list is just such an attempt to note Bengali words of probable Kol affinity) on the one hand with cognate vocables from as many Kol speeches as practicable, on the other, that a satisfactory and incontrovertible ground can be struck in this long line of investigation.

We, however, hopefully pass on our modest findings, for what they are worth, and we confidently look forward to implement this by future endeavours which will be directed to delve in the structural foundation of Kol, and the application of the discipline thus acquired would undoubtedly be the acid test, as it were, to our quanta, bringing to light many a Kol substratum under glib Aryan superstructure and many a suppositious borrowings of Non-Aryan provenance would equally betray to be otherwise and prove only prodigals.

In going through Santali and other Kol vocabularies, one cannot help coming across, now and again, resemblances, in

matters and aspects other than lexical, between the Aryan and the Kol worlds, so to speak, and though not much to speak about, such facts have been cursorily noted in passing.

In conclusion, we will be untrue to our self and sentiment if we do not mention that all through we have been dictated by a love and sympathy for the Kols—a fraternal feeling, and smiling Santal faces with their unworldly and consoling simplicity looming large before our mind's eye, have been the sustaining inspiration at every step in our pleasant sojourn in the unsophisticated land of theirs, innocent of our so-called civilization. It was, as though, a distant and wistful pilgrimage for us, come upon by chance, where such sober and healthful beauty has been our treat, infinitely wonderful and refreshing! We have once drunk in deep heaving breath the soothing atmosphere—and nature's own flowers we have seen and child like looks merriments and fain were they to invite us to their dances and music and it was not in us to loathe but with a newly found appetite have we partaken of the frugal repast offered in sincere hospitality. Their joys have gladdened us and with a heavy heart have we stood beside their sorrows. We were in it all, as indeed we are of it all. There were moments when vivid and rare impressions flitted by and we slow in imbibing them but somehow we have retained memories of ineffable quaint glimpses of age-old vistas, yet to take shape, which, for the time being, reluctantly though, we cannot but keep to ourselves selfishly, but some of these days, sure enough, we must need share them with the world at large, without which no fitting culmination or enduring result of permanent value can ever be achieved. Often have we paused in our pilgrimage and bestowed a caressing thought on a friendly gesture of theirs and between the lines may be read the note of care and perchance the suspicion of a tear. We have fondly dwelt upon their homely ways and have ever so heartily spoken a kind word for them.

Suffice it for us, if in these pages we can have been able to do justice to what we experienced and lovingly felt so spontaneously, though the deep-voiced eloquence thereof

be faint or veiled in instances of mere words and words and yet more words.

- অলবডে albaḍḍe      infantile, awkward in manner or gait ; S. albudaha : ignorant, undeveloped mind but cf. alpabuddhi (Skt.)
- অগড়বগড় agar-bagaṛ      confused speech ; S. agaṛ : medley, confusion, cf. āgḍum bāgḍum : a meaningless play of children ; S. agram bagram : mess, odds and ends. H. agḍam bagḍam. The sound-picture is avowedly Deśi. Effort has been made to connect it with 'Dom' : particular low class people, which also may be of indigenous origin.
- অড়হর ar(h)ar      raḥer pulse ; S. raḥer : do. H. ṛaḥar ; \*aḍḍha-(g)hara : half split ?
- অঠাউকো aṭhāuko      unknown ; confused or haphazard ; M. aṭhauri : do. Also Beng., Hindi ṭhāḥar : perception ; to stay.
- অথই athai      bottomless ; M. & S. athah : do. But thai/sthā(mika) ? I. E. \*stāgha/thāha.
- অন্ধ andha      blind ; Skt., Kol. andha : do.
- অঙ্গ anga      body ; Skt., Kh. ongiri : do.
- অলেড় aler      out of the way or reach, hiding ; Kh. (o)leḍ : to hide.
- অম্বা āmbā      inordinate desire ; Kh. umbes, ombes : bad, bad desire ; S. omba : do. ; cf. āk(h)āmbā. ākāṅkhā ? (āhīṅke).
- আঁচ āc      aim ; S. ac : aim, take aim.
- আঁরক ārak      potion, extract (medicinal) ; Kol. arki : liquor ; Pers-Ar.
- আঁটি aṅṭi      bundle ; Kol. aṅṭi : do.
- অঁগার aṅgāra      charcoal ; Skt. aṅgāra, B. āṅgrā ; Ho. hanga : do. ; cf. Skt. aṅgiras.

আনকা ānkā	not germane to, inopportune ; M. andka ; untimely.
আমড়া āmrā	hog-plum ; cf. Ho. amburu : a kind of sour fruit ; Skt. āmrāṭaka (ṭak : sour ?). Cf. amra : mango ; amla : sour (āmlāna : get sour ; H. imli).
আঁটা āṭā	to satiate ; suffice ; satisfy ; M. ante : to satiate.
আঁপিল āṅṅil	a lot, wealthy ; S. andela : wealthy, opulent.
আনাচ ānāc	(generally going with kānāc) nook, turning ; S. anacur : do.
অমুক amuk	so-and-so ; S. ank : do.
আড়াল āṛāl	screen, hiding ; S. aḍok' ; hid behind ; āṛ : shelter, hiding place, screen, conceal etc. See āḍḍā. B. āṛe-gelā, āṛe chāoā, āṛi pātā. Dr. Turner has given adda in his IE reconstructions (Nepali Dictionary).
আঁটি āṅṅi	seed ; S. ita : do. ; M., Ho. hita : do. ; Skt. antra or asthi may have evolved it.
আবদার ābdār	importune, fondle ; S. abar : do. Cf. hābar, hāpar : insistence.
আঁচান ācāna	rinse the mouth ; S. acao : do. ; Skt. ācamana/cam. Dr. S. K. Chatterji has discussed it in connection with cāul (Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik Band 9, Heft 1—Sonderabdruck, Leipzig 1932). I am tempting to connect our jāb(ar), jāor with it.—cākum cākum may be affiliated to it although it has an onomatopoetic ring ; H., Marwari, jimnā : to eat.
আঁছা ācchā	well, good ; S. acha : do. But Drav. has acca : pure.
আঁছাড় āchār	fall, dash ; S. achāṛ : shower, heavy fall of rain. Cf. kāchāṛ : slip and fall down.

আদর ādar	fondle ; S. ador : pride, dainty. Cf. dar : price. Has it anything to do with ābdār ?
আড়া āḍā	party, group, lodging ; S. aḍ(ḍ)a : resting place for cattle at noon, party, quarters, herd. Cf. āfat, aḥaṅg : store house. We have also āḥā of the same origin.
আড়ি āṛi	enmity, at variance. S. aḍi : -do-. Cf. āṛe hāte neoā : to take side-ways ?
আদার ād(h)ār	food (fed by mother bird to birdlings) ; S. adhar : victuals, food (for men and animals).
আটন āton	ridges in rice field ; S. aḥon : cover, shield, fence ; hinder (ad ?). Cf. āḥal which besides being a variant of āḥon signifies a kind of basket contrivance to catch fish. Is āḥaṅ(g) as in āḥaṅ(g) dholāi a kind of unbleached washing of woolen and silken things, in any way connected ?
আঢ়া āḍhya	wealthy ; possessing much. So in Skt. * ṛdhya, ārdhya /āḍḍhya from rt. ṛdh ; S. aḍi : very much, great ; cf. āḍā, (adhika) aḥi : a kind of lump measure ; āḍel, āḍil : a lot, many, much ; rich ; ḍher, aḍhel.
আকড়া ākrā, āgrā	chaff, blighted corn ; S. agra : do.
আকাল ākāl	famine, dearth ; S. akal : famine, scarcity. It is noted in Constantin Regamys ' <i>Bibliographie analytique</i> '. Also akāl, ākāḥ ? Cf. Tam. ākāl : hunger ; see B. C. Majumdar <i>Hist. of Bengali Language</i> .
আকন্দā ākanda	calotropis procera ; Skt. arka ; S. akaona ; arka + maṇḍa ?
আকচ ākac	enmity ; S. akos, akhaji : do. Also akaj, akas. Cf. Skt. ākrośa ; S. akhaji : disagreement, quarrel, fall out. Ar. ākhej ? B. ākcā-ākci, ākjā-ākji. Cf. kājiā : quarrel,

- আটক āṭak prevent, check, stop, hinder ; S. akoṭ, aṭok : do.
- আঁক āṅk a short painful ejaculation in a sudden shock ; S. ak : do. We have also āṅkāna. Now, this ejaculation is rather a reaction natural to man in sudden fear or wound—an abstract outlet of an emotion consequent upon reflex action of mind given vent to physically. But the Deśi character of the phoneme or sound is obvious.
- আখ্যান ākh(y) in a festival observed on the first of Māgh (16th February) ; S. akhan : do. ; ākhā : fire-place.
- আখড়া ākhṛā, āheriyā play-ground, place for exercise, course (of dance, staging of plays) ; S. akhra : do. ; akṣa-vāṭa/akṣhaḍa.
- আলা ālā, eḷā tired ; S. ala, ali : tired, run down. Cf. ālānta analogy of klānta, hāltāk ; ālse (alas) ? ālakāṛi : ālā + gaṛi (q.v.) ? = latitude (/alga = a + lag) ? Also S. alag : loose, separate ; idle. Cf. Skt. lagna ; from rt. el + e = āuliya. [(a)lola/ākula]
- আড়ামোড়া āṛ(ā)moṛā to shake off inertia or fatigue by yawning and stretching out of limbs ; S. alamara : be prostrated, fatigued ; see ālā ; S. alao : give up, weary out ; āṛ + moṛ.
- আলাল ālāl fondle, pet, rich man ; S. alar : do. Cf. dulāl, allād/ahlād ; H. lāl(ā) whence in B. too. Also S. alar dular : fondle, pamper ; pet ; Skt. (ā)hlād/hlād/hlār ? = alar ; (rt. ala + wal. Ar ?)
- আলতো ālto superficial, ; holding ever so lightly ; S. aldom : in general, at random ; uncertain (not particular ; cover up, go superficially into. Cf. ālṭopka : at random, abrupt and uncertain.

আলাগা ālgā	loose ; S. 'alga : do. ; see ālā. Can lāgā : touch ; attach (and in its semantic ramification—strike ; feel pain ; begin &c. &c.) be affiliated to lagā(si), lagi which are of course akin to laguṛa—lāṅgala—liṅga so ably dis-caused by Przuluski ? Is it connected with ulanga (note the semblance to 'anga'—body the 'riga' element giving a strong suspicion of non-Aryan flavour in it & along with it nagna, (na(n)ga, nen(g)ṭa & nengat ; H. navig dharang) langa—naked ; attached nunga, lunga in Orissa & Bengal neighbouring it) lungi (via Tibeto-Burman) ?
আপুতুপু āputupu	about to : M. abe-tabe : on the point of.
আচকা āckā	sudden. M. acaka : unexpectedly, suddenly ; Khar. acakate : all of a sudden ; Ho. acaka, acakate, akacaka : all conveying the idea of suddenness, surprise, accident, the unexpected. In Bengali we come across words having the same group, in as much as they all contain the common phonetic element 'caka' : ācamkā, camkā, camakita, cakita, bhebacaka, hecka, hakcakāna, &c. The expression 'cak' is rather natural to a state of surprise or wonder as an accompaniment of abruptitude and it may well be of mimetic origin. In Sanskrit we have cakita.
আলকুসি ālkusi	horripilation ; M. alci : to prickle.
আনকা ānkā	unfamiliar, untimely ; M. andka : untimely.
ঐত্ৰ আঁটা	to tighten ; M. ainhao : to twist ; squeeze.
আটকলে āṭkale	measure ; idea ; Ho. atkar : feel, think, guess ; atkarte : approximately ; M. & S. atkar : think ; consider ; feel ; perceive.
আরক arak	portion ; Kol. arki : liquor / Pers.
আংরা aṅgra/aṅgāra	: charcoal ; Ho. hangar : charcoal (cf. angira) ; M. angor : do. ;

- আজাড় ājār empty ; also ujar ; M. ajauri to empty, leisure.
- আজেবাজে ājebāje mess, rubbish ; M. ajbajao : to entangle ; S. ajbajao : -do- ; Ho. ajabajao : entangled.
- আকুপাকু āk(u)pāk(u) : breathless ; restless ; M. akal : pakal : uneasy, restless (cf. akuli bikuli / akula by akula). Also hak-pak ; M. akabakao, akbaki ; S. ukbukao ; get confused, gasp for want of breath.
- আঘড়া ākhrā club ; M. akhara : place for dancing, meeting & c in village ; S. akra : play ground. cf. ākhrā supna
- আনাড়ি ānāri clumsy, awkward, inexperienced ; M. anari : new comer, inexperienced
- আরপার ār pār tottering restlessly ; M. andr-pandr : step or speak irregularly as when drunk ; atpatao : strugglg, be restless ; cf. ankusa, a -rt. kars - B. aksi : pole with hook ; M. akusi in women's speech ; M. ara : give up, set free, let loose ; S. arak. Also B. ela & era.
- আল āl boundary of rice field ; M. ari ; S. are : side ; edge ; border (of rice field)—ali, ail.
- আস্কে āske kind of rice cake ; M. arsapitha : kind of cake.
- আস্কতুরে āskature : delicate, one getting easily tired ; cf. kalara ; S. askati : lazy, dull ; to be easily fatigued.
- আটা āṭā coarse flour ; M. & S. ata : flour.
- আটা āṭā paste, gum ; M. & S. ata : gum.
- আরি, আরাআরি āri, ārā-āri : quarrel ; S. adra adri ; M. ata ati : dispute ; to argue.
- আটল āṭal border of rice field ; M. atal : row ; fold ; layer ; S. atal do.
- আট সাট āṭsāt tight ; M. atasata : close together.

- আট ঘাট ātghāṭ avenue ; preparation ; preparation ; M & S. atghat : opportunity, secret ; at/ asta ?
- আটি āṭi bundle ; M. & S. ati : sheap, bundle.
- আন্টারি antauri : altapri : haphazard ; M. athauri : unknowingly. Also B, thahar : perception.
- আটকান āṭkāna : to fix ; stop ; M. & S. atkao : prevent, stop ; also atak.
- আওয়া āwā brick (underburnt in Kiln) ; M. awa ; S. ava ; Potter's kiln.
- আয়া āyā nurse ; M. & S. ayo : mother.
- আউড় aur (Birbhum) : straw ; S. ar : straw ; B. khar seems to be from the same source ; khar / har / ar (vide Bodding Materials for Santali Grammar. Pt. I, p. 39 footnote & elsewhere).
- আদল ādal shape ; M. adal : fame ; show.
- আগরুম বাগরুম āgrum bāgrum : confused, at random ; M. agra bagra : promiscuous, Also agdum bagdum.
- আকুটে ākkhūṭe : wasteful person ; M. akuti : malevolent spirit.
- আর ar (al) screen ; M. ara : screen ; B. erana : adoid is cognate.
- আলি āl (i) ridge in rice-field ; M. ari : -do-.
- ইট It brick ; Skt. istaka ; M. inta : brick ita : -do-.
- ইয়ে, ইসে iye, ise : a particle of hesitation what shall I call it ; S. ia : so & so, what-do-you-call-it.
- উব, উবদো ub, ubdo : coiffure ; M. ub' : hair.
- উদরান udrāna : to come off (skin) : M. udur : push out ; throw down ; uturn : uproot, pull down (utunru) ; S. ojhrao : loose flesh.
- উজার ujār dismantle ; M. ujar : -do-; see ajar.

- উকি ūki vomiting tendency ; M. ok : vomit ; B. ola in olautha : cholera seems to be connected with M. ula : anothea dord for vomiting, though of course, ola suggests ut + throw up, raise. Note B. oyak tola : sign of vomiting ; Onomatopoeic ?
- উস্কান uskāna incite, kindle ; M. uskur : incite, stir ; kindle afresh ; uckao is another variant cf. B. askara : to give indulgence to.
- উটকান utkāna ransack, search ; open (pages of a book) M. utkao : dig out, turn over ; utka patka rake up old matters ; also in B. ; M. ota ; S. otak : open e.g., a book ; cf. Skt. udghatana : uncover ; see otkana.
- উজ্জলান ujlāna : to separate foreign substances from grain by shaking in a sinnering basket so that lighter things come uppermost to be rejected ; S, ujhlan : pour out ; perhaps ocla, ohla is of same provenance.
- উপুড় upur turn down, lie on the belly ; M. obor ; fall flat on the belly, lie down on the belly.
- উতো uto fuel drying at fire-place ; Malto atu : hearth, oven ; but cf. Skt. ut + tap.
- উলু ulu a kind of grass ; Kh. ulu : -do-.
- উটকো utko unknown ; wrong ; wicked ; M. etka : -do- ; See athankc. Connected word is otkana (q. v.).
- উল্লেখ ulpe irrelevant ; false ; M., Kh. ulpha : false ; Skt. ut + lap ?
- উখলি ukhli pestle and mortar ; Skt. udukhala ; Kh. ukhri : -do-.
- এলবেল, এড়বেড় el bel, eṛ beṛ : jargon ; M. ede bede : confused statement.

- এবরো ebro                   rugged, uneven ; generally with the echo-word khebro ; S. aere : awry, twisted ; Kol. ad ? see ar-er. Also ebo-khebo M.B. abuda-khabuda ; Skt. arbuda (excrecence ; hump) abbua - abu + da (pleonastic) ?
- এরান erāna                   get away, get rid of ; S. arao : escape, get away see also ad Kol. rt. e/ad-hide, screen ; cf. Jamil ed- to abandon.
- ওচা oca                       to separate stone bits from rice : M. oca : to remove, deta ch.
- ওল ol                         kind of edible bulbuous root ; M. ol : -do-.
- ওসার osār                   breadth, width ; M. osar : broad, wide.
- ওত ot                         lie in wait ; M. ota : pounce upon as by a beast of prey.
- ওটকান oṭkāna               tamper with ; open (pages of a book) ; M. ota, S. otak : un-cover, open (a book).
- ওলাউঠা olāuṭhā :         cholera ; M. ula : to vomit (ur † tol ?) cf. ola : when a cart is heavily loaded so that the front part is lifted up ; M. ular : -do-.
- এদে ede                      cane basket ; Kol. iditea : basket, vessel.
- এসোনা esonā               to be half dried (wet clothes). Also esorna ; Kh. osud : wet
- এঁড়ে eṅṅe                   bull ; Kol. andia : -do- ; Skt. anda : egg, testicles has been traced to Kol.
- উসুম usum                   lukeyworm ; also kusum kusum : tepid ; Kh. usum : do. ; Skt. usna : hot.
- ইক্রি (মিক্রি) ikri (mikri) : a kind of children's game where two or three of them sit or better squat in a circle, their knees protruding which are touched by turns while uttering these words. Can S. ikrum (kneel) have something to do with it ?
- কুচে kūce                   eel ; M. kucla : do.

কুদান kudāna	to pick up ; M. kuda, kura : to roll up ; cf. gurana..
কুর্মি kurmi	a tribe ; M. kurmi.
কোটর koṭar	hole ; hollow ; M. kuthi : womb ; cf. koṣṭha : room ; inside.
কোদাল kodāl	spade ; M. kudlam, kullam : do.
কামড় kāmāṛ	bite ; M. -gemer : seize and hold by the mouth.
কুরা kurā	gnaw, scoop out. M. ger : cut by teeth as by mouse or ant.
কল্পান kalpāna :	to suffer pain ; M. kalpao : do.
কুজর kujra	obstinate ; cruel ; M. kuinra : do.
কুটনা kuṭnā	kuṭnā : a go-between ; procurer ; M. kutna, kutlaha : do.
কাহার kāhār	a caste ; M. kahar : do.
কাঙাল kāngāl	poor ; M. khanar : low caste Munda.
কিলবিল kilbil	the slippery movement of worms (esp. when large in numbers) M. kilimili : every sort, various.
কছড়া kacṛā	unripe, immature, unfinished. Also khecṛā (adha khecra : half done). Cf. dar-kacṛā, dar-kacā : unripe.
কানা kānā	blind (of one eye) ; cf. Skt. aksna kana ; Ho. kanra/i : one-eyed S. kara : -do-
কানা kānā	brim (of a vessel) ; Skt. kāṛṇa ? Ho. kandom which has noted as a Dr. loan word. Was it not possible that some Aryan words happened to resemble some non-Aryan words by chance coincidence though differing in sense (and sometimes they may as well have been synonymous— an instance from Greek and Hebrew may be cited kalein : kale = call in both the cases) and that gradually the non-Aryan

implication was being made secondary acquisitions. Also kanko, in dial.; S. k(h) ankho : edge, brim ; Birhor. kana : do.

কাড়া kārā

male buffalo ; Ho. kera ; S. kada : Malay. kerban ; Kh. karru ; M. kada, : do. The word has been marked by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee.

কাঁকড়া kākṛā

Skt. karkaṭa : crab ; Kol katkom, karkom (cp. kekopoka : crab spawns) ; Kh. khankra : do ; Malay. ketam : do. cf. kat (h) a ; Skt. kamaṭha ; Dr. kata ; but Eng. crab ; Lat. cancer.

কালী kālā

deaf ; Ho. kála ; S. kala ; M. kala. Besides we find S. bahira ; Kh. bahira ; Birhor. bahira ; M. baharia : for deaf ; Skt. badhira.

কিল kil

fisticuff ; Ho. gil : hii with the first.

কর্কস karkas

rough, harsh ; shrill, hoarse. Ho. gagarsa : hoarse ; Skt. karkaśa ; Onomatopoeic.

কাঁটাল kāṭ (h) āl

jack-fruit ; Ho. kantara ; S. kanthar : -do. (panasa, too, looks outlandish in Skt. and we are tempted to remotely connect it with Austric panas (a) conveying the idea of something truculent or sweet as noted above). Skt. kanthbhala : jack-fruit, on the face of it, is a make-shift neo-Skt. formation. In fact, as the very name implies, Skt. as an artificial language is the repository of a "sprachgut" upon which our pandits' chisel must have incessantly worked and all the niceties and polish of zealous minds conscious of the prestige and dignity of the Devabhāṣā were brought to bear upon.

- কোদো kodo a kind of grain ; Ho. kode : millet ; S. kode : do ; Kh. kuda : do ; M. kode : do ; karai, kalai to be noted hereunder
- কুয়াশা kuā(śā), koā(sā) : fog ; Skt. kuha : mist ; darkness, kuhaka, kuheli(ka), kuheḍika (prahelikā ? heyali?), kuh (as in kubjhatika : darkling storm), kuhu (new moon). Vide ; Journal of the Dept. of Letters, 1937.—Dr. S. K. Chatterjee Study of NIA, p, 20. In W.S. we hear kuhakap forpitch-dark ; Ho. poasi ; S. kuhra ; M. kuhas (i).
- করবুর karbur Skt. karbbura : spotted, piebald ; Ho. kabra : do.
- কুচ kuca Skt. rt. kunc : pleated, shrivelled up ; bit or shred ; Ho, keca : piece ; tear into pieces. An array of words may be traced to the origin like kuco, kuci, kockana, kota (to pound) is better derived with kata rt. krt ; kuti with kati-kastha. What about kucki ; any part of body where two limbs meet generally a glandular region (because of the folds of the skin found there ?) and keco-kaneulika-reminiscent of the worms wriggling gait ? Cf. kakra, kukri mara (doubled up) which last echoes in guri mara (prying posture) also phonetically as well as semantically.
- কিল kil punch box ; Kh. gil : beat, strike.
- কম্বল kambal blanket : Kh. komro : do. So also in other Kol speeches. Already noted definitely to be of Kol origin (I. Przuluski—Memories de la Société de Linguistique, Paris, 1921).
- কলিক kalika kalke : bowl ; Ho. kalgi : bowl (made of leaf). The articale seems to have derived

its name from its being of the form of kali(kā) bud, half opened blossom; Dr. possesses a root kal- signifying anything fresh and tender or young, and a host of derivatives to denote, flower-cup, tendril, shoots &c. Burrows in his Dravidic Studies (Bulletin of Asiatic and African Studies 1944) has noted the root. There always remains, of course, the possibility of Dr. adopting it from Austric.

কুট kuṭ

pinch, prick, bite (nibbling); Ho. gutu : prick; kāṭā : to cut? In all probability an echo word suggesting insignificant or minor bites e. g. of ants, small insects &c., whereas, a bite of some force is kāṭ (e.g. scorpion). Another fact to be noted here is the manner of formation of such pairs of means of a sort of ablaut : phut-phāt, khuṭ-khāt, ghuṭ-ghāt (ghat ghat\_kare gela ; to swallow in mouthful gulps) and a host of like instances. In Kol the same process obtains. Being an echo word by nature we find forms with final redundant consonants with a ringing or hissing sound e. g. katan, katas, kutun, kutus kutur, kutur, jatar jatar, jatam jatam &c.

করাত karāt .

saw; Ho. koroto : do ; Skt. karapatra : like so many ingenuous coinings ?

কোট koṭ

side; Ho, kuṭi : do ; cf. also koṭ bajāy rākhā : to stick to one's opinion or view point.

কাড়ি kāri

heaps, many ; Kol. kented : very much ; cf. kādi : bunch (of plantain, cocconut) ; cf. Skt. kāṇḍa.

কুড়ি kuṛi

twenty ; Kol. kuri : do. Influence of Kol counting system has been discussed, P.C.B, (Pre-Ar. & Pre-Dr.)

କଡ଼ା kaṛā	certain measure ; space of finger's breadth ; Kol. katu : finger's breadth. It seems that a cognate Kol word for kari : shell, cowrie exists and that kaṛā stands in ablaut relation to kaṛi ; S. kauri ; Sanskritised kapardaka.
କାଞ୍ଜି, କାଞ୍ଜି kāji, kānji	: rice-water ; Kol. kanji : do.
କାଁକଡ଼ା kākṛā :	crab ; M. karkom, kaṭkom : do.
ଖଡ଼ମ khaṛam	wooden sandal ; M. karpa : kharpa. Birhor. kharpa : sandal or slippers. The word kharpa is used for leg in a deprecatory sense in B. Is khur (hoof)/ kṣura in anyway connected ? cf. khuro : leg of bedstead.
କଡ଼ା kaṛā	strong, stiff ; M. karra : do ; M. karna : hot. pungent (H. karuatel : mustard oil of pungent flavour). One is tempted to take 'cara' as variant though it may have evolved from 'canda'. cf. kaṭṭāra.
କସା kaṣā	bitter, / Skt. kaṣāya ; M. kasa : astringent ; cf. kaṣ : juice produced by pressing some soft thing ; kaṣi : tender seed of green mango ; kaci, kācā : green and Skt. kaṣaya—Burrow assigns a Dr. source.
କଟ୍ଟେ kaṣṭe	pain ; M. kasat : do. In dial. B. we have kaṣṭe meaning 'tight'—a feeling of tightness is somewhat akin to painful sensation ; S. kesed' : close, tight, obstruction.
କିର kira	oath ; M. kiria : do.
କାପାସ kāpās	cotton, / kārpāsa ; M. kasom : cotton ; cf. kasa : a plant with cottonlike blossom. cf. Oriyā kapā cotton.
କାଠା kāṭ(h)ā :	particular land measurement ; M. kat : a measure of grain or land.
କୁଚାନ kũcāna :	to tear into shreds ; Skt. rt. kuñc ; M. keca ; to tear into small pieces ; a piece ; a fraction ; also kũcā, kũci, kũco,

কুয়াসা kuāsā	fog ; M. koasa : do ; Skt. kuhā : dark ; also M. kuhas(i) ; Birh. kuhua ; cf. kokāp, kuhakāp in women's speech. Oriya Kuhuṛi.
কোদো kodo	a kind of grain ; M. kode : do.
কুকি kuki	dumb ; M. koka, kuki : deaf and dumb cf. mukhe kuki deoā (but kuki mere oṅhā : to shout out).
কোটা koṭā	to pound ; M. kote, kutao, kutao, kutam : to hammer ; beat with pestle ; grind ; in Birh. also kutasi : hammer.
কাকা kākā	father's younger brother ; Kh. Ho. M. kaka : do. Though relation-words are less likely for adoption, the commoner words of kinship must have persisted and stayed on.
কৰ্ব্বুর karbbur	: Skt. : spotted ; M. kabar : spotted.
কাঁচা kǎcā	unripe ; M. kaca : do. Oriya kancā kackaci : tiresome quarrel ; M. kac kac : to tease. Also B. khac khac, onomatopoeitic.
কাঁড়া kǎṛā	he-buffalo ; M. kara : buffalo ; kadru : young male buffalo.
কহু kadu	pumpkin ; M. kadua : do.
কাঁকুড় kǎkuru	species of pumpkin ; M. kakru : sweet pumpkin. Oriya kǎkuru
কলু kalu	oilman ; M. kalu, kulhu : oil-press (H. kalhu : oil press)
কলি kali	young shoot of leaf or flower ; M. kalu : leaf-cup ; Skt. kali (kā) The Drav. affinity of the word has been discussed by Burrow in the B.S.O.S. cf dial. piyājkali : young onion shoot.
করমচা karamcā	karanja : a tree seed of its fruit being pressed for oil ; M. karanjo : do.
কড়ার kaṛār	promise ; M. karar : do.

কোড়া kōṛā	bambooshoot; M. karil: do; cf. kuṛi, kuṛmala & the Drav. root kal.
কুড়ে kuṛe	lazy; S. kurhia: do.
কুটিল kuṭil	crooked; Skt. kuṭīla; S. kucel: turn or bend (of a river)
কেকলেস kēkles	numbed with cold or fright; S. kekleset: do. So also kōkrā, kūkri, koṅ(g)ā & kāk (rather than with kṣāp/kampa;) something doubled-up in fright, fatigue or cold.
কাগজি kagji	kind of lemon; S. kagji: do. Derivative of kāgaj, paper. How? place name?
কচটান kacṭāna (caṭkāna)	: to knead; S. kactao: do. Cf. kacṭāna.
কৌদল kōdal/kondal	: quarrel; S. kandor: brawl.
কোয়েল koyel/kokila	: cuckoo; S. kol: do.
কাই kāi	highly strung (in fury); S. kaya: hot-tempered. Cf. kai: tamarind seed; Niya. kaya; green tamarind. Also kēye (mahājan) used for Marwaries.
কোদো kodo	kind of cereal; kodrava? S. kode: do.
কাড়া kāṛā	to clean; husk; S. karao: to clean, husk. Also kāṛā as in goyāl kara: to clean cowshed. 'bhiksar cal kaṛa ar akāṛā' 'no use to look a gift house in the mouth, Cf. bokṛā: rough, coarse (ric); S. akari: uncleaned, unhusked.
খড় khaṛ	straw, paddy; S. ar. In Birbhum 'aur' (Bodding) kb/h/a is characteristic of Santali (Ibid). S. horo: paddy.
খিঁচান khicāna,	khicrana: to vex; irritate; spoil; S. khis; vexation; khijlau: irritate. Cf. khicuni: scolding; khicuni: convulsion; irritation; khace jāoā (slang): become displeased, angry; khisti: calling bad names. to vent anger; M. khis: anger; khisao:

- be angry; kisiao : be angry with ; chide ;  
cf. khisti : bad names, In mukh khisti  
the original idea of 'k (h) is,' distortion  
of facial expression in anger can be  
seen. Cf. khacā, khacuni (slang) ; khēcā :  
distorted ; convulse.
- খিচুড়ি khic(u)ri ; hodge podge ; spoil ; charivaria. S. khecra :  
unfinished ; imperfect. Cf. ādhākhecrā ;  
Skt. kṛsara ? M. khecra : any thing  
badly done.
- খেকুত্তে khēkutte, khekunda : flurried ; dishevelled figure ; S.  
khokndo : ill conditioned. Cf. kheki &  
khākhar. A mental and physical state in  
anger is implied and reflected in this group  
(see Bagchi, Pre-Aryan & Pre-Dravidian  
in India ).
- খাঁচা khācā cage ; S. khaclak : bamboo basket. M.  
k(h)anci, do.
- খাপরি khāpri cranium. head. S. khapri : do. Also khapra  
(1) : head : Skt. kharpara. khāpṛā : potsherd  
is also from the same source ; kholā(m)  
(khora ?), khuli (khuri ?) Cf. māthār khuli.  
khupri : file.
- খুঁটি khūṭi, khuṭi : prop ; rafter ; S. khunti : do.
- খামকা khāmok(h)ā : without cause or reason ; S. khanakha, akha  
nokha : dog. But it is in all likelihood the  
Persian xamxa.
- খাদ khād ditch, mine ; M. khadan : quarry or mine.  
skt. rt. khan
- খাপ khāp sheath ; M. khap : do. 'khapna' : to fit ; M.  
khapao : to fit up a lid or cork. Also khāpi.
- খিল khil bolt ; nail ; M. khila : nail ; pin to prevent  
anything from coming off ; cf. Skt. kilaka :  
wedge.

খিড়কি khirki	back-door ; M. khirki : window ; Pkt. kharakki.
খইল khail,	khol : oil cake ; M. kare : do ; Birhor. kalka ; cf. H. khari.
খেসারি khesāri :	a kind of pulse ; M. khesari : do.
গাড়ল gāral	sheep ; slow and lazy (perhaps figuratively). Also garar ; S. gador : sluggish. Cf. gari in garimasi ; garur gupsa : flat & sleek and lazy.
গাল gāl	brag (gāl galpa) ; abuse (as a semantic sequence of tall talk in Eng.) ; S. gal : brag ; galpa/jalpa/gal (ganda) ?
গোঙ্গা goṅgā	dumb ; S. gungra : do. Also goṅgāni and gumrāni. gheṅgāni : whimper (gheṅāni q.v.) and goṅgā are undoubtedly onomatopoeic.
গুড় gur	molasses ; S. gur : do. Malay. gula : sugar.
গোঁড়া gēṛā	short statured. Cf. gerupai ; Skt. kanduka : ball ; H. ged ; Beng. gendu, gedā (round ball-like flower) ; S. gend : ball. Perhaps there is the idea of smallness attended with rotundity.
গাবাল gābāl	middle ; M. gabha : middle, pith. Also in S. cf. Skt. garbha.
গলান galāna	melt ; M. galao : do.
গালি gāl(i)	to abuse ; M. gali ; do.
গণ্ডা gaṅḍā	anna ; M. ganda : do. Dr. P. C. B. has established the Austric source of the word.
গাঁজা gājā/ganjikā :	hemp ; M. ganja : do.
গঞ্জাড় ganjār	heap (of rubbish) ; M. ganjao : to heap up.
গরুড় garuṛ	a big variety of bird ; M. garua : any big bird.
গোঁজ gōj, gajāl :	wedge ; sharp point ; M. goja : sharpen to a point ; cf. khoc(ā) ; M. gojakan : pointed ; gunj ; nail fixed on top.

গাদা gādā	crowd ; heap ; M. gadel ; multitude ; assemble together. Also gādi : strawheap.
গুতান gūtā(na)	a push as with the elbow ; charging with horns ; M. guṭu : to pierce ; cf. gōt.
গাঁট gāṭ(i)ṭ, gāṭri :	bundle ; Ho. gentri ; bundle of clothes ; Skt. rt. grath : granthi.
গতান gatāna	to give in charge of others ; Ho. gatao : charge, custody. Also gac(h)āna (gaccā ?) Skt. gocara : presence ; notice (?)
গড়িমসি gari(masi, misi) :	procastination ; Ho. gario : late.
গেঁড়ি gēri	snail ? Ho. genda : shell, snail.
গণ্ডা gaṇḍā	four ; anna ; Kol. gonda : do. counting systems have been discussed (Bagchi).
গাগরী gāgari	water pot ; M. gagara : do. H. gagari.
গাপ gāp(pil)	to steal, make one's own (pejorative) ; S. gobol(o) : do.
ঘোচা ghocā	to beat an end ; S. gujuk ; gue (Bodding) = to die.
ঘাট ghāṭ	landing place (tank), crossing ; road ; S. ghāṭ : do. cf. pathghāṭ, āghāṭā, ghāṭi ; S. ghut : village street. We have also ghāṭ : fault ; doṣghāṭ, gunāghāṭi & corresponding S. ghat=crime, mountain range ; M. ghat : elevated range.
ঘানি ghāni	oil press ; M. ghani : do.
ঘণ্টা ghaṅṭā	bell ; M. ghaṅṭā ; do. (Bagchi).
ঘিঞ্জি *ghenji (benji) :	dirty and congested. Also ghūji ; M. gheje-beje-filthy B. gij-gij : close together (in a deprecatory sense) ; galighūji. M. gij-gij : filthy, close together.
ঘুঁজি ghūji	a small room ; M. guji : small room adjoining veranda.
ঘুঁটে ghūṭe	cow-dung cake ; M. goetha : do.

ঘাঁটা <i>ghāṭā, ghōṭā</i> :	to mix ; stir ; M. <i>gaṅṭi</i> : stir with spoon while cooking cf. <i>rt. ghunt</i> ; B. <i>ghaṅṭā</i> : hodge-podge curry.
চেটকা <i>ceṭkā</i>	flat ; S. <i>caṭkā</i> : flat. cf. <i>ceṭā, ceṭāla</i> .
চাঁদি <i>cādi</i>	pate ; M. <i>cadra</i> : bald head ; S. <i>cadri</i> : do.
চালা <i>cālā, cāluni</i> :	sieve ; M. <i>cala</i> ; S. <i>cala</i> : do. H. <i>calni</i> . But <i>rt. cal/IE *gwel</i> . Gk. <i>tel</i> whence 'cal' is a causative formation 'cause to move'.
চাঁচ <i>cāc(h)ā</i>	to peel off ; scrape ; M. <i>ceca</i> : broken or torn ; tear into pieces. cf. <i>coca</i> : massage ; <i>checa</i> : to smash.
চাঁটা <i>cāṭā</i>	to lick : M. <i>ceped</i> : to lick ; suck ; see <i>ceṭā</i> .
চেপটা <i>ceṭā</i>	flat ; M. <i>cepo, ceped</i> : do. (H. <i>cāpta &amp; ca ati</i> ) see <i>cipā, cāpā</i> ; <i>cābrā</i> : slab.
চেটো <i>ceṭo</i>	palm ; M. <i>cetan</i> : upon, above, upper. Cf. <i>cit</i> .
চিমটা <i>cimṭā</i>	pincers ; M. <i>cimta</i> : -do-. cf. <i>cimṭi</i> .
ছোড়া <i>chōṛā</i>	urchin ; S. <i>kora</i> : -do-. Also <i>cho (k) ra</i> .
ছাল <i>chāl</i>	skin ; bark ; peel ; S. <i>chal</i> : bark ; H. <i>khal</i> .
ছাড়া <i>chāṛā</i>	let loose, exempt ; S. <i>chad</i> : do.
ছোবড়া <i>chobṛā</i>	husk ; Kol. <i>cōpra</i> : do. of <i>Beng-chibṛā</i>
জোঁদা <i>jodā</i>	sour. Ho. <i>jojo</i> ; do ; M. S. BIR. <i>jojo</i> : acid ; tamarind.
জড়িবিড়ি <i>jaṛibuṛi</i> :	medicinal herbs ; M. <i>jaribuṛi</i> : do.
জড় <i>jaṛ</i>	root ; M. <i>jer, jeir</i> : do ; Kh. <i>jud</i> : do. Skt. <i>jaṛa</i> .
জোক <i>jok</i>	(as in <i>māpjok</i> ; <i>lekhājok (h) ā</i> ?) : measure ; M. S. <i>jok (a)</i> : to measure compare.
জুলি <i>julī, jol (i)</i> :	ditch, sheet of water ; Kol. <i>jol</i> : stretch of water ; Malto. <i>jola</i> ; also met with in our place names. Is it connected with <i>jal</i> : water ? Cf. <i>jok</i> ; Skt. <i>jalikā, jalaukā &amp;c.</i> : leech : Malto : <i>jolo</i> : do. (Pre-Ar. & Pre-Dr.)

জুড়ান <i>jurāna</i>	to get cool ; cf. <i>jrana</i> : to take rest ; <i>jur</i> : shady place ; Malto. <i>juda</i> : shade ; Malay. <i>teduh</i> : do.
ঝুল <i>jhul</i>	length ; S. <i>jhal</i> : long. Cf. <i>jholā</i> : hang.
ঝিক <i>jhik</i>	small iron bars (as in grating, stove) ; S. porcupine
ঝাড় <i>jhār</i>	bush, grove ; S. <i>jaher</i> : do. Also <i>jhor</i> , <i>jhop</i> , <i>jhāp</i> .
ঝাল <i>jhāl</i>	pungent ; strong ; S. <i>jāhla</i> : strong (heat, fever, thirst, &c) agony ; severe ; oppressive, distressed. Cf. <i>jhāl</i> , <i>jhālā</i> in <i>jhālāpālā</i> . Oriya <i>jhala</i> : hot
ঝগড়া <i>jhagṛā</i>	quarrel ; S. <i>jhogra</i> : do.
ঝলক <i>jhalak (āna)</i> :	to flash, burn ; M. <i>jhalkao</i> : do ; cf. <i>jval</i> ; <i>jhalsā(na)</i> : to burn, sing ; Kh. <i>jholay</i> : do.
ঝাণ্ডা <i>jhāṇḍā</i>	flag ; M. S. <i>jhanda</i> : do.
ঝাঁঝি <i>jhāñjhri</i>	grating ; sieve ; M. <i>ghanjha</i> : do. We have <i>jhāñhrā</i> : pierced with holes.
ঝাপটা <i>jhāpṭā</i>	to swoop down to catch ; dashing storm or rain ; M. <i>jhaptao</i> : do ; cf. <i>jāpṭāna</i> : to enfold tightly in arms ; <i>sāpaṭ</i> , <i>sāpṭāna</i> : vehemence, to catch tightly by hands. The idea of abrupt swift motion towards is contained in the soundgroup 'jhāp.'
ঝিঙা <i>jhingā</i>	a kind of vegetable ; <i>jinga</i> : (Kol) : do. cf. <i>cocomga</i> ; M. <i>jhinga</i> : cucumber.
ঝুমকো <i>jhumko</i>	tuft, tassel ; a kind of ornament M. <i>jhompa</i> : cluster ; Malto. <i>jumka</i> : ornament for ear.
ঝুপড়ি <i>jhupṛi</i>	low hut ; M. <i>jhupri</i> : do ; cf. <i>jhupsi</i> : low narrow room ; H. <i>jhopri</i> : hut.
ঝুরি <i>jhuri</i>	downward growth from trees cf. <i>jhuri bhājā</i> ; the confection resembling <i>jhuri</i> ; M. <i>jhuri</i> : twigs.

- ঝোল jhol soup ; Kh. jol : oil ; (S. Kh. jal : to lick, Malto. jori : decoction of meat, soup. Cf. nāljol : saliva ; Kol. jilu rasi : soup.
- ঝাঁকড়া jhākra curlyhaired ; leafy. Malto. jekro : curly bristly ; cf. cakra : tatters (having a worn-out and spreading look ?) It is, we think, to be ultimately traceable to Kol. jhar : bush, with -k- infix. cf. Beng. jhār-bushy growth.
- ঝড় jhar storm ; Kol jhar : do ; Skt. jhaṭikā ; Malto. jateke : storm. Note a mild breeze : jhir jhir bātās ; see also jhar jhāpṭā.
- ঝুঁটি jhūṭi tuft of hair on head tucked in a knot ; M. cuta ub (cf. ubdo jhūti ; khopa). Bir. curcutia : tuft of hair on crown of head. Kol. cutkae : summit, cf. curā : peak ; hair done in particular toilet, is a congeneric. Note caitan cuṭki.
- তৌলা ṭolā parish ; S. tola : inhabited place, village. Also ṭuli : mostly in toponomy : ṭol : temporary lodging ; old fashioned schools of pundits ; cf. tallāṭ : neighbourhood, neighbouring places. Then we have in so many place names <'talā' ?
- তালি ṭāngi axe ; S. tāngā. Also ṭāngā, (meaning 'foot' also as a variant of theng q. v.) Cf. ṭāngas' : pointed iron bar for goading elephants.
- তাতি ṭāṭi fence ; M. tati : do.
- তাঁতরা ṭāṭrā utensil (brass) ; Kol. ṭhāṭrā : brass wares ; H. ṭhaṭera ; dealer of brass wares.
- তুপ ṭup, ṭub : dip ; Kol. tubu : dip into water ; topa : submerge ; cf. ḍub, cub ; dip ; ṭub ṭube, full to the brim (juice, pus &c.) ṭai ṭambur is another derivative ; M. tipa : a drop ; our

- tip, tep : round carbon-heads on wick of lamps, tebo (gāl) chubby may be noted. In this connection are reminded of top (ar), topā (na) group (bait, headgear ; drop, drip) cf. topā kul all suggesting the shape of driblets, something roundish. See topar.
- টুটি tūṭi throat ; Ho. uṭuṭoa ; gullet ; Kol. totra : interior of (ṭākrā : soft palate ?) ; cf. Skt. tuṇḍa.
- টোকা toka round hat parasol made of palm leaves and split bamboo ; a round bamboo basket ; cf. tukri ; Kol. tuka : do ; M. tonki : elongated bamboo basket ; S. tupri : hat ; M. tupa : small bamboo basket ; (see tup) ; Ho. tupuri : hat ; we have ṭupi topar, ghera top, tik (a variant of tip), ṭikā (tilaka).
- টেকা teka to last ; M. tikao : do ; cf. the semantic evolution in tekaḍay ; impossible to stay.
- টিলা tilā mound ; M. tilha : do.
- টেপ tep stitch ; M. tipan : sew.
- টুকি tuki stitch ; M. tukui : do ; cf. tukiṭāki.
- টাটান ṭāṭāna to smart ; have pain ; Kh. ṭaṭay : do.
- টাটকা ṭāṭkā fresh ; Malto. tatka : do. Oriya taṭkā.
- ঠেকা theṅgā stick ; S. ṭheṅgā : do ;
- ঠেক thek (no) prop ; S. ṭāghen : do.
- ঠিক ṭhik right. just : proper ; S. ṭhik : do. Also ṭhikānā.
- ঠিকুর ṭhik (k) ur strong sun ; Kh. theker : gentle heat of sun ; M. ṭhikāri : to bake in the sun ; midday ; S. tikin : do ; cf. reaction to strong heat,
- ঠেকান thekāna to stop ; S. tekaō ; M. tekaō : do. see above 'thek'.

- ଠେଟା *ṭhēṭā*                    mischievous, pert, S. M., *thenta* : do ; cf. *ṭēṭi* : disobedient ; Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* ; S. M. *tethra* : obstinate, disobedient ; cf. *tēdar*, *chechṛā*, *ṭēṭe* .
- ଠାଠା *ṭhāṭṭā*                    fun, Kol. *ṭhāṭhā* : do, Oriya *thāṭhā*
- ଠେଲା *ṭhela*                    push ; Kol. *ṭ (h) el* : do,
- ଠୋକା *ṭhokā*                    to tap, strike against ; Ho. *taki, toke* : hit against. A host of words with the phonetic element *ṭ (h) ak*, *ṭ (h) ek*, *ṭ (h) ok*, *ṭ (h) uk* &c. are presumably of imitative origin. Cf. *ṭhōkar* : pecking. M. *thokrao* ; to peck. stumbling
- ଠିକା *ṭhikā, ṭhike* :            contract ; not in regular pay roll ; M. *ṭhikā* : do.
- ଠୋନା *ṭhona*                    to strike at the cheek ; M. *ṭhone* : to break, hit ; see *ṭhokā*
- ଠାର *ṭhār (ṭhor)* :            to hint at M. *ṭhor* : to know, understand. Also *ṭhāhar*, *ṭhāor*.
- ଠକାନ *ṭhakā(na)* :            to be cheated : *ṭhak*, *ṭhag* : cheat ; *ṭhagi* : thugs ; Kol. *ṭhaga* : do ; Malto *ṭhagya* : to deceive or cheat.
- ଠୁଟା *ṭhūṭā, ṭhūṭo* :            maimed hand ; also *theti* : cloth worn by widows. Kol. *ṭuṭo* ; *ṭuṭa* (Malto) : short : maimed. *ṭuṭi* : cut off (as a tail) ; *tutwa* : maimed person, a leper.
- ଢାବର *ḍābar*                    a brass vessel ; M. *ḍubri* : do.
- ଢୁଞ୍ଜଳ *ḍunḍul*                    small owl ; M. *ḍunḍu* : owl ; Malto. *ḍunḍo* : do.
- ଢୁରି, ଢୋର *ḍuri, ḍor* :            plaited thread ; M. *ḍuria* : do.
- ଢାଂ *ḍāṅ*                            to heap up in a place ; M. *ḍiṅg* ; to collect, accumulate.
- ଢାଂ *ḍæṅ*                            to lop off or sever at a stroke ; Kh. *ḍeg* ; to cut with one stroke.

ডোকা ḍoṅgā	scooped out canoe ; Kol ḍoṅgā : do ; also ḍiṅgā, ḍiṅgi.
ডেরা ḍerā	lodge ; Ho, derā : do Hindi ?
ডোবা ḍobā	small pond ; Ho. ḍobe : mud ; M. ḍobhā ; pond ; ḍobe : to dip in water ; cf. ḍub : dip in water.
ডালি ḍāli	basket ; Kh. ḍāli : do. of. ḍālā.
ডবকা ḍabkā	boiled soup ; Kol. ḍobkao : to boil.
ডাগর ḍāgar :	grown up, big ; M. ḍāgar : large body.
ডুমা ḍumā	clod ; big slice M. ḍembā, ḍhembā : do ; cf. ḍāmā : big species of rat, Kol. ḍ (h) omp/b stood for bigness. We have dhumbo, dhāmbā, dhumso &c.
ডেবরা ḍebra	big eyed ; M. ḍheb ḍhebe, ḍhebra : pot-bellied ; cf. ḍhipuā : something big ; double-piece. In Oriya too.
ডাঁটা ḍāṭā	stalk ; twig like fruit of trees ; M. dhātkā : twig of trees ; dhātā : stump of trees.
ডুলি ḍuli	litter ; M. ḍoli ; a sort of palanquin.
ডোম ḍom	a low caste ; M. dom : do ; ḍomrā : a defiled man ; of. ḍoṅgrā ḍongrā.
ডিগ—ḍig (bāji) :	to vault over ; Malto. ḍeg : space, step cf. ḍiṅgāna : to jump over.
ডাঙ্গা ḍāṅgā	elevation (as opposed to low-land) ; high-land ; Malto. ḍāṅgā : do.
ডেঁপো ḍēpo	false ; pert ; Malto. ḍāpā : do.
ডগী ḍagi	big species of duck ; Malto. ḍogā : long shanked (with ref. to birds.)
ঢেউ ḍheu	wave ; S. ḍheo : do.
ঢের ḍher	much, S. ḍher : do.
ঢপ ḍhap	shape, form ; S. ḍhob : do ; H. ḍhab.
ঢালা ḍhālā	to pour ; S. ḍul : do ; H. ḍālā.

- ঢেঁকি *ḍheki* husking machine ; Kol. *ḍheŋki* : do.
- ঢিল, ঢেলা *ḍhil (ḍhelā)* lump ; stone ; Kol. *ḍiri* : stone.
- ঢিপা, ঢিপি *ḍhipā ḍhipi*, mound Ho. *ḍipi* : slightly raised ; S. *dhompo* : heap (of earth).
- ঢেঙ্গা *ḍheṅgā* tall ; lanky ; M. *ḍahṅgā* : very long.
- ঢুড়া *ḍhurā* to look for, search ; M. *ḍahrā* : do ; Pkt. *ḍhunḍa* ; S. *ḍhunḍhan* : do, *dhāndhā* one's own business (lit. look-out) must be the same ; H. *ḍhurnā*.
- ঢাকা *ḍhākā* to cover ; M. *ḍhākāo* : do.
- ঢাল *ḍhāl* shield ; M. *ḍhāl* : do.
- ঢাল *ḍhal* gush of water, spill ; slope ; M. *ḍharkāo* ; do. A derivative of *dhālā* (q v.)
- ঢেকুর *ḍhekur* belching ; M. *dhekar* : belch ; cf. *ḍhekār* or *ḍheko* *haoā* : to get satiated (So as not to have further relish for food).
- ঢেরা *ḍherā* hand-spindle ; M. *dhera* : do.
- ঢেস *ḍhes (deoā)* : to implicate someone ; M. *dhes* : do.
- ঢিলা *ḍhilā* to loosen ; M. *dhil (ang)* : to loose, neglect.
- ঢিমা *ḍhimā* slow ; M. *dhimā* : mild ; H. *dhimā*.
- ঢোল *ḍhol* drum ; Kol. *ḍhol* : do.
- ঢুলুঢুলু *ḍhulu (ḍhulu)* : drowsy ; M. *ḍholomolo* : do.
- ঢুঁসো *ḍhūso* lazy ; M. *dhoso, dhopso* : do. Also *ḍhepsā* : fat and idle.
- দামড়া *dāmṛā* bullock ; S. *dangra* : do.
- দৌড় *daur* run ; S. *dar, dar* : do.
- দালা *dālā, ḍalā* : massage, rub. S. *dal* : strike ; Skt. *dalan* : to suppress.
- দাক *dāk/da* water, mud & water, muddy water (*dak*) ; S. *da (k)* : water ; cf. *dā, da, daha (dahra/hrada) ḍahar (deep)*.
- দুঁদে *ḍūde* impetuous ; brave ; active ; S. *dundha* : strongminded, acute, smart, alert, brave.

- দহ da (ha) big stretch of waters ; Ho. da-hora : water channel ; cf. hor : muddy ; pool. horā : to wallow in water ; da hora may mean watery path ; hor in Kol meaning way ; da (water) is common to Kol. B. dak, dāk : mud and water ; Skt. udaka, dial. B has 'had' meaning marshy water. However, the 'da' in our place names like Siyāldā point to an non-Aryan source. See dāk above.
- ধাড়ি dhāṛi elderly, grown up ; S. adher : elderly, stricken in years, past prime (men and animals) ; nearly worn out. Also dhere, dhāmrā, dhumro, suggestion of 'corpulence' ; and dhārā : head-gear ? dhuddhuṛi : dangling ; trunk of body ; dhuddhuṛe : almost threadbare cloth.
- নেও neo- very soft and juicy (a variety of jack fruit) as if molten ; S. le : to melt, dissolve ; cf. lei : gum ; paste. Is 'neya' (neyāpāti : tender cocoanut) connected (nava ?) Dial. 'lel, lel' : somewhat fluid and sticky e. g. mucuous must be affiliated here. Note neyā kāṭhāl.
- নাড়া nārā the root of paddy left uncut in the fields ; Kol nada : dō. Oriya narā : straw.
- নিচুরা nicurā to squeeze ; M. nicura : do. cf. niṅṅrāna.
- নেংচান neṅchāna : to limp ; Kh. leca : to walk like a lame one. Also leṅ leṅgei, leṅgra &c. with an initial n alternating with l.
- পাণ paṅ four ; S. pon (ea) : do ; cf. paune, po(ya)
- পিচুন picu (n) wee, tiny. A nursery word ; S. picnuc : do. I have heard a mother fondling her baby as 'amar picuti' : my wee thing, in Midnapore. Cf. Skt. pisu : a small

- worm. B. pucke, micke, pūṭi, phucke, phacke.
- পাড় pā (hā)ṛ hill ; embankment ; S. pahar : hillock.
- পেটা peṭā beat ; S. pitet : strike and clean cotton with a bow ; B. peja ? ( pinj)
- পাগার pagār ditch ; Skt. prakāra ; M. pagar : drain ; Noted by Bagchi Malay. pagar : fence ; S. pagar : ditch. pākṛāna : to get hold of (lit. to surround as with pagār ? ) to fence round.
- পাঁড় pāṛ expert, veteran ; ripe, mature (pāṛ śasā) ; pāṛe (pāṛdā) headman, a surname, leader ; M. pahanr : village priest ; is pandu (c. v.) related ? cf. M. paṇḍu : grey-haired. cf. Skt paṇḍita.
- পালি pāli a measure of grain ; M. paila : do.
- পাটি pāṭi mat M. pati : do ; cf. śītal-pāṭi.
- পটকান paṭkān to dash against ; M. patkas : to throw on the ground ; cf. paṭkā.
- পিলপে pilpe pillar (generally, boundary) ; Ho. pilpai : do ; But Pers. pil (elephant) + pai (leg) and pilsuj : lamp-stand.
- পুসি pusi she-cat ; Ho. pusi : do ; cf. Eng. puss ; In all likelihood a designation formed from the sound made in calling the animal as in the case in several other occasions, and may have been invented in nurseries.
- পাট pāṭ fold ; Ho. pate : fold round. Connected words in Bengali are paṭ (ṭ) i, pāṭ (ṭ) ā, paṭi, and perhaps peṭi with its variant pheṭi, peṭo (of chignon) peṭo (endfolding) outer bark of plantain tree) ; peṭikā, peṭrā enclosure for things ;
- ফুস্কুড়ি phuskurī : pimples ; Ho. S. pusri : do ; phoska : blister ; Kh. poksa : do ; Here kuri / kunda ? cf.

	bijkuṛi, ḡimkuṛi : small eruptions (source of seed, eggs)—so pujkuṛi : source of pus.
পিঁড়া piṛā	wooden seat ; M. pindri, penda ; bottom, base of anything ; also piṛi ; Skt. piṛhikā ; cf. paiṭhā.
পুঁটলি puṭ (u) li	bundle ; S. putri : do ; M. potom : do ;
পেটি peti (kā)	box (generally of cane) Skt. peṭika ; Kol. peti : bamboo basket with lid on : cf. peṭrā noted elsewhere. Also 'peṭe', a kind of basket.
পিচকারি pickāri	syringe ; M. pheckā : do ; cf. pic, pik : spitting ; p (h) ac, pheckāna : to speak incessantly spluttering.
পলকা palkā	soft ; light ; M. pholok : do.
পেট peṭ	belly ; Kol. pit : do ; Pkt. poṭṭa.
পৌঁটা poṭā	intestines ; M. pota : do ;
ফোটান phoṭāna	to make into a paste ; make frothy ; S. photo : foam ; M. phetao : beat and mix.
ফসকান phaskāna	to slip away ; M. paskao, phuckao : to escape ; cf. phas (kā) : loose (adj.)
ফাঁসি phās (i)	noose ; hanging ; M. phāsi : do.
ফাঁক phāk	open space ; M. phank : do.
ফাঁদ phād	trap ; M. phanda : do ; cf. phandi.
ফাড়া phārā	to tear ; take out ; S. phara : transplant ; also pheṛā ; phālā : rent ; phāli : slice ; Apabh. phalla.
ফাঁড়া phārā	to tear ; M. phara : cut into pieces ; cf. phālā, phāli : piece.
ফড়ফড় phaṛ-phaṛ :	to talk rapidly, glibly ; M. phar phar : do. A mimetic word. So also phis, phus-phās.
ফোকড় phokkar (i) :	pert, jesting ; S. phukti : jest ; also phakaṭ : gratis (jestingly lot). Cf. phasṭinaṣṭi : fun,

বাদাম bādām	sail, S. badom : do. Pers. badban ?
বাসি bāsi	stale, left overnight : Kol. basi : do ; cf. Skt. vāsita : preserved.
বেড়ে beṛe	fine, excellent ; Kol. bedeken : very, much ; connected with baṛa : big ?
বিঘত bighat :	palm's breadth ; Kol. bita : span.
বদাল badāl	a kind of fish. Also boyāl ; S. badhor : do. Cf. byadan, badan/ rt. bad ?
বাদ bād	alteration, enmity ; S. badot : full out inimical.
বাড়ন bārān	broom ; S. barhon : do.
বাতা bātā	lattice work, cross laths on roof ; S. bata : do.
বাথান bāthān	temporary cattlefold out in the field ; S. bathan ; do.
বাট bāṭ	handle : S. bat : do.
বাদা bādā	third class low land ; M. badi : do.
বোনি bauni	first cash sale for the day ; S. pohna, M. bohni : do.
বোকা boṅkā	spirit . Kol boṅkā : do.
বোঁতা boltā	wasp ; M. bor : do.
বোঁচা bōcā	snub-nosed ; maimed ; deffective ; M. buca : do.
বুড়ান buṛāna	to fill a vessel by deeping it into water ; Kol. bura : do.
বড়া baṛā	pulse cake ; M. buru : do.
বুক buk	chest ; Kol. buka : the heart.
বকরা, বকরি bakrā, bakri	male and female sex of goats ; cf. Kh. bakra (merom) : he-goat.
বেদো bedo	naughty (pejorative) ; Kol. bedo : slanderous.
বিট (হুন) biṭ (nun)	a kind of salt ; M. bulung ; Kh. bilung : do. Note the final syllable-lung-lun, nun, Skt. lavana,

বিনান bināna	to pleat ; cf. Col. biniur : winding
বেঁড়ে bēre	tailless S. baora : dwarf ; In Ho. & Kharia tailless = bandia.
বাকস bākās	bakas tree ; S. bakos : do.
বাজরা bājra	kind of millet ; S. bajra : do.
বোঝা bojhā	load ; S. bojha : do.
খুঁটি khūṭi	kitchen knife ; S. binthi : do.
বাবা bābā	father ; S. baba : do. Also bāp, bāpa, bāpu, bābu &c. Though relation-words in IA are less likely to be of extraneous origin, nevertheless some such common appella- tions of relationship as dādā, kākā, māmā (q. v.) the converted non-Aryans could not forsake and forego in their adopted speeches. Also S. opu, M. aba. Oriya : bāpā, apā.
বাছা bāchā	to separate and choose ; S. bachao : seek out.
বাটি bāṭi	cup ; S. bati : do.
বড় baṛ	straw rope ; S. bor : do. Cf. biṛā (q. v.)
বাঁচা bāñcā	live, save ; M. ba (n) cao : save, protect ; S. do ; H. bachā.
বির bir	(in place names like Birbhum, Birhāṭā, Birāibpur &c. &c.) is the Kol bir : forest.
বোকড়া bokṛā bogṛā	grain (generally rice) of inferior quality, coarse variety ; S. bagar : mixed, impure, not of quality ; confuse ; spoil by bringing other matters in ; of bāgṛā : hinder, bigṛāna : to spoil ; get spoiled or heady.
হুলো hulo	cat (male).; Kol. hor (o) : man, of which Kol-man is a transformation ( The study of Kol—The Calcutta, Sept. 1323—Dr. S. K. C.) ; See kolā ; cf. hol : testicles, and hul : sting ?

হাঁচি hāci	sneeze ; Ho. acu : sneeze ; M. accu : do ; onomatopoetic like heu (belching), hāi (yawning) met with in Kol as well as in Bengali.
হাবজা hābjā	(with the 'jingle' gobjā) : concoction, pot- pourri. So. abjor : litter, rubbish, encum- brance ; cf. Skt. a—barjja (ābarjanā : cast- out things).
হোঁতকা hōtkā	fat and hairy (i. e. of fear-provoking appearance). S. hodgo : shaggy.
হাড় hār	bone : S. hor : body, man ; H. haḍḍi ; Apabh. haḍḍa.
হাঙ্গর hāṅgar	shark Kh. mangor : alligator.
হামা hāmā	to walk on all fours (for children) ; Ho. omba : go on hands and knees.
হাড়গিলা hāṅgila	kind of heron ; Ho. hedegile : wild duck.
হুড়কা huṛkā	bolt for doors ; M. hurka : do.
হাঁ hā,	mouth, mouthed ; Kol. a : mouth ; au : mouthed. Onomatopœtic ? Cf. ab gheṭa : to swallow ?
হোঁদল hōdal	black of (hōdal kutkuti) Kol. hende : black.
হাড়া hā(b)ṛā	old (in the translation compound buṛo- hā(b)ṛā) ; S. haram : old man ; hapram : ancestor ; mare-hapramko-reak kathā.
হাঁকার hāḱā(ṛ)	shout ; Skt. hakka ; Also dial. hāḱrāna : bellow ; S. hakrao : do.
হাট hāt/ haṭṭa (in haṭṭagol)	: market place ; S. hat : do.
হাল hal, hāl	ploughshare , S. hal : iron tyre ; cf. āl : ironpoint.
হাপর hāpor	to grow a plant in a particular well tended place ; S. aphor : do.
হাবা hābā	dumb, dull, stupid ; S. æbaha : raw, stupid



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# Study of some interesting linguistic forms in Saraha's Dohākoṣa (I)

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This paper is an attempt to explain the grammatical functions of some linguistic forms in Saraha's Dohākoṣa. All the words and forms discussed here are from the text edited and published by P. C. Bagchi (Calcutta, 1938). I have also utilized "DOHĀ-KOṢA" as edited by Pandit R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana and published by Bihar-Rāṣṭrabhāṣā-Pariṣad (Patna, 1957); "A MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN READER" edited by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee and Dr. Sukumar Sen and published by Calcutta University (1957); and Dr. M. Shahidullah's English translation of "The DOHĀKOṢA of SARAHA" (published by Dacca University).

According to Dr. M. Shahidullah's description, Saraha was a Brahmin, but latter on became one of the Mahasiddhas of Tibetan Buddhism being converted to Tantric Buddhism. He is also said to have been once in the country of Rajni in Eastern India and a contemporary of King Ratnapala of Assam (1010-1050 A.D.).

The oldest manuscript of the Dohākoṣa hitherto known to us is the fragmentary manuscript of the Darbar Library dated 221 N. S. (1101 A. D.) which Dr. P. C. Bagchi found during his stay in Nepal in 1929. But we can not give any proof of it whether Saraha himself wrote this Dohākoṣa. It is more probable rather that one of his disciples wrote and compiled the teachings which Saraha used to preach to his disciples as well as to the public.

Anyway it is not so unreasonable for us to postulate that Saraha's Dohākoṣa might have been written in the language which was influential among the common people in the 11-12th century and characteristic of the Eastern dialect of those days.

## (1) -ehi ( Inst. ending used for Nom. )

I. O. In the text of Saraha's Dohakoṣa we find seven words ended in -ehi.

## (A) 1st verse 1st line

Bag. (1)	vamhaṇehi	ma	jānanta	hi	bheu
Śās. (2)	vamhaṇe	hi	na	jānanta	bheḍau
Sām. (3)	bramhaṇem	hi	ma	jānantahi	bheu
Com. (4)	brāhmaṇā	na	jānanti		bhedam
Bag ST. (5)	brāhmaṇā	na	jānanti	hi	bhedam
Sām. HT. (6)	brāhmaṇa	na	jānate		bhada
Sha. ET. (7)	by Brahmins not knowing the mystery				

## (B) 6th verse 3rd line

Bag.	khavaṇehi	jāṇa	viḍam(vi)a	vesē	
Śās.	khavana	hi	jāna	viḍamvia	vesē
Sām.	khavaṇehim	jāṇa	viḍambia	besem	
Com.	kṣapaṇakena	mārga	viḍambitam		
Bag. ST.	kṣapaṇakaiḥ	mārga	viḍambita	veśena	
Sām. HT.	kṣapaṇaka	jñāna -	viḍambita	bhese	
Sha. ET.	The Jaina monks mock at the Vehicle by their dress				

## (C) 51st verse 2nd line

Bag.	vakkhāṇa	paḍhantehi	jagani	ṇa	jāṇiu	sojjha
Dar. (8)	vakkhāṇa	paḍantehi	jagahi	ṇa	jāṇiu	sejjha
Śās.	bakkhāṇa	paḍhantehi	jagahim	ṇa	jāṇiu	sojjha
Sām.	vakkhāṇanta	paḍhantāṇia	jagahim	ṇiā-ṇia	sojjha	
Com. (lokāḥ)	vyākhyānam (kurvanti) paḥhanti / jagat , saṃsārasya ajñānāt					
Bag. ST.	vyākhyānam paḥhadabhiḥ jagatyām na jñāyate śodhyam					
Sām HT.	bakhānamte paḍhante nija jagahim nijānija sojhu					
Sha. ET.	The world while reading the explanation has not known the straight way					

## (D) 56th verse 1st line

- Bag. guru-uvaesē amia-rasu dhāvahi ṇa pīau **jehi**  
 Śās. guru-uva eso amia-rasu havahī ṇa pīau **jehi**  
 Sha. guru-uva esaha amia-rasu dhāvahi ṇa pīau **jehi**  
 Sām. guru-vaana-amia-rasa dhavahiṃ ṇa pīviau **jahi**  
 Com. gurūpadeśam amṛtarasaṃ (mahāvegena) paridhāvita  
 tayā yaiḥ (kāpuruṣaiḥ) na pītaṃ  
 Bag. ST. gurūpadeśena amṛtaraso dhāvīyate na pīyate yaiḥ  
 Sām. HT. guru ke vacana amiyarasa dhāi na pīyeu yehi  
 Sha. ET. He, who does not drink the juice of nectar quickly  
 at the instruction of the guru.

## (E) 56th verse 2nd line

- Bag. vahu satthattha marutthalihī tisie marīau **tehi**  
 Śās. vahu satthattha marusthalihimī tisie marīthau **tehi**  
 Dar. vahu satthattha marutthalihī tisie maricau **tehi**  
 Sām. bahu sātthāttha-marutthalihimī tisīa maribbo **ttehim**  
 Com. bahu saṃghāta marusthalīṣu tṛṣitaṃ (pānīyarahita  
 tayā) tatra  
 Bag. ST. bahu śāstrāttha marusthalīṣu tṛṣṇayā mriyate taiḥ  
 Sām. HT. bahu śāstrārtha-marusthale tṛṣite maribo tehi  
 Sha. ET. He dies of thirst in the desert of many explana-  
 tions of scriptures

## (F) 84th verse 1st line

- Bag, gharavai khajjai gharīñ**ehi** jahī desahi aviāra  
 Śās. Sha. gharavai khajjai gharāṇi ehi jahi deśahi avviāra  
 Com. gharapati bhakṣaṇaṃ kriyate svagharaṇī (ca kṛtam)  
 yatra deśe (pīṭhādīṣu paśyāmaḥ / 1dṛśam) avicāritaṃ  
 Bag. ST. gṛhapatih khādati gṛhanyā yasmin deśe avicāram  
 Sha. ET. In the country where there is this injustice that  
 the husband is eaten by the wife

(1) Bag...P. C. Bagchi's reading: Dohā-koṣa, Calcutta Sanskrit Series, Calcutta, 1938.

(2) Śās.—M. H. Śāstri's reading: Dohā-koṣa of Saraha (variant reading, ibid.)

(3) Sām.—R. Sāmkrṭyāyana's reading: Dohā-koṣa, Patna, 1957.

- (4) Com.—Commentator's Sanskrit translation in the Bagchi's text.  
 (5) Bag. ST.—Bagchi's Sanskrit translation  
 (6) Sām. HT.—Sāmkrtyāyana's Hindi translation  
 (7) Sha. ET.—Shahidullah's English translation  
 (8) Dar.—Manuscript in the Darbar Library (variant reading in the text)

I. I. Bag., Śās., and Sām. seem to agree in taking the word of the 1st verse as Nom, while Sha. translates it in the Instrumental case. If we follow Śās's reading, we are to take **hi** as emphatic particle and **vamhane** as Nominative. This Nominative ending **-e** (a-stem, mc. sg.) appears predominantly in the Eastern dialects (1) and sporadically in the North-Western dialects.

eg. Asoka Inscr. (D. J. K. T. M. S.), Pali, Prakrit,—jane Ceylon Inscr.—pute ; Niya Pkt. —kitae (C. G.-MIA. (2) p. 54) ; Amg., Mg., —putte PG. (3) p. 251)

(1) Bengali and Assamese Nominative affix has the characteristic affix **-e**. Instances are exceedingly common in Old Bengali of the Caryā's and in Middle Bengali of all periods. In the Old Prāaja or eastern speech of the first MIA period, the OIA Nom. mc. & nt. affixes <-ah,-am> both become <-e>. (O. D. B. L. P. 740)

(2) CG-MIA.—Sukumar Sen : Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan, Calcutta, 1951

(3) PG.—R. Pischel ; Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, Strassburg, 1900

However we can hardly find out such an example of the word ended in-ehi or-em as used in the Nominative case, while we can easily show many words ended in the same being used in the Instrumental case,

eg. Inst.sg. : Ap. kāleṃ (CG.-MIA., p. 55). putteṃ, puttẽ (P.G., p.247)

Inst.pl. : Asoka Inscr. śatehi ; Khar. D. amitrehi ; Andhra Inscr. parihārehi ; Niya Pkt. puṭradhidarehi ; Pali dhammehi ; Pkt. sabbāvehi—(CG.-MIA, p. 57)

M., Amg., JM., JŚ. **puttehi**, **hi<sub>m</sub>**, **-hī**; S., Mg.,  
**puttehi<sub>m</sub>**; Ap. **puttahim**, **-hī**, **-hi**, **puttehi<sub>m</sub>**, **-hī**,  
**hi**—(PG. p. 248)  
**vacchehi**(<sub>m</sub>)—(G.Pkt.L., 4 p. 48)

4. G, Pkt. L.—D. C. Sircar : A. Grammar of the Prakrit language, Calcutta, 1943.

1. 2. -em and -ehi can be traced back to the Vedic Instrumental ending -ena (sg.) and -ebhis(pl.) respectively. In Vedic -ais and -ebhis are both used for Instr. pl. mc. (a-stem); eg. priyais, priyebhis. According to Macdonell and Wackernagel, the ending -ais is slightly commoner than -bhis in the R̥gveda (666 times being made from 221 stems vs. 543 times being made from 211 stems) and in Atharvaveda the former is 5 times as frequent as the latter (263 vs. 53) (VG. 1) p. 261; AG. (2) p. 105). And Wackernagel states that -ais is used with Noun, while -bhis with Adjective and Pronoun (AG. p. 106).

Referring to other Indo-European languages, we can only attest that \*-ōis(>āis) occurs only \*ō-(>ā-) stem, while -\*bhis with any other stem (G. V. G. (3) II, p. 263-267). But the functional allotment of -\*ōis and -\*bhis in those languages is not so clear as that of -āis and -bhis in Vedic.

1. VG.—A. A. Macdonell : Vedic Grammar, Strassburg, 1910
2. AG.—J. Wackernagel & A. Debrunner : Altindische Grammatik, Göttingen, 1930
3. G.V.G.—K. Brugmann & B. Delbrück : Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen, Strassburg, 1906.

IE.*-ōis	OIA.-āiṣ	Av.-āiś	Osk.-ois	Lat.-is	Lit.-āis	Gk.-ois
eg. o-stem	vṛkāiḥ tāiḥ	dāēvāiś taiś	nesimois eizois	lupis istiṣ	vilkaīś taīś	θeots zois
IE.*-bhīs	Ved.-bhiḥ	Av.-biś	Arm.-vk,-bk	Irish.-b		
eg. o-stem	vṛke <b>bhiḥ</b> te <b>bhiḥ</b>	āfrivanaēibis	marovk	ferai <b>b</b>		
ā-stem	aśvā <b>bhiḥ</b>	daēnābis	amavk	mnāib tuatbai <b>b</b>		
i-stem	matib <b>hiḥ</b> trib <b>hiḥ</b>		srtivk	fāithib trib		
i-stem	bṛhatī <b>bhiḥ</b>	āzizanaītibis		insib		
u-stem	sanū <b>bhiḥ</b>		zarduk			
diphthong stem	gōb <b>hiḥ</b> naub <b>hiḥ</b>	gaobis		buai <b>b</b>		
n-stem	śvāb <b>hiḥ</b> dhāma <b>bhiḥ</b>		garambk (>garn)	conaib fiadnaib		
i-stem	māṭ <b>bbhiḥ</b> catur <b>bhiḥ</b>	baēvarbis	matbk dsterbk	māthrai <b>b</b>		
other consonant stem	viāb <b>hiḥ</b> dig <b>bbhiḥ</b> āmavad <b>bhiḥ</b>	haktis daēvavat <b>bis</b> dadūz <b>bis</b>	otivk	cairtib druidib tigib		

1. 3. Now we have to discuss the case of **vamhaṇehi**. It can be taken as Instrumental or as Nominative. The decision of the case of **vamhaṇehi** is entirely correlated with the decision of the mood of **jānaṇta** (i.e. whether it should be Active or Passive). The translation of (A) will be as follows ;

(Inst.) The essential point is not understood by Brahmins

(Nom) Brahmins do not know the essential point

Throughout the Bagchi's text we get 13 other participle words ;

But none of them is used for Passive Finite or Passive Participle.

(i) 2nd verse 2nd line

Bag.	agni	<b>huṇantaṃ</b>
Śās.	aggid	<b>bhaṇanta</b>
Sha.	agni	<b>huṇanta</b>
Sām.	eggi	<b>huṇantaṃ</b>
Com.	agni	hotreṇa
Bag. ST.	agnim	juhoti
Sām. HT.	agni	homanta
Sha. ET.	offer oblation to fire	

(ii) 19th verse 2nd line

Bag.	gharahi	<b>vasantē</b>	bhajje	sahiau
Śās.	gharahi	<b>vasante</b>	bhajjē-	sahiau
Sām.	gahi	<b>vesanteṃ</b>	bhajjeṃ	sahiau
Com.	gṛhārambhādi	āśraman	na	karoti
Bag. ST.	gṛhe	vasati	bhāryayā	sahitaḥ
Sām. HT.	gṛhi	vasante	bhāryā-	sahitau
Sha. ET.	He remains at home with his wife			

(iii) 19th verse 3rd line

Bag.	jai	bhiḍi	visaa	<b>ramanta</b>	na	muccai
Śās.	jai	bhiḍi	viṣaye	<b>ramanta</b>	na	uccai
Sām.	jai	bhiḍi	visaa	<b>ramante</b>	na	mucca
Com.	yadi	ḍṛdha	viṣaya	sevāratim	na	tyajati
Bag. ST.	yadi	ḍṛḍham	viṣaye	ramamāno	na	muficati
Sām. HT.	yadi	bhiḍi	viṣaya	ramanta	na	mumcai
Sha. ET.	enjoying intensely the objects of the senses ; if such one does not obtain salvation,					

## (iv) 23th verse 4th line

- Bag. suha **acchanta** ma appaṇu jhagaḍaha  
 Śās. suha **acchanta** ma apyaṇu jagataha  
 Sha. Suha **acchanta** ma appaṇu jagaḍaha  
 Sām. suha **acchantem** ma appaṇa jhagaḍaha  
 Com. na pṛthaktvenātmano (parābhavi kuru) / sukha-  
 mayatvena (idaṃ kuru)  
 Bag. ST. sukhaṃ tiṣṭaṃ ātmānaṃ mā kalahāya  
 Sām. HT. sukha rahate nā apane jhagaḍahu  
 Sha. ET. Do not trouble yourself when you remain in  
 happiness

## (v) 24th verse 1st line

- Bag. **khāantō**  
 Śās. **khāyattō**  
 Sām. **khāte**  
 Com. khane  
 Bag. ST. khadati  
 Sām. HT. khāte  
 Sha. ET. eating

## (vi) 32nd verse 4th line

- Bag. jima jala jalahi **milante** soi  
 Śās. jima jala jalahim **milantei** soi  
 Sha. jima jala jalahi **milante** hoi  
 Sām. jima jala jalehi **milante** soi  
 Com. yādṛśam jalasya jalam miśritam tādṛśam sa bhavati  
 Bag. ST. yathā jalam jale melati tadapi  
 Sām. HT. jima jala jalehi milante soi  
 Sha. ET. as water mixes with water

## (vii) 34th verse 2nd line

- Bag. **cāhante cāhante** diṭṭhi niruddho  
 Sām. **cāhantem-cāhantem** diṭṭhi niruddha  
 Com. dṛṣtvā cakṣuṣā (vyavakokanena nimeṣonmeṣo)  
 nirōdhena  
 Bag. ST. paśyan paśyan dṛṣṭiḥ niruddho  
 Sām. HT. dekhata-dekhata dṛṣṭi niruddha  
 Sha. ET. when one looks at it repeatedly the sight  
 becomes obstructed

## (viii) 64th verse 1st line

- Bag. visaa **ramanta** ṇa visaa vilippai  
 Śās. viṣaya **ramanta** ṇa visaa vilippai  
 Śām. visaa **ramanta** ṇa visaahiṃ lippai  
 Com viṣayānāṃ kriḍāṃ karoti pañcakāmādinā  
 tairdoṣair na gṛhyate  
 Bag. ST. viṣaye ramamaṇaḥ na viṣaye vilipyate  
 Śām. HT. visaa ramanta na viṣayahim lippai  
 Sha. ET. He is not attached to the objects of the senses  
 while enjoying the objects

## (ix) 64th verse 3rd line

- Bag. emai joi mūla **saranto**  
 Śām. emai joi mūla **sagatto**  
 Com idrṣena yoginā mūlaṃ (gurūpadeśa sarito'  
 bhyāsāt) saranto  
 Bag. ST. idrṣaṃ yogī mūlaṃ saran  
 Śām HT. evaṃ yogī mūla sagātro  
 Sha. ET. thus the yogin taking refuge at the root

## (x) 64th verse 4th line

- Bag. visahi na vāhai visaa **ramanto**  
 Śās. visaa na bājhai visaa **ramanto**  
 Com. viṣayair na bādhito/ sarvaviṣayāṇāṃ ramaṇāt na  
 bādhyate  
 Bag. ST. viṣaye na bādhyate viṣaye ramamaṇaḥ  
 Śām HT. viṣaya na baṃdhai viṣaya ramanto  
 Sha. ET. is not harmed by the objects of the senses while  
 enjoying them

## (xi) 69th verse 1st line

- Bag. **jivantaha** jo nau jarai so ajarāmana hoi  
 Śās. **jivantaha** jo nau jarai so ajarāmara hoi  
 Com. (kvacit puruṣasya) ājīvamaraṇa paryantena yadi  
 jarādinā na gṛhyate tadā' sau ajarāmaratvaṃ yāti  
 Bag. ST. jīvannapi yo na tu jīryati so' jarāmaro bhavati  
 Sha. ET. he who does not grow old while living becomes  
 free from old age and death

(xii) 81st verse 1st line.

Bag.	<b>āvanta</b> ṇa dīssai <b>janta</b> ṇahi <b>acchanta</b> ṇa muṇai
Śās.	<b>āvatta</b> dīssai jaṇāha <b>accaatta</b> ṇa muṇai
Com.	āvanto' pi na paśyati gato' pi na ca drakṣyati (svagṛhe) sthito' pi na lakṣyati
Bag. ST.	āgacchanto ha drśyhte nāpi gacchanto bhavanto' pi na jñāyate
Sha. ET.	he is not seen while coming, neither is he perceived going or staying

(xiii) 90th verse 2nd line

Bag.	maṇḍa	<b>pivantē</b>	visaraa	e	maiu
Sāś.	maṇḍa	<b>pivattē</b>	viśamai	e	maiu
Sha.	maṇḍa	<b>pivantē</b>	visariau		maī
Dar.	maṇḍa	<b>pivatē</b>	saria	e	maiu
Com.	maṇḍam eva sāraṃ taṃ pītvānyam viśmṛtam				
Bag. ST.	maṇḍam pibatā viśmṛtam etan mayā				
Sha. ET.	I forgot while I drank gruel				

Judging from the usage of these participle words, we had better explain in (A) that **jānanta** is used in Active sense and so that **vamhaṇehi** is used for Nominative. **Khavaṇehi** in (B) can be taken as either Instrumental or Nominative. But **paḍhantehi** in (C) and **ghariṇehi** in (F) should be both regarded as Inst., while Concordant Pronoun **jehi** in (D) and **tehi** in (E) should be regarded as Nom. Reverse assignment of the case to them will make it impossible for us to get clear meaning of the verses.

1.4. Is there any other example as the Instrumental ending is used for Nom. in earlier languages than that in Saraha's Dohakoṣa? I have not found any so far. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee describes in his "O. D. B. L." that in Old Bengali the Nom. was replaced by the Inst. in the passive construction in the past tense of the transitive verb and cites the following example<sup>1</sup>

eg. kukkurī-pāē gāiḍa (K. P. Sang ; Cārya 2 )

But Dr. Sukumar Sen reads the same line in a different way as follows : <sup>2</sup>

kukkurīpāē gāiu (Bengali trans.—kukkurīpādera dvārā gīta  
ḥaiḷa—Inst.)

1. S. K. Chatterjee : Origin & Development of the Bengali Language, Calcutta, 1926
2. Sukumar Sen : Caryāgīta-padābhāṣā (in Bengali), Bardhaman, 1959

1.5. The extension of the function of Inst. ending to that of Nom. ending might be caused by the following reasons.

(a) Semantic contamination : The contamination of Inst. ending with Loc. ending (i.e. -hiṃ, -hī ; -ē, -e) resulted in yielding possibility of the semantic contamination between Inst. and Nom. For Loc. and Nom. have the common case ending form (-e) in the dialect of Eastern India.

(b) Sentence construction : One can easily translate the sentence including Past Passive Participle in the Active mood without changing its meaning.

eg. 20th verse 1st line : sarahḥ kaḍḍhiu rāva

(The cry is uttered by Saraha ; Saraha utters the cry)

25th verse 1st line : sarahḥ kahia uesa

(The instruction is told by Saraha ; Saraha tells the instruction)

71st verse 2nd line : sarahḥ vutta

(It is said by Saraha ; Saraha says it)

1.6. Anyhow it is very interesting to note here that after the Vedic period *āis* (derived from \**ōis*) is exclusively used in *āis* in the Classical Sanskrit, while *-ehi* (derived from \**ebhis*) has been inherited in *Avahaṭṭha*, which seems to suggest that \**ebhis* might have been more influential than *-aiṣ* in Spoken Sanskrit. And it is also noteworthy that *vamhaeṇhi* (A), *jehi* (D) and *tehi* (E) may be the quite rare examples attested as the Instrumental case ending used for the Nominative case.

1.7. Some other Inst. ending (-hiṃ, -hī, -hi ; -eṇa, -eṇ, -e, -ṃ) will be studied in my next paper.

# Allative Verb-Compound in Standard Colloquial Bengali (A Morpho-Semic Study)

Dwijendra Nath Basu

'Verb-compound' is a general term in a very wide sense. The so-called 'Compound-verb' or 'Verb-composition' is included in it. Like the 'Nominal compound', a 'Verb-compound' is also a syntactical fragment constituted by two or more separable words (which are verbal units), united together into a single word-organism.

2. In a verb-compound, the degree of compositeness and the relative supersession of one constituent over the other varies, and presents multifarious types. As an example, we may take two constituents of modern Bengali verb-roots meaning 'to see' and 'to go' and note the manifold ways of expression in the varied combinations of their different forms.

(i) (—ā) v—V

dEkhā	jāi	(I can be/am seen)
„	jāo	(You can be/are seen)
„	jāy	(It can be/is seen)
„	jācche	(It is noticeable)
„	gEche	(It has been noticed)
„	gElo	(It has been seen)
„	jeto	(It could be seen)
„	jābe	(It will be seen)
„	jāk	(Let us/me see)

(ii) (-yā) v—V

dekhe	jāi	(I inspect/notice it without doing any thing)
		(In the sense of 'I see and go' etc. it can not be a compound verb).

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E is to be pronounced as 'a' in 'can' (English); v is for infinite and V for finite verbs,

dekhe	jāo	(Just come on to have a look)
„	jāy	(He frequently notices/inspects)
„	jācche	(He is noticing/inspecting every time)
„	gEche	(He has already seen it/inspected)
„	gElo	(He has taken notice of it)
„	jeto	(He used to come occasionally and take notice of it)
„	jābe	(He will see/inspect)
„	jāk	(Let him come to see for his own satisfaction)

(iii) (-te)v—V

dekhte	jāi	(I frequently go to see) (The meaning 'to go in order to see' will not make it a compound verb)
	jāo	(You frequently go to see)
	jāy	(He goes frequently to see)
	jācche	(He is about to see)
	gEche	(He has been on the look out)
	gElo	(He was on the look out)
	jeto	(He was in the habit of going to see)
	jābe	(He will be on the look out)
	jāk	(Let him be on the look out)

(iv) V (-yā) v+(V) :

dekhi	ge (< giyā)	( jāi ). (I am going to have a look into the matter)
dEkho	ge	( jāo ) (Go then to have a look)
dekhuk	ge	( jāk ) (Let one see, it does not matter)

(v) Vf—Vpr :

dekhbi	jā	( Go to see if you like )
dekhbe	jāk	( Let him go to see if he likes )

(vi) V—V :

jāi dekhi	(Let me be there to see)
(This /dekhi/ has no connection with /dekhi (or diki) (ni)/ as in /jāo diki ni/ which has a special idiomatic use)	
jāo.dEkho	(Go to see)
jābe.dekhbe	(You will go to see)

In all these, we come to find that the expressions vary due not only to the different forms of infinite verbs but also to the variety of finite verb-forms in different tenses and persons.

3. The niceties of the syntax of such combinations can be observed quite well and many interesting features of the various compositions will be revealed, if we analyse only a section of the vast field of such verb-compounds in Modern Bengali. We take only those compositions in which one of the constituents is a verb of the sense group of "going", and call them "allative" verb-compounds. The main verb-roots of this sense-group are /jā/ (with its supplement /ge/) and /cal/ (to go) and their opposite /ās/ (to come). There are some other verb-roots such as /chuṭ/ /dauṛā/ (to run), /hāṭ/ (to walk) etc. which are not considered here.

4. From very early time in our language, we find the use of allative verb-roots /yā/, /car/ or /i/ used with the present participle forms of verbs in the sense of habitual or continuous action and also with the past participle forms of verbs in the sense of passive or continuous action. But as the language progresses more and more towards analytic structure from the earlier synthetic one, the verb-compound takes a key-position in the expression of various nuances such as of the various tenses, moods and voices of verbs which were formerly expressed by the flexions of verb forms. In the Modern Indo-Aryan languages, especially in the colloquial dialects, the verb-compound is a very living and growing phenomenon in the expression of subtle differences of nuances. They are to be categorised not only notionally but also formally. As a matter of fact, the study of compound-verbs in Modern Bengali has to be done morphosemically, i.e. by co-ordinating 'form' and 'notion' at a syntactical level, by adjudging 'the morphemes' of the components with the distinctions of their 'semantemes'.

5a. We have already seen in the paradigm of (-ā) infinite of /dekh/ with root /jā/ = /yā/ that it is used in the *abilitive passive* sense. But generally it is not the passive but the *impersonal* sense which is found. Thus the compound verb is used only in the Third Person and the use of other persons including

even the Honorific Third Person is rare. With /dekh/ : ami dEkhā jāi / jācchi / gechi / gelām / jācchilām / jetām / jābo is found and tui / āpni / se / tini with the corresponding verb forms are not altogether impossible ; but with many other verbs in the (-ā)-infinite or (-āno)-infinite such instances would be meaningless, eg. āmi pāowā jācchi (got), tumi balā jāccho (spoken) āpni dākā jācchen nā (called), tui ānāno geli (brought), tini ṭhik bojhā jeten nā (understood)...etc. Even with verbs like / dekh / which can be used in the above ways, the impersonal turn of expression would be more agreeable, by making those grammatical subjects as objects, such as āmāke / tomāke / toke / āpnāke...dEkhā jāy / jācche / gEche / gElo / jēto / jābe. The above meaningless instances can similarly be turned to meaningful expressions, as āmāke pāowa jācche, tomāke balā jācche, āpnāke dākā jācche nā, toke ānāno gElo, tāke ṭhik bojhā jeto nā...etc. With intransitive verbs, naturally, they would be impersonal expressions as they can not be passive. Thus there is some morpho-semantic difference in the following two kinds of compound verbs : se dEkhā jācche (Passive) (rather rare) ; tāke dEkhā jācche (Impersonal).

In imperative, the use is more restricted to *impersonal*—the *abilitive* sense is subdued, and the subject is meant to be the speaker i.e. the First Personal Pronoun (Singular/Plural) : dEkhā jāk.

5b. /cal/ is similarly used *impersonally*. A sense of *admissibility* or *worthiness* in the *passive* is found in the present and the habitual past only. This sense is however superseded by a sense of continuity which generally comes out of the verb-concept in all other tenses. Thus :

dEkhā	cale	(—may be seen)
dEkhā	colto	(—might be seen)

But,

dEkhā	colche	(It is continually being seen)
dEkhā	coleche	(It has continually been seen)
dEkhā	collo	(It was continually seen)
dEkhā	colbe	(It will be seen continually)

Here the former cases are clearly compound-verbs. But the latter are cases of loose verb-compounds which do not go far away from the individual meanings of the constituents. Thus /dEkhā colche/ can also be translated in English to "seeing is going on" where /dEkhā/ is a verbal noun, the subject of /colche/. The imperative use of /cal/ does not mean the impersonal action of the First Personal Pronoun only as with /jā/ : dEkhā jāk (Let us/me see) but dEkhā coluk (let it be seen continually) (āmāder/ tomāder/tāder) (by us/you/them).

5c. /ās/ has no compound-verb combination. There is one *idiomatic* use of /ās/ in the sense of "coming as an habitual action" e.g. ciṭhi lekḥā amar āse nā (I am not habituated in writing letters). But it is not a case of verb compound; it illustrates the idiomatic use of the verb root /ās/.

6a. /jā/ with (-te) infinite suggests *inceptiveness* of the action. (-te) infinite which is the infinitive modal form means 'in order to perform certain action';—thus, the action is not yet performed and /jā/ suggests an action of process,—a motion or advancement. Hence the two together suggest advancement to perform an action which is not performed i.e. the inception of the action. This sense "about to do" suits very well with the imperfect, the perfect etc., but in the case of habitual past and habitual present (which is in form the same as the ordinary present), the *habitual* sense becomes more prominent. Thus :

dekhte	jācche	(—is about to see)
dekhte	gEche	(—has been on the way to see)
dekhte	jācchilo	(—was on the way to see)
dekhte	gE lo	(—was about to see)
dekhte	jābe	(—will be about to see)
but dekhte	jāy	(Habitually he goes to see)
dekhte	jeto	(He used to go to see)

In the latter expressions (in the purposive sense), it is hardly a compound-verb, the sense of "going" with the tense-significance of habituality attached to the finite verb form being predominant.

6b. With / cal / the combination is hardly a compound-verb e.g. dekhte coleche / collo...etc. (—are going/went.....etc. to have a look) where the movement to see a sight is described. But in a few cases of combination we find the use of true compound-verbs (inceptive sense) eg hote coleche.....etc. (—is about to occur), morte coleche...etc. (—is about to die).

6c. The fusion of the semantemes of two constituents is all the rarer in the combination of (-te) infinite and / ās / finite Verb forms.

7a. / jā / with (-yā) infinite verb-forms presents numerous varieties of combinatory significances. With (-yā) infinite of /dekh / as we have seen above it primarily gives the meaning 'to see and go' in which sense it is no compound verb. Thence forth it suggests the sense "to see frequently/continually" from the special use of /jā/ in the continuous sense. It further suggests "to let off" i. e. "to see but not do anything else". It also means that the actor has to depart after seeing, hence he has to come to the place to take notice of it for his own satisfaction for sometime and go. The *continuative* or *frequentative* sense makes the combination a regular compound verb. The sense of *non-interfering allowance (hortative)* is also a development of it, especially in the non-durative tenses as in dekhe jāi (momentary present, not as the habitual present). (The habitual present (jāy) past (jeto) and future (jābe) however suggest continual actions at regular intervals). It is also a compound-verb in the *intensive* sense, /dekhe jāk / having a difference from /dekhuk/ in this respect that in the latter, one is asked or allowed to see only, which in the former, one is asked or allowed to see for one's own satisfaction, and this 'seeing' is rather 'inspecting or 'examining'. The intensive sense is obtained by / jā / in combination with (-yā)-infinite of verbs of the allative group, eg. chuṭe jāy (runs on), cole jāy (goes away), boye jāy (flows on), pāliye jāy (runs on), uṭhe jāy, (OB) uṭhi geli (goes up), phire jāy (goes back) etc. and also of verbs of other groups such as, diye jāy (gives over), niye jāy (carries off), and miṣe jāy (mixes up). *Suddenness* of the action is often suggested by the use of /jā/ in a few instances, such as

peye jāy (suddenly gets/comes across) ghoṭe jāy (suddenly comes to pass). Generally the verbs of durable action as, dekh (to see), khā (to eat), bak (to chatter), bal (to speak), paṛ (to read' not 'to fall'), de (to give) etc. have the *continuative* use. Some verbs of momentary significance in the combination as above, have the *resultative* sense eg. bēce jāowā (to escape death, to result in keeping alive), more jāowā (to succumb, to result in death), poṛe jāowā (to have a fall), ḍube jāowā (to get sunk), bheṇe jāowā (to break down), cepe jāowā (to suppress some topic), mete jāowā (to get oneself engaged animatedly), rege jāowā (to result in being angered). Here we find sometimes a combination of *intensive* and *passive* sense. (-yā)-infinite with /jā/ auxiliary is also used in *quasi-passive* sense. Generally such are restricted to the Third Person and wherever we find the use of the First Person and the Second Person of such uses, there is some departure in meanings or at least there is the figurative employment of it e.g. dhore (to be caught—figuratively in cooking) / khoye (kṣay) (to become worn away, corroded) / bere (to be growing up) / kome (to get diminished) / j(w)ole (to get ablaze) / bhije (to get drenched) / chiṛe (to be torn asunder) / ube (to get evaporated) / dhuye (to be washed away) / muche (to be wiped out) / bhore (to get filled up) / jome / (to get frozen, in a solid block) / juṛe (to get united) / core (to be soaring up) / bedhe (to get obstructed)...-jāy. In all the above instances of compound verbs, /jā/ is seldom used precisely in the sense of 'going'. These instances are therefore to be distinguished from the combinations in which /jā/ is modified by the infinite verb forms used adverbially which may denote pre-occurring action, such as, dāṛiye jāo / boṣe jāo (Go after waiting for some time), jene jāo (Go after getting the information from here), chūye jāo (Go after touching), ghure jāo (Go by taking a round-about way) phele jāo (Go after leaving off). Such (-yā) infinites are also used as modificatory eg. ēkebēke (with a zigzag motion) / heledule (with a movement of ease) / sāmle (with caution) / jhule (suspending) / goṛiye (with rolling movement) / dekhe (with careful watch)...etc.—jāowa.

There are some *idiomatic* uses of /jā/ where it does not mean

'going' but even there it is not compound-verb where the semantemes of the constituents are not combined, eg. bhebei gElo—(He is gone i.e. besides himself with thinking and thinking) mā mā korei gElo (He is gone i.e. besides himself, with calling and calling 'O mother, O mother). In some non-Bengali languages of Indo-Aryan, the use of /jā/ is frequently found but in the standard colloquial Bengali counterpart of such phrases, the use of /jā/ would be unidiomatic eg. bose jān (as in Hindi baith jaiye) for bose porun (Please be seated). bose jān has got a separate meaning in Bengali (Please wait for some time and go) or ghumiye gEche (Hindi so gayā) for ghumiye porēche (He has fallen asleep).

7b. /cal/ is similarly combined to give the *continuative* sense with (-yā) infinite of those verbs which are durative eg. dekhe / kheyē / boke / bole / porē / diye /...etc.—cal (goes on seeing / eating / chattering / speaking / reading / giving /...etc.)

7c. /ās/ again gives some more varied expressions. As the opposite of /jā/ it implies a movement from 'out' to 'in' and is thus employed in the combination to suggest *conclusiveness*—a progressive tendency towards fulfilment which is shown as imminent eg. hoye āse (come to a close), bheñe āse (gradually comes to breaking down), bhore ase (gradually comes to the full), nibhe āse (gradually comes to extinction), kome āse (gradually comes to decrease), etc. Only in a few instances it gives the *continuative* sense especially in the imperfect tense such as hoye āsche / diye āsche / dekhe āsche /...etc. Sometimes like the use of /jā/ in the *intensive* sense the use of /ās/ is found where its etymological meaning is comparatively insignificant and it adds certain nuance to the other verb constituent eg. diye āsi (let me give it to him) niye eso (fetch) bole āsbe (give the information) āune elo (got an information). Sometimes the sense of *habituality* or wontness is associated with /ās/ especially in the habitual tenses eg. āmra peyē āsi (we are used to get it) āmra niye āstam (we used to bring it) etc.

8a. All the above verb-compounds are endocentric, the sequence of the constituents being v—V. There is one special

use of exocentric verb-compound with -yā infinite of the main allative verbs coming after the finite verbs which are in the imperative mood only. The reversal in the sequence (V-v) plays a considerable part in giving a special nuance. In the St. coll. Bengali -yā forms of /jā / and /ās / undergo mutation, giye > ge, ese > se. With morphemic differences in persons there are morphosemic differences :

- 1 dekhi ge (Let me see it there : It is better I go there to see)
- 2 dEkho ge (Just go to have a look)
- 2 dEkh ge (Goest thou to have a look)
- 2 dekhun ge (You please go to have a look)
- 3 dekhuk ge (Let him see, don't bother)
- 3 dekhun ge ( „ „ )

Sometimes an additional finite verb of the same allative verb /jā/ in the tense and person of the finite verb constituent is added viz. jāi / jāo / jā / jān / jāk / jān respectively. In the First and Second Persons there is some sense of motion attending the operation of the work. But the Third person forms denote no sense of motion. It denotes only a note of *abandonment*.

8b. ese > se is almost obsolete and that again was found in the Second person, ordinary and familiar, eg. khāose, dekhse. Here this mutated infinite form denotes a sense of *reception* and care.

8c. /cole/ is found with the Third Person of verb root /jā/ only in the sense of *renunciation* : jākcole > jāccole. It is rather used as an interjectional particle to denote disappointment in the result or in the happenings.

9. There are some other verb-compounds of co-ordinates which are mostly *aggregative* : (V-V)

- āsbe jābe and jābe āsbe (You will frequent here)  
 āsche jācche and jācche āsche (They frequent the place)  
 jete āste and āste jete (In course of every movement)

10. Compounds of coordinates having subordinate senses are found in khābe jāo, khābe eso which are similar to khete jāo/eso.

11. āse jāy (matters) (tāte kichu āse jāy na 'It does not matter at all in it') can be called a verb-compound of the Secondary type where neither the sense of āse or jāy (comes/goes) is intended.

# Onomatopœtics in modern Bengali.

Bhabataran Datta

It is profitless for me to discuss the origin of onomatopœtic words or sound-imitation which may be due to imitations of certain sounds of certain objects in a certain way (nicknamed-the bow-wow theory), to instinctive ejaculations from joy, bewilderment or other intense sensations or feelings (nicknamed-the pooh-pooh theory), to mystic harmony between sound and sense (nicknamed the ding-dong theory), to reflex utterances after physical action (nicknamed the ye-he-ho theory), as I propose here to estimate the use of onomatopœtic words and their extent in the modern Bengali language.

It would be proper here to mention that onomatopœtic jingles in Bengali had been studied scientifically for the first time by Rabindranath Tagore in his 'Śabdatattva' and later also by Ramendra Sundar Trivedi in his 'Śabda-Kathā'.

It is true that with the advance of civilisation man becomes more and more conscious of subtlety of rhythm and assonance of a word and they use suitable words to express highly developed and complex ideas with very subtle shades of meaning, instead of simple and direct sound-symbols which have become time-worn and jaded as it were.

However, all the NIA languages have onomatopœtic words a few of which can be traced back to MIA but almost none to OIA. Such words, therefore, are of native origin with or without influence from neighbouring non-Aryan languages such as Dravidian and Kol.

Onomatopœtic words proper can be either simple or reduplicated. Here I am concerned only with the onomatopœtics of the reduplicating type which are more or less abundant in all NIA languages. In Bengali onomatopœtic reduplications are used generally as adverbs, i.e., without any affix and modify a verb of action or employed as gerundives in—iyā, also standing

in adverbial relation to the verb of action. Moreover numerous onomatopœtic forms with different shades of meaning can be made simply by changing the vowel in the same consonant group. Thus kaṭ kaṭ an imitative sound, as of tearing or cutting, acute pain etc ; kiṭ kiṭ expresses twittering gnashing teeth etc., filthiness, dirtiness ; kuṭ kuṭ expresses the sound of surreptitious cutting or gnawing ; throbbing or twinging sensation ; sensation of irritation ; kṁṁ kṁṁ, expresses of a colour which is not pleasing to eyes.

kac kac	expressive of wrangling, rustling, chopping, cutting and etc.
kaṭ kaṭ	expressive as of gnawing, striking and etc.
kaṛ kaṛ	expressive of a crack of thunder.
kan kan	expressive of a jingling noise, an aching ; twinging pain.
kap kap	expressive as that of a fish gulping a hook-bait or of its swallowing water.
kar kar	expressive of the sound of grating.
kal kal	expressive of a confused noise, the buzz of a crowd ; stream flowing.
kas kas	expressive of hotness, burning.
kṁ kṁ	expressive of crying loudly.
kic kic	expressive of a grating sensation between the teeth ; rat sque.
kicir kicir	expressive of a chirping or chattering noise.
kiṭ kiṭ	expressive of filthiness, dirtiness.
kir kir	expressive of grittiness or grating ; seraping (as feet on sandy floor) diminutive of kar kar.
kil kil	expressive of the writhing or contortion of the body of a worm or of a fish of the eel kind.
kis kis	expressive of gnashing as of teeth in anger.
kuc kuc	expressive of looking oily, to appear shining ; glossy ; imitative word to denote of cutting fruits and similar things into small bits by a single/sharp stroke.

kuṭ kuṭ	expressive of the sound of small cutting or gnawing ; throbbing or twinging sensation ; sensation of irritation.
kun kun	expressive of an aching ; twinging pain (slight).
kur kur	expressive of a nibbling sound,
kul kul	expressive of a noise of murmuring, as of water ; the noise of rippling.
kriñ kriñ	expressive of ringing as of calling bells and the like.
kæc kæc	expressive of creaking as that comes out from a hand cart ; feeling of chewing something raw.
kæt̄ kæt̄	expressive of a colour which is not pleasing to eyes.
kær kær	expressive of the voice of some one which is rough, hoarse.
kæt̄ kæt̄	see kæt̄ kæt̄.
kō kō	expressive of the sound of whining (as in high fever or in hunger).
kōk kōk	expressive of the sound of resisted push.
kōt kōt	expressive of the sound gulping something.
khak khak	expressive of the sound as in coughing ; expressive of a sharp loud sound from the throat.
khac khac	expressive of feeling as in a twinging pain in any bone-joint ; perpetual scolding, fretting.
khaṭ khaṭ	expressive of the low sound of striking hard substances, the sound of striking shoes against any hard object ; dry not damp ; feeling as dryness.
khaṛ khaṛ	expressive of stiff rustling sound.
khan khan	expressive of a ringing sound, as that of striking a burnt earthen vessel with the hand.

khap khap	expressive of the sound as of horse walking ; very quickly,
khar khar	expressive of clattering or rattling noise ; quick, swift, speedy.
khal khal	expressive of various sounds as of loud laugh, or of a number of fish moving in a little water in a vessel.
khas khas	expressive of the feeling of harsh to the touch ; rough, hackly ; rustling.
khã kbã	expressive of vast emptiness.
khik khik	expressive of the sound as in laughing ; gigling.
khic khic	expressive of a twinging pain in any bone joint, felt on moving it ; a perpetual scold- ing, a fretting.
khiṭ khiṭ	expressive of a perpetual scolding ; a murmuring, a peevish fretfulness.
khil khil	expressive of sound of tittering or gigling.
khuk khuk	expressive of the sound as in coughing or laughing ; wheezing in the throat.
khuc khuc	expressive of the sound of cutting of any- thing quickly and easily ; moving or walking quickly with short steps.
khuṭ khuṭ	expressive of very low sound of striking hard substances.
khur khur	expressive of very low clattering noise ; expressive of moving or walking quickly with short steps, as of a dwarf.
khus khus	expressive of a tickling or wheezing in the throat ; slight scratching or grubbing noise.
khũt khũt	expressive of reluctance ; querulousness, fretfulness.
khæc khæc	expressive of a perpetual scolding.
khæk khæk	to yelp, fretting.
gaj gaj, gajor gajor	expressive of a murmuring or muttering to one's self when provoked or dissatisfied,

gaḥ gaḥ	expressive as of sound of walking with quick paces.
gaḥ gaḥ	expressive of a rumbling noise, as of thunder; a rattling noise, as of running wheels.
gad gad	expressive of something too mellow.
gan gan	expressive of a state of glowing, as of fire.
gap gap	expressive of an eating or swallowing voraciously.
gab gab	see gap gap.
gam gam	expressive of the sound or reverberation, a resound, an echo.
gar gar	expressive of a fuming from rage, fury, anger.
gal gal	expressive of the state of too mellow, ready to burst.
gas gas	expressive of a state of glowing, as of fire; the being hot with fever; a state fuming or boiling, as with rage.
gǎ gǎ, gǎk gǎk	to give forth loud groans; to bellow, as of a bull.
gij gij	expressive of over crowdedness, thickness.
gil gil	see gij gij.
gis gis	expressive of over crowdedness; a state of fuming with rage.
guj guj	expressive of whispering, gossiping.
guḥ guḥ	expressive of sound of walking with quick paces, as that of a baby.
guḥ guḥ	cloud producing.
guḥ guḥ	expressive of a humming noise, a buzz; a singing to one's self in a low voice.
gup gup	expressive of an eating or swallowing voraciously.
gum gum	expressive of a sound of reverberation, a resound, an echo.
gō gō	expressive a whining sound, a groan; a roaring.

ghac.ghac	expressive of chopping, cutting, etc.
ghaj ghaj	expressive of a repeated scolding ; a continual murmuring or muttering.
ghaṭ ghaṭ	expressive of the noise of loose. jointed carriage.
ghar ghar	expressive of a purring sound ; a rattling noise, especially in the throat.
ghas ghas	expressive of rubbing, friction, scratching, scrubbing.
ghij ghij	expressive of a repeated scolding ; a continual murmuring or muttering.
ghin ghin	expressive of the feeling of disgust, abhorance.
ghuc ghuc	expressive of the subdued sound of messing about ; diminutive of ghac ghac.
ghuj ghuj	expressive of the subdued sound of messing about.
ghuṭ ghuṭ	expressive of pitchy darkness, great gloom.
ghuṇ ghuṇ	expressive of a buzzing, a humming.
ghur ghur	expressive of moving about restlessly ; lounging or wandering about.
ghuṣ ghuṣ	expressive of burning within, not manifested in the exterior, of a very slow type, as of fever.
ghæn ghæn	expressive of monotonous sound of complaint.
ghōt ghōt	expressive of inarticulate grumling.
cak cak	expressive of sparkling, shining ; sound imitative of lapping (a liquid).
caṭ caṭ	expressive of stickiness ; sticky, clammy.
caṣ caṣ	expressive of mental distress, vexation ; a twinging or smarting pain ; a crackling ; a bursting forth (as of rice on a frying pan).
can can	expressive of a running or shooting pain ; uneasy sensation ; the sound of drying or scorching fast.
cap cap	expressive of something oily.

cik cik	expressive of a glistening, glimmer, glare.
ciṭ ciṭ	expressive of stickiness.
ciṙ ciṙ	expressive of a twinging or throbbing sensation ; a crackling.
cin cin	expressive of a twinging or throbbing sensation, a smarting.
cī cī	expressive of a repeated feeble cry, as of young birds,
cu cu	expressive of the sound made by drawing in breath with protruded lips, as in calling puppy.
cuk cuk,	expressive of the noise made in lapping or sipping ; a sound made to denote an error or omission.
cup cup	expressive of something oily.
cur cur	expressive of fullness as to run or fall over ; brimful ; dead drunk, half seas over.
cul cul	expressive of the feeling of restlessness ; unsteadiness, fickleness.
cō cō	expressive of running at full speed or drinking off a draught.
cōk cōk	expressive of the sound of drinking off a draught.
chaṙ chaṙ	expressive of scattering, strewing.
chan chan	expressive of the sound of sobbing, urinating and etc.
chap chap	expressive of a switching sound repeated : a repeated swish.
cham cham	expressive of a shivering or startling sensation.
chal chal	expressive of eyes wet or suffused with tears.
chip chip	expressive of leanness, thinness.
chuk chuk	expressive of reavenousness, greediness.
chūk chūk	see chuk chuk.
chæk chæk	expressive of feverishness and heat.
chok chok	see chuk chuk,

chōk chōk	see chuk chuk.
jab jab	expressive of thorough soaking.
jam jam	expressive of something radiant ; pompous.
jal jal	expressive of blazing, shining.
jir jir	expressive of someone skinny.
jul jul	expressive of repeated peeps or glances.
jhak jhak	expressive of lustre, brightness.
ghan ghan	expressive of clattering or clanging sound, as of metallic substances ; an aching pain.
jhap jhap	expressive of splashing or swishing sound.
gham gham	expressive of a jangling sound, a jingling (as of ornament) ; expressive of a violent pattering (as of heavy rain).
ghar ghar	expressive of a dropping or shedding in rapid succession.
ghal ghal	expressive of a flapping motion ; a dangling state.
ghā ghā	expressive of a scorching heat, as of the meridian sun ; the sensation of an unpleasant sound in the ear.
ghik ghik	expressive of something glittering, glistening.
ghin ghin	expressive of the sensation of pins and needles.
ghim ghim	expressive of the sensation of drowsiness ; sound as of drizzling rain.
ghir ghir	expressive of gentleness, as of wind ; slowness, as of the flowing water.
ghī ghī	imitative of the cricket.
ghun ghun	expressive of jingling.
ghup ghup	expressive of falling something heavy ; with a thump.
ghum ghum	expressive of rattling.
ghur ghur	expressive of trickling, dripping, etc.
ghul ghul	expressive of an oscillating or tremulous motion ; expressive of something hanging loosely or freely.

ṭak ṭak	expressive of tickling sound ; expressive of glowing redness ; continuous vexing.
ṭaṅ ṭaṅ	expressive of the sound ding dong ; wandering or roving idly.
ṭan ṭan	expressive of a throbbing pain or a twinging pain ; a shooting pain.
ṭap ṭap	expressive of falling drops or the sounds produced by the fall of anything not very heavy.
ṭapās ṭapās	expressive of the continuity of falling drops or the sounds produced by the fall of anything not very heavy.
ṭal ṭal	expressive of staggering, reeling or tremulous motion.
ṭas ṭas	expressive of trickling (as of tears) ; a state of being flushed (as with phlegm) ; flagging.
ṭā ṭā	expressive of perchedness.
ṭik ṭik	expressive of a repeated tick (as that of a watch) ; the ticking of a house-lizard ; an incessant fretting or scolding.
ṭiṅ ṭiṅ	expressive of thinness (as of a person).
ṭip ṭip	expressive of a slight falling rain ; expressive of throbbing, twinging.
ṭim ṭim	expressive of a twinkling or blinking (as that of a lamp when going out).
ṭuk ṭuk	expressive of glowing redness.
ṭukus ṭukus	expressive of moving or walking slowly as that of an old man.
ṭuṅ ṭuṅ	expressive of tinkling or jingling sound.
ṭup ṭup	expressive of peculiar sound as that made by the fall of a number of drops of water in quick succession upon a mass of water or that produced by the falling of a number of fruits from a tree on the ground and etc.
ṭus ṭus	expressive of overripeness.

ṭæ̃ ṭæ̃	expressive of the repeated cry of a recently born baby.
ṭæk ṭæk	expressive of a continual scolding, a fretting.
ṭæs ṭæs	expressive of a fretting.
ṭo ṭo	expressive of a wandering or roving idly.
ṭoi ṭoi	see ṭo ṭo.
ṭhak ṭhak	expressive of the repeated striking of two pieces of wood and etc; a chattering (as of the teeth), a shivering (as with cold).
ṭhakās ṭhakās	expressive of the continuity of the repeated striking of two pieces of wood & etc.
ṭhan ṭhan	expressive of a loud sound or jingle.
ṭhan ṭhan	expressive of a ringing sound/ding dong.
ṭhās ṭhās	expressive of the sound of slapping.
ṭhuk ṭhuk	expressive of a sound, as that of a light or gentle tap or knock.
ṭhun ṭhun	expressive of a repeated jingle or clink. (diminutive)
ṭhun ṭhun	expressive of a repeated jingle or clink. (diminutive)
ṭhus ṭhus	expressive of a light type of sound, the sound thus repeated (diminutive of ṭhās ṭhās).
ṭhæn ṭhæn	expressive of shortness as of cloth worn.
ḍag ḍag	expressive of a glowing, red colour, bright red, live, vivid.
ḍaṅ ḍaṅ	ding dong.
ḍab ḍab	expressive of suffusion (as with tears), emission of a dull sound like a wet drum.
ḍam ḍam	expressive of a repeated sound as that of a drum.
ḍid ḍig	expressive of thinness (as of a man).
ḍim ḍim	expressive of a repeated sound as that of a taboret.
ḍug ḍug	expressive of the sound of beating (as of a small drum).

ḍum ḍum	expressive of a repeated sound as that of a drum.
ḍæb ḍæb	expressive of staring.
ḍhak ḍhak	expressive of the sound, as that of gulping a liquid eagerly or quickly; sound as of empty vessels striking against each other.
ḍhañ ḍhañ	ding dong.
ḍhan ḍhan	expressive of a hollow sound, as that of empty vessel) ; emptiness.
ḍhap ḍhap	expressive of a hollow sound, as that produced in beating a wet drum or inflated stomach and etc.
ḍhab ḍhab	expressive of emptiness of a vessel.
ḍhal ḍhal	expressive of looseness, slackness; freshness, brightness.
ḍhāi ḍhāi	expressive of the continuity of the sound caused by any brisk motion; the sound produced by giving a smart blow with the hand.
ḍhi ḍhi	expressive of a widespread fame or report, a rumour,
ḍhip ḍhip	expressive of the sound of heavy blows reiterated, a repeated thumping sound.
ḍhib ḍhib	see ḍhip ḍhip.
ḍhis ḍhis	expressive of uneasiness as of tiredness or slight illness.
ḍhuk ḍhuk	expressive of the sound as that of swallowing a small quantity of any liquid substance.
ḍhup ḍhup	expressive of the sound of the falling of a heavy body, as of a fruit from the tree.
ḍhul ḍhul	expressive of a nodding, a sensation of drowsiness or giddiness.
ḍhus ḍhus	expressive of a sound of pushing or striking,
ḍhæñ ḍhæñ	expressive of unseemly free movement.
ḍhæp ḍhæp	expressive of the sound as that of beating a wet drum, an inflated abdomen.

dhæb qhæb	see qhæp qhæp.
tak tak	expressive of the sensation of fullness or sparkling of a sheet of water.
tar tar	expressive of the state of haste, hurry.
tal tal	expressive of excessive softness, flabbiness.
tir tir	expressive of slow flowing as of a stream.
tu tu	expressive of the sound as that of calling a puppy.
tul tul	expressive of oversoftness, flabbiness.
trik trik,	
triñ triñ	sudden jumps or frisks.
thai thai	expressive of the state of full to the brim.
thak thak	expressive of thickness combined with softness or fluidity.
thap thap	expressive of a repeated sound caused by anything soft falling on the ground heavily ; any dull sound.
thapās thapās	expressive of the continuity of the repeated sound caused by anything soft falling on the ground.
tham tham	expressive of a state of a stand-still (fulness, over fullness, swollen or bloated state).
thar thar	expressive of quivering, a quaking ; vibration, palpitation, shivering.
thal thal	expressive of flabbiness, flaccidity, looseness, laxity.
thas thas	expressive of yielding to the touch, flabbiness, the condition when anything is about to give way on account of over mellowness or rottenness.
thik thik	expressive of clean sediment.
thu thu	expressive of the sound of spitting.
thuk thuk	expressive of profusion of ants.
thup thup	diminutive of thap thap.
thur thur	expressive of a tremulous motion, a trembling or tottering.

thei thei	expressive of a man dancing.
thæp thæp	expressive of a repeated sound caused by anything soft falling on the ground heavily.
thæs thæs	see thas thas.
thoi thoi	expressive of fullness or overfulness as that of water.
dag dag	expressive of fervidness (as of a wound), inflammation.
dap dap	expressive of blazing unsteadily; a twinging.
dam dam	expressive of the sound of drum-beat.
dar dar	expressive of oozing, tricking, running down, flowing.
dal dal	expressive of the quivering motion of any soft substance under pressure.
dup dup	see dhap dhap.
dum dum	see dam dam, diminutive of dam dam.
dur dur	expressive of a shiver, a tremor, or tremulous motion.
dul dul	express of a swing, oscillation.
dhak dhak	expressive of a glittering, a glowing; a rapid beating, palpitation.
dhar dhar	hanging in tatters, rugged.
dhap dhap	expressive of a repeated thumping sound.
dhab dhab	expressive of clean whiteness.
dham dham	expressive of blows (as of a trumpet.).
dhal dhal	expressive of fullness (as of a tank).
dhas dhas	expressive of looseness of sandy ground.
dhã dhã	expressive of the sound caused by any brisk motion; the sound produced by giving a smart blow with the hand.
dhãi dhãi	expressive of the continuity of the sound caused by any brisk motion; the sound produced by giving a smart blow with the hand.
dhik dhik	expressive of gentleness, slowness (as of fire.)

dhin dhin	expressive of unseemly free movement.
dhin dhin	expressive of a sound caused by a peculiar beating of a drum ; a peculiar dancing.
dhn dhu	expressive of the blazing up of fire ; an idea of vastness and openness.
dhuk dhuk	expressive of a breathing with difficulty, a panting, a palpitation.
dhup dhup	diminutive of dhap dhap.
dhum dhum	expressive of a repeated sound of a blow or of the fall of a heavy body.
dhul dhul	expressive of extreme rottenness of clothes.
dhus dhus	expressive of looseness of sandy ground (diminutive).
dhei dhei	expressive of frisking.
dhær dhær	see dhar dhar.
naṛ naṛ	expressive of a loose shaking, a tottering, shakiness ; a dangling.
nad nad	expressive of a state of softness like that of quagmire, flabbiness, flaccidity.
nap nap	expressive of quickness, haste, hurry.
nuṭ nuṭ	expressive of repeated soft movement (as of a small child).
nur nur	expressive of a hanging loosely, a dangling, a swinging.
næd næd	expressive of state of softness ready to give way at the nearest touch.
næl næl	expressive of a slippery state, as of saliva.
pai pai	again and again, over and over again.
pak pak	expressive of the sound as that of slight splashing of mud or of treading soft mud.
pañ pañ	expressive of the sound as that of a stringed musical instrument.
pac pac	expressive of the sound of slight splashing of mud or of treading soft mud.
paṭ paṭ	expressive of a crackling small abrupt sound like those of small crackers,

paʔ paʔ	expressive of an imitative sound as that of tearing a cloth.
pat pat	expressive of flapping.
pan pan	expressive of a state of running at full speed.
pǎi pǎi	expressive of a state of running at full speed.
piʔ piʔ	expressive of a winking.
pin pin	expressive of flowing blood.
pil pil	expressive of a crowd, a multitude, a swarm.
puk puk	diminutive of pak pak.
puc puc	diminutive of pac pac.
puʔ puʔ	diminutive of paʔ paʔ.
puʔus puʔus	expressive of the continuity of the sound puʔ puʔ.
puʔ puʔ	diminutive of paʔ paʔ.
pæc pæc	expressive of the sound as that of treading soft mud.
pæk pæk	expressive of a quacking noise ; expressive of a pricking sound.
pæʔ pæʔ	expressive of a pricking sound.
pæn pæn	expressive of crying snuffingly as a child.
pō pō	expressive of the state of running at full speed.
phak phak	expressive of suddenness, abruptness.
phañ phañ	expressive of fragility, frailness, brittleness, weakness, etc.
phac phac	expressive of meaningless or irritating talk.
phaʔ phaʔ	expressive of various small sounds, as that of popping or crackling.
phan phan	expressive of various sounds, as that of flying briskly or flowing a stream of any liquid through a small orifice and etc.
phar phar	expressive of various sounds, as that of kite or flag flying in the air.

phas phas	expressive of something loose, big.
phik phik	expressive of simpering repeatedly.
phin phin	expressive of thinness, as of a cloth.
phis phis	expressive of whispering.
phisir phisir	expressive of continuous whispering.
phuk phuk	expressive of puffing.
phuṭ phuṭ	expressive of prettyness as that of a child or a moon-lit night.
phur phur	expressive of gentleness of wind.
phus phus	expressive of whispering.
phusur phusur	expressive of continuous whispering.
phæ phæ	expressive of sauntering about.
phæk phæk	expressive of paleness.
phæc phæc	expressive of prattling, peevishness.
phæl phæl	suggestive of a vacant look.
phæs phæs	expressive of tastelessness or looseness.
phæc phæc	see phæc phæc.
phæs phæs	expressive of the sound of tearing cloth.
phos phos	expressive of a hissing sound ; sobbing.
bak bak	expressive of excessive talking, a prattling.
bakor bakor	expressive of continual prattling.
baj baj	expressive of bubbling putrid liquid.
ban ban	expressive of whirling sound as of a top.
bar bar	expressive of talkativeness, loquaciousness.
bāi bāi	expressive of quick running or whirling.
bij bij	expressive of a state of swarming or of being densely crowded.
biṛ biṛ	expressive of a muttering, a grumbling, a murmuring.
bil bil	see bij bij.
buñ buñ	expressive of the sound, as that of a stringed musical instrument,
buṛ buṛ	bubbling up, a buble.
bæj bæj	expressive of excessive talking.
bæṛ bæṛ	see bæj bæj.
bō bō	see bāi bāi

bhak bhak	suggestive of a gushing forth, as of smoke.
bhaṭ bhaṭ	suggestive of a sound of effervescence.
bhaṛ bhaṛ	a gabble, gibberish, an imitative as of a fluid and rheum in the nostrils.
bhan bhan	expressive of humming or buzzing noise.
bhar bhar	suggestive of diffusion (as of a strong odour).
bhal bhal	expressive of emitting copiously, as of blood.
bhas bhas	suggestive of a sound, as that caused by something loose or flaccid.
bhuk bhuk	see bhak bhak.
bhuṭ bhuṭ	diminutive of bhaṭ bhaṭ.
bhuṛ bhuṛ	a bubbling up, a bubble.
bhur bhur	diminutive of bhar bhar.
bhuś bhuś	imitative sound as that of dipping or immersing in water suddenly.
bheu bheu	suggestive of the sound of crying aloud bitterly
bhæj bhæj	see bæj bæj.
bhæṛ bhæṛ	see bhæj bhæj.
bhæn bhæn	expressive of a humming or buzzing noise or a continuous muttering or grumbling,
bhō bhō	expressive of a continuous whistling sound ; expressive of very swiftness as of running.
bhōs bhōs	expressive of breathing hoarsely and nasally in sleep.
mak mak	strutting.
mac mac	expressive of something which is crisp.
maṭ maṭ	expressive of breaking or snapping ; strutting.
maṛ maṛ	expressive of a sound as that of a crash.
mas mas	expressive of a sound, as that caused in walking with brand new shoes or boots ; expressive of a walking very fast or proudly, strutting.

miṭ miṭ	expressive of twinkling ; winking, blinking.
min min	expressive of meekness.
miś miś	expressive of deepness, darkness ; glossy.
muc muc	diminutive of mac mac.
muṭ muṭ	diminutive of maṭ maṭ.
muṛ muṛ	diminutive of maṛ maṛ.
muś muś	expressive of something which is crisp.
mæṛ mæṛ	expressive of dullness of colour.
rag rag	expressive of loudness of colour such as red and yellow.
ri ri	expressive of suppressed anger (sound of vibrating wire).
roi roi	expressive of shout and rush.
lak lak	expressive of softness and flexibility.
lap lap	expressive of greedy eating (sound of lapping water).
lik lik	expressive of thinness and flexibility.
lup lup	diminutive of lap lap
læk læk	expressive of restlessness in hunger and greed.
śan śan	expressive of sound caused by any brisk motion, as that of a running arrow.
śir śir	expressive of shudder as in cold or disgust.
sak sak	expressive of hunger and greed.
saṭ saṭ	expressive of quickness and dispatch.
saṛ saṛ	expressive of a creeping sensation.
sap sap	expressive of the state of being or feeling wettish or damp ; onomatopœtic word representing several sorts of sounds especially that of eating any liquid substance with the hand from a flat dish ; quickness or haste in eating.
sā sā	expressive of any sound caused by any brisk motion as of wind.
sāi sāi	expressive of any sound caused by any brisk motion as of whipping.

sup sup	expressive of sipping.
suʃ suʃ	expressive of creeping sensation.
sæk sæk	expressive of the state of feeling wettish or damp.
~ō ~ō	expressive of any sound caused by any brisk motion as of wind.
haʃ haʃ	expressive of arrogant movement.
haʃ haʃ	expressive of a slippery or slimy state ; the sound of a liquid being poured down or falling profusely.
han han	expressive of walking fast.
hap hap,	expressive of something loose slack, big
haph haph	especially in the case of a pair of shoes.
hal hal	expressive of something loose slack, big, large.
hā hā	expressive of sudden and unrepressed articulation of a strong sentiment.
hāu hāu	expressive of unrestrained sorrow,
hām hām	expressive of gusty eating as of a child.
hǎ hǎ	expressive of quickness ; sudden alarm vehemence ; also expressive of openness and emptiness.
hi hi	expressive of shivering in cold.
hiʃ hiʃ	expressive of drawing a heavy thing with force.
his his	expressive of a hissing sound.
hī hī	expressive of suppressed laughter as of a sycophant.
hu hu	expressive of emptiness and sorrow.
huʃ huʃ	diminutive of haʃ haʃ.
huʃ huʃ	expressive of the sound of a liquid being poured down or falling profusely.
hup pup	expressive of sipping ; a monkey's cry.
hum hum	diminutive of hām hām.
hus hus	expressive of a hissing.

hē hē	expressive of the sound as that used by a yes-man.
hoi hoi	expressive of shout and rush.
hō hō	expressive of sound of whining as in high fever.

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## Perso-Arabic vocables in the works of "Raigunakar"

Chinmay Dutt

With the Muslim rule in Bengal, the Persian influence began to be appreciably felt in the Hindu Society and in the Bengali language as well. The influence seemed to be more cultural than religious, though in part it necessarily passed through religion. The Persian influence in Bengal was two-fold in character viz. in religious matters and in the field of language and literature. The first was reciprocal while the second was only unilateral with the influence of Persian on the Bengali language and literature. Many Persian words (also Arabic and Turkish vocables which were naturalised in it) crept into Bengali due to the fact that the political administration was a Muslim one and as the two communities lived side by side as good neighbours. The principal Islamic language that influenced Bengali and enriched it was, no doubt, Persian. The Turko-Afghan or Mughal rulers, who freely imbibed Persian manners and culture introduced Persian as the court language and thereby made the subject nations accustomed to it. Persian culture had pervaded not only the Muslims but also the Hindus, especially the upper class, who acquired the Persian language as well as adopted Persian manners and customs and the etiquette of the aristocracy. The educated and enlightened Hindu families regarded education incomplete and ineffectual without a knowledge of Persian. Not only that, the knowledge of Persian was a pre-requisite to the raising of the status of a person in society. One of the most outstanding features of the eighteenth century Bengal was the predominance of Persian Culture and education in the social life of this land. The Mughal rule had broken the narrow isolation in which Bengal had been living for some centuries and introduced her to a wider and more refined Persian culture

of the Mughals. During the reign of Murshid Quli Khan and his successors, the Hindus mastered the Persian language and the court etiquette so perfectly that they competed successfully with the Muslims for higher offices in the administration. The Hindus talked and contributed Persian verses with as much facility and elegance as the Muslims. Indeed, Persian continued to be the language of the court and the office, of culture and fashion in Bengal till it was ousted from the court by Lord William Bentinck in 1833 A.D. Literature corresponds to the environment of the age and it was practically true of this period. Persian contributed thousand of vocables, phrases and idoms to the Bengali language. Even the Hindu poets made use of the Persian forms and words in the composition of their verses. Bharatchandra Rai was true to the spirit of his times and his writings bear testimony to this fact.

Bharatchandra was born in 1634 saka i. e. 1712 A. D. at Peron-Vasantapur in the District of Hughly. His father Narendra Narayan Rai had been a land-owner of the place and obtained the title "Raja" from the Nawab of Mursidabad. Bharatchandra is the only poet of the eighteenth century A.D. whose whole career is known to us. For reasons unknown, he left home before he had completed his studies and stayed with his maternal uncles at Noapara and prosecuted his studies in a Sanskrit "tal" at Tajpur in Hughly. He was rebuked by his elder brothers for learning only Sanskrit and Bengali, ignoring Persian which was then so essential in national life. So he came to Devanandapur in Hughly and sought the favour of a wealthy "Kayastha" named Ramchandra Munshi who, being pleased with his talents, accorded him a warm reception. Bharatchandra learned Persian at his place and acquired proficiency in it. Later on he came to Pharasdanga where a 'zamindar' named Indranarayana Chowdhury took some interest in him and introduced him to Raja Krishnachandra of Navadvipa. Raja Krishnachandra was a great patron of litterateurs. discovered in this young man poetical talents of an extraordinary order and immediately appointed him his court poet, honouring him with the title "Rāigunākar",

On an occasion of worship of the God Satyanārayaṇa, Bharatchandra wrote two short poems in honour of the deity, which greatly pleased the audience. These poems were written at Devanandapur in 1737 A. D. and contain interesting Persian words.

Sometime before 1750 A.D. he first composed "Rasamañjari" an 'erotico-rhetorical' work based on a Sanskrit text under the patronage of Raja Krishnachandra. Then he contributed his masterpiece "Annadāmaṅgala" which was completed between 1752-53 A.D. It is really, a trilogy comprising three independent poems viz., 'Annadāmaṅgala', 'Vidyāsundara' and 'Mānsiṁha'. Bharatchandra used Persian vocables unreservedly in some portions of his works specially in 'Mānsiṁha'. He wanted to device a mixed language as wanted by Raja Mānsiṁha and Emperor Akbar according to his version. In this language Persian, Hindusthani, Sanskrit and native Bengali words were freely used. "The style was not his own invention as is generally believed, but is an adaptation of the diction that the Muslim writers of Bharatchandra's homeland used." The subject matter of the poem 'Mānsiṁha' being mainly concerned with the Mughal court and administration, it was not wholly unexpected that the poet should use, as occasion demanded foreign vocables, instead of pure Bengali as in the other two poems of the trilogy"

His 'Caṇḍīnāṭaka' contains the specimens of his labour to built up a 'lingua-franca', proving that he was a finished scholar and a man of sound culture in all these tongues viz, Persian, Sanskrit and Hindusthani. The play is in Sanskrit with vernacular songs of a heterogenous language interspersed. Unfortunately the work is found incomplete which, though unsuccessful, is yet a laudable attempt in this direction. The poet passed away before he could have this task completed.

Bharatchandra was gifted with the faculty of writing verses in Sanskrit also, the best instances of which are the

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1. S. Sen : History of Bengali Literature,  
Sahitya Akadami, New Delhi, P. 167.

'Nāgāṣṭaka', 'Gaṅgāṣṭaka', 'Athapatraṃ' etc. There are many short pieces besides the above, which Bharatchandra wrote on various subjects. One such poem is written in Hindusthani and another is a 'macaronic' composition employing four different languages viz. Sanskrit, Persian, Hindusthani and Bengali. The following extracts will show Bharatchandra's dexterity in Persian :

Kard wa raft

"Kāminī yāminī mukhe nidrāgatā śue sukhe dhīr  
 śaṭh tār muke cumbite cumban sukhe  
 dhīre dhīre kard wa raft |  
 nidrā hote uṭhe nārī alase avas bhaārī  
 ārasīte mukh heri cumba-cinha dṛṣṭī kori  
 bhāve bhāla kard wa raft ||

Macaronic composition :

"Śyām hita prāṇeśvar	bāid ke goyad rū bar
Kātar dekhe ādar kara	kāhe mar ro royke
vaktraṃ vedam candramā	chun lālā che remā
krodhita par deo kṣamā	miṭṭi mē kāhe soyke
yadi kiñcit tvam vadasi	dar jān-i-man āyīd khushī
āmār hrdaye basi	prem kara khush hoyke
bhūyo bhūyo rorudasi	yādat namudeh zan koshi
ājñā kara mile basi	'bhārat' phakiri khoyke"

## Sibilants and glottal Fricative 'h' in North-East Bengal Dialects.

Krishnapada Goswami

In Bengali we have only one sibilant phoneme and that is the palato-alveolar ś. ś become alveolar 'S' when it occurs before t, th, r, n. e. g., āste—"slowly", asthi—"bone", viśri—"ugly", snāna—"bath" etc. We get the retroflex value of ś, when it comes before ṭ and ṭh. e.g., Kaṣṭa "trouble", Kāṣṭha—"wood". So, it may be said that s and ṣ are the allophones of the phoneme ś.

But in the Dialects of North-East Bengal (i.e., East Mymensingh, Tipperah and Sylhet) "S" is used as a substitute for the Bengali "Cha", and as such, it may quite reasonably be regarded as a separate phoneme. Thus ś and s are two distinct phonemes in the Dialectal area of North-East Bengal. A distinction is noticeable among the following pairs of words :—

Pisā = pichā "back" ; Piśā. "Father's sister's husband".

mās = māch "fish" ; māś—"month".

māsi = māchi "fly" ; māśi "mother's sister"

In most of the East Bengal Dialects initial ś is often replaced by "h", which is also a characteristic feature of the neighbouring Assamese language.

e.g., hagal = sakala "all" ; hunte = śunite "to hear" ; hutār < sūtradhara "carpenter" ; he = se "he" etc.

In medial and final positions, "ś" remains intact. e.g., māsa "month" ; āṣṭa = aṣṭa "eight" ; āise = āse "come or comes" etc.

medial "ś" is sometimes dropped.

e.g., baiā = basiyā "sitting" ;

b'aur = bhāśura "husband's elder brother"

haur = śvaśura "father-in-law", etc

(h)

In initial position the glottal fricative h < ś remains intact.

e. g. hāgal = sakala "all" ; huād = svāda "taste" ;

huar = śūkara "boar" ; hiāl = śṛgāla "jackal"

huic = sūca "needle" ; hamān = samāna "equal"

But the original "h" is often replaced by the glottal stop ( ' ).

e.g., 'aē = hay "is or becomes" ;

'ārā = hārā "to be defeated"

'āsā = hāsā "to smile"

'āt = hāt < hasta "hand"

'usenpur = Hosenpur "Place-name" etc.

Medial "h" tends to be dropped in the Dialects of North-East Bengal. This loss is compensated (but not always) by inserting a glottal stop ( ' ) in the first letter.

e.g., g'aēnā = gahanā "ornament"

b'iā = vivāha "marriage"

b'aut < bahuta < prabhūta "much"

s'ās = sāhasa "courage".

s'uāg < sohāga < soubhāgya "luck"

saon < sahana "bearing"

But in the words tārā < tāhārā "they", Kārā < kāhārā "who", there is no accompaniment of the glottal stop in the initial syllable, excepting a slight raising of the voice. It is to be noted in this connection, that the glottal accompaniment which is substituted for the accompanying aspiration of an aspirate (generally voiced) in the interior of a word is transferred to the initial syllable as a matter of course, but it is modified into a stress or a slight raising of the voice, when the initial consonant is an "h" derived from a sibilant.

e.g., h'uid < h'uid < huidh < śudhi "to ask, and sometimes fuid, also, as in English huat = phwat "what".

h'ub < h'ub < śubha "pleasure".

h'udā < h'udā < śuddha "empty".

# Etymological Notes on Some of the Words of Bihari Satsai

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Bihārī Satsai is a standard work of Braj-bhākhā. It was composed by Sri Biharilal under the patronage of Mahārāj Jaya Singh in 1749 A. D. The words have been taken from 'Bihārī Ratnākar' which is regarded to be the best edition from the textual point of view. The member indicates the 'dohās' of this edition. The following abbreviations have been used.

A—Awadhī, B—Bhojpurī, Cf.—Confer, Compare, Dn.—Deśī nāmamālā, Hc.—Hema candra, Pa—Pāli, Pk—Prākṛit, Sk—Sanskrit.

- Jhāi**, 1.2 shadow [ Pk. *jhāmia*, burning] cf. *jhāmiani*, burning with light, Hc. Dn. 3-56. cf. also A. and B. *jhāwā*, a burnt brick.
- lāi**, 66.1, fire [ Sk. *alāta*, burning wood Pk. *alaya* ] cf. A and B. *lāi lagāub*, to encourage for a quarrel.
- cuni** 82.2, a small jewel [ Sk- *cūrṇah*. Pk. *curṇa*—, small particle. ]
- barōṭhā** 223.1, inner courtyard [ Sk. *dvārasthāna*] here *dvā>bā*, *lea*.
- mawāsa**, 87.2, a secret place [Sk. *mahāvāsah*]
- jhagā**, 186.2, an upper garment [Sk. *adhyāṅkah*, Pk. *ajharigao*]
- cucāna**, 480.2, leakage [cu+cāna, cu<Sk. *cyutah* dropped, pa *cuto* Pk. *cua*] The word *cāna* appears to be onomatopoeic.
- hūla**, 560.2, a sword [Pk. *hūda*, *hūdei*, a sword].

# Development of the Numeral Noun 'One' in Telugu.

K: Mahadeva Sastri

Forms relating to the numeral noun 'one' in Telugu in the historical period are given below.

The numeral has two forms (i) the numeral adjective and (ii) the numeral substantive. All numeral substantives are regarded as neuter. In the first numeral we have special forms for the masculine and the feminine as well.

Periodisation of the Telugu language which I have adopted is : Old Telugu (OT.) Beginning of the Christian era upto 1000 A. D. ; Middle Telegu (MT.) 1000 to 1600 A. D. ; New Telegu (NT.) current from 17th C. onwards.

Evidence for OT. is solely inscriptional as no text of this period have survived. For MT. we have inscriptional and literary records ; and the material is extracted from the published inscriptions (in the volumes of the Epigraphica Indica (E I.), South Indian Inscriptions (S II.) of the Epigraphic Dept. Govt. of India ; and grammars, both old and modern like Dr. C. Narayana Rao's treatment of the 'Telugu language in the eleventh century A. D.' in the Vol. II History of the Telugu language, Andhra University Publication, and G. V. Ramamurthy Pantulu's *Bālakaviśaraṇyam*, etc. Forms for NT. are given here primarily from my own speech.

## **Numeral adjective :**

OT. 10th C. A.D. *oka* (*nāṇḍu*) 'one day' Koravi Inscr. of Calukya Bhima I, Telangana inscriptions pp. 163-165 1.24 ; in an undated inscr. ascribed to the OT, period *okkho* (*gāṅṅu*) 'one oil press' SII. X-593, 1.11.

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\*Paper read before the Linguistic Study Circle, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati in February, 1961.

MT. *ok(k)a*, *ok(k)o*, *ō* (Kāśīkhaṇḍamu of Śrīnātha 5-189)

NT. (v)*ok(k)a*, (v)*okkha*, (v)*oha*, (v)*o*

### Numeral Substantive :

#### (i) Neuter :

OT. 9th C. *oṇḍu* in the sense of 'another' (Bezwaḍa inscr. EL.XV pp. 155-159), 10th *okoṭi* in *naḷpādyādi yokoṭi* 'forty one' Dongalaśāni inscr. Trilinga Silver Jubilee volume.

MT. *ok(k)oḍu*, *okkarṇḍu*, *okkoṭṇḍu* (Nannaya Na.) *ok(k)aṭi*, *ok(k)oṭi*, *ok(k)amḍu*. *ok(k)omḍu*, *oṇḍu*, *ekkaṭi* Bālavāyākaraṇamu (Bālavāyākaraṇamu BV.)

12th C. *okaṭi* (SII. X-73, 1.115, 1115 A.D.)

SII. IV.—685, 1173 A.D., occurs frequently from 13th C. onwards. *ṽokkoṇḍu* (SII. V—1043, 1123 A.D.)

NT. (v)*okaṭi*, (v)*ohaṭi*, (v)*okkhaṭi*.

#### (ii) Masculine :

OT. 7th C. *okāḍu* (in an inscr. of the time of the Eastern Calukyan Viṣṇuvardhana II, Andhra patrika Annual 194', p. 15) *okkoḍu*, Kalakada inscr. EI. XXX pp. 280-284.

MT. *ok(k)arumḍu*, *ok(k)orumḍu*, *okamḍu*, (Na.) ; *ok(k)amḍu* ; *okkomḍu*, *ok(k)arumḍu*, *ok(k)orumḍu*, *ok(k)aruvumḍu*, *ok(k)-oruvumḍu*, *orumḍu*, *oruvumḍu*, *omḍu*

NT. (v)*okaḍu* (v)*ohaḍu*, (v)*okkhaḍu*.

#### (iii) Feminine :

OT. Nil.

MT. *okkata*, *okkati*, *okkate*, *okkartu* (Na.)

*okar-ita/ta/tu/tuka/it ; /ti/ite/te*

*oka-ta/tuka/ti/te*

*okor-ita/ta/tu/tuka/iti/ti/ite/te*

*oko-ta/tuka/ti/te*

*okkar-ita/ta/tu/tuka/iti/ti/ite/te*

*okka-ta/tuka/ti/te*

*okkor-ita/ta/tu/tuka/iti/ti/ite/te*

*okko-ta/tuka/ti/te*

*ōr-ta/ti/tu/tuka* (BV.)

-- Fifty two forms for 'one woman' !!

NT. (v)*oka-tti*, (v)*oka-tte*, (v)*oha-tti*, (v)*oha-tte*.

(iv) Epicene plural :

OT. Nil.

MT. *ok(k)a-ru/mḍru/rulu/lulu/lḷu*

*ok(k)o-ru/mḍru/rulu/lulu/lḷu*

*ok(k)aruvu-lu*

*ok(k)oruvu-lu*

*oru-lu*

*oru-vu-lu*

*omḍu-lu, oḍḍu-lu, oḍḷu.*

VT. *(v)okaḷḷu, (v)ohaḷḷu, (v)okkhaḷḷu.*

The data presented here raises certain problems in historical phonology and morphology, viz., (i) the alternation of the non-geminate and geminate consonants as in *oka, okka*; (2) the alternation of the vowels /a/ and /o/ as in *okka, okko*; (3) the surprising phenomenon of *ok(k)amḍu* and *omḍu* serving both in the masculine and the neuter, (4) the rich variety of what are construed as dialectal forms in the feminine.

(1) Telugu grammarians consider *oka* as the basic form and *okka* as its variant. But if *or* is taken as the root as is done from the evidence of the different Dravidian languages, then *or* with the suffixal element *ka* should lead us to *okka* and then by simplification of the double consonant to *oka*. So *okka* must be regarded as an earlier form from which *oka* is derived.

(2) /o/ forms like *okomḍu, okoramḍu, okoruvumḍu, okoti, okoriti, okoru, okoḷḷu*, etc. are so regular beside the /a/ forms that their explanation as dialectal variants is not satisfying. Could it be that /o/ forms developed in compound formation as *oka + onḍu > okonḍu, oka + orumḍu > okorumḍu*. If it is so, then *okonḍu, okorumḍu* etc. must be regarded as earlier forms and *okanḍu, okarumḍu* later developments from them, by dissimilation of /o/.

*onḍu* is an old neuter substantive which must have developed directly from the root, *or, > \*onru* (cf Tam. *onru*), *> onḍu*, cf. OT. *mūnru, mūḍu*.

Once such phrasal combinations became established it is easy to see how an adjectival base with the /o/ vowel came

into being—on the principle of analogy, *okkaṇḍu*—*okka*, *okkoṇḍu*—*okko*.

(3) *oṇḍu* and *okaṇḍu* were originally neuter, as explained above. But the ending /ṇḍu/ in these seems to have been confused by the people as the masculine denoter, as in *Rāmuṇḍu*, *vāṇḍu* etc., and *oṇḍu* and *okaṇḍu* came to be used in the masculine as well. There would then be naturally confusion between the two significations that of the masculine and the neuter. To avoid this confusion a differentiation came to be established in course of time when the oblige base of *okaṇḍu*, namely *okaṇṭi/okmṭi* acquired use as nominative in the neuter. And *okaṇḍu* itself remained fixed for the masculine, and gradually ousted the old masculines *okorumḍu*, *okoruvumḍu* in NT.

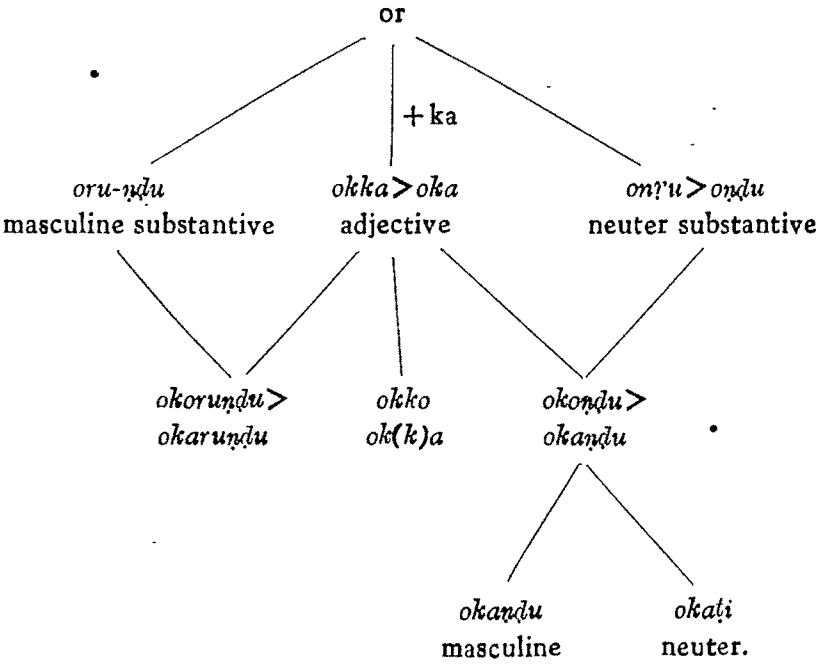
(4) As regards the numerous forms for the feminine one wonders whether all of them have really any basis in actual usage even dialectally in different areas at different times. Some of them at any rate may be due to artificial coining by the grammarians who are found of establishing patterns in their analysis. But until we examine the occurrence and frequency of the respective forms in the whole range of literature we cannot say anything definite in the matter.

The NT. forms do not call for much of explanation. Spirantisation of medial consonant is common enough in language *okati* > *ohati*.

Back vowels /u ū o ō/ take an on-glide /v/ in colloquial Telugu. This tendency existed in the language at least since 700 years, as it indicated by inscriptional Telugu which is outside, the classical literary tradition, and which preserved to a large extent the contemporary speech habits.

The aspiration in the NT. forms *okkha*, *okkhati*, *okkhau* etc. is due to sound symbolism. Aspiration of vowels as well as consonants is a method employed in modern Telugu to express emphasis or an intensity of feeling, eg. *chātā* for *cālā*, much *gathigā* for *gattigā* strongly.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NUMERAL NOUN 'ONE' IN TELUGU 115



# A Note on The Language of Prthvi- malla's Kanaka-Patra and of Pratap- malla's Rani Pokhari Inscription from Nepal.

Dayanand Srivastava

In the following pages I have presented for the first time a study of the early Nepali of the fourteenth century and the Middle Nepali of seventeenth century. Out of the two, one is preserved in Rānī Pokharī Inscription, situated in Kāṭhmāṇḍu and is dated 1670 A. D. The first two lines and a part of the third of Rānī Pokharī Inscription are in Saṃskṛta and the last two lines are in Newārī.

Nepali belongs to Indo-Aryan family and has developed from OIA through a form of MIA speech. Grierson connects the evolution of the Nepali language with the Gorakha invasion. <sup>1</sup> The language of the Kanaka-Patra and Rānī Pokharī Inscriptions provide evidences that Nepali was a genuine language in Nepal much more earlier than the Gorakha invasion. Its exact position within the Indo-Aryan family is open to discussion. I am tempted to connect it with the Western Apabhraṃśa. To me Nepali appears to have belonged to a language or language-group from which Sindhī, Lahādā, Gujarātī, Rājasthānī Pañjābī, Garhwali and Kumaoni have evolved. Grierson noticed a close resemblance between Rājasthānī and Nepālī and this led him to think that Nepālī language is innovation of Rājasthānī in Nepal. Contrary to his establishment, the resemblances between the two languages are owing to the preservation of common original features that they have inherited from the parent language. <sup>2</sup> The selected pieces are fairly representative

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1. Grierson's Linguistic Survey Of India. Vol. I, PT.I.
  2. See Turner's Nepali Dictionary. Introduction.

of the fourteenth and seventeenth century of the Nepali language.

### Phonology.

The following are the special features :

1. The sonant  $r > u$ .

e. g.  $vṛddhaka > buḍḍhaa > bṛdhā$  as in  $rākaskoṭ kā$   $adhikārī$   $kārki$   $bṛdhā$   $thāpā-kārki$  the old  $Thāpā$ , the officer of  $Rākaskoṭ$ , KPB.

The sonant  $r$  has a semi-tatsama development into  $ir$ .

e.g.  $vṛttikā > virtiā > birtā$ . KPB.

2. This development of  $r$  comes from the pronunciation of  $iri$  (See Comparative Grammar Of Middle-Indo-Aryan. Page 1.).

3. The vowel 'a' is initially retained.

e.g.  $pasā$  :  $prasāda > pasāa > pasā$ .

$panāli$  :  $praṇālikā > panāliā > panāli$ .

$kanaka$   $patra$   $kī$   $bhāṣā$   $pasākara$ —having made the language of  $Kanaka$   $Patra$  a gift. KPB.  $asala$   $panāli$   $māthi$   $ko$   $devala$ —the temple standing on the  $asala$   $panāli$ . RPI.

4. The initial 'a' is lengthened due to compensatory lengthening.

e.g.  $gādaha$ ,  $tāsko$ .

$gardabha > gaddaha > gādaha$ .

\* $tasya + kṛta > *tāssakava > tasko$ . as in  $tāsko$   $bubā$   $gādhā$ —his father (is) donkey. KPB.

5. The vowel 'a' is medially retained.

e.g.  $pāthara$ ,  $kāṭan$ ,  $devala$ .

$prastara > patthara > pāthara$ .

$kartana > kaṭṭna > kāṭana$ .

$devakula > deaula$  7  $devala$ .

$kuinā$   $pāthara$   $rāsī$   $ko$ —heap of 'kuinā stone'. KPB.  $carī$   $kāṭana$   $kohi$   $na$   $pāva$ —no one should be permitted to cut the  $carī$  (i.e. the grass). KPB.  $panāli$   $māthiko$   $devala$   $le$ —from the temple of the 'panāli'. RPI.

6. The vowel 'a' is medially syncopated.

e.g.  $suṅgri$ ,  $āpnā$ .

tāskī āmā suṅgri—his mother (is) pig. KPB. āpnā punya nimitta dharma. śāsana nimitta kari—for my own punya and for dharma śāsana. KPB.

7. The vowel 'a' is finally retained.

e.g. kheta, cauthāṅga.

devala le sadāvartī guṭhi ko kheta—from the temple (up to) the field of sadāvartī monastery. RPI. vājakota ko puryā (nyā) pāṭa kā cauthāṅga—quarter to the old 'pāṭa of vājakota', KPB.

8. The contraction of the final 'a' resulting from the loss of the intervocalic plosives is a regular feature in the language.

e.g. pasā, veṭha.

prasāda > pasā > pasā.

veṭhika > veṭṭhia > veṭha.

māna mutha valo. KPB.

9. The vowel 'ā' is initially retained.

e.g. rāulā, gāvā gāū.

rājakulaka > rāaulaa > rāulā.

grāma > gāma > gāā > gāvā/gāū.

aChāmi rāulā, bhartākota rāulā—the king of assam, the king of Bhartākota. KPB. chidyā kā gāvā kī cari kātan kohi na pāva. KPB.

10. The vowel 'ā' is medially retained.

e.g. gosāi.

goswāmin < gosāi (the loss of nasalisation is an important feature to be noted here).

ādityamalla rāi kā, punyamalla rāi kā, tārādei kā gosāi tipāya—threefold ownership of Ādityamalla Rāi, Punyamalla Rāi and Tārādei. KPB.

11. The vowel 'ā' is finally retained.

e.g. āmā : ambā > ammā > āmā. Example has been quoted above.

12. The vowels i and ī are retained (but vowel ī regularly becomes i). e.g. jiu, sāchi.

jiva > jiū.

sākṣī > sacchī > sāchi.

himjiu kī surya grahaṇa. KPB. bhumaṇḍala kā sāchiharu—the oaths of universe. KPB.

13. The pleonastic affix-(i) *kā* is contracted to /i/.

e.g. *eti, cori, nāti, aputāli, muḍāli.*

*ettikā > ettia > eti.*

*caurika > coria > cori.*

*napṭṛka > nattiā > nāti.*

*aputrālikā > apptālia > aputāli.*

*muṇḍālika > mūḍalia > muḍāli.*

*eti vṛtti purvili ādityamalla rāi kā*—the *vṛtti* (is) from the ancestors of *Ādityamalla Rāi*. KPB.

The semi-tatsama treatment of *ettika* is an interesting phenomenon to be noted.

*brahmā, viṣṇu, īśvara*—*buddhadharmā saṅgha etika* *deva ghāle*—(he) will kill *Brahmā, Viṣṇu, īśvara, Buddhadharma Saṅgha*, all these gods. KPB. *aputāli, muḍāli, peṭāli, cori, jāri kare*—*aputāli, muḍāli* and *peṭāli* will commit theft and evil deeds. KPB.

14. The *Udvṛtta* vowels 'ei' are as a rule not contracted in KPB but they are contracted to 'e' in RPI.

e. g. *tārādei* (KPB), *tārāde* (RPI).

*ādityamalla rāi kā, puṇyamalla rāi kā, tārādei kā gosāi tipāya.* KPB. *vāla masāna paścima umāde ko devala*—the temple of *Umāde* to the west of children's cemetery. RPI.

15. The vowels 'u' and *ū* are initially retained, but in many of the examples *ū > u*.

e. g. *kūwara, muḍāli, suṅgri.*

*kumāra > kūwara.*

*śūkari > suṅgri.*

*hiru rāulā kūwara*—the prince of the king *Hiru*. KPB.

16. The vowel 'u' is medially retained.

*aputāli, rāulā.*

*aputrālika > aputtālia > aputāli.*

*rājakulaka > rāaulaa > rāulā.*

17. The vowel *e* is initially retained.

e. g. *eti, celo.*

*ettika > ettia > eti.*

*celakah > celao > celo.*

es kanaka-patra bhitara kī bhāṣā golhu .josi kā pūta nāti bhāi, bhatijo, celiko, celo ādi pāva- the sons, the grandsons, the brothers, the nephews, and the disciples of Golhu astronomer may obtain the language of this Kanaka-Patra. KPB.

18. The diphthong 'ai' is retained in KPB.

e. g. ekai; eka+iva>ekaia>ekai.

ekai sai purkhā kumbhī naraka ghāle- (he) will throw (his one hundred ancestors in Kumbhī Naraka. KPB.

19. The diphthong 'au' is contracted to /o/.

e. g. cori: caurika>coria>cori.

20. The syllabic extension is rare but an interesting phenomenon in the language of KPB.

e. g. viyāpāri: vyāpāri>vīyāpāri.

vīyāpāri sāhāni sabhau pratī jamauti dhoyā ākhara paṭhāyā kā prasāda—the benefit to the businessmen and traders for carrying the horoscope. KPB.

21. The loss of nasals, nasalising the preceding vowel is a regular feature in the language.

e.g. kūwara, gāvā/gāu.

kumāra>kuwara.

grāma>gāvā/gāu.

The spontaneous nasalisation in suṅgri>śūkarī is attested in KPB.

The following line of development is suggested in this case—śūkarī>\*suggari>\*suṅgri.

22. The intervocalic plosives are dropped (except in the semi-tatsma treatment of words). e.g. bhāḍāri, tipāya.

bhāḍāgārika>bhaḍāria>bhāḍāri, KPB,

tripādika>tipā>tipāya. KPB.

23. The intervocalic aspirates are retained as mere aspiration.

e.g. gādaha, sāh.

gardabha>gaddaha>gādaha; sādhu>sāhu>sāh.

24. The conjunct kṣ>kkh and cch.

e.g. ākhara, kheta, sāchi.

akṣara>akkara>ākhara.

kṣetra > khetra > kheta.

sākṣī > sacchi > sāchi.

janmāuti dhoyā ākhara. KPB. lasunūhā kheta gāvā ko. KPB. sadāvarti guṭhi ko kheta. RPI. bhūmaṇḍala ko sāchi haru. KPB. It is to be noted that kṣ—kkh generally in the KPB. and the treatment of kṣ > cch is confined only to RPI.

25. The cases of y and v glides are not infrequent in the language.

e.g.—saya/sai, gāvā; śata > saa > saya/sai; grāma > gāā > gāvā/gāu.

26. As regards the treatment of initial k- both the inscriptions differ. In KPB the historical k is retained where as in RPI it has development into /g/.

e.g. (a)krayāchu, e.g. (a)krayāchu, kari. KPB. garyā ko, garno. RPI.

paśākari (a) krayāchu—having made prasād (i.e. boon) (I) have done. KPB. snāna garyā ko, karmma garyā ko phal pāunu cha-(he) obtains the benefit of bathing and performing (good) deeds. RPI. In this connection (i.e. k->g-) it may be suggested that Nepālī bears some influence of Niyā Prākṛta. A few examples are attested where the initial k->g.

e.g. karaṇīya—garanīya. (Niyā Prkt.)

In one of the examples in KPB the intervocalic-k->-g-. The voicing of /k/ was a feature in the second stage of MIA. In the third stage it was dropped. But Niyā Prākṛta retains it. This retention of voiced plosive in KPB is akin to Niyā Prākṛta.

e.g. śūkarī—\*suggari—suṅgri. cf. avakāśa—avagaja, ditaka—ditagá, adhikṛtya > adhigicca. (Vide-Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan. Page, 10.). The regular development of śūkarī in NIA is śūkarī—sūarī—sūari/sūar.

27. The MIA assimilated conjuncts are simplified and the preceding vowel is lengthened as in other NIA languages.

e.g. pāthara, ākhara, āmā; prastara, > patthara > pathara; akṣara > akkhara > ākhara; ambā > ammā > āmā.

28. The sibilants ś, ṣ—s.

e.g. sai, suṅgri, joisi; śata > saa > saya > sai; śūkarī > \*suggari > suṅgri; jyotiṣī > joisi.

**Morphology.**

29. The language of KPB is more archaic than that of RPI. The oblique cases are mostly organic in nature in the former.

The latter employs independent postpositives and verbal affixes. For instance in 'golhu joisi kanaka-patra kī bhākhā pasākara'-joisi-the daive of advantage is in archaic form, which goes back to OIA \*jyotiṣibhiṃ > joisihī > joisi. The neuter plural-āni of a- stem seems to be extended for the oblique plural in the language, as in viyāpāri sāhāni sabhau prati. KPB. The from sabhau goes back to OIA sarvaṣām (genitive plural)—sabbahā > sabbahāu > sabhāu—sabhau. In KPB -kā occurs as a dative postpositive as in eti vṛtti -kā nimittā. This dative postpositive. e.g. kanaka patra bhitara kī vṛtti kā nimittā. This dative -kā goes back to OIA kṛta / kṛtam, which has also given genitive postpositives -ko and kī in Nepālī and Hindī. Originally this -kā seems to be genitive postpositive, which is extended for dative in Nepālī. The extension of -ka genitive to dative is also attested in Old Bengali. e.g. mantiē thākura kā parinibittā- the minister (the queen in chess) has checked the king. Caryā. 21. ghara kā mana na jāe- the mind does not turn to home. Vide-ODBL. pp. 759. dekhi and le are the ablative postpositive, as in devala le sadāvartī guthi ko kheta. RPI. It is to be noted here that the verbal from has been extended to function as ablative postpositive. e.g. āphule saṅkalpa garikan. RPI. It goes back to OIA lagita/lagitam > laia > lai > le. Kellogg derives it from lagya (past passive pple.) > laggio > lagi > lai > le/ne. (Vide—Grammar of The Hinbi Language 197, 198. pp. 132.). This development is merely speculative, for it presents phonetic difficulties. māthī, mātha, and mābhā are the locative postpositives. They go back to OIA mastika > matthia > māthī; mastaka matthaa > mātha and madhyaka > maddhaa > māḍhā respectively.

30. PRONOUNS. The pronominal eti as in eti vṛtti purvili ādityamalla rāi kā. KPB. goes to OIA ettika > ettia > eti. The pronominal kehi as in ātmahatyā ādi kasaile kehi pāpa yo pōkharī māhā garno nāhi. RPI. goes back to OIA instrumental plural \*kebhīh > kōhi. The from etika as in buddhadharma

saṅghadharma etika deva ghāle KPB. is a semi-tatsama treatment of OIA ettika. The pronoun kōhi as in gava kī cari kāṭana kōhi na pāva- goes back to OIA kaḥ+api+hi>kōhi. The reflexive āphule as in āphule śāstra herikana, āphule saṅkalpa garikana—goes back to OIA asma>appa cf. Dhauli and Jaugadhā ahesu<asmeṣu (loc. pl) and tuphesu<tusmeṣu. Thus āphule<asma+lagita. The genitive ḍtāskā as in tāskā bubā gāḥ laha and śrī śrī parameśvara parameśvarī nāsyāko pāpa tāskā sira- goes back to OIA tāsyā+kṛta>tassakaa>tāskā.

31. CARDINALS. The cardinals ekai and chattīśai are emphatic or inclusive. e.g. ekai upadrava kara, ekai sai purakhā, chattīśai kara. KPB, They are derived from ekaḥ+api>ekai and ṣattriṃśat+api>chattīśai, respectively.

32. THE VERB. cha is the verb substantive in the language. e.g. eti tīrtha sabai yo pokharīmāhā cha. RPI. The ho substantive is not attested in the language. The substantive cha goes back to MIA. Vach. The present participle hudā is derived from \*bhuvantaka>bhūtaka>hudaa>hudā. e.g. The past participial forms arekarya—(done), basyā (lived), nāsyā; (destroyed). They go back to OIA kṛtaka>garaa>garaya>garyā; \*vasitaka>basiyaa>basyā; and \*nāsitaka>nāśiaa>nāsyā, respectively. The conjunctive is formed with kana e.g. dekhikana (having seen); herikana (having find out). This kana is derived from karṇa>kanna>kana. kara and kari are also used to form conjunctives and are derived from kṛta and karita, respectively. The historical present indicative has a development into conditional in the language. e.g. buddhadharma saṅghadharma etika deva ghāle. KPB. This ghāle>ghalayati (causative). The double causative ghalāva as in bhākha ghāla ghalāva, is from OIA ghālāpayati.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

KPB—Kanaka Patra Ki Bhāṣā

RPI—Rānī Pokharī Inscription.

ODBL—Origin And Development of Bengali Language.

# The Characteristics of Prakrit in the Visnudharmottara Purana

Satya Ranjan Banerjee

Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa<sup>1</sup> (-VdhP.), a book of encyclopædic character, is one of the most important independent Ūpa-purāṇs. It is divided into three sections, called Khaṇḍas with several chapters (*adhyaṅgas*), of which the first deals with the usual themes of the Purāṇas, while the second with law, politics, medicine, astronomy, astrology and the science of war. The third is an *omnium gatherum*—a miscellaneous collection—in which we find the Sanskrit as well as the Prakrit grammar besides "lexicography, metrics and poetics, dancing, singing and music, sculpture and painting and architecture". Here in this dissertation, I shall only discuss the characteristic features of Prakrit language as embalmed and treasured up in the seventh chapter of the third khaṇḍa of VdhP.

As regards the earlier studies on the Prakrit portion of VdhP. mention may be made of the following.

The text of VdhP. was first published by the Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, in 1913. This is not a critical edition, as the editor has not supplied us ample materials for the constitution of the text; on the contrary, it seems, it is merely a reprint of one and single manuscript, as seen and consulted by the editor. The text of the Prakrit portion is so full of errors and

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1. As regards the date or antiquity of VdhP, nothing can be said definitely at present, "Thus in the present state of our knowledge, it would be safe to put VdhP. somewhere between the first or rather second half of the 5th century A.D. and the first half of the 7th cent. A.D. i.e between circa 450 and 650 A.D. An earlier date after the third century A.D., however, is not altogether excluded by evidence". Introduction. P. XXVI of Dr. (Miss) Priyabala Shah's edition.

confusions that we can not rely on it, at least, as a genuine text. Next we find this Prakrit portion of VdhP. in the Appendix of Prakṛta-Kalpataru, ed. by M. Ghosh, The Asiatic Society, 1954. That editor also has not consulted any more mss., but has faithfully followed the Veṅkaṭeśvara's edition with some emendations. So that also cannot be truly called a critical study on the subject. Lastly we have a very good edition of Dr. (Miss) Priyabala Shah, published by the Oriental Institute of Baroda, 1958. In this edition several manuscripts have been consulted and collated by the editor. She has also utilised the printed edition. From a careful perusal of the Prakrit portion of this Purāṇa, it is noticed, that although several manuscripts have been consulted and collated by the editor, still some emendations, (given also by her in this portion of the text), are exclusively necessary in order to find out the true sense or reading of the text. It is, therefore, evident, at least, from this edition that the Mss. of the Prakrit portion of VdhP, are full of corruptions and confusions which require some sort of emendations for the proper comprehension of the text.

"Now, it needs mention in this connection that the true method of finding out a sense depends entirely upon the proper consultation and collation of the manuscripts, sometimes by joining one or two words, if necessary, or sometimes by separating or by *emendations*, where the sense urgently so requires. Because, it is a matter of great surprise but nevertheless perfectly true that in ancient times the manuscripts do undergo change of colour with odds beyond arithmetic, due to the corruption and confusion of the Mss, or due to the ignorance of the scribes ; or due to some additions that are made with the intention of improving the author. As a sequel to this, the interchanges of ca (च) and va (व), sa (स) and ma (म), ka (क), and pha (फ), tha (थ) ann ya (य) etc. were so much that we are quite at a loss to decide which was correct and should be taken. So the collators of manuscripts best know how the original readings of ancient classics do undergo change of complexion, and sometimes beyond recognition at the hands of grammarians,

rhetoricians, prosodists, and lexicographers ; how blots and blemishes steal into the manuscripts through the negligence or ignorance of the scribes ; how the intrusive hand of the poetasters, deluded by a chimerical and insolvent hope of improving the author, inflicts a wound here and there, more serious than the mere negligence or ignorance of the copyists ; how archaism gradually gives way to modern manners of expression at the hands of scholiasts long habituated to and well conversant with familiar forms and phraseologists of the modern classics.<sup>2</sup>”

So is the case with the Prakrit portion of VdhP., particularly of the above mentioned editions. Sometimes it seems to us that the readings, given in the foot-note by Dr. Shah, are preferable to the readings given in the text and *vice versa*. Even her manuscripts B which she regards as “standard” and C which she describes as the “oldest”, are not even always consistent and coherent from the point of view of the constitution of the text. This sort of errors and confusions is inevitable when the copyists employed are not always conversant with the language they are copying.

Now, in editing this text, I have generally followed the edition of Dr. Shah. But some slight changes and emendations have been made mostly on the basis of the various readings very carefully collated and consulted by her. Here I give only the abbreviations of the Mss described by her.

A = Ms of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

B = Ms of the Royal Asiatic Library, Bombay. Described by her as the “standard.”

C = Ms of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Described by her as the “oldest”.

D = Ms of the Dayānanda Mahāvīdyālaya Library, Lahore.

V = Printed edition, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1913.

F. = Ms of the Central Archaeological Library, Government of India, New Delhi.

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2. Vide my paper “A Note on the remarks of Pischel” etc. in the Proc. and Trans. of the AIOC, 18th, Session, 1958 PP. 275-276.

This F manuscript which she describes as the "superior" has not been fully utilised by her at the time of the reconstruction of the text, as she got it after the print of VdhP. But variants have been given by her at the end of the text.

The Prakrit language as described there is not a full detailed grammar of that language ; it is, on the other hand, a scrappy, inconsistent, incoherent, unsystematic and elementary meagre information of a type of Prakrit as noticed by the author. What he sets forth is merely the phonology of the subject, i. e. a few rules for a few vowel and consonantal (including conjuncts) changes, and only one or two rules for the syntax. From his description of the Prakrit language, it is probable that the author must have utilised some earlier works prevalent in his time. The most important feature in his work, is the reference of Apabhraṣṭa (= Apabhraṣṭa) language which is innumerable in his opinion and whose characteristic features should be culled out from the provincial dialects.

### Analytical Contents of the Text

1. The following vowels and consonants do not occur in Prakrit.

Vowels—Short and long ɾ and ɿ ; ai and au ; and ɰ.  
Consonants—ś and ṣ.

- (a) But s and ṃ generally occur in Prakrit.
- (b) Long vowels, in the beginning of a word, become short.

2. The conjuncts with y, r, v and ś do not occur in Prakrit.

3. Changes of consonantal sounds :—

- (a) Single—n > ṇ ; p > ph ; kh, th, dh, bh > h.
- (b) Conjunct—kṣ > kkh, cch ; jñ > ṇṇ ; ty > cc ; ts > cch ; śc > cch ; ṣp > pph ; st > tth.

4. The combination of the following sounds will give the following results :—

(a) Initial drops

g+dh=g drops

ḍ+g=ḍ drops

d+g=d drops

b+dh=b drops

(b) Final drops

g+y=y drops

t+k=k drops

5. Anaptyxis

tn = taṇa > yaṇa

dm = duma

ṣṇ = saṇa

6. Ī-Śruti

Ka, ta and pa, in the middle of a word, will have to be pronounced without consonantal element. Sometimes the consonents may also remain,

7. Syntax

(a) In Prakrit, there is no dual number. It uses the plural number where dual is used in Sanskrit.

(b) In Prakrit, the Dative is replaced by the genitive. Genitive is the most general case in Prakrit.

This is, in short, the characteristic features of Prakrit as found in VdhP. ; but, in conclusion, the author remarks that its manifold usuaes are to be culled out from the local dialects :

deśeṣu deśeṣu pṛthag vibhinnaṃ

na śakyate lakṣaṇatastu vaktum /

lokeṣu yat syād apabhraṣṭa-samjñam

jñeyam hi tad deśavido' dhikāram // verse 12 //.

**Text-Reconstructed.**

Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇe prākṛta-bhāṣā-lakṣaṇam (3. VII. 1-12)  
Atha Śrī Viṣṇudharmottara-śrītya-khaṇḍa-prārambhaḥ  
saptamo'dhyāyāḥ.

<sup>1</sup>Mārkaṇḍeya uvāca—

Athātaḥ sampravakṣyāmi tava prākṛta-lakṣaṇam/

ॠ ॠ ॠ na santyatra <sup>2</sup>noṣmā<sup>nau</sup>\* ca <sup>3</sup>śa-ṣā-vubhau //1//

<sup>4</sup>makāra-hīnāśca tathā nāsikyāśca tathā nṛpa/  
rephaśca <sup>5</sup>śayavo rājan samyoge nāsti karhicit //2//

<sup>6</sup>ai-kāraśca tathau-kāraḥ padamadhye mahābala/  
<sup>7</sup>ḍaga-yoge <sup>8</sup>ḍa-kāro'tra daga-yoge tathai va<sup>9</sup>ca //3//

<sup>10</sup>gaya-yoge ya-kāro'tra lopamāyāti nitydā/

<sup>11</sup>ṣaṇau yuktau pṛthak kṛtvā ṣaṇau kāryau vicakṣaṇaiḥ //4//

damau yuktau pṛthak kṛtvā dumau kāryau tathaiiva ca/

<sup>12</sup>tanau yuktau pṛthak kṛtvā yaṇau kāryāva samśayam //5//

<sup>13</sup>taya-yoge ta-kārasya ca-kāra-stvabhidiyate/

<sup>14</sup>ka-kāraḥ padamadhye'tra vaktavyo hal vivarjitaḥ //6//

na-kārasya ṇa-kāraḥ syāt kṣa-kārasya kha iṣyate/

<sup>15</sup>sta-kārasya ttha-kāraśca jña-kārasya ṇa eva ca //7//

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1. F. Śrī mārkaṇḍeyaḥ. 2. F. noṣmā na ca ; V. naṣmā. 3. ACV. maṣā- etc. ; BF. Saṣā-etc.. 4. A. makarahīnā ; V. sakāra-hīnā ; F. markārahināśca. 5. C. sayavo. 6. Av. ekāraśca. 7. ABCVF. ḍṛḍhayoge. 8. V. vakāro'tra ; ABCF. dakāro'tra. 9. AB taḥ. 10. AB. gayayoge śakāro'tra ; F. gayayoge gakāro'tra. 11. V. drops Śloka No. 4. CB. 12. V drops Śloka No. 5. CD. 13. V. ṛtayoge dakāra syāt takāra etc. ; ABC. ṛta-yoge ṛkārasya ca-kāras etc. ; F. ṛta-yoge d-kārasya vakāraśca etc.. 14. F. Vakāraḥ pada etc.. 15. V. ta-kāraśca tha-kāraśca jña kāraśca ; BC. takāraṇca ; F. ta-kārasya tha-kāraśca.
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\* Italicized letters are emendations. Originals have been shown in the foot-note.

- <sup>16</sup> kvacit *kha-kārasya* tathā *tha-kārasya* tathā kvacit /  
<sup>17</sup> *dha-kārasya* tu <sup>18</sup> vaktavyo <sup>19</sup> *bha-kārasya* ha iṣyate //8//  
<sup>20</sup> *ts-kārasya* cha-kārah *syāc ca-kāre* hal ca lupyate/  
<sup>21</sup> yukte *ṣp-kāre* <sup>22</sup> tad-dhīne pha-kāro'pi vidhīyate //9//  
 caturthī nātra vijñeyā na ca dvi-vacanam kvacit/  
 pādādu yo guruḥ so'tra laghu reva vidhīyate //10//  
<sup>23</sup> dīn-mātram-etad uddiṣṭam mayā prākṛta-lakṣaṇam/  
<sup>24</sup> prayogād anugantavyo vistaro hyati-vistarah //11//  
 deśeṣu deśeṣu pṛthag vibhinnaṃ  
 na śakyate lakṣaṇatastu vaktum /  
 lokeṣu yat syād apabhraṣṭa-saṃjñam  
 jñeyam hi tad deśavido' dhikāram //12//  
<sup>25</sup> iti Śrī viṣṇudharmottare mārkaṇḍeya—vajra-saṃvade  
 prākṛta-bhāṣā-lakṣaṇam nāma saptamo'dhyāyah.

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16. ABC. kvacit *kāraśca* tathā kvacit ; V. kvacit kvacit syāttadā *hakāraśca* tathā kvacit ; F. kvacit *kakāraśca* tathā kvacit. 17. ABCVF. *kṣa-kārasya*. 18. V. Vaktavyam. 19. ABCV. *Vāṅkārasyasya*, F. *Vaṅkārasya* ha etc. 20. ABCVF. *ca-kārasya* *chakārasthā* tyu *kāre* ; F. *ca-kārasya* *cha-kārah* syād *ḍakāre*. 21. CV. *pa-kare* ; AB. *tha-kāre* ; F. *yukte* *tha-kāre*. 22. V. *tad-dhībhe* *ha-kāro'pi* ; F. *ha-kāro'pi* *vidhīyate*. 23. V. *dvi-mātram* *etad uddiṣṭam* *madhyā*. 24. V. *prayogād* *anukarta'yo*. 25. F. *iti Śrī Viṣṇudharmottareṣu* *tṛtīya* *kāṇḍe* *prākṛta—lakṣaṇam* *nāmādhyāyah*.

# Reciprocal Bahuvrīhi Compounds in Bhāratchandra

Bhakti Prasad Mallik

Reciprocal Bahuvrīhi compound is a peculiar phenomenon in the Bengali language. In Hindi and someother Indo-Aryan speeches the idea of reciprocity is being expressed by the echo words. Morphological discussions on this topic have already been made by Dr. S. K. Chatterji and Dr. S. Sen. Reciprocal compounds are repeated words with some phonemic alternations indicating actions produced by mutual relationships. My study is based on *Bhāratchandra Granthabālī*--edited by Brajendra Nath Bandyopadhyay and Sajani Kanta Das, Bangiya Sahitya Parisad, (2nd ed.). In Bhāratchandra these compounds are mostly of deśi type with a few belonging to the tatsama and tadbhava classes. Total number of reciprocal compounds in this work are thirtytwo including twelve being repeated. These compounds are the combinations of two morphemes, in all cases both the elements are free morphs excepting in cases only as onomatopoeics like huṭāhuṭi.

In this text there are some words used as reciprocal compounds and adverbs as well ; as adverbs they are expressive of repetition, intensity or comprehensive action.

Following are the examples of reciprocal Bahuvrīhi compounds in the works of Bhāratchandra :

Kānākāni 'whispering', kibā kara kānākāni : 'what are you whispering' ; satyamithyā dharmā jāne loke kānākāni : 'God knows the truth (but) the people goes on whispering' ; loke haila jānājāni sakhigane kānākāni : 'It is publicly exposed and the consorts are whispering in the privacy (female circle)' ; śuker śuniyā bāṇī sabe kare

kānākāni : 'Śuk's message reflected in individual whisperings.' mādhī laye choṭo kare kānākāni go : 'The youngest consort makes whispering with Mādhī.'

Kāṛākāṛi 'scrambling, snatching'

baṛamā kare kāṛākāṛi : 'Baṛomā (eldest housewife) is in scrambling'; pere rāṅgā śāṛī dhore kare kāṛākāṛi : 'Scramble after all the scattered red skirts.'

Kilākili 'exchange of blows' kilākili gaṇḍagol : 'Fisting and hub bub'.

kuṭākūṭi 'knocking' see gālāgāli

gālāgāli 'shoulder to shoulder'

śuniba dujane śuye galāgāli kari : 'We two shall hear lying in fondly knots.'

gālāgāli 'mutual abuse' ḍākāḍāki gālāgāli māthā kuṭā kuṭi : 'Howling and abusing in head knocks.'

caṛācaṛi 'slapping each other'

kare caṛācaṛi dhāy raṛāraṛi : 'Scuffling and running away in hot haste.'

chāṛāchāṛi 'separation' sādhi hārāmjādī ekhani haila bādī karite cāy chāṛāchāṛi : 'Scoundrel sādhi now just a complainant and wills for separation.'

jaṛājaṛi 'clinging to each other'

kare jaṛājaṛi lalak jhi : 'Embraced in ecstasy with dangling tongues'.

jānājāni 'exposed'

loke habe jānājāni : 'It will be exposed to the public.' bhārat kahiche eta jānājāni go : 'Bhārat regrets such a tremendous exposure'.

jhuṭā jhuṭi 'scuffling by snatching hairs'

cf. culaculi : do. eirupe kandale lāgila jhuṭā jhuṭi : 'Thus the brawl resulted in scuffling with hairs'.

- ṭānāṭāni 'tussling'      āmā laye ṭānāṭāni : 'dragging me in a tussle'; sundar ācale dhari kare ṭānāṭāni : 'Sundar is snatching at the skirt'; choṭo pāche pathe kare ṭānāṭāni go : 'Least the youngest consort gets me in a wayside tussle.' ghare āna dhare kare ṭānāṭāni go : 'Oh, arrest and drag him in to the room.'
- ḍākāḍāki 'outcry'      see gālāgālī duṭṭāy maris kena ḍākāḍāki kari : 'why are you two screaming crazily.'
- tarkātarki 'altercations'      Purāṇ saṃhitā yata tarkātarki nānāmata kaye : 'All the Purāṇas and Saṃhitas are contradictory in their opinions.'
- dharādhari 'holding together'      dharādhari yār saṅge dharādhari tāri : 'mutual exchange begets intimacy'. The first one having the reciprocal sense and the second one the adverbial sense of intensity.
- nāṇānāri 'stirring'      rāndhiyā dibe bhāt phelābe āṭu pāt ghucila hāt nāṇānāri : 'Shall cook rice, be made to clean served plates, ceases the stirring of hands'.
- pācāpāci 'altercation'      eirupe dujane kathār pācāpāci.....kare ācāāci : 'Thus the two engaged in altercations weighed the pros and cons.'
- bhāṇābhāri 'deception'      pati nā tore cābe kathāḍ habe bhāṇābhāri : 'Husband would have no hankering after you hence the dialogue would result in deceptive words.'
- māṇāmāri 'trampling'      kandale gela māṇāmāri : 'The brawl resulted in trampling one another.'
- rāṇārāri 'snatching away, scuffling'      du satiner ghar patire ghuce ḍar kandale hay rāṇārāri : 'Co-wives' cot is regardless of husband only to be engrossed in tumultuous

brawlings and scufflings.' *bilvapatra laiyā dekhaha raṭāraṭi* : 'Look at the scuffling with mermelos leaves.' Lengthening in the preceding one is due to metrical reason.

*hānāhāni* 'assaulting' *pati laye du satīne hānāhāni go* 'Co-wives' scuffle for the husband.'

*huṭāhuṭi* 'noisy altercations'

*sādhī saṅge kariyā kathār huṭāhuṭi* : 'Having a noisy altercation with *Sādhī*'  
Some of the reciprocal compounds used as only repeated words under different situations are the following : *ālo jvāli yata dhāli gālāgāli kare* : 'lighting candles all the guards with shields started rebuking (him)'.  
*Sakhī tole dharādhrī kari* : 'The consort lifts (her) up by the arms.'

# Nasals and Nasalisation in Jaisi's Padmavata

Ramesh Mathur

This article is based on five available printed editions of *Padmāvata* composed by Malik Muhammad Jāisi, in the first half of the 16th century A.D. The editions are : 1. *The Padumāvati* edited by G.A. Grierson and Sudhākar Dvivedī (GS), 2. *Jāyasī-Granthāvatī* by Rāmchandra Śukla (RS), 3. *Jāyasī-Granthāvatī* by Mātā Prasād Gupta (MPG), 4. *Padumāvati* by Lakshmi Dhar (LD), and 5. *Padamāvata* by Vāsudevā Śarana Agrawāla (VSA).

Out of the five class nasals, three i.e. velar ṅ, palatal ɲ, and cerebral ŋ, are lost and are merged into single nasal sound, orthographically indicated by anusvāra ṁ. Dental n and labial m nasals are found initially and medially, when they are accompanied by a vowel. But when followed by a consonant they are found to be anusvāra, except y and h ; thus :

n : niti 'always', nadī 'river', pānī 'water', barana 'colour'.

n as anusvāra : anaṁda 'happiness', maṁdira 'temple', paṁtha 'way'.

ny and nh : kanyā 'daughter'. sānyāsī 'saint', dīnha 'given'  
kīnha 'done', phūlanha 'flowers'.

This n is found to be retained when dental nasal is geminated, as : punni 'righteousness', anna 'corn'.

m : mādira 'temple', māsa 'month', Padumāvati 'Proper name'.

amāvāsa 'lunar conjunction', mānika 'ruby', samgrāma 'fight'.

m as anusvāra : aṁbuja 'lotus', aṁbrita 'nectar'

mh : tumha 'you'.

In a few cases there appears a nasal glide. The forms like maṁcha 'fish', samuṁda 'sea' and muṁdrā 'ring', can be explained as the influence of the contiguous nasal sound. But the words like iṁcha 'desire', taṁta 'essence' <tattvaḥ are without any plausible reason, except to take them as glides.

The reduction of class nasals into a single nasal sound ṁ, for want of any suitable term, generally termed as anusvāra,

further developed into complete nasalisation of the preceding or following vowel. Anusvāra is a nasal sound, pronounced exclusive of the preceding vowel i.e. follows a vowel, and nasalisation or anunāsika is an inclusive nasal sound with a vowel, which modifies the pronunciation of a vowel ; thus :

Anusvārika form	Anunāsika from
<i>aṃkusa</i>	<i>ākusa</i> 'goad'
<i>caṃdra</i>	<i>cāda</i> 'moon'
<i>aṃcala</i>	<i>ācara</i> 'cloth'
<i>sampūrana</i>	<i>sāpūrana</i> 'whole'

The editions of GS, RS, MPG, and VSA have employed two distinct signs, one the OIA anusvāra sign i.e. super script dot / ◌̣/, for the five class nasals and the second Candra-bindu / ◌̣̣/ sign to show the nasalised vowel.

But, however, LD edition has used anusvāra ṃ for both, e.g. *khaṃḍa* 'storey', *paḷaṃga* 'couch', *aṃdhiyāra* 'dark' (nasalised), *cāṃḍa* 'moon' (nasalised). By not applying two distinct signs for two types of pronunciation, the edition puts hindrances in fluent reading, as the reader has to ascertain whether the pronunciation is anusvārika or anunāsika.

On the other hand the GS edition has used both signs i.e. anusvāra and candra-bindu very rigidly in all the positions, whether medially or finally. As *baṃḍara* 'monkey', *baṃḍara* 'spring season', *naḥi* 'not', *siḥāsana* 'throne', *hāsata* 'laughs', *cheḥkā* 'pierced', *sakḥi* 'maidens', *ṣēḍura* 'vermilion'.

The remaining editions have not maintained the distinct character of anusvāra and candrabindu. These editions have employed anusvāra finally to indicate nasalisation on NIA lines. Both the signs are used very carefully, only when employed with the short vowels *a* and *u*. e.g. *aṃkusa* 'goad', *aṃtarikha* 'sky', *aṃga* 'body', *buṃḍa* 'drop', *khuṃbhḥi* 'an ornament'. Nasalised forms : *rāga* 'colour', *sāci* 'collect', *sādasa* 'message', *samūda* 'sea'.

But this judicious use of anusvāra and candrabindu is not preserved with other vowels medially ; thus :

puni siṃgāra hāṭa dhani dēsā |

kai siṃgāra tahā baithiḥ bēsā || VSA 38/1

(Again the mart of beauty of that place is praise worthy, where, having adorned sit prostitutes.)

*Siṃgāra* in the first line is anusvārika but in second it is nasalised *ṣiṅgāra* but this distinction is not shown in VSA and RS, where as, in GS it is with anusvāra and candrabindu respectively. Though it is metrical but saves confusion. This shifting of anusvārika to anunāsika due to the metrical need, puts difficulty in ascertaining the correct pronunciation of nasals, of the language of that period.

So the words with anusvāra are found in different conditions as nasalised. The editions attest both forms, as : *saṃga* : *sāga*, *raṃga* : *rāga*, *caṃdana* : *cādana*, *bihaṃgama* : *bihāgama*.

This characteristic of the language suggests that there was three fold development of the nasals. The original stage, when all the five nasals used to combine only with the consonants of their own class, merged into anusvāra, orthographically. For metrical purpose this anusvārika stage developed into a reduced nasal stage and then to the stage of complete nasalisation.

These metrical nasalised forms might be having a sound of very reduced nasal like : *siṃgāra* : *siṅgāra* : *ṣiṅgāra*, *maṃdira* : *maḍdira* : *mādira*, *siṃghāsana* : *siṅghāsana* : *ṣiṅghāsana*.

Nasalisation occurs quite frequently in the language of Jāisī. It may be classed as Conditional and Spontaneous. The conditional nasalisation takes place when the class nasal or anusvāra of OIA and MIA words is simplified. This adjoining nasal influences the preceding or following vowel and nasalises it with or without compensatory lengthening Thus : *gāṭhī* < granthi 'knot', *ākusa* < aṅkuṣaḥ 'goad', *pāca* < pañca 'five' (also *pāca*), *ṣicata* < siñcati 'irrigates', but *ātarapaṭa* < antarapaṭa 'veil', *sādēsā* < sandeśa 'message'.

But sometimes the presence of a nasal appears to have nasalised its adjoining vowel ; as : *mātha* 'head', *mūṭhi* 'fist', *māṭhī* 'clay', *nāca* 'dance', *samūda* 'sea', *mākhī* 'a fly', *mōṭī* 'pearl'.

Sometimes it is found that if a nasal occurs in a word, one of a vowel of the word is nasalised. as : *gāgana* 'sky'.

In many cases when the conjunct consonants are simplified the preceding vowel has been nasalised spontaneously. Thus :

*ākha* < akṣi 'eye', *hātha* < hasta 'hand', *pākhi* < pakṣi 'bird', *bhāta* < bhāṭa 'bard', *āsū* < āśru 'tears', *sāpu* < sarpa 'snake', *ūtā* < uṣṭraḥ 'camel'.

The intervocalic -m- had undergone a phonetic change at a later stage of MIA. In orthography we find the sound is -w̃-. This is faithfully retained in all editions. But the editions widely differ regarding the place of actual nasalisation. Where as, GS has the anunāsika on -w̃- regularly, as : *kāwāla* < kamala 'lotus' *ṛōwā* < roman 'hair', *parawānā* < pramāṇa 'proof', *bhawāra* < bhramaraḥ 'black bee'. But in some cases it is found that the intervocalic -m- is tolerated ; as : *kamarakha* 'a fruit', *sumeru* 'mountain', *jagamagāhī* 'shine'.

LD has nasalisation on the preceding vowel, as *kaṁwala*, *bhaṁwara*, *rājakuṁwara* 'prince', *saṁwara* 'to remember'.

VSA and RS attest both forms, as : *bhāwara* : *bhawāra*, *kāwāla* : *kawāla*, *bhiwāsēnā*, *ḍowā*, *rōwā*, *nāwā*.

The occurrences show the unstable position of nasalisation. Consequently the pronunciation can be established only by observing the recitation of a few Awadhi speakers of the text, as well as by the study of the trends in modern speech.